SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY AMONG THE IRISH IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES: 
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TORONTO, ONTARIO, AND BUFFALO, NEW YORK, 1880-1910 

by 

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy 
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the urban settlement and adaptation experiences of the Irish in Canada and the United States, using Toronto and Buffalo as case studies. The period 1880-1910 was studied since it has been identified as a key transitional phase not only in North American urban-industrial history, but also in terms of the formation of Irish urban middle-classes. Toronto and Buffalo were chosen with regard to their sizeable Irish populations and their capacity to represent urban society in Canada and the United States respectively.

The dissertation firstly profiled the socioeconomic fortunes of multigenerational samples of Irish households in both cities c. 1880. Although both places possessed Protestant elites and similar numbers of Irish-born in 1880, they differed in terms of
industrialization, social atmosphere, and ethnic structure. While religion divided the Toronto Irish, those in Buffalo were mostly Catholic, and were affected more by Famine and post-Famine immigration than the former city. Residential clustering of the Irish was present in both cities in 1880, on a larger scale in Buffalo, but the pattern was mainly one of ongoing residential dispersion and integration, while homeownership attainment levels were similar in both cities.

For a variety of reasons, the Irish in both cities demonstrated high rates of out-migration over the period, to a slightly larger extent in Buffalo. In any case, escape from unskilled work for the sons of Irish labourers was confirmed in both cities. The Buffalo Irish demonstrated a slightly greater capacity than those in Toronto did to move into middle-class occupations. They also, through municipal influence mobilized at the ward level, put many of their co-ethnics into public sector jobs. Politics in Toronto did not allow Irish Catholics similar privileges; the Orange Order link with city hall instead benefited Irish Protestants. Finally, the residential mobility study demonstrated the on-going process of residential integration of the Irish in both cities. In Buffalo, however, the ethnic geography of the city had a mediating influence on Irish residential choice, while the enduring Irish flavour of the First Ward contrasted with the disappearance of Irish Catholic clusters in Toronto.
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A comparative urban study such as this, involving as it does travel from one city to the other, is seldom a viable proposition for the student on a tight budget. I would like to thank the Department of Geography at the University of Toronto for their financial support over the years, as well as the provincial government for awarding me an Ontario Graduate Scholarship on two occasions. It is also fair to say that without the support of the Kirchgraber family in Kenmore NY, I may have elected not to pursue the Buffalo portion of this study for economic reasons. The Kirchgrabers welcomed me to lodge in their house during my numerous trips to Buffalo, and while they are all such a friendly and warm bunch of people, thanks especially to Steve and Eileen, the ‘hockey grandma…always there for the assist.’ Thanks are also due to the McMaster Trust of the Department of Geography, and the Catherall Foundation of Massey College for making additional funds available for travel and conferences.

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The psychological demands of keeping one’s mind focussed on a single project for over four years are greater than I imagined and the support of all my friends in the region of Toronto and beyond it was everything to me. They are, I am happy to say, many and
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Thanks to Mum, Dad, and David, to whom this thesis is dedicated, for keeping the candles lit in the living room, and Nanna and Peggy for their prayers on January 11, 2001.

_Co raibh mile maith agaibh go léir_1

1 Irish for "May you be happy all your days."
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CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Introduction

The aim of my dissertation is to compare the urban settlement and adaptation experiences of Irish immigrants and their descendants in Canada and the United States. In order to understand these experiences, I examine the process of social and geographical mobility for the Irish in Toronto and Buffalo between 1880 and 1910. This work will explore the hypothesis that with the onset of industrial capitalism, the occupational and residential profile of the Irish in both cities changed. Furthermore, I propose that the nature of this change was also a function of the prevailing economic and social structures in both centres. The research is principally concerned with describing and explaining the changing fortunes of the Irish in two cities characterizing two countries of different socio-economic character. In the late nineteenth century, I argue that the social environment of a Canadian city such as Toronto, with a heavily British personality, contrasted with Buffalo, a typical Yankee/American city with a more diverse ethnic
structure. The Irish in these two cities are taken to represent microcosms of Irish urban communities in Canada and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

An international study of this nature has few precedents due to the nature of historical data in the two countries as well as to a certain exceptionalism in historiographical traditions in both societies that has discouraged comparative work. Yet one cannot assume that Irish immigrants and their descendants underwent similar settlement, adaptation, and assimilation experiences within each North American city to which they travelled in significant numbers in the nineteenth century. Scholars on the Canadian Irish have described a primarily rural settlement experience that differed fundamentally from that of the mainly urban Irish in the United States. However, this raises the question about how similar the urban experience of the Irish in Canada was compared to that of the Irish in the United States. Since the Roman Catholic Irish immigrant has formed the basis of nineteenth-century studies of the Irish in the United States, the fate of Irish Catholics in urban Canada adds an extra dimension of interest. In any case, investigating the ease and the difficulty with which the Irish adjusted to life in Toronto and Buffalo will illuminate differences between urban societies in the United States and Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

It is now generally accepted that in North America at least, to be Irish no longer implies an occupation and/or lifestyle of low standing. Indeed, the Irish have been one of the most successful ethnic groups of the twentieth century in terms of social mobility (Glazer
and Moynihan 1970; Birmingham 1974). Despite this, there has been some probing by historians into why this has taken such a long time to happen. A reading of the historiography of the Irish in North America after the Great Famine of 1847 suggests that images of nineteenth-century Famine-era immigrants in labouring jobs and an upwardly-mobile twentieth-century cohort somehow need to be reconciled. Our understanding of the timing and nature of the transition needs to be explored.

The turn of the century has been cited as a watershed in terms of when the process of middle-class formation gathered momentum among the Irish in the United States (Shannon 1963). The role of specific occupations (such as those found within the spheres of politics and self-employment, for example) in fostering mobility and the growth of an Irish middle-class have more often been stated or described than analyzed, however. Building on the work of geographers, social historians, and sociologists, my research has two principal objectives. The first is to investigate, for Toronto and Buffalo, the late nineteenth-century urban Irish in a multi-generational context with regard to their occupational and residential structures. The second is to explore in detail the process of geographic and social mobility among the group during a period of intensified industrialization in both cities, with particular attention to the intersection between ethnicity and social class. Analyzing the time period 1880-1910, when Irish immigration to North America had proceeded for almost a century, is expected to provide us with an image of the urban Irish that is not purely working-class. This period is noteworthy for greatly increased urbanization and immigration in North America that was associated with the continued development of industrial capitalism and factory-based production.
The consequences that this had for a so-called 'old immigrant group' such as the Irish in terms of work, ethnicity, and their place in the changing geography of the city, have yet to be rigorously analyzed.

Images, Perceptions, and the Irish in North America

In any discussion of the Irish in North America, one must recognize the heterogeneity of the group. Their story goes back considerably farther than the much-discussed Famine migration of the mid-nineteenth century. The latter was a predominantly Roman Catholic migration. During the eighteenth century, however, many Irish Protestants (mostly Presbyterians) migrated to what later became the United States. Migrating mainly from the northern Irish province of Ulster, they settled predominantly in southeastern Pennsylvania, the Chesapeake region and the emerging western frontier of Virginia. This group has variously been referred to as the 'Scotch-Irish' or 'Ulster-Scots,' a reflection of the earlier Presbyterian migrations to Ulster from Scotland. Protestant Irish migrations continued into what became the United States in the early nineteenth century, though a significant number were now heading to British North America, which became the Dominion of Canada in 1867. In contrast to the Famine generation, the Scotch-Irish were in general "Protestants in fairly comfortable circumstances" (Miller 1985: 171).

Pre-Famine Irish Catholic migration to North America was numerically insignificant before the nineteenth century. During the first part of that century, however, Irish
Catholic immigrant communities concentrated mainly on eastern seaboard cities of the United States, from Boston to Philadelphia (Akenson 1996). In British North America, the Catholic Irish were scattered around various rural and urban settlements from Newfoundland outposts to farmsteads in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada (later Quebec province) and in eastern Upper Canada (later Ontario province) (Akenson 1984; Elliott 1988; Houston and Smyth 1990). It is important to note here that relations between the two religious groups of Irish in North America were mainly cordial in the pre-1847 period, and that cross-denominational Irish institutions were common in cities where both resided. As Miller (1985: 189) notes: "from 1800 through the 1828 election of Andrew Jackson, son of emigrants from County Antrim, a common republicanism largely obscured old antagonisms between Americans and Irishmen, Protestants and Catholics." Moreover, the occupational backgrounds of these Pre-Famine Irish were quite varied, ranged from farming to entrepreneurial pursuits in villages, towns, and cities. For those who possessed capital, marketable skills, education, and an optimistic embrace of egalitarian idealism, the path to upward mobility was well within reach. Others fled Ireland in search of steady work and a new life. The unskilled Irish immigrants who crowded into eastern cities such as Boston and New York and who constructed the canals of eastern North America in the 1820s and 1830s then, formed but one fragment of what historians have now begun to term the Irish 'diaspora' (Akenson 1996).

The middle years of the nineteenth century witnessed a transformation in the numerical, religious and occupational profile of the Irish in North America. Estimating the numbers
of early nineteenth-century migrants from Ireland, however, has been the subject of a number of works (Adams 1932; Carrier and Jeffrey 1953; Akenson 1984, 1996). They point to a steady increase over the period 1800-1840 from less than 130,000 between 1825-30 to over 400,000 between 1831 and 1840. Significantly, the Irish social and geographical backgrounds of emigrants became more varied than previously. While the cost of passage fares had previously inhibited the poorer classes of Irish society from joining the disenchanted middle layers of Irish society on the emigrant ships, passage on timber ships during the Napoleonic Wars at a cheap price provided a way to the New World. In addition, emigrants from southern Ireland were now more likely than before to join Ulster immigrants on their journey.

British North America was a major destination for the Irish during the Pre-Famine period: over an estimated 350,000 travelled there between 1825 and 1840 in contrast to the estimated 200,000 who went to the United States (Akenson 1996). The Great Irish Famine of 1847 marked a change in this pattern, however. Not only was a prohibitive emigrant tax imposed by the Canadian legislature after 1847, but also the supply of farmland had dried up, and large-scale urbanization and industrialization had not commenced (Houston and Smyth 1990). After 1850, the United States became the major destination for Irish transatlantic migration. In religious terms, Irish Catholic emigration had increased slowly before the 1840s leading to a situation whereby in the mid-1840s, the Irish ethnic group (i.e. the immigrant generation and beyond) in North America was mainly Protestant, while most of the recently arrived Irish immigrants were Roman Catholic (Miller 1985).
The Irish Famine of 1847, memorialized by numerous sculptural statements in cities across North America today, was a major catalyst for emigration to North America. Unlike earlier departures, the Famine emigrants were more concerned with their survival rather than any idealistic dream of economic independence. With the failure of the Irish potato crop between 1846-48, the subsequent immigration to the urban centres of northeastern North America of sick, starving, and resourceless Irish Catholic peasants increased negative perceptions of the Irish Catholics as a group in the United States and Canada. Between 1851 and 1921, 3,794,852 Irishmen and women left their native land for the United States; the corresponding figure for British North America (later the Dominion of Canada) was 313,622 (Miller 1985). The total number of Irish emigrants for this time period exceeded that of the preceding two-and-a-half centuries (Miller 1985).

The inflow of disease-ridden starving Catholic peasants overwhelmed eastern cities in the United States and Canada on a scale previously unheard of. Unprepared, many among the Pre-Famine Irish immigrants evinced little concern for, and did not wish to be identified with, members of the Famine influx who were generally poorer and less skilled than those who arrived before the potato blight took effect. In any event, the Pre-Famine Irish middle-class in America had not expanded to the scale sufficient to supply the newcomers with steady employment. Divisions between the Protestant and Catholic Irish grew stronger in tandem with the social and political tensions in American society generally, and many Irish Catholics changed religion in response to the nativism with
which their immigrant countrymen and women were now being greeted in an increasingly evangelical and anti-Catholic America. Confined to back alley slum areas and tenement courts in many cities and occupying the lowest strata in the labour force, Irish immigrants throughout the second half of the nineteenth century transplanted Old World patterns of drinking and sociability into urban working-class 'saloon cultures,' where drinking, gambling, fighting, and associated vices and crime were common. The 'Little Dublins' and 'Irishtowns' became notorious for deviant behaviour, not to mention their highly unsanitary and disease-ridden conditions. Their inhabitants were variously known as the 'shanty' or 'tenement' Irish. This group was constantly on the move for at least several years after their arrival, demonstrating high geographic, if not social, mobility.

In contrast to their 'shanty' counterparts, the 'lace-curtain' Irish emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century in the United States. This segment of the Irish population, drawn mainly, but not exclusively, from the Pre-Famine immigration group and its descendants, had climbed into the middle-class and, through the guidance of the ultramontane ideals of the Roman Catholic priest, were stable, sober, and leading respectable lifestyles (Geary 1980; Hartford 1990; Clarke 1993). The values of this group, based on temperance, pious acceptance of Catholic practices, and an almost desperate desire for respectability and social acceptance into the middle/upper classes of urban society, resulted in their being called the 'lace-curtain Irish.' The 'lace-curtain' culture of these families was depicted in popular newspaper cartoons such as 'Jiggs and
Maggie,' a working-class Irish immigrant couple who, upon winning the lottery, display amusing attempts to integrate into high society. While the bulk of Irish immigrants made up the 'shanty' element in the mid-nineteenth century, the 'lace-curtain' element, initially small, grew slowly thereafter.

Many Post-Famine immigrants arrived as individuals in contrast to their Famine counterparts who travelled mostly in family groups. They were younger and more likely to be female and unmarried than pre-Famine emigrants. Although arriving capital-poor from poverty-stricken rural areas, many of these post-1850 immigrants also had the benefit of an upbringing in the slowly-modernizing place that was Post-Famine Ireland. Geographically, the Irish source regions were focused more on the Catholic south and west than previously, in contrast to Protestant Ulster.

That most of the recent emigration from Ireland to North America has been Catholic has had a real effect on the writing and interpretations of the Irish experience in North America. Most of the historiography on the 'Irish-American,' for example, has implicitly been referring to the Irish Catholic in America, in contrast to the 'Scotch-Irishman' or 'Ulster-Scot.' The Irish Protestant in the United States has undeservedly not been included in the term 'Irish-American' (Akenson 1996). This review of Irish emigration patterns since the seventeenth century demonstrates that, in analyzing the North American Irish in the late nineteenth century, one must recall that the group was divided

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1 As Shannon (1963) notes, the origins of the term 'lace-curtain' are rather obscure. Oral tradition indicates that it had come into common usage by the 1890s to denominate those more well-to-do Irish whose rise in the world enabled them to afford, among more prestige symbols, lace curtains on the windows.
not only in terms of religion, but also in terms of migration history, lifestyle, social class, and settlement milieu.

The Irish were not the only European group to try their luck in the New World in the nineteenth century. In terms of the general migration history of North America, the Irish and other ethnic groups from northwestern Europe, for whom the bulk of immigrants came between 1830 and 1870 have been labelled ‘old immigrants’ (Bodnar 1985). This group also contained immigrants from Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, and Scandinavia, and their migration had both a rural and urban focus. This analytical distinction is made with the ‘new immigrants’ from southern and eastern Europe who emigrated to North America towards the end of the century. The Poles, Italians, and Jews were the most significant groups associated with this particular wave, for whom the principal destinations were in the industrial centres of the north and northwest. In Canada however, the importance of Britain as a source of immigrants remained until well into the twentieth century.

The historical focus of scholarship on the Irish in North America has been confined mainly to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most authors have considered the urban dimension. For many scholars, life among the urban Irish in nineteenth-century North American cities was characterized by immigrant slum settlement in the central areas of cities close to workplaces. There, the Irish were faced with low-paid labouring jobs and periodic waves of nativist discrimination. Needless to say, interpretations of the Irish in cities have been the subject of much revision, particularly the views of Canadian
historian Clare Pentland and sociologist John Porter. In discussing the evolution of a capitalistic labour market in nineteenth-century Canada for example, Pentland identified the Irish as a key source of wage labour, taking “all the unskilled and casual work of Quebec and Montreal, besides thousands of construction jobs” (1959: 458). John Porter’s (1965) ‘vertical mosaic’ theory, described the conditions of nineteenth-century Canadian labour markets as being particularly conducive to sorting immigrants into characteristic occupational positions. Porter (1965: 63) gave the Irish Catholics as an example: “The Irish Catholics in rejecting land ownership or trades as a way of life provided cheap labour for construction, and became an urban proletariat.” The less dramatic social upheaval in French Canada, compared to Ireland and highland Scotland, apparently meant that it was Catholic immigrant peasants who formed the original workforce of the Canadian labour market:

The Irish peasant was hard-working for others, indolent for himself, ignorant, superstitious, fervent, belligerent, loyal, sociable: but his distinctive characteristic, in relation to the labour market, was his preference for wage employment. Unlike all earlier arrivals in North America, he never wanted to be an independent farmer. Whether because of his general remoteness from the Protestant ethic, or because the countryman’s position was so hopeless in Ireland, where wage employment offered the only chances, the Irish peasant clung to wage work in spite of every hazard of low pay, uncertain employment, and abominable conditions... What the Irish did for the unskilled market was done for the skilled market, in substantial
degree, by the English and Scottish artisans who immigrated in the 1850's (Pentland, 1959: 460-61).

In a multicultural Canada of the 1990s, such views appear controversial. While the Irish experience in the United States at least will be seen to have been predominantly urban (Doyle 1990), there were plenty of Irish working the land there, and proportionately more doing so in Canada and Australia (Akenson 1984, 1996; Elliott 1988). The research by Akenson and Elliott in rural Ontario is not alone in forcing revision of the perceptions of the Irish as being predominantly urban. In another revisionist work, Darroch and Ornstein (1980) investigated the relation between ethnicity and occupational structure in Canada in 1871, using a national sample of ten thousand households from the census of 1871. Their analysis demonstrated that in Canada in 1871, there was a very substantial Irish-Catholic farming population and sizeable bourgeois and artisan groups, and that in Ontario and Quebec, the Irish Catholics were in 1871 quite well represented in the combined merchant/manufacturing and professional occupations. Houston and Smyth (1990) and McQuillan (1988) also noted the rural settlement of many Irish Catholics in Ontario and Quebec respectively.

The grounds for a Weberian-type difference in economic performance and ascribed social status between Irish Protestants and Catholics, suggested by Pentland, have been criticized as being highly suspect. The economic success of Irish Catholic farmers in Leeds and Lansdowne townships in eastern Ontario (Akenson 1984) is testament to the whole notion of Irish Catholics ‘rejecting the land for it had rejected them,’ being no
longer tenable, for they were just as successful as their Protestant countrymen. In another work, Akenson (1985) has been particularly critical of the targeting of Irish Catholics by Pentland, leading him to aggressively conclude that “racism determined both Pentland’s alleged data and his explication of those data...once that racism is removed...the whole argument collapses like a tatty rag dummy without a skeleton” (Akenson 1985: 136).

Akenson’s historiographical polemics extend across the border as well. The implications of the ‘exile’ motif and ‘culture’ of the Roman Catholic Irish on their economic performance in North America has also attracted debate. The origins of this theory are found in Kerby Miller’s ground-breaking book *Emigrants and Exiles* (1985) which profiled post-Famine Irish Catholic emigrants as being a river of reluctant exiles, possessing a mentality of dependence and passivity, whose ‘Gaelic/Catholic culture’ acted as a disability. Such an Irish Catholic worldview had its roots in early Gaelic culture and language, the result being that emigration was viewed as involuntary exile among them to a much greater degree than their Irish Protestant counterparts. This exile motif was apparently reinforced by Protestant-British and landlord oppression on a people sharing communal, conservative, and fatalistic values rather than innovative, responsible, and individualistic ones.

Such ideas resonate with Max Weber’s (1958) ‘Protestant Ethic’ thesis, where Protestants espoused those individualistic values apparently alien to most Catholics. Akenson (1988) has refuted Miller’s idea that the Irish Catholic culture (and its social and linguistic features) was a handicap for economic success among its immigrants and children in
nineteenth-century North America. Doyle (1990) has argued that Akenson’s critique of Miller has exaggerated the causal power of Miller’s thesis since the latter’s identification of a ‘Gaelic/Catholic’ worldview was not positioned in his book as a determining factor of Irish Catholic labour market performance. Akenson (1996) has continued to argue, however, that Miller’s thesis may be invalidated if one can demonstrate that Irish Catholics and Protestants exhibited similar forms of socioeconomic behaviour, for example in Canada where the census allows the religious variable to be looked at most easily. While discrimination did exist, in certain places and times more so than others, one needs to sort out supposed Old World cultural importations from New World explanations rather than blaming the victim for the crime. Building on these arguments in the literature, this study will attempt to compare Irish Catholics and Protestants in urban Canada, and also address how much urban Irish Catholics in Canada resembled those of the United States, in terms of geographic and social mobility. Differences between them, if any, have so far escaped rigorous scholarly attention. Evidence suggests that between 1876 and 1920, the United States received the least-skilled of Irish migrants, in contrast to South Africa, whose labouring demands were supplied by people of colour (Akenson, 1996).

Despite these polemical debates about culture and Catholicism, it is an undisputed fact that hundreds of thousands of Irish lived in urban poverty in the nineteenth century. Michael Katz and others (1982) noted that though Irish Catholics improved slightly within the business (hotel and tavern keeping) class between 1851 and 1871, they were “concentrated even more disproportionately in unskilled labor at the end of twenty years”
The conclusions of Hershberg et al (1974), Katz (1975), Katz et al (1982), and Pentland (1959) and others regarding the occupational concentration of 'the Irish' in labouring work in eastern North America at mid-century cannot automatically be transferred from the migrant generation to the subsequent generations of the Irish ethnic group. As Akenson (1996: 218) points out in his most recent revisionist critique of studies of the Irish in North America:

Assertions that hold true for the migrant generation frequently are not true for the entire ethnic group; too often, conclusions about "the Irish" as a multi-generational group have been drawn from data that really concern only the Irish-born.

Few works have looked at the fate of the Irish ethnic group beyond the immigrant generation. Studying 'the Irish' in two North American cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries refers to the study of Irish families in a multigenerational context. As Akenson (1986: 2) notes further, "the chronicle of the immigrant generation is only a part of the story of any ethnic group." Applying this to the urban Irish revises the historiography further, for it is certain that not all members of those generations succeeding the immigrants remained trapped in urban ghettos. In terms of the social geography of the city, the existence of inner-city slum areas of first-generation Irish settlers was not always a stable phenomenon. Zunz (1982), in a study of Detroit from 1880 to 1920, noted a decrease in Irish character of the old 'Corktown' area of immigrant Irish settlement as new immigrants arrived in the city. Likewise, Barrett's (1987) study of the Packingtown area of Chicago noted the establishment of a 'saloon culture'
amongst Irish immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century. The saloons remained later in the century, after the Irish population was succeeded by Polish and Lithuanian immigrants. Thus, not only were the Irish geographically mobile; in most cities, their inner-city working-class neighbourhoods seem to have been short-lived. New York City however, was an exceptional case, with continued twentieth-century immigration of Irish occurring in tandem with suburbanization away from Manhattan (Bayor and Meagher 1996).

These overall results undermine the image of Irish Catholic urban proletarians. The overconcentration of the Irish Catholics in labouring was seen to be the result of the timing of immigration (during the Famine) and urban residence (in eastern cities and ports of entry, with little money to purchase land) rather than institutionalized processes of ethnic concentration and exclusion (Darroch and Ornstein 1984). Thus, the national pattern of Irish-Catholic urban proletarianization in both the United States and Canada has been deconstructed, but the urban dimension requires further scrutiny. Darroch and Ornstein (1980: 330) conclude that reference to an ethnic division of labour rather than the ethnic stratification or 'vertical mosaic' concept points to the ways in which ethnicity is woven through occupational structures:

ethnic affiliations should not be understood as ascribed states, inherited from the past, but primarily as social responses to specific exigencies of survival and to differential structures of opportunity.....The interpretation has much to recommend
it as an approach to understanding the historical role of ethnicity in different regional political economies.

If the second- and third-generation Irish were no longer living in ghettos, where in the cities were they living and in what jobs were they occupied? In terms of urban social geography, this study aims to go beyond the initial point of settlement and looks at the ‘middle years’ of two developing Irish communities that were, theoretically at least, “suspended between slum and suburb” (Blessing 1989: 114). As Blessing (1989: 116-17) points out,

the changing ratio of first to second generation Irish at different times is of importance in any judgment on the transformation of the immigrant community.....Valid judgments on urbanization, geographic dispersal, or geographic and social mobility call for the most detailed examination of aggregate and individual data - on a far deeper "level of significance" than that which presently typifies Irish immigrant studies.

In addition, Houston and Smyth (1980b: 17), note in a Canadian context:

Whether or not second and third generations of Catholics and Protestants maintained, in their moves outward, residence patterns similar to those of their immigrant fathers and grandfathers represents a line of enquiry extremely important to issues of cultural retention and assimilation.
This dissertation investigates Shannon’s (1963) speculations on the turn of the century as a ‘watershed’ period for the Irish in the United States, while extending its appraisal to the Canadian context. In terms of the working- and middle-class divide, Shannon posits (1963: 145) that the Irish “stood at the opening of the twentieth century with a foot in each world.” The historian David Noel Doyle, armed with tables of quantitative evidence for the United States, also argues (1976: 46) that “Irish America in 1900... had attained relative occupational parity with native white America.” The route to upward mobility has not been free of image construction and reproduction either. The close alliance of the Catholic Irish in the United States with the Democratic Party is well-known, and images of the nineteenth-century Irish labourer have since been replaced by the twentieth-century Irish policeman, politician, and priest. American scholarship on the Irish suggests that the expansion of many a municipal payroll was the main channel by which the Irish achieved upward mobility, with the activity of the Irish in urban politics in the United States exhibiting a surprising pattern of uniformity (Cochrane 1995-96). McKivigan and Robertson (1998: 313) point out for instance that patronage practices, at the heart of Irish machine politics, as exercised in New York “would help to bind the Irish working class and much of the middle class to Tammany Hall (the Democratic Party headquarters in New York City) for another generation.” Mobility based on public employment provided by the city and other levels of government was limited, of course. Moreover, policemen and fireman were not likely to be living on shady avenues and mixing with the middle-classes. Questions that this dissertation explores are: how common was such entry on the part of the Irish to the public sector? Was their experience in urban Canada different?
In addition to analyzing these groups in terms of occupation and general living environment, the place of the Roman Catholic church within the Protestant social environments of Canada and the United States cannot be ignored. As Akenson (1996: 273) notes:

The success or failure of the Catholic church in pressing for state-funded denominational segregation is a useful index of the relative power of the Irish Catholics as an ethnic group in each polity. Most important, in the second, third, and subsequent generations, the schools were the single most important instrument of preservation of the Irish Catholic identity.

That many second- and third-generation Irish in North America preserved a Catholic identity in the home and at school is to a large degree undoubtable. However, the extent to which such an identity was even partly ‘Irish’ and how long it lasted is another question. The work of McGowan (1999) on Toronto, for example, suggests that while Catholic identity thrived in separate schools into the twentieth century, the Irish component in that identity did not, hence the title of his book *The Waning of the Green*. Catholic schools were important institutional nodes in Irish neighbourhoods in both countries. This dissertation evaluates the degree to which the Irish established and participated in these schools, and also explores their interaction with state schools. Alongside the analysis of workplace and residence for the Irish in Toronto and Buffalo,
the educational context provides an added, and important, set of indicators of adaptation and assimilation for the Irish in the United States and Canada.

The Case for a Comparative History

There are several reasons for comparing the Irish in a Canadian city with those in an American city. Both are major countries of immigration that throughout their histories have relied on immigrants for labour recruitment and population increase. The isolationist nature of the writing of American history, which has been used to reinforce the notion of American exceptionalism has been noted by Green (1994) and Campbell (1995). Campbell in particular has noted the tendency of historians of the American Irish to emphasise the long assimilation process of the Irish in the United States, with images of exiled emigrants punctuated frequently with bleak descriptions of urban poverty. Such an interpretation, it seems, has not been used to describe the experience of Irish settler communities elsewhere, including Canada. Campbell’s solution to this discrepancy is the following:

Given the wide divergence between the predominant interpretation of the Irish experience in the United States and the much more positive pattern of accommodation revealed by most scholarship on other settler societies, the development of a rigorous comparative history seems an urgent and essential task (Campbell, 1995: 12).
Comparing an ethnic group in two different cities yields greater insights than studying them in isolation in one centre, as the case of West Indians illustrates. Foner (1981) noted that a comparison of West Indians’ occupational distributions in the United States and Britain highlights some factors that might be overlooked if West Indians in only one country were examined. In this case, West Indians’ cultural heritage and their status as immigrants did not adequately explain their occupational positions. Three additional factors were important: 1) the history of West Indian migration to Britain and the United States; 2) the occupational background of the migrants in the West Indies; and 3) the racial contexts of the receiving societies (Foner, 1981). West Indians did better in the United States than in Britain. The higher percentage of skilled emigrants went to the United States over a longer time-period, and were less visible as an immigrant minority. Their ‘black’ businesses could depend on the native African-Americans for patronage, and social mobility was facilitated by an independent system of higher education not available in the British context.

To date, comparative approaches to Irish migration have been served best by the superb six-volume *The Irish World Wide* (O’Sullivan 1992-97), each volume of which surveys a particular theme relating to the Irish Diaspora. It is an invaluable beginning, and MacRaild (1999: 45) rightly points out that “Although few of the individual essays are comparative, reading each volume cannot but encourage the reader to think comparatively.” In conclusion, we are left with Akenson’s (1996:3) recent juxtaposition of the Irish Diaspora with a Faberge egg: “It is a marvellously complex phenomenon. (But) details, though fascinating in themselves, are subordinated to the larger picture,
since they all interrelate and all are subject to the whole.” The challenge is to investigate comparatively, through a common methodology in so far as this is possible, the lives and experiences of Irish migrants in two nodes within the larger Irish Diaspora. It is a challenge taken on with this dissertation.

Theoretical Framework

The key research interests of this dissertation have, so far, been located primarily within the historiography on the Irish in North America. Terms such as ‘ethnic,’ ‘ethnic group,’ and ‘class’ have been discussed thus far in somewhat unproblematic terms. Moreover, the Irish, as a major immigrant group to North America in the nineteenth century, require investigation within a wide theoretical history surrounding the trajectory of residential and occupational change that urban immigrants and their descendants faced. We begin with a discussion on ethnic and class groups.

The fact that an ethnic group such as ‘the Irish’ has been chosen as the topic of study here presupposes some value in studying such groups in social science generally. Categorizing social stratification along ethnic lines is one possibility – another choice is along economic or ‘class’ lines. The class principle bonds individuals into groups solely on the basis of their common position within the existing means of production. By contrast, the aggregation principle for what Max Weber called ‘status groups’ is ultimately some kind of cultural commonality (Hechter 1978). The Irish represent the ‘status group’ of this study, and are referred to in an ethnic rather than status context. The ethnicity concept
relates to the identity-based actions of ethnic groups, such as neighbourhood construction or political action. Wsevolod Isajiw (1993) defines an ethnic group:

as referring to a community-type group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such people who may not share this culture but who identify themselves with this ancestral group (1993: 411).

An ethnic group typically includes individuals of different classes, whereas a class, in the nineteenth-century North American context, typically includes individuals of different ethnicities. It is rare, but not impossible, for all the members of an ethnic group to occupy the same class position, and they have been termed ‘ethclasses’ where such has occurred (Gordon 1964, Akenson 1984).

Most Marxists understand the term ‘class’ as referring primarily to a social group defined along lines of power, property ownership, and exploitation (Gibson and Graham, 1995). Power relates to control over the production process and may extend to other aspects of social interaction and activity that divides the rulers from the ruled. Property ownership relates mainly to the means of production (factories, machines, etc. rather than homes or residences). Finally, the context of exploitation relates to whether the class produces surplus labour or appropriates it. All or several of these dimensions may be embraced in the term “relations of production” (Gibson and Graham 1995: 11). The problems that exist for the researcher in analyzing class as defined above have been commented upon by Gibson and Graham (1995: page 113):
If workers who have surplus value extracted from them also control their labor process, are they less authentic members of the working class? What about individuals who are exploited in a capitalist labor process and also own a small business? Are they members of the working-class or of the petit-bourgeoisie?

In this light, I consider John Eyles' (1981: 41) occupation-based definition based on Weber rather than Marx to be the most useful, viz. "A large aggregate of individuals of similar status, income and culture, broadly sharing the same position in the division of labour." Given the context of my study, a simple two-class model of business and working-class such as that used by Katz and others (1982) seems insufficient. These authors were studying structural inequality in two cities in the 1850-1870 period. The period 1870-1900 witnessed a development of new occupations in the office and service sectors, and the formation of an urban middle-class. My views on the most appropriate form of occupational classification are presented in the methodology (Chapter 2) section of this dissertation.

The previous section demonstrated the general heterogeneity of the Irish in North American immigration history. Thus, while it may be tempting to think of viewing the poverty-stricken and ghetto-ridden Irish of urban America c. 1850 or 1860 as an 'ethclass' of 'God's Unfortunate People,' one is reminded to look beyond this generation, where possible, and review the Irish ethnic group in that chosen city as a whole before drawing firm conclusions or neglecting the impact of earlier arrivals. Since this
dissertation concerns itself with linking the temporal changes in the socioeconomic and residential profiles of the Irish in two cities, theories relevant to exploring the adaptation of immigrant groups within the social geography of cities in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries are outlined next.

Since the 1970s, scholars of American urban life in the late nineteenth century have theorized on and assessed the impacts of industrialization upon the social geography of the city. They have focussed primarily on the relationship between class, ethnicity, and urban space, and have attempted to view ethnicity and class as either competing or as complementary identities. Three such schools of thought that will be dealt with here are (a) A neo-assimilationist model in which industrialization shapes new class loyalties and discards ethnic ones (Zunz); (b) A theory on the separation of class and ethnic loyalties (Katzenelson, Marston); and (c) John Bodnar’s ‘culture of everyday life’ among urban immigrants.

According to Zunz (1982), who studied Detroit from 1880 to 1920, the industrialization process and its accompanying restructuring in capital/labour relations reshaped immigrant identities in cities, specifically by producing a shift from ethnic-based to more class-based residential arrangements. His analysis found that in 1880 Detroit ethnic affiliation played a dominant role in the geography of settlement. Germans predominated on the east side while the west was more Anglo-Celtic. The concentrations associated with the ethnic groups were weakly associated with occupational categories; thus, it was a city of cross-class communities.
Assimilation forms a key component of Zunz’ model. Assimilation has been used conceptually to describe a process whereby ethnic groups enjoy full incorporation into the host society, in this case the United States, with fragments of their culture adding to that of the host society generally in a cultural ‘melting-pot.’ Gordon (1964) described its main features, leading from initial changes in cultural patterns such as dress and dietary changes (acculturation) to larger-scale ethnic group interaction with the host society such as intermarriage with other groups, to the point where no prejudice or discrimination against the group exists. The assimilationist perspective, according to Massey (1985: 340) “views ethnicity as a sentimental survival from an earlier age that is gradually effaced . . . in modern society.”

By 1920, Detroit had become a mature industrial metropolis. The automobile industry employed 45.4% of the manufacturing labour force in 1919, and had gradually shaped Detroit into a multiple-nucleus city of factory workers. This industry provided a natural base for the United States’ massive effort in war industrialization, and under the impetus of such growth, factories in Detroit experienced a complete reordering of production techniques. The industrialists’ approach to implementing the factory-floor changes coupled with workforce expansion included efforts to acculturate or Americanize the workers. The outcome would transform a variegated workforce into one that would become unified, stable, English-speaking, and loyal to the firm. The net result of these changes in terms of urban social space, in Zunz’ view, was that, through the process of assimilation fostered by industrialization, ethnicity had lost ground to class. Detroit was
now fragmented along socioeconomic lines. In contrast to the Germans, whose second-
generation experienced some upward mobility, the Poles, who settled close to the tracks
and the factories, became the most concentrated ethnic group of Detroit. The east side of
the city and other neighbourhoods lost their occupational diversity and became blue-
collar neighbourhoods. The native whites were now living in middle-class residential
suburbs while immigrant workers were living in production suburbs. “Ethnicity
remained an important force but lost its power to transcend other social cleavages” (Zunz

Evidence from other cities confirm elements of Zunz’ ideas while refuting others. True,
the ‘old’ immigrant groups to the United States, such as the Irish and Germans, were very
likely to occupy the low-rent immigrant quarters adjacent to the central business districts
of the largest cities between 1850 and 1890. Nevertheless, their levels of segregation
from the native-born were not always as significant as one might expect. Scherzer
(1992), for example, found that the Irish and Germans in New York City, while
establishing settlement clusters in various parts of the inner city, had high levels of
residential proximity to, and social interaction with, the native-born working-class. In
contrast, the ‘new’ immigrants from Italy, Poland, and Austria-Hungary, who arrived in
increasing numbers after 1890, entered an urban-industrial milieu in which residential
areas were sorted increasingly by birthplace and income. Moreover, industrial suburbs,
as well as the more traditional inner-city reception areas, were by this time functioning as
the location of first settlement for many immigrants (Golab 1977; Burstein 1981).
Clearly, no simple trajectory of residential dispersal from an inner-city ghetto, equally applicable to all immigrant groups, exists. Residential working-class suburbs in North American cities in the late nineteenth century have been studied for Hamilton, Ontario, by Harris and Sendbuehler (1993), Montreal by Linteau (1982), and Toronto by Harris (1996). In the case of Philadelphia, Golab (1977) describes the geography of Polish immigrant working-class communities in that city, spread variously between inner city, riverside, and outer suburb, depending on the location of manufacturing industry, and echoing Zunz' portrayal of Detroit's 'production suburbs.' As the central city became increasingly devoted to industrial and commercial activities and "under conditions of rapid suburbanization... occupational status became as influential as ethnicity in the process of residential differentiation, but industrial decentralization did result in a pronounced ethnic suburban movement" (Ward 1989: 187).

In considering the variable of religion, the political scientist Gamm (1999) has noted that the structures of urban Catholic parishes, anchoring community and fostering a sense of territory, have acted as a delaying factor in the suburbanization of the group in twentieth-century Boston. His research compared intra-urban mobility patterns of Catholics and Jews in Boston, and he concluded (1999: 15-16) that: "Catholics have a strong sense of turf regarding their neighborhoods and defended geographical communities... Jews, in contrast, are much less likely to defend a neighborhood against outsiders." Since Irish Catholics form a significant cohort within our two cities of interest, Gamm's findings

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2 The survival of ethnicity may not depend on residence, either. Cochrane notes that "Ethnic identity itself can remain a more or less salient feature of group members' self-definitions for generations, even after they are largely integrated into the dominant society" (Cochrane 1995-96: 592). Where such identities surface in only certain situations, such as political matters, Isajiw (1993) has termed this 'situational ethnicity.'
serve as a useful theoretical reference. Finally, Hickman (1999: 237), in an evaluation of the historiography of the Irish in urban Britain, has argued that, rather than arguing for the saliency of certain variables and concepts over others, the various factors of class, religion, politics, and ethnicity, need to be intermeshed “to produce an analysis of how they together structured Irish experiences.”

Although he has produced a fine body of research, Zunz’ dismissal of ethnicity as a determinant of urban residence beyond the first generation remains generally unconvincing. Although immigrant groups such as the Jews have immigrated to city centres across America, there is a lot of evidence for their resegregation in the suburbs, often within middle-class enclaves based on ethnicity (Boal 1978). Neither is it explicitly clear how a reshaping of production-line practices can shed ethnic-based loyalty. Ethnic-based affiliations among the Detroit Irish, based on residence, according to Zunz, did not last beyond the immigrant generation over his study period of 1880-1920. In any event, this finding does suggest that upward social mobility and suburban dispersal was a reality for many Irish households in Detroit at the turn of the century, supporting Shannon’s (1963) idea of the turn of the century witnessing a turnaround in the occupational fortunes of the Irish in the United States.

Other writers contend that ethnic and class affiliations can co-exist and need not compete with one another. Katznelson’s (1981) book, City Trenches, an analysis of urban politics in twentieth-century New York City juxtaposes the struggle for universal male suffrage and trade union recognition in Europe with its history in the United States. Social
conditions in New York guaranteed the vote to naturalized adult males, while trade 
unions were established and operated in a more liberal climate than in Europe. The end 
result was that class-consciousness in the United States has, according to Katzenelson, 
rarely extended beyond the workplace and into the home so that workers have been 
conscious participants in practicing and maintaining this split. Thus, considering the 
historical factors that shape working-class communities, and exploring the social 
institutions and values in which they are embedded, is essential to understanding why the 
politics of class and community have become divided, if at all.

Using Katzenelson's ideas as a starting point, Marston's (1988) study addressed class-
ethnicity intersections among the Irish of Lowell, Massachusetts, from the early 
nineteenth to the early twentieth century. The Irish were perceived by the majority 
Yankees of Lowell as a threat to native American values, local economic prosperity, and 
political sovereignty. Such nativism, argues Marston, meant that the Irish used their 
ethnicity as a political response to the structural inequalities they experienced. Ethnicity 
here meant not only being a member of the Irish community; it also meant a subordinate 
position within society as a whole in the mid-nineteenth century.

The fact that the Irish of varied occupational backgrounds congregated in a number of 
residential spaces in the city facilitated the development of institutions which were 
crucial in absorbing much of their free time as well as "producing knowledge that was 
used to negotiate the world outside the ethnic neighbourhood" (Marston 1988: 426). 
Ethnicity was not culturally conservative prescribed primordial trait; here it had real
power to effect change the local social structural conditions and attitudes faced by the Irish. The results were the eventual elevation of the Irish into the local middle- and upper-classes by the twentieth century, paralleling an increase in the group's political influence. Cochrane has stated more generally (1995-96: 592).

While facing hostility from mainstream American society, Irish Americans were able to establish their own cultural space in which they could retain their own institutions, traditions, and holidays. They found a space in which they could sustain their own ethnic identity.

Thus, ethnicity is given more prominence by these authors than Zunz to generate social mobility for the immigrants and descendants of a given ethnic group in urban America.

Bodnar developed his theory on the 'culture of everyday life' in *The Transplanted* (1985) in response to earlier notions of American cities receiving a disorganized and ignorant rabble of newly arrived immigrants. He argues instead that these individuals were already well-adjusted in terms of knowledge of capitalist systems of production. In contrast to Zunz, a blue-collar neighbourhood containing different ethnic groups did not supplant the cross-class immigrant neighbourhood. There was, rather, a durability of immigrant or ethnic cultures, co-existing in neighbourhoods with a variety of class backgrounds and living standards. The economic and cultural aspects of immigrant lives were integrated in these urban neighbourhoods, few of which were exclusive to any
ethnic group. The genesis of the ‘culture of everyday life’ then, according to Bodnar (1985: 209) was rooted in the:

distinct inequality in the distribution of power and resources within the system of capitalism…Its core was a fixation upon the needs of the family-household for both laborers and entrepreneurs of the proximate community…The alternative would have been a life completely out of their hands, entirely bewildering and completely orchestrated by industrialists, public institutions, and economic forces.

In contrast to Zunz and Katmelson, therefore, Bodnar’s ‘culture of everyday life’ confronts class, ethnicity, and a host of other mentalities tied to immigrant traditions and goals. With its demand for recognition of several different perspectives then, this culture was not necessarily tied to any particular one, and the strength of each variable varied across individuals within ethnic groups. In the final analysis, however, Bodnar’s idea is built primarily on a review of evidence for the immigrant generation, while the adaptation and assimilation patterns for later generations of ethnic groups in urban America are kept in the background.

Other research has demonstrated the pitfalls involved in ascribing immigrant loyalties to either ethnicity or class. In a Canadian example, Hiebert (1991) notes that in the North End of Winnipeg, individual immigrants were at once involved in both ethnic banking institutions as well as cross-ethnic labour-oriented political parties, thus there was no
disjuncture between ethnic... and class interests. Despite the fact that the city’s labour market was segmented along ethnic lines and despite the more general level of discrimination on a social level, a coalition of class-conscious individuals from several ethnic groups was able to forge a common political approach through socialist parties. (Hiebert 1991: 77).

Hiebert cites the example of Winnipeg’s North End as an area where most individuals, faced with ethnic discrimination, class exploitation, or a combination of the two, pooled their resources into creating a “seedbed of political radicalism in Canada (that) served as the headquarter location of the General Strike in 1919” (Hiebert 1991: 80). Similarly, Schreuder’s (1990) uncovering of the Poles’ prominence in union affairs in Wilmington’s leather industry of the 1940s illustrated the notion that ethnicity and class could co-exist and reinforce each other. Hiebert (1993) notes further that Toronto, in the first part of the twentieth century, witnessed the surprising phenomenon of Jewish workers’ unions moving against Jewish employers. Class antagonism threatened to split the Jewish community. However, Hiebert argues that “a tensely negotiated ethnic solidarity among Jews was maintained” (1993a: 262). How was this cohesion maintained? First, anti-Semitic behaviour became common in Toronto during the late 1920s forcing the Jews into a defensive situation; secondly, differences between Jewish workers and their employers were obscured by a lack of unity among Jewish workers; thirdly, the boundary between worker and capitalist was permeable (at least for men), and many crossed it several times during their careers; fourthly, Toronto’s Jews had attained a wide distribution of occupations. The last point though, could be argued to have been a factor
in reinforcing social conflict within the group. In the end, however, Hiebert’s work here shows, as did his work on Winnipeg, that “ethnic and class relations can be inter-penetrating... (and should not be) seen as entirely distinct” (Hiebert, 1993b: 213).

A review of these three broad theories enables us to see ethnicity and class as both competing and complementary identities. Clearly, the results of any inquiry into their meaning for immigrants and their descendants vary over time and space. Since this dissertation is concerned with the mobility of Irish immigrants in the nineteenth century, these three theories can add much insight into our interpretation of their occupational and residential geographies in 1880 and during the thirty years that follow. In addition, given the role of religion in the life of the Irish immigrant, Gamm’s insights on Catholic residential territoriality will also be explored.

Our theoretical perspective so far has focused on the social geography of the city and the hypothesized trajectories of change over time for immigrants and their descendants within it. To close, an additional theory concerning occupational advancement in urban America will be considered. In attempting to understand how the position of an ethnic group in the socio-economic or class hierarchy of a city may change over time, the sociologist Stanley Lieberson (1980) theorized that the occupational composition of a given ethnic group will vary between cities in accordance with (a) the group’s proportion of the population, and (b) the ethnic composition of the city. Where prejudice creates a discriminatory system, a rank order of jobs for a given ethnic group is created. If group X is favourable to employers, they take the best jobs leaving the least attractive ones to
the non-X population. If, within the non-X population, there are further ethnic
subdivisions in terms of desirability, such that Y is preferred over other non-X groups,
then Ys get first chance at jobs that Xs do not desire or qualify for. If the group at the
bottom represents a large percentage of the population, it will theoretically have
opportunities to climb higher in the occupational hierarchy than if it has only a minor
share of the city's population. If the group is faced with the latter situation, and there is
high unemployment in the city, it will remain marginal.

Insofar as this 'queueing effect' operates, the bottom group can only go upward
occupationally when there are few competing ethnic groups present in the city's social
hierarchy. As this study concentrates on two cities of different ethnic structures, the
intersections between industrial development, immigration, and ethnic stratification can
be investigated. In the context of a two-city comparison, a key concern is how ethnic
groups are perceived and identified by others in the two societies, especially the power-
holding and influence-exerting 'host group.' This in turn affects rates of social mobility
of the Irish in both countries. This study will attempt to address whether or not the Irish
faced less difficulty and more economic opportunity in a Canadian city than in an
(eastern) American one.
Research Settings: Toronto and Buffalo

In terms of time of settlement, extent of economic opportunity, and their relative population sizes, there is much ground for comparison between Toronto and Buffalo regarding the Irish ethnic experience in late nineteenth-century North American cities. By 1910/11, Buffalo ranked fourteenth among cities in North America in terms of population size, with Toronto not far behind in seventeenth position (Harris 1996: Figure 1.1). While both were cities of immigrant newcomers, they possessed different social and economic characteristics.

Fig. 1.1: Population of Buffalo and Toronto, 1850-1910

Sources: Census of Canada, US Federal Census, selected years.

Note that Toronto figures concern the years 1851-1911.
Possessing harbour facilities that initially performed an important defensive function against American aggression, the town of York, renamed Toronto in 1834, was shaped throughout the nineteenth century by its mix of loyalist settlers as well as immigrants from Ireland, Scotland, and England. The population was of British stock, while institutions of education and religion were turned on the British pattern (Goheen 1970). It remained throughout the nineteenth century a city of mainly protestant character, and in many ways a dour and sabbatarian place where conformity to British colonial life was expected. In 1881, the leading denominations among the city’s population were Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian. Property ownership and a steady income were passports to voting in ‘Tory Toronto.’ The municipal franchise in Ontario was limited to ratepayers with an income of at least $400 per annum or in possession of real estate worth at least $400 (Dennis 1997). A key Irish Protestant voluntary association, the Orange Order, played an important role in the political and social life of nineteenth-century Toronto. This association contributed to the city’s nickname ‘the Belfast of Canada,’ since it was the acknowledged centre of nineteenth-century Canadian Orangeism, having over 50 lodges by the end of 1891 (Clarke 1993; Kealey 1980). On the other side of the Atlantic at the same time, Belfast’s Catholic community was “generally impoverished... despite the slow growth of a small middle class” (Miller 1985: 380) with acute discrimination in the public sector where Protestant Orange influence was strongest.

Buffalo’s character was more pluralistic than that of Toronto. The founders of Buffalo came from Episcopalian (Anglican) and Presbyterian backgrounds in New England and
eastern New York state. The church in Buffalo did not seek to dominate social behaviour as much as in Toronto, religion was apparently more of a private matter in the American city than in Toronto the Good. The presence of significant numbers of Roman Catholics in Buffalo, German as well as Irish, may have contributed to this. To illustrate the United States’ emphasis on separation of church and state, the religious persuasion of individuals was not recorded on nineteenth-century censuses. City directory data from 1880 confirm that Protestant churches in Buffalo had a numerical superiority over Catholic churches by a ratio of about 2.6:1. These figures tell us nothing about congregation sizes, however, and conjecture is hazardous. Scherzer’s (1992) research on New York City between 1830 and 1870, for example, juxtaposed images of Methodist churches one-third empty with Catholic churches bursting at the seams come Sunday Mass.

Buffalo’s superior status as a port compared to Toronto also made its growth receptive to the establishment of an earthy ‘port culture,’ complete with boarding houses, saloons, and brothels. The seasonal influx of canallers, immigrants, dock labourers, and confidence men helped to develop an “anything-goes atmosphere of dubious deals and rough amusements... a haven for those uncomfortable with conventional restraints” (Gerber 1989: 26). A biographer of Grover Cleveland noted that in 1873, the city had 673 saloons for a population of less than 150,000, many of these concentrated in the waterfront district (cited in Vogel et al 1993). Local government was a bastion of democratic participation, where decisions over schooling and law enforcement were rooted in wards, districts, and school precincts, politicizing the various social groups that populated the city’s neighbourhoods (Gerber 1989).
In Toronto, loyalty to the British flag was a key factor in the shaping of the personality of a society that did not exist south of the border. In Buffalo, no such conformity was expected, and Irish Catholic organizations like the Ancient Order of Hibernians were likely to thrive better than the Orange Order. By the end of the nineteenth century, it is likely that United States-Canada differences did exist in the mind’s eye of many Atlantic-bound Irish emigrants, English-speaking Canada being seen by Catholics as ‘but a second England.’ An Ulster emigrant, writing in 1890, reacting to Gladstone’s plan to pacify Ireland, declared his hatred of Home Rule in a letter, advising his relatives to shun Irish Catholic-dominated American cities for Canada’s more congenial Orange and imperialist atmosphere (Miller 1985). The Protestant Protective Association and Orange Order in Canada acted as cultural magnets for many Irish Protestant immigrants. In contrast, the pluralist and egalitarian United States seems to have been favoured by Irish Catholics as a place to pursue freely their ambitions during the Post-Famine period (Miller 1985). In any case, changes in the navigation laws removed the price advantage of sailing to Canadian ports such as St. John and Quebec City after the mid-1840s (Akenson 1985). As stated earlier, however, most of the land suitable for agriculture in Ontario had been claimed by the 1850s, and the market for unskilled labour in urban Canada was not as great as it was south of the border.

Both Toronto and Buffalo experienced large-scale industrial change and population growth during the late nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries. The unprecedented flow of unskilled immigrants into Toronto after 1850, coupled with the government’s active
support for railway construction and for protection of home manufactories, made
Toronto’s transition to an industrial city possible (Sanford 1987). By 1880, the large-
scale factory was still an exotic feature in the economic landscape of Toronto, although
the number and size of these establishments had increased ten years later, when the main
industries were clothing, iron and steel, and food and beverages. The total number of
establishments in Toronto rose from 561 in 1871 to 2,109 in 1891, while the number of
employees increased from 9,400 to 24,470 (Kealey 1980). New uses of iron and steam in
Toronto brought about a reorganization of production in a process whereby the factory
replaced the small-scale shop of the craftsman and artisan (Goheen 1970). Likewise,
electricity, which lit up the city’s streets in the early 1880s, later became an important
source of industrial power. By 1901, many small workshops had consolidated into larger
factories, as illustrated by the sharp reduction in the number of industrial establishments
to 1,100 in 1910. Employee numbers however, continued to rise, reaching 65,274 by
1910.

A similar pattern in the rise of industrial capitalism in Buffalo is easily seen in changes in
the numbers of manufacturing establishments and wage earners. In 1880, there were
1,183 industrial establishments; by 1900, there were 3,902. As with Toronto, subsequent
rationalization reduced this figure over the following decade to 1,753. Nonetheless,
numbers of wage earners increased from 18,021 to 51,412 between 1880 and 1910. The
wage earner and industrial establishment figures are not strictly comparable between the
two cities, due to differences in census definition. That both experienced an
intensification in their industrial capitalist regimes is clear, however.
Buffalo and Toronto had different ethnic structures in the late nineteenth-century (Tables 1.1 and 1.2). Their foreign-born populations were not of the same mix. While the Irish, indicated by the numbers of Irish-born, had a noticeable presence in both cities, the English- and Scottish-born in Toronto contrasted with the strong German, and later Polish and Canadian presence in Buffalo. Indeed, given that they were British subjects in a British Dominion city, the English, Scots, and Irish of Toronto were not thought of as ‘foreign-born’ at all by the census enumerators. The foreign-born in Toronto were a small group before the end of the nineteenth century, comprised of French-Canadian, Jewish, and German immigrants. During the early twentieth century, the ranks of the Jewish and Italian cohorts swelled, giving the ‘foreigners’ an increased presence in the Orange city (Table 1.1). While the percentage of Irish-born declined over the time period from 18% to 4%, that of the English-born held its own from 20% in 1881 to 19% in 1911, largely due to a large immigration from Britain between 1900 and 1910, which responded to Toronto’s demand for labour and also included many Scottish-born.

During the years 1870-1910, Buffalo’s ethnic composition altered as a result of shifting patterns of immigration (Table 1.2). The Poles, Italians, and Canadians increased their presence in the border city, while the Irish-born share of the city’s population declined from 10% in 1870 to 2% in 1910. Their latter’s share of Buffalo’s foreign-born declined over the same period from 24% to 8%. The growth of a second- and third-generation swelled the Irish ethnic groups in both cities, however. Despite its position in upstate New York, Ward (1971) locates Buffalo as a Middle Western city in terms of its foreign-born population. Separate from the largely Irish cites of New England in this respect.
Table 1.1: Characteristics of the population of Toronto, 1871-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City population</td>
<td>56,092</td>
<td>86,415</td>
<td>144,023</td>
<td>208,040</td>
<td>376,538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Roman Catholics</td>
<td>11,881</td>
<td>15,716</td>
<td>21,830</td>
<td>28,994</td>
<td>46,368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a % of city total</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>11,089</td>
<td>14,674</td>
<td>22,801</td>
<td>24,901</td>
<td>71,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of city total</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>10,336</td>
<td>10,781</td>
<td>13,252</td>
<td>11,804</td>
<td>15,964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of city total</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>3,263</td>
<td>4,431</td>
<td>6,347</td>
<td>6,464</td>
<td>19,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of city total</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>1,997</td>
<td>3,357</td>
<td>5,086</td>
<td>6,270</td>
<td>11,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of city total</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>3,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of city total</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>799</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>1,308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of city total</td>
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<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria-Hungary,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia, Poland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of city total</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of Canada, various years.

Note: The 1911 birthplace data are estimates. The census districts for which birthplace was reported include York South, 72% of whose population lies within the city of Toronto. Thus, the York South totals for each country of birth were multiplied by 0.72 to provide the estimate.
Table 1.2: Characteristics of the population of Buffalo, 1870-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City population</td>
<td>117,714</td>
<td>155,134</td>
<td>255,664</td>
<td>352,387</td>
<td>423,715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total foreign-born</td>
<td>46,237</td>
<td>51,268</td>
<td>89,485</td>
<td>104,252</td>
<td>118,689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as % of city total</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>22,249</td>
<td>25,543</td>
<td>42,660</td>
<td>36,720</td>
<td>43,815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of foreign-born</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of city total</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>11,264</td>
<td>10,310</td>
<td>11,664</td>
<td>11,292</td>
<td>9,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of foreign-born</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of city total</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>4,113</td>
<td>6,021</td>
<td>10,610</td>
<td>17,242</td>
<td>16,743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of foreign-born</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of city total</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>4,563</td>
<td>4,319</td>
<td>7,098</td>
<td>6,908</td>
<td>7,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of foreign-born</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of city total</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>1,832</td>
<td>5,669</td>
<td>11,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of foreign-born</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of city total</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>8,879</td>
<td>18,830</td>
<td>62,586*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of foreign-born</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As % of city total</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: US Federal Census, selected years.

* Number of people with Polish as a mother tongue.
Buffalo had in 1870 the third highest proportion of German-born among American cities after Milwaukee and Cincinnati; by 1910, it ranked second to Milwaukee.

Despite its status as a British colonial city, Toronto also had a distinct Irish character by the mid-nineteenth century. The Irish were the first large ethnic minority in the city, and Irish Catholics remained the dominant group within the Roman Catholic Church in the Victorian age. By this time, over a third of the city’s residents had been born in Ireland. Despite the influx of Irish Catholics to Toronto during and shortly after the Famine, Irish Protestants still outnumbered Irish Catholics. After the early 1860s, Irish emigration to Toronto declined as the United States became the main destination for Irish Catholics leaving Ireland. Table 1.1 shows that the proportion of Roman Catholics in Toronto’s population declined from 21% in 1871 to 12% in 1911. Despite the divergence in the city size, the numerical strength of the Irish-born in both cities, with 10,310 in Buffalo in 1880 compared to 10,336 in Toronto (Tables 1.1 and 1.2) adds lustre to this comparative project.

Finally, this section reviews briefly Irish settlement in both cities prior to 1880. In Toronto, there has not yet been a scholarly study of the Irish, which has incorporated Irish Protestants. Houston and Smyth have offered a window into the latter’s experience through their work on the Canadian Orange Order (1980a), and on the potential of the Canadian census for the study of the Irish abroad (1980b). The nineteenth-century Irish Catholic community in Toronto has been the subject of a number of works, on the other hand, and scholars are far from a consensus on their experience. Father Jean Jamot’s
enumeration of Catholic ratepayers in Toronto circa 1860 indicates that many Irish
Catholic men and women, lacking the necessary skills, entered the industrial labour
market at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy (Clarke 1993). This enumeration also
indicated that there was a sizeable Irish-Catholic business class by the 1860s. For Irish
Catholics, going into business meant opening a bar and boarding-house or a store catering
to the needs of their fellow countrymen. As Clarke (1993: 20-21) noted: “Petty
capitalism, rather than the professions or white-collar occupations, was the main avenue
for Irish-Catholic mobility out of the working class.”

Was Toronto’s reputation as the ‘Belfast of North America’ deserved? Some indications
of occupational distinctions between the Catholic and Protestant Irish in Toronto are
available. A 10% systematic sample of the 1861 manuscript census for St. David’s Ward
in Toronto taken by Houston and Smyth (1980b) indicated that, a decade after the
Famine, almost two-thirds of the Catholic Irish there were still engaged in unskilled
occupations, mainly as labourers and servants. Few were represented among the clerical,
business, and professional groups. The Protestant Irish there, however, were particularly
strong in the semi-skilled group and among the business section of the community.

Not only did Irish Catholics hold the least-favoured jobs, they appear to have clustered in
certain parts of the city in the 1860s and 1870s. Goheen’s (1970) quantitative study of
Victorian Toronto revealed that in 1870 a strong correlation existed between residential
segregation, Catholicism and the lower occupational categories. He identified three areas
of Irish concentration: west of the mouth of the Don River and south of Old
Cabbagetown; the Bathurst and King Street area (Claretown); and the Toronto Junction area in the west end. These concentrations had disappeared by 1890 however, providing evidence for residential mobility among sections of the Irish community in the city. The Catholic Irish followed the growth of new industries and railroad yards to the west end of the city and by 1900, the waterfront and the Junction were the most heavily populated areas of Irish Catholic concentration (Nicolson 1988). It remains to be seen whether or not Irish Protestants remained more socially mobile than their Catholic counterparts by the 1880s and if so, in what occupational sectors. This is a question that will be addressed later in this study.

The importance of residential segregation to an understanding of the adaptation rates of immigrants is easy to overstate. A dispersed pattern of Catholic residence may not preclude the possibility of ghettos of the mind being produced among this group through persistent labour market inequalities. Nicolson (1985) believes so, dismissing the view of Akenson (1988) that the Catholic Irish did not become ghettoized in Canadian cities, and doubting also that Catholic and Protestant Irish in Toronto put their sectarian differences behind them to forge a common working-class culture. Persistence of various elements of Irish peasant culture among the Catholic Irish in nineteenth-century Toronto, fostered by their church, allowed for the emergence of a new ethno-religious identity, which Nicolson calls “Irish Tridentine Catholicism” (1985: 39). According to Nicolson (1985: 39), even the formation of an Irish Catholic middle-class “took generations... (and still) operated within the confines of a specific Irish society.” Echoing Bodnar’s (1985) ideas on the ‘culture of everyday life’ perhaps, this was an exclusive culture, geographically
dispersed in residential clusters centred on parish churches, which participated in working-class politics not to forge a new culture with the host society as such, but out of responsibility for family protection and survival. Kerby Miller's ideas on the effects of the 'Gaelic-Catholic' culture, of which Akenson has notably expressed his skepticism, are strongly echoed here. Irish neighbourhoods contained Irish grocery and merchandising shops, bookstores where Irish newspapers were sold, shebeen shops in which 'poteen' (a near-lethal Irish form of moonshine) could be bought, and hotels where political issues were discussed (Nicolson 1988). "In Victorian Toronto, to be Irish was to be Catholic" (1984: 355), adds Nicholson, suggesting inequalities of power-sharing that would have benefitted Irish Protestants. The implication here that the Irish Protestant was not thought of as Irish is a reflection on the host society but says little about the actual behaviour of Irish Protestants in the city regarding their own Irish ethnicity.

This view of Irish Catholic ghettoization has been subjected to revision by a number of scholars. In the view of Clarke (1993), far from being a ghettoized and impoverished people, the majority of Irish Catholics lived throughout Toronto and belonged to the "solid" working class, many of whom attained the coveted status of homeowners. His findings have been supported by the author of the most recent work on the Irish in Toronto, Mark McGowan (1999). In dealing with the years 1887-1922, McGowan comes down on the side of Clarke and Akenson and against Nicolson. Like Clarke and Nicolson, his work is based mainly on the Catholic Irish. Any suggestion of a separatist subculture, exile motifs, and ghetto living among Irish Catholics in Toronto are quickly swept away in McGowan's opening chapter 'Life in the Queen's City.' His analysis
brings out clearly the upward march of Irish Catholics in the city’s labour and housing markets over the period, and makes images of a ghettoized Irish population, reminiscent perhaps of New York’s Lower East Side, seem absurd. By the eve of the Great War, sentiment towards the old country and interest in her national question had all but become irrelevant to most Toronto Irish Catholics. This ethnic fade was manifested in the residential geography of the city: McGowan’s argument in favour of an Irish Catholic population exhibiting increased tendencies toward residential dispersal is convincing. He sums up the city’s confessional geography thus “On the whole, Catholics lived side by side with Protestants of all denominations and income levels, from the rich brick houses of River Street to the decrepit, rough-cast and frame shacks at the mouth of the Don” (McGowan 1999: 25).

Clearly, the debate on the Irish in nineteenth-century Toronto, particularly the Irish Catholics, is far from over. While a general structural inequality generally, and discrimination against Irish Catholics in particular, based on a general fear of a sustained immigration of Roman Catholics, was certainly apparent in the 1850s and 1860s, this dissertation will test whether significant differences continued to exist between Catholic and Protestant Irish in Toronto later in the century. McGowan has obviously suggested that this happened, but he has little to say on the Protestant Irish of Toronto. If Campbell can concede that “the concept of one Irish America is so problematic” (1995: 13), it is no less true that the concept of one Irish Toronto is also problematic.
The Irish presence in Buffalo also precedes the starting point of this study. In 1849, the first Irish Catholic parish, St. Mary’s of the Lake, was created in response to the inflow of Famine immigrants to the city. The life of these Irish immigrants took form amidst the pressures of poverty. In 1855, 57 per cent of Irish households resided in lakeshore and canal corridor slums, variously named “the Patch,” “the Flats,” “the Beach,” “the Hook,” and “Sandytown,” of the First and Eighth wards (Gerber 1989). The first and eighth wards of Buffalo were heavily Irish from the 1850s to 1870s. These wards form a sector known as ‘Old Buffalo’ so-called as it is the old core from which the city developed, distinguished by its access to Lake Erie and the Erie Canal, the City Ship Canal and Buffalo Harbour. At this time, the first and eighth wards were characterized by heavy manufacturing and industries developed around transportation (e.g. shipyards, grain and produce storage, tanneries). As Gerber points out: “These residential patterns reflected both proximity to Irish workplaces and poverty” (1989: 123). In contrast to Toronto, the Irish Protestant was a little-known entity in Buffalo. In the latter city, as in so many others in the northeastern United States, the Irish competed with the American Protestant for political resources. As Gerber (1989: 135) noted: “Though in nearby Ontario towns the conflict between Orangemen and Irish Catholics frequently erupted into violence, there were too few of the former in Buffalo for this.”

During the mid-1850s, the Irish households regularly kept pigs, poultry and dairy cattle in and around their places of residence, supplementing their incomes by selling milk in the city. Boarders were common in many households. In addition, the men worked outside the city on canal- or railroad-building programmes, while many women worked in
domestic services. Such activity reflected the overconcentration of the Irish in the secondary labour market, with all its problems of seasonal underemployment, at this time. Lack of skills and experience, as well as capital, rather than discrimination, conspired to impair occupational mobility among the Irish (Gerber 1989). Thus, we do not find a significant entrepreneurial sector among the Buffalo Irish at this stage. What did exist were small, and often marginal, grocers, saloonkeepers, dry goods and clothing retailers, and funeral directors (Gerber 1989). The growth of other such businesses was constrained by the lack of commercial credit; there were therefore few Irish employers. Such occupational homogeneity must have implied a high degree of common class experience among the Buffalo Irish then and in this context, they closely resemble the 'ethclass' idea referred to previously by Gordon (1964) and Akenson (1984).

In Mary Catherine Mattis' (1975) study, few Buffalo Irish immigrants in the 1860s and 1870s owned the dwelling units in which they resided. Nevertheless, she presents some general evidence of the Irish community upgrading its residential environment, moving out of areas of declining property values and multiple-unit residences. In her view (page 113) "by 1875, the Irish community in Buffalo had already begun its climb to the position in Buffalo’s opportunity structure which (was)...observed in 1927." The observation in 1927 referred to was made in University of Buffalo sociologist Niles Carpenter's large-scale study of the labour market of the Buffalo industrial area. This study showed that the Germans and Irish, both men and women, were "distinctly superior in economic status to every other immigrant group" (Carpenter 1927: 146) the latter including the Poles, Italians, and Blacks. Carpenter's sample also demonstrated that the Germans
outstripped the Irish among the skilled and high skilled workers for both sexes, while the Irish outstripped the Germans among the foremen and forewomen, office workers and high grade office and managerial workers. As Carpenter summarized things (1927: 146) "the Irish seem to have a special bent for occupations involving directive and leadership capacities." The important point however, is that the Irish were moving up the occupational hierarchy.

**Plan of the Dissertation**

This introductory chapter has attempted to introduce the reader to the research questions of this dissertation by presenting an outline of the historiography of the Irish in America. It has stressed that the varied streams of emigration from Ireland to North America over the past two hundred years and more have produced a clear heterogeneity of the ethnic group, not just one defined in terms of Catholicism, poverty, and victimization. Given the urban focus of the dissertation, the research questions were then framed in more general theories concerning immigrant and ethnic groups in cities, drawing on the work of sociologists, historians, and geographers. In closing, the socioeconomic characteristics of the two cities of study were introduced.

Chapter Two outlines the methodology pursued in the dissertation. Measuring social, geographic and residential mobility over time has been the subject of previous works and several problems and challenges have arisen. As well as presenting my own approach to this dissertation, I review the works of others and how I attempted to overcome several
research problems. Chapter 3 provides a more detailed overview of the social and economic structures and geographies of Toronto and Buffalo in 1880, before investigating the integration of the Irish into these structures and geographies in the fourth chapter. The final two chapters proceed from the 1880 cross-section and offer a dynamic perspective on the mobility of the Irish in the two cities over the period 1880-1910. Three general aspects of mobility are explored: inter-urban (geographic), occupational, and residential (intra-urban). Beneath these broad headings, more detailed examinations of the role of politics, the public sector, homeownership, and ethnicity are attempted, before the dissertation reaches its conclusion.
CHAPTER 2

DATA SOURCES AND STUDY METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The study is based on two large samples of the Irish in Toronto and Buffalo at the beginning of the 1880s. The Toronto sample was drawn from the manuscript schedules of the 1881 Census of Canada; the Buffalo sample was drawn from the manuscript schedules of the 1880 United States Census. Data in the census is arranged by household, and since a longitudinal perspective is being pursued for the purposes of mobility analysis, the entire household must be considered. Other information pertaining to the sampled families was gleaned from additional records. In the case of Toronto, the city assessment rolls were used to generate additional information about housing (tenure, structure, value, and class) and the city directories were employed to locate families since

1 The Canadian census of 1881 is available on microfilm in the Archives of Ontario in Toronto. The manuscript schedules for the U.S. federal census are available in the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library in Buffalo.
the precise address of the families was not given in the Canadian census. The census, however, provides critical information on birthplace and religion of each member of the family and their paternal ethnic origin, which was usually Irish, Scottish, Welsh, French or English – no ‘Canadian’ or ‘American’ ethnic origins were permitted! In various instances where this occurred, the entries are crossed out! Origin data are comparable between the censuses of 1871 and 1881; no information on ethnic origin was collected in 1891, and in 1901 the category was referred to as “racial origin” (Bourne et al, 1986: Table 1.1). There were 32,177 individuals of Irish origin in the city of Toronto in 1881. Use of the ‘ethnic origin’ definition is important because it captures the multi-generational definition of the Irish as an ethnic rather than immigrant group. It also allows for comparative work on the socioeconomic situations of Irish Catholics and Protestants of different generations in various parts of Canada during these years.

Inevitably, a major challenge facing the comparative researcher is a failure for the variables of interest to be recorded in a similar fashion, if recorded at all, by the census authorities in the countries studied. In this context, the manuscripts of the United States federal census present data differently from those in Canada for a given family. They give a slightly more comprehensive coverage of the sampled families in Buffalo than Toronto. The address of each family was given, so the use of city directories was of less importance than in Toronto.

The U.S. census has some drawbacks however – the religion of the family is not given! This problem can be overcome, to only a limited extent, however, through the use of
newspaper obituaries, church records, associational records, city histories, and the oral testimonies and family histories of inhabitants. In Buffalo, associational life was provided from the city directories and was helpful in, for example, confirming the city-wide membership base of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (Catholic), while demonstrating the small-scale membership of the Loyal Orange Lodges (Protestant). Newspaper obituaries usually indicate the religion of the deceased, but these are rarely written for ordinary working-class folk, so many of whom in Buffalo were Irish. Church records were inspected in Buffalo also. While data for many churches in the city, Protestant and Catholic, is in the public domain, the reproduction was poor and difficult to read. Moreover, the low levels of church participation by Protestants in Buffalo (United States 1906) meant that these records could only really be used to confirm the religious status of Catholics. In the end, they were not used for this purpose, since the history of various areas in Buffalo, supplemented by oral testimonies, presents a picture of a mainly Catholic Irish population. Although the Irish Protestant in Buffalo is discussed at various points of the dissertation, I can only express the conviction that, in accepting that the Buffalo Irish were mostly Catholic, any error cannot have been large enough to alter the findings presented here.

Tax assessment data were also available and provided information on housing tenure in Buffalo. These were, comparatively speaking, less useful than their Toronto equivalents. Only the holders of real property (land or buildings or both) were listed in these rolls, so no distinction was made between owner and occupant. Thus, if a sampled householder
did not appear in the roll for a particular street, one could deduce that he or she was renting and not owning.

The Process of Sampling

In order to select profiles of the Irish that were as representative as possible, a stratified method of sampling was chosen in both cities. In Toronto, the sample was stratified by city divisions (wards) with each tenth household of Irish ethnic origin, regardless of its religion, chosen; sampling began with St. Lawrence’s Ward in the east and concluded with Parkdale Village in the west (Figure 2.1). Households of Irish origin were drawn from all nine Toronto city wards as well as three suburban villages of Yorkville, Brockton, and Parkdale which formed part of the city’s built-up area in 1881. The name, age, birthplace, religion, ethnic origin, and occupation of each member of the household was obtained from these census manuscripts. Ethnic origin, defined along the line of the male parent, is problematic since no weight is given to the mother’s ethnic origin. Definition of this variable reflects a time when ethnic attribution by society at large was along paternal lines. More importantly, the ethnic origin variable also means that different generations of Irish could be studied. It is likely that the third generation of Irish household heads would have been rather small in 1880, so the sample is likely to represent the first and second generations mostly. A stratified method of sampling was preferred in order that an unbiased geographical coverage of the Irish in Toronto, that would capture the various residential, occupational, and denominational variations within the group, could be obtained. This method resulted in 667 Irish households being chosen.
Figure 2.1: Toronto Ward and Suburb Boundaries, 1880

- Suburbs
- Bloor St.
- St. JOHN'S
- St. PATRICK'S
- St. STEPHEN'S
- St. JAMES
- St. THOMAS
- St. DAVID'S
- Don River
- Queen St.
- King St.
- St. ANDREW'S
- St. GEORGE'S
- Lake Ontario
- Toronto Harbour
- 0 Miles 1
- Brockton
- Parkdale
Since the average family size in Toronto in 1881 was approximately 4.8 persons per family, with 32,177 individuals of Irish ethnic origin, we can estimate that there were approximately 6,703 Irish households. Thus, the expected sample size for ten percent coverage was 670, and this is virtually the same number chosen in the stratified sample.

A similar procedure was carried out in Buffalo – a stratified sample of families of Irish origin was drawn from the United States Census manuscripts for 1880 for the fifteen wards of Buffalo (Figure 2.2). Since the city limits extended further than the built-up area of the city in that year, no suburban villages or towns were added. The name, address, age, birthplace, father’s birthplace, mother’s birthplace, occupation and the relationship to the head of the household was recorded for each occupant. No ethnic origin variable comparable to that as given in the Canadian census existed here, so households were defined as ‘Irish’ based on the birthplace of the head or the head’s father. In this way, only two generations of Irish could be captured, but since the third generation was doubtless quite small in Canada, the Buffalo sample was not thought to be as generationally biased so as to not merit comparison with their Toronto counterparts.

Needless to say, these two samples of Irish need to be set in a broad social and economic context for the two cities. Thus, two additional samples of the cities’ populations were drawn to provide a general picture of their social geography. In Toronto, this was achieved by drawing a sample of 1,084 households from the city assessment rolls. The assessment rolls were deemed more useful than the census since they provided more comprehensive housing coverage. In addition, the published census report provided
Figure 2.2: Buffalo Ward Boundaries, 1880
population information on the birthplace and ethnic origin (but not occupation) on a ward basis for 1881. Again, the households were drawn from the assessment roll in a stratified fashion. Since each page of the assessment roll contained twenty households, selection of the first household from each page could result in a sample of approximately five percent being drawn. A similar approach was used in the Buffalo cross-sectional sample of 1880, where the 1st, 21st, 41st, etc. families were chosen from the manuscript schedules of the Federal Census. The result was a city-wide sample of 1,541 families.

Historians and geographers have for many years utilized data linkage as a method for studying many aspects of urban populations. Lemon and Simmons (1975) have provided a useful guide to sources for the historical geographer interested in nineteenth-century Toronto. Through the linkage of the 1881 census and assessment roll for the Irish sample only, one can investigate the characteristics of each Irish household for a number of additional variables than are provided in the census alone. The assessment rolls provide detailed descriptions of the residences, for example, the ‘class’ of the house and its building material (frame, brick, etc.). Data on house size (given by the number of storeys as well as in feet), the value of real property, and housing tenure are provided. These data were added to the census data for the Irish household sample, where such households could be traced in the assessment rolls, to provide additional perspectives on living conditions. Darroch, in a critical examination of the Toronto assessment rolls, commented that “assessment evidence is best understood as a means of approximating the relative standards of accommodation and daily living of families, rather than as

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Data on housing and tenure for sampled households in Brockton and Parkdale was not collected, since the data given in their rolls differed from those of the City of Toronto; Yorkville data was recorded, however.
estimates of the amount of wealth they hold” (Darroch 1983: 386). In order to determine the precise street location, the city directory can also be used.

A cross-section of the residential geography and socio-economic character of the Irish in the city is the result of successfully combining census, directory, and assessment roll data. Comparing Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant communities or different generations of both for a series of variables should provide insight into the lives of these ordinary families. Establishing the areas of the city in which they were concentrated and the quality of their housing provides an overview with which to tackle subsequent questions. The material with which housing was constructed may provide a visible measure of distinctions of wealth and class in the Canadian urban landscape (Gilliland and Olson 1998). Since Houston and Smyth (1980b) confirmed that for 1861 the Irish in St. David’s Ward in Toronto were indeed stratified in terms of religion and occupational grouping, the sources described here can extend their analysis twenty years later, investigating additional variables such as property ownership, tenure arrangements, and dwelling type.

Such a marriage of records is rarely free of uncertainties and inconsistencies, of course. Sometimes, there is confusion between first and second names in the data sources, e.g. John William Nelson (census) and William Nelson (directory) who lived in 234 Sackville Street in St. David’s Ward in 1881. There is not always perfect correspondence between the street numbers as given in the directory and in the assessment roll, e.g. 336 Wilton ave (directory) versus 338 Wilton ave for the Churchill household in 1881 (assessment
The number of 'rear' addresses is likely to be underestimated since some of the addresses could not be identified in city directories and had to be traced from the assessment rolls. Misspellings and varied forms of the surnames of Irish households were also common in the 1881 Canadian census, e.g. Patrick Costlow (Costello), William Ochiltree (Ogiltree). In the assessment rolls, not every single household head was listed. On occasion, “various tenants” are listed in the occupant column where a building has been divided into many apartments, e.g. 36 and 40 King Street East and 11.5 Adelaide Street East (upper floor and rear) and 21 Richmond Street East (upper floor). The listed head of household in the census manuscripts and assessment rolls may not tally, even if the household has been correctly identified. Frequently, the eldest son, with an occupation, may exchange places with his mother as the listed head, e.g. Martin and Catherine Whalen (Whelan). Most frustratingly perhaps, occupations do not always tally when compared across the three sources in a given year, e.g. labourer/teamster, labourer/engine driver, labourer/picture frame enameler, railroad employee/baggageman, labourer/switchman, banker/clerk. False impressions of mobility, however small, can result from this, although these discrepancies also indicate some fluidity in occupations or occupational descriptions/reporting or both. My only solution to this problem, however, was to keep faith with the manuscript descriptions.

**Filling in the Cracks**

One of the serious shortcomings of the 1881 Census of Canada manuscript data is the failure to provide a street address for each Irish household. City directories and tax
assessment rolls for Toronto provide this information, however. The most time-efficient solution was to sort the 667 census households alphabetically and then to identify their addresses using the city directory for 1882 (which provides the situation in the city for the preceding year). Using this method, only 446 out of the 667 (or 66.9%) households had their addresses positively located. Of the remaining 219 households, 69 had addresses that remained doubtful, because multiple identical names were listed in the directory, e.g. there were too many John Dixons and William Browns to permit accurate identification. Few of the remaining 150 households could be located because the directory at this time was deficient in providing addresses for those at the bottom end of the socio-economic scale, e.g. households headed by labourers or impoverished widows. In his Boston study, Thernstrom (1973: 284) noted that in city directories “Negroes were less often listed than whites, immigrants than natives, the propertyless than the propertied.” He concluded that these directories aimed more at compiling a list of true or settled residents of the communities, regardless of social rank, rather than encompassing the entire population. Thus, the transient labouring householder who moved every few years in search of work was likely to be excluded. For the Toronto Irish sample, identifying the address of as many households as possible was desirable since only then could housing data from the assessment rolls be combined with socio-demographic data from the census to provide as wide a profile as possible for each sampled Irish household.

Despite the shortcomings of the city directories, an attempt was made to locate the addresses of the remaining 219 households using the manuscripts, the city directory, and assessment roll. Since each sampled household was assigned a specific enumeration
number for each ward, they were easy to relocate in the manuscripts. The name and occupation of the head of the neighbours of these 219 'target' households were subsequently recorded. The two households listed on either side of the target household in the census were also chosen, and their addresses checked in the city directory to provide an 'approximate' address for the target household. Problems remain when the sampled household was surrounded by other households not likely to be counted in the city directories e.g. labouring households or households where the head's occupation was not identified (e.g. where a female head was present). It is possible that the majority of households in entire streets or neighbourhoods were left out – the marginalized, poverty-stricken and transient section of Toronto society. Where these neighbouring households were headed by widows or labourers, it seemed occasionally prudent either to choose other near households with specific occupations or else record the addresses of three or sometimes four neighbours. In any case, this approximate address was then sought in the assessment rolls, until the head of the targeted household appeared.

The process of address tracking described above is best illustrated with an example. John Roach, a 26-year old Irish Catholic labourer living in St. David's Ward could not be found in the city directory, probably on account of his age and occupation. The addresses of his two neighbours, Edmond Taylor, a carpenter living at 77 Sydenham, and Owen Hays, a sailmaker at 87 Sydenham, were found in the directory. Thus, by checking between these numbers on Sydenham Street I was able to locate Roach living at number 79. Of course, not all cases of address tracking were as straightforward as this one. Sometimes, the neighbours lived on different streets, which prolonged the process of
searching in the assessment rolls. All in all, ninety target households remained unidentifiable in the assessment rolls, thus the aggregate success rate of identifying addresses was 86.5% or 577 out of 667 households. Although laborious, the method of locating neighbours did improve the rate significantly over 66.9%.

Even though a stage had been reached where the address was known for all but ninety households in the Irish sample, finding the relevant family at its known address for the 577 households was not as straightforward as one would expect. This occurred since some families had already moved away or had not moved into the house yet. In many instances, the entry in the occupant column was given as 'vacant house.' In 435 out of 577 cases, the household was successfully located in the assessment rolls for 1881; in 137 cases it was located in the rolls for either 1880 or 1882. A total of 95 households remained unidentified in the assessment rolls, mostly since their addresses could not be located in the first place. While some of these may have appeared in a later city directory for e.g. 1885 or 1890, when they would have become a more permanent fixture in the city, there would be no guarantee that the address listed then would have been the same as in 1880, since there was so much intra-urban movement.

**Mobility: The Selection of Sub-Samples**

The data gleaned from these different samples for the beginning of the 1880s is cross-sectional in character of course, revealing the situation of individuals and their cities at
one point in time. A study on geographical and social mobility however, concerns itself with questions about the past that are dynamic in character. For example, how likely an Irish-born labourer was to remain in unskilled work, whether he attained the status of homeowner, and how likely he was to remain within a particular city neighbourhood over the course of thirty years provide crucial indicators of Irish economic integration and cultural assimilation within that city. Repeating such questions for the sons (and daughters, where known) of such working-class families provide a long-term perspective on these issues, and may provide clues about certain channels whereby upward mobility could be realised. Investigating the various occupational sectors in which such channels existed and the socio-cultural conditions governing entry and exclusion (if any) promises much in terms of demonstrating the different ways in which the Irish became integrated into the various types of urban economy across North America. Only partial aspects to this series of inquiries can be answered from the available data. Where such issues can be tackled, questions of how the different religious groups of Irish people fared can be answered more easily from the Canadian data than from the American data since censuses in the United States did not record religious affiliation.

The first task is to establish how the dynamic nature of geographical and social mobility can be extracted from the relevant records. The clearest method is to start with a list of households and trace the changes in terms of address and occupation, of each of their members over time within the cities of Toronto and Buffalo. Once such individuals move outside the city, of course, they are lost from the analysis. The directories provided for each city the most immediate solution to this problem of tracing. The head of an Irish
household sampled in 1880, both male and female, could be sought in the 1885 or 1890
city directory, and information on his or her address, occupation and (occasionally) place
of work recorded, provided he or she still lived in the city. The appearance of the name
of the wife of a male household head in the directory alongside a ‘w’ with her husband’s
name meant that he was deceased; the subsequent residential movements of his wife,
were followed. Similar information for the sons and daughters of the head who had
reached maturity and entered the labour market could also be extracted to generate an
inter-generational perspective. Other questions about property ownership as an indicator
of social mobility could be answered by consulting, in the Canadian case, city assessment
rolls while in the American case, the United States censuses of 1900 and 1910 provided
relevant data on housing tenure.

Thernstrom (1973), a pioneer of social mobility studies in urban America in the 1960s
and 1970s, was faced with tracing problems similar to those outlined here, although his
analysis covered a wider period of time. Nevertheless, when one is faced with tracing a
given family over a series of separate records for a given time period, Thernstrom’s
(1973: 269) frustrations and difficulties are evident in the following statement:

How could it be established that the John Murphy who was identified as a common
laborer residing in East Boston in the 1880 Census schedules was the same John
Murphy who lived in East Boston and was employed as a carpenter according to
the Boston city directory of 1890? It happens that there were no fewer than 235
John Murphys listed in the local directory for 1890, 120 of them without a middle initial to assist identification!

Thernstrom solved his problem by leaving the John Murphys of Boston out of his study altogether, and adopted a strategy of using 'uncommon names' as a way of tracing members of households through time. Other investigators confronted with this problem have adopted different courses of action, whereby certain last names common to a particular ethnic group became the basis for sampling (Olson 1996; Gilliland, 1998). Whilst pursuing a strategy where only uncommon names are selected, however, one has to be careful not to bias the results. While the Irish samples as a whole can be used in the 1880 profile analysis, they cannot all be used for the subsequent 1880-1910 mobility analysis. The reasons are (1) the problem of a common last name as described above, and (2) the time and research effort involved in tracing over 1,100 households between the two cities over a thirty-year period. Clearly, sub-samples of Irish households needed to be taken for each city.

The question then becomes: how many families to omit from the mobility analysis, and where to draw the line between a common surname and an uncommon surname? A trial run was carried out for the Toronto sample. For each surname recorded in the 1881 Toronto Irish sample, the frequency of occurrence in the 1882 Toronto city directory was recorded. The results are shown as frequencies in Table 2.1.
Table 2.1: Frequency of Irish sample surname occurrence in Toronto city directory, 1882

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of occurrences of a given surname in 1882 Toronto city directory</th>
<th>Number of families in 1881 Toronto Irish sample (total n = 667)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&gt;20</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;=20</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;15</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;=15</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;10</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;=10</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;5</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;=5</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Might's Toronto City Directory 1882, Toronto Irish census sample.

In other words, the omission of all those families whose surname occurs more than 20 times in the directory for 1882 would mean that 461 families with an 'uncommon' surname would be left in the sample for the mobility analysis. If I was to leave out all those with 20 occurrences or more, I would have 448 families left, for example.

In the end, I decided to follow only those families whose last names occurred four times or less in the 1882 directory in the mobility analysis, dividing my sample between 462 'common' last names and 205 'uncommon' last names. The latter sample's most common surnames were determined, and the results were used to see if their omission resulted in a bias regarding 1) areas sampled, 2) religion, and 3) social status. Chi-square tests were performed on three crosstabulations (1) last name by occupation; (2) last name
by religion, and (3) last name by wards. In each case, the null hypothesis was that there was no difference between the two categories of last name (common, uncommon) and the given categorical variable (occupation, religion, ward). In other words, did the decision to exclude household heads with common names did not greatly distort the occupational, religious, and geographical distributions of the samples, giving them a bias that was too middle-class, Protestant, or skewed towards eastern Toronto? For each test, the p-value was greater than ten percent. The Murphys, Foleys, Sullivans, and Boyds then, did not have significantly different characteristics than their compatriots with less common names. A similar rule was applied in the case of the Buffalo Irish sample. The division there between uncommon and common surnames resulted in the selection of 184 Irish households for the mobility analysis.

These sample sizes may at first glance seem somewhat small. However, it should be noted that for households that survived the entire or nearly the whole period, the marriage of offspring at certain points between 1880 and 1910 would result in the creation of new households which would not be reflected in the original sample size. Sons and daughters were traced in the directories. While females obviously participated in household formation, they were traceable in the city directories only in the wage-earning years before marriage (assuming they married), which often meant exiting the labour force. Consider a single household in 1880 where four of the sons all get married and all decide to live in the sampled city region, then one is given an idea of the point being made. The creation of such households during the period helps to offset the obvious problems of sample attrition through out-migration and death, and the comparison of a father’s
occupation and residence with those of his son provide vital clues as to the extent to which occupational and residential mobility took place. The time taken to piece together the information needed for mobility analysis from a variety of different sources should not be underestimated either. All in all, given the limitations on time and resources and also that this was a rare attempt to explore the social mobility of an ethnic group in a comparative manner and on a generational basis, these sample sizes were deemed suitably large for my mobility analysis.

In both Toronto and Buffalo, the city directory was used to trace the members of a total of 389 households (205 in Toronto, 184 in Buffalo) in successive city directories at 5-year intervals between 1881-1911 (Buffalo) and 1882-1912 (Toronto). For each city, the directory year chosen provided information for the year previous, and since Toronto’s Irish sample was taken in 1881 and Buffalo’s in 1880, the former city’s Irish households were traced for one year later than those in Buffalo were. Both city directories listed households alphabetically and in the case of Toronto, listings of streets were also provided. While each directory, like most others of the period, were compiled via door-to-door canvassing, it is difficult to estimate whether one city’s directory was more accurate in capturing the entire spectrum of the population than the other’s. While the address search in Toronto revealed the city directory for the year 1882 had listed an incomplete profile of the population of the city, this does not mean that the directory for 1912 had a similar margin of error – one would expect the coverage to improve as time goes by. Likewise, it is probable that Buffalo’s directory contained a similar gap to those in the Toronto directory, but these were doubtless improved over time.
Data on address, occupation, living arrangement (e.g. ‘l’ indicated a member of the family to be lodging or living at home while a wage-earner, and ‘b’ indicated boarding arrangements for an individual which were typically not with his or her immediate family), and place of work (where given) was collected. The addresses of workplaces were also noted. Once a profile of the persisting Irish households in each city was achieved, information on changes in their housing tenure was sought. Persisting households in Toronto were traced in the assessment rolls for various years to obtain information on tenure and house value. A similar search could not be performed in Buffalo due to a lack of comparable data. However, the tenure status of that city’s persisting Irish households could be traced in the 1900 and 1910 federal census manuscripts, so this was the method used.

Comparing street addresses across directories in Toronto was less straightforward than was originally hoped. On new streets that were being gradually built and populated, street numbers were continuously being updated. On occasion, streets were also renamed. When comparing the address of a family between two directories, this could often create the illusion of their having moved down the same street during the intervening years. Fortunately, in both Toronto and Buffalo’s cases, street indexes were made available in the city directory to check for such error. To give an example, a combination of census and city directory information showed that Michael Horan, an Irish Catholic labourer, lived at 150½ Ontario Street with his wife and six children in 1881. Using the street index, it was found that this section of Ontario Street intersects
with Wilton Avenue. In the 1887 directory, his address is given as 152 Ontario Street in the same location, but in 1892 it is now 297 Ontario Street although still at the same location! This address remained intact up to 1912, the last directory used in the tracing process. The presence of unfinished houses and vacant lots complicated the street numbering process on streets such as Markham, where Charles Doran’s house number changed from 31 to 109 between 1881 and 1891. In an attempt to minimize confusion perhaps or because of the process by which streets were built, a similar process of street renumbering did not happen in Buffalo; families there kept their same house numbers throughout the time they stayed in one particular place.

The suburbanization of migrants may become a stumbling block for historians of social mobility in the household tracing process. Thernstrom (1973) hinted at such problems in his study of Boston, where it was possible for families to move within the metropolitan area (as opposed to Boston city proper), and yet not be captured within the Boston city directory since their change of address had moved beyond the city limits. Allowing for such suburban drift thus necessitated the combing of city directories for suburban areas as well as for the city itself, and Thernstrom’s Boston data were later used by Edel and others (1978) in their mapping of such suburban movements. Thankfully, no such problems seem to exist for this study, and this is probably explained by the fact that the period of analysis is only thirty years (Thernstrom had a ninety year study period) and the cities in question extended their boundaries in tandem with the expansion of outer areas. Yorkville (1883), Brockton (1884) and Parkdale (1889) had all become part of the city of Toronto by 1890 (Lemon and Simmons 1977). In Buffalo, the city limits remained in
place throughout the period in question; in 1880, farms remained within city limits there but these had disappeared by 1910, when the municipal boundary was roughly coterminal with the built-up area.

Analysis of population persistence patterns can rarely be achieved without the use of quantitative methods. Such methods allow one to not only to uncover differences between different ethnic groups and cities, but also differences within an ethnic group in a city that may be explained by religion, occupation, age, house tenure, and other factors.

In this dissertation, chi-square analysis was used to uncover the variables for which significant differences in persistence existed within the Irish ethnic group in Buffalo and Toronto. While chi-square analysis identifies significant variables, it does not indicate the strength of these differences. Logistic regression, in contrast, utilizes the significant variables uncovered by chi-square analysis for the building of residential mobility models. Gilliland (1993) has constructed a model for residential mobility in nineteenth-century Montreal, using this framework. All persistence calculations, presented in Chapter 5, were done using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software (Norusis/SPSS Inc. 1997; Voelkl and Gerber 1999).

The Classification of Occupations

With a wide variety of occupations present for the Irish in both cities, some method of aggregation was desirable. In his Boston study, Thernstrom (1973) makes use of five
occupational categories – high white-collar, low white-collar, skilled, semiskilled and service workers, and unskilled. In a five-city collaborative study (Hershberg et al 1974), a five-category occupational hierarchy was also devised. In light of such research, Zunz’ (1982) later study of Detroit made use of four categories – high/low white-collar, skilled, and semi/unskilled. The utility of these occupational categories is that they are ordinal and hierarchical in character – a movement between categories can be instantly evaluated as a move up or a move down as far as the mobility researcher is concerned.

Much of (my) analysis concerns rates of movement between manual and nonmanual occupations whereas ideally it would have been preferable to employ a more finely calibrated occupational scale, which distinguished between the upward mobility of two carpenters who moved into the white-collar world, one of them by becoming a prosperous contractor and the other by becoming a small grocer (Thernstrom 1973: 279).

The temptation to use what has already been devised is obvious, and ensures that one can compare these results with what has gone before. However, facing the challenge to establish a nuanced set of occupational categories, particularly one that may suit a group such as the Irish, is equally tempting. Richard Harris’s (1996) occupational classification devised for his Toronto book Unplanned Suburbs, has enough useful sub-categories to permit use in this study. The most common occupations within each occupational group are listed below:
Owners and managers: manager, merchant.

Agents on commission: agent, salesman/woman.

Self-employed (including building trades): grocer/general store, builder/contractor, tailor/miller, restaurant owner/newsagent, cabinetmaker.

Other Middle class: supervisor/foreman, inspector, accountant, doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer.

Clerical: clerk, letter carrier, secretary, stenographer

Working class blue-collar workers:

- Skilled and semi-skilled workers: teamster/driver, mechanic, conductor, shipper, garment worker, policeman/guard, printer, machine operator.
- Unskilled workers: laborer/helper.
- Building trades: carpenter, painter, electrician, bricklayer, plasterer, plumber.

In contrast to the five-way scheme adopted by Thernstrom and Zunz, Harris’ classification has eight categories. Harris’ identification of a self-employed category is useful in that this sector, incorporating jobs such as grocer, saloonkeeper, and boarding house owner, has been noted as a key avenue of occupational mobility from the working-class generally (Barrett 1987, Clarke 1993). In addition to business, it was also felt that other avenues of mobility, such as lower middle-class employment as a clerk as well as the professions, needed to be distinguished from one another. Thus, Harris’ occupational classes are sufficiently nuanced to make them worthwhile in this study of social mobility.
This chapter initially provided an outline of the methods involved in obtaining multigenerational data for cross-sections of the Irish ethnic group in Toronto and Buffalo for 1880/81, as well as for the cities generally. The results of these cross-sections are presented in chapters three and four. The problems of tracing households for the 1880-1910 mobility study were discussed, and the methodology of taking the sub-sample described. Analysis of these sub-samples comprises chapters five and six.
CHAPTER 3

NATIVES AND NEWCOMERS:
THE SOCIOECONOMIC STRUCTURES AND GEOGRAPHIES
OF BUFFALO AND TORONTO c.1880

Introduction

The opening chapter provided a brief introduction to the economy and society of Toronto and Buffalo in the nineteenth century. The Irish were in the vanguard of population growth in the two cities throughout the century, and scholarly interpretations of their integration into these urban milieus were also discussed in that chapter. While the history of Irish settlement in Buffalo suffers from a general lack of scholarly research, that of the Toronto Irish has concentrated mainly on the Roman Catholic community. The following two chapters aim to broaden the general picture of Toronto and Buffalo c. 1880 that has presently been no more than a sketch, and to provide an overview of the
residential and class dimensions of Irish settlements in the two cities at this date. This chapter presents the social, economic, and political contexts of each city which in turn shaped their social geographies. The place of the Irish within these broad structures and geographies is identified, providing the basis for further elaboration in the fourth chapter.

Economy and Society in Buffalo and Toronto: A Comparative Outline

That Buffalo and Toronto possessed different personalities, despite their relative proximity and shared status as Great Lakes port cities, was discussed briefly in the opening chapter. It was not entirely a matter that each belonged to a different political structure (British Dominion versus American Republic); the economic structures and geographies of the two cities, and the influx of labour of various types and magnitudes also influenced the shaping of these places. In Toronto, a diversified manufacturing base, light industry, and a prominent class of commodity traders was juxtaposed with Buffalo’s heavier industries, better-developed port facilities and its associated landscape forms, not least the famous grain elevators.

With a steady stream of immigrants from Great Britain populating its streets over the course of the nineteenth century, Toronto had become the leading city in the province of Ontario. The centrality of the city to the provincial economy was further underscored by its becoming the hub of a developing railway network (Spelt 1972). Toronto was the junction of the Grand Trunk, Great Western, and Northern railroads, which linked the city to Montreal, Detroit and the western United States, Buffalo, New York City, and the
northern parts of Ontario. The trade potential of Toronto spurred the growth of its wholesaling trade. Spelt (1972: 137) observed that by the 1870s, “more and more, Toronto’s commercial travellers competed with those of Montreal and reduced Montreal’s hinterland for wholesale trade... Palatial commercial buildings were erected (in Toronto) by some of the leading wholesale firms.”

Small and medium size firms in many different industries determined the industrial character of Toronto. Not to be found in Toronto were huge employers capable of organizing industrial villages or districts and absent, too, were significant numbers of blast furnaces, large chemical plants, locomotive works or other heavy industries (Gad, 1994). Toronto’s commerce, according to Careless (1984: 115) “remained chiefly oriented to importing and distributing... (looming) large in higher-value commodities, in dry and fancy goods above all, and consumer products generally.” The city’s capacity to be the dominant industrial centre for all of southern Ontario was hampered by several factors including scarcity of land within city limits, municipal complacency and provincial legislation (Beeby 1984). Their combined effects were to strengthen the propensity of small communities in Toronto’s hinterland to attract industries and reduce the city’s competitiveness. Railroad-building centres such as Hamilton and Port Hope challenged Toronto’s claim on the area between it and Georgian Bay, effectively limiting its hinterland (Spelt 1972).

During the second half of the nineteenth century, even though Montreal’s was more important, Toronto’s port was far ahead of provincial competitors such as Hamilton and
Kingston in terms of business generated by the import of foreign goods (Spelt 1972: Table VIII). Neither did Toronto’s port occupy as central a place in its economic profile to a similar extent as Buffalo’s. The numbers and tonnage of registered vessels provides a comparison of the two cities’ shipping interests circa 1881. In 1880, 219 vessels were registered and licensed in Buffalo, comprising a total tonnage of 101,257 (United States 1886). In Toronto, the figures were 30 vessels and 8,138 tons (Canada 1902). On a Great Lakes scale then, Buffalo was a far more important port than Toronto. Most of the steamboats operating out of Toronto in the early 1880s, it seems, were limited to mostly short-range passenger transport. Long-range steam freighters were not the object of investment of the city’s shipowners; these tasks were left to centres south of the border such as Buffalo. As Careless remarks (1984: 120): “the harbour that had made Toronto possible was left to laissez-faire neglect. The industrializing city had too many other prospects to give its port the attention it deserved.”

Although Buffalo possessed a diversified manufacturing base, it placed greater emphasis on heavy industry, e.g. shipyards, grain and produce storage, transportation, iron foundries and tanneries, than Toronto. Its was a grain port of world renown, storing grain coming from the middle west of the United States, and later transferring it onto Erie Canal barges for dispatch to markets on the eastern seaboard. By 1880 though, the basis of Buffalo’s economic success was no longer the Erie Canal. It was also an important railroad hub. No less than eight major railroads linked the city’s economy with other important markets. Buffalo was linked to New York and the eastern seaboard by both the New York Central and Hudson River railroad and the New York, Lake Erie and Western
railroad. The Lake Shore and Michigan Southern railroad was its link to the western United States, while passages to Canada were possible through links with the Grand Trunk and Great Western railroads.

Table 3.1: Occupational structure of household heads in Toronto and Buffalo, c. 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Toronto</th>
<th></th>
<th>Buffalo</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners/managers</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents on commission</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other middle class</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue-collar working-class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building trades</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled/semi-skilled</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1336</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: City sample data.

Contrasts in their respective economic structures do much to explain differences in the occupational structures of Toronto and Buffalo. These occupational patterns, based on citywide samples of five percent each, are presented in Table 3.1 for the beginning of the 1880s. Toronto’s labour force was spread more evenly between the occupational classes than Buffalo, where the unskilled proletariat were quite prominent. With its abundance of seasonal work on the industries dotted along its waterfront, it is not surprising that the market for unskilled labour was larger in the American city than Toronto. In fact, Table 3.1 shows that the unskilled of Toronto formed 16.9 percent of the labour force; in
Buffalo, this figure was 24 percent. Skilled and semi-skilled workers were also proportionately more important in Buffalo’s working-class than Toronto’s, suggesting the relative prominence of manufacturing in the former’s economic structure. The large sectors of the skilled/semi-skilled and unskilled in Buffalo were a consequence of its locational importance as a shipping port and a transport centre. Neither city was short of teamsters, machinists, brakemen, switchmen, moulders, policemen, or sailors; there were simply more of them in Buffalo.

The contrasts between the two cities do not end with the working-classes. Table 3.1 also suggests that the upper- and middle-class layers of society were proportionately more numerous in the Canadian than in the American city. The place of each city within the national urban system may explain some of these differences. In Canada, Toronto had by the 1880s become the dominant financial, wholesaling and commercial centre of Ontario. While Buffalo had its share of capitalists, they comprised a proportionately smaller share of the labour force than in Toronto. For all of its status as a port city, Buffalo did not share Toronto’s prominence as a financial or wholesaling centre. Toronto had proportionately twice the number of agents on commission (including commercial travellers) that further supports this interpretation.

The self-employed in each city were engaged mainly in the retailing of groceries and dry goods, as well as the operation of hotels, saloons, and boarding houses. The latter three types of establishments occupied proportionately more of Buffalo’s self-employed household heads (22.1%) than Toronto’s (17.5%). The scale variations of retailing
establishments were beginning to widen as a result of aggressive marketing campaigns by the most resourceful dealers. In Toronto, retailers such as Eaton's and Simpson's expanded their operations from ordinary dry-goods outlets to department stores. While not large by his later operations, the forty workers employed by Ulster-born Timothy Eaton in 1881 constituted the beginnings of what would be an extensive retailing complex in central Toronto (Spelt 1972). Buffalo also possessed downtown stores for the weekly consumption of the middle- and upper-classes. Retailing in Buffalo had also become a niche occupation for immigrants from the central European confederation of states that became Germany in 1871. Thus, streets radiating out from downtown Buffalo into the mainly German East Side were lined with grocery stores, boarding houses, bakeries, and other outlets owned by Germans. The upper class of owners, managers and other capitalists occupied proportionately small segments of both cities' labour forces. Most of these were merchants of different products, with a smaller group owning iron foundries, breweries, lumberyards and other establishments. As Powell (1972: 160) noted: "The decade of the 1890's was the high noon of Buffalo capitalism. The city boasted 60 millionaires, twice the number in all the United States in 1850."

The social atmosphere was different in the two cities as well. Toronto's reputation as a Protestant city was easily recognizable from the proliferation of various churches devoted to a plethora of Protestant religions and sects. As Armstrong and Nelles (1977) amusingly put it: "It would be hard to imagine a more WASP-ish city than Toronto in the late nineteenth century." But that was not all. Toronto's British heritage fused its twin
tenets of loyal monarchism and Protestantism. As the city's historian Middleton remarked (1923: 314):

Loyalty to the British Crown had been a main principle of action with the founders of Upper Canada and of Toronto. With their successors it was something more than a mere principle; it was a passion....It was sentiment that made the Queen's Birthday a festival almost delirious in its enthusiasm, while the national holiday known as Dominion Day was celebrated with polite languor.

The influence of the Orange Order also played its part in shaping Toronto's personality. With its birth rooted in land conflict in the northern Irish province of Ulster in the late eighteenth century, the organization, whose key tenet was an ever-binding loyalty to the Protestant throne of England, pervaded Toronto society. As Fitzpatrick (1989) commented, Toronto "until the middle of the twentieth century was controlled, though by no means exclusively populated, by the Scots-Irish." The sentiments of the Order were paraded every mid-July along the streets of Toronto and other Ontario towns, and probably diluted the celebratory potential of Dominion Day. Many public figures were members of the Order. James Beaty, for example, who was mayor of Toronto in 1878, and a prominent newspaper man, made no secret of his convictions (Globe, December 24, 1883):

When I was nominated for a seat in Parliament I put my views not only in my paper, but I had a red flag hung out of the office window bearing the words
'Perpetual connection with the British Empire, No surrender.' My Orange friends knew that I meant it and I was returned. I represented East Toronto in the first two Parliaments after Confederation.

Twenty-three specific religions and sects were identified in Toronto by the Census of Canada in 1881. Naturally, through the reality of religious schism, some of these were brought under broad religious headings, e.g. there are five different sect headings for the Methodist religion. In 1881, seventy-three churches existed in the city. Anglicans, commensurate with their share of the total population, possessed the most churches (20), followed by Methodists (15), Presbyterians (13), Catholic (6), Baptist (5), Congregational (4), and ten others (Canada 1882, II: Table XX: 432). The Globe newspaper strongly supported the campaign to make Toronto a city where neither streetcars, nor people, nor almost anything operated on Sundays. This newspaper reported on a number of youths who, on being spotted by the city mayor playing shinty in Clare Street on a Sunday, were ordered by his worship to be arrested by a constable standing nearby (cited in Shapiro, 1978). The paper championed the cause of abstinence and temperance and city columns frequently contained reports of incidents where drunkenness was involved. In an otherwise panegyrical profile of the city in the mid-1880s, Mulvany (1884: 147) was quite scathing in his remarks about church-building in Toronto from an economic perspective:

It is simply appalling to think of the money wasted in building so many church edifices, few of which can ever said to be filled; in none of which do the poor of Toronto form an appreciable part of the congregation. Besides these evils, the
working classes – the producers – who as a rule have small incomes, are burdened by the presence in their midst of a vast and constantly increased army of non-producers who live in rent-free palaces, and are totally free from taxation.

The upper classes of Buffalo were also dominated by White Anglo-Saxon Protestants who lived in their own exclusive neighbourhoods dotted with detached brick housing along tree-lined avenues at the edge of the city. Municipal government in Buffalo had little choice but to accommodate the diverse ethnic and class interests there. The sheer numbers of immigrant Germans and Irish in the American city meant that their voices could not be ignored at municipal level. Buffalo was a rougher but earthier place, with a more noticeable Catholic presence (both German and Irish Catholics were present, with small numbers of Italians) and a gritty working-class edge than Toronto. Buffalo had begun, along with the other immigrant-receiving centres of the northern United States, “to acquire a distinctive capacity in the closely related political and civic realms to counter social polarization and threats to the existence of capitalism with appeals to common interests in opportunity, in all of its varied aspects from jobs to low taxes” (Gerber 1989: 412). The Irish were the only sizeable Catholic group in Toronto in the 1880s and as such, constituted a minority, set apart from the rest of society whose origins drew from other parts of Protestant Great Britain. Irish Catholics in Toronto had a tougher time finding accommodation from the city government than did their counterparts in Buffalo, and this key point will be explored later in this chapter.
While impressionistic and other forms of qualitative evidence are often assembled to reconstruct a city's personality at a point in the past, there are some quantitative measures that prove useful. Toronto and Buffalo are compared in Table 3.2 in terms of the frequencies of several types of establishment that for better or worse, reveal traits about the place in question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of establishment</th>
<th>Toronto (pop. 86,415)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Buffalo (pop. 155,134)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Per 1,000</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Per 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding houses</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saloons</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>1042</td>
<td>6.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacconists</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temperance lodges</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels and saloons</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>1110</td>
<td>7.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto and Buffalo city directories.

Can our juxtaposition of the 'goodness' of Toronto and the 'coarseness' of Buffalo be supported by the figures in Table 3.2? It would seem so. To be sure, more numerous illegal saloons and 'informal' boarding houses existed in both cities than were counted in their directories. Nevertheless, the above patterns, firstly with respect to the number and
proportion of saloons and hotels, are worthy of comment. Buffalo had over seven saloons for every 1,000 of its inhabitants, while in Toronto, just under 2.5 saloons and hotels were present for every 1,000 people. Stephen Powell recognized that Buffalo may have been unique in this regard: he entitled a chapter in his history of brewing in Buffalo "Was Buffalo the Saloon Capital of the World?" (1996:15). In the absence of data for many other cities, there is no definite answer, but for comparative purposes here, the contrast with Toronto is striking. The canal district of Buffalo, south of the central business district and near where the Erie Canal entered Buffalo Harbour, was the centre of much of this saloon (as well as brothel) activity. Powell (1996) states that by 1893, there were 2,512 saloons, 150 hotels, 129 stores, and 97 boarding houses where one could buy beer. The scale of each establishment varied, of course, but analysis of the distribution of these establishments by size or number of boarders is beyond the scope of discussion here. The arch-enemies of saloons, temperance organizations or lodges, were present in both cities, and more so in Toronto than Buffalo. Since data on membership are lacking, however, figures pertaining to these lodges should be treated with caution. Nevertheless, Graham Decarie (1972) identified the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches as being the most concerned about drinking habits in nineteenth-century Ontario society. They joined forces in 1885 in a campaign for a Lord’s Day Act for all of Canada (Armstrong and Nelles 1977) and these groups shaped Toronto’s character to a larger extent their counterparts did in Buffalo. In 1889, the Equal Rights Association

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1 Figures for saloons and hotels as separate entities in each city are given as well as being aggregated. That the meaning and scale of these ‘saloons’ and ‘hotels’ in each city directory obviously varied means that the aggregate figure is probably a better approximation of the truth.

2 The Lord’s Day Act was passed for Upper Canada (now Ontario) in 1845. According to Armstrong and Nelles (1977: 50), the Act “forbade retail sales, work or business, revelling, the dispensation of drink, public intoxication, brawling, the use of profane language and sports, especially noisy games... the loophole which had allowed pleasure excursions by train or boat on Sunday was closed by an amendment in 1885.”
was formed by prominent Toronto sabbatarians, and led by Principal William Caven of Knox College. In the minds of Toronto’s ‘Saints,’ as the group was nicknamed:

any proposal to violate the sabbath was linked with Catholic aggression…only the pealing bells in the steeples of Toronto’s numerous churches should break the reverential silence of the day of rest…(Armstrong and Nelles 1977: 7-8).

Toronto then, possessed a rather restrained if not repressed atmosphere, where excessive exuberance was frowned upon, and where neighbourhoods for concentrated vice and other red-light activity were less visible than Canal Street in Buffalo. Its vice market existed, of course, particularly in the downtown area on streets such as York and in areas such as ‘The Ward.’ The number of illicit drinking establishments had been substantially reduced after the appointment of license inspectors in the city in 1876; by 1881, only fifty unlicensed ‘grog shops’ remained (Clarke 1993). On average, church-goers were better served with houses of worship in Toronto, as evidenced in Table 3.2. Again, this means little unless the scale of participating communicants is available. An 1882 winter survey indicated that almost 45 percent of Toronto’s population attended church at least once each Sunday (Globe, February 7 1882; Decarie 1972). Comparable data for Buffalo are not available, although a 1906 survey indicated that just under half of its inhabitants were not church members (United States 1910: Diagram 9). In both cities, Roman Catholics, no doubt as a result of the devotional revolution in the second half of the nineteenth century, were the most devout Sunday worshippers of Christian groups. Comparative rates of secularization between the two cities though, are quite impossible to calculate.
The comparative restraint on vice in Toronto was not typical of other North American cities. The only other city in Canada of comparable size to Toronto, Montreal, provided opportunities for intemperate individuals that could compare favourably with Buffalo. The Quebec metropolis had a liquor licence for every 150 persons in the mid-1880s, which translates into 6.67 licenses per 1,000 inhabitants (DeLottinville 1981/82). Then again, Montreal’s industrial base and harbour-dependent neighbourhoods had more parallels with Buffalo’s than Toronto’s. Scherzer (1992: 200) noted the importance of “pubs, or porterhouses and dramshops” as important social epicentres in mid-nineteenth century New York City. Further west, Barrett (1987) analyzed the saloon geography of the famous Packingtown district of Chicago. At the turn of the century, the 29th ward of Chicago was home to no less than 500 saloons, which were crucial bridgers of ethnic divide in the community (Barrett 1987). Their dense geography, encircling the Union Stock Yards and packing plants on the south side of the city, had parallels in Buffalo’s harbour district and Irish First Ward, as we shall see in the fourth chapter. First though, the remainder of this chapter adds to our sense of time and place for Buffalo and Toronto through an elaboration of their respective social structures and geographies circa 1880.

Ethnicity and Class: The Social Geography of Buffalo c. 1880

Socially, Buffalo in 1880 was characterized by both ethnic and class divisions. Consider firstly the city’s labour market. That the three main ethnic groups in Buffalo occupied
different positions in the city’s labour market is clearly discernible from Table 3.3. The American or ‘Yankee’ group had a fairly even spread among the different occupations, but were over-represented within the owner/manager, commission agent, middle-class and clerical sectors. These Protestant Yankees, most of whom had their origins in New England, were responsible for the settlement and establishment of the city of Buffalo earlier in the century. They were part of a general nineteenth-century westward expansion of New Englanders “routinely imprinting their mark upon a succession of frontier regions” (Meinig 1993: 266). But, as the latter author pointed out (ibid.: 270, 272), the outcome of these geographical thrusts:

did not quite add up to a replica of New England… in broader political and social terms, the State of New York, with its strong legacy of an Anglo-Dutch landed and mercantile oligarchy and its powerful role in the initial land market and all subsequent developments, could never be simply transformed into a Yankee commonwealth.

In trying to understand the moral mentality of the Buffalo Yankees, Taylor (1998) draws a useful distinction between them and their counterparts in Boston. In contrast to Boston, where a moralistic conception of government, based on the regulation of business, was practiced, Buffalo’s founders’ encounter with the New York frontier diluted the moralistic dimension of Protestant values while pursuing capitalistic ones dedicated towards advancing the city through industrial growth. Moral sensitivities then, took a back seat to the pursuit of capitalistic urges and material gain.
Table 3.3: Occupational distribution of the major ethnic groups in Buffalo, 1880.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>American</th>
<th></th>
<th>German</th>
<th></th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th></th>
<th>City</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners/managers</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents on commission</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other middle class</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue-collar working-class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building trades</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled/semi-skilled</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1336</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: US Federal Census manuscripts, five percent sample.

Note: ‘American’ refers to those whose fathers are born in the United States. ‘German’ and ‘Irish’ include both the immigrant and second-generation.

The apparent cultural homogeneity of New England cities such as Boston had been disrupted by the large immigration of mostly Famine Irish in the mid-nineteenth century. Those New Englanders fleeing west to cities such as Buffalo hoping to rediscover such homogeneity would be disappointed. The immigration of Protestant and Catholic German-speaking peoples had, by 1880, overshadowed the Yankee contingent in Buffalo in numerical terms. This major threefold ethnic division of Americans/Germans/Irish was true for other cities in the Middle West of the United States such as Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Rochester as well as eastern metropolises such as New York and
Philadelphia (Ward 1971, Zunz 1982). The Germans, who had come to Buffalo as a skilled, artisan class, were in 1880 over-represented among the self-employed and skilled/semi-skilled sectors as shoemakers, saloonkeepers, tailors, blacksmiths, and grocers. They had also made inroads within the lower white-collar clerical workforce as sales and railroad clerks, and bookbinders. The Irish were less likely to be self-employed than the Germans, but were more likely to be involved in the building trades as carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, and plasterers. That they still made up the bulk of the city’s labouring class comes as no surprise either. The cross-sectional year of 1880 was three decades after the immigration of thousands of Famine Irish to the city but as yet, the group had still not rid themselves of the stereotype of being good only for work that demanded more physical strength than skill. They would have to wait for the next wave of immigrants from other parts of Europe before this could begin to happen.

The labour market hierarchy that existed among the three main ethnic groups of Buffalo in 1880 was reflected in the city’s social geography. The waterfront and edges of the central business district were havens for the transient elements of Buffalo’s working proletariat. This area stretched from the Irish First Ward through to the Canal Street district and north to the city’s eighth ward where an ethnically mixed population lived in modest frame housing on either side of the main thoroughfare of Niagara Street (Figures 2.2 and 3.1). Although working-class, it represented a less congested environment than either the downtown or the First Ward, the latter neighbourhood frequently suffering floods due to its low-lying location.
Figure 3.1 Location of areas in Buffalo referred to in text
While the central business district and its surrounding area housed a mosaic of peoples from many nationalities, three sectors within the city were, in the popular mind as well as on the ground, peopled by one of the three main ethnic groups. The well-to-do class of Americans lived to the north and west; the Irish were on the southern waterfront and particularly in the First Ward, while the East Side belonged to the German-speaking peoples (Figures 2.2, 3.1-3.4).

The Americans or Yankees of over two generations, were unevenly dispersed throughout Buffalo (Figure 3.2). The working-class American was to be found in the cosmopolitan downtown area, and also interspersed with German families in the districts to the west and north of the central business district. Relatively few among the American working-class were confined to unskilled jobs. Many were employed on the railroads as firemen, switchmen, brakemen and engineers. The rest worked as printers, machinists, policemen, and at the foundry. The upper- and middle-classes of Yankee background kept to the north side of downtown and developed an exclusive residential district centred along Delaware Avenue in the years between 1880 and 1910. This was located in Buffalo’s tenth ward, where 52% of households were estimated as being headed by Americans in 1880 (Figures 2.2, 3.1 and 3.2). These substantial brick-built dwellings were home to the city’s Yankee physicians, attorneys, dentists, and capitalists. Their residential separation is not surprising, and was probably in place for some time before 1880. Similar patterns were evident elsewhere; Scherzer (1992) observed the wealthy of New York City retreating north from downtown Manhattan by the mid-nineteenth century, and segregating themselves in suburban areas.
Figure 3.2: American households as a percentage of all households in selected Buffalo wards, 1880

Source: Buffalo citywide sample, 1880
The clustering of German-speakers in the fifth, sixth, and seventh wards of the city (as they were then identified, see Figures 2.2 and 3.3) exhibited familiar traits of a people with a common language (distinct from that of the host society) and background settling in residential clusters. Based on the citywide sample of household heads, the Germans’ share of these three wards’ populations was estimated to be 75.7, 94, and 81.2 percent respectively. Certainly, they came from a variety of regions within German-speaking Europe. The federal census enumerator in 1880 noted this wide range of regional origins for Buffalo’s Germans. Apart from those who came from ‘Germany’ as listed, the main regional origins of Buffalo’s Germans were Prussia, Mecklenburg, Hamburg, and Hanover in the north; the west-central regions of Alsace-Lorraine and Hesse-Darmstadt, and the southern regions of Baden, Wurttemburg, and Bavaria. Smaller numbers were present from Switzerland and Austria as well. Catholic as well as Protestant Germans made the trip to Buffalo, but these are inseparable due to the omission of the religious variable in the American census manuscripts. The main thoroughfares of the German East Side, Broadway and Genesee Street, were lined mostly with brick buildings housing businesses (Figure 3.1). Off these main streets, the residential neighbourhood was dominated by detached housing of one- and two-storeys and almost all was built of wood. Enterprising immigrants with capital brought industry into the neighbourhood, examples being David Haas’ brewery (at Spring and Genesee) and J. Firmenich’s grape sugar factory (at William and Jefferson). Ethnicity and class, therefore, were interwoven into the Teutonic East Side landscape.
Figure 3.31 German households as a percentage of all households in selected Buffalo wards, 1880

Source: Buffalo citywide sample, 1880
The wealthy American families on Delaware Avenue then, were segregated from the poor and less well-off as well as the other main ethnic groups in the city, the Germans and Irish. Of these three groups, the Irish were the least well-off. In addition, the main site of Irish residence in Buffalo, located on the southern edge of the central business district, echoes Ward’s (1971) depiction of such immigrant quarters as a ‘gathering place’ for new arrivals. The Irish in Buffalo, true to their position in the city’s labour market, resided in the shadow of waterfront industry (Figure 3.4). While the group’s initial settlement was dispersed between the first, second, third, and eighth wards by the 1850s, the profile of the ‘First Ward’ as the principal Irish section of Buffalo had been cemented by 1880. In 1880, an Irish individual of either the immigrant or second-generation headed 66% of households there; the nearest ward to challenge this was the eighth where exactly half of all households had this characteristic. The remaining households of the First Ward were headed by Americans, Germans, and a host of other nationalities, many of whom were the owners of businesses such as hotels, boarding houses, and saloons.

The following chapter further elaborates on the place of the Irish in Buffalo. For now, we can summarize by saying that an ethnic geography did exist in Buffalo by 1880. In contrast to what Zunz (1982) found for Detroit however, we cannot conclude that each of the three ethnic communities was cross-class in terms of residence. The Germans may approximate this model; the Irish and Americans do not for upon this ethnic geography was overlain a class geography.
Figure 3.4: Irish households as a percentage of all households in selected Buffalo wards, 1880

Source: Buffalo citywide sample, 1880
The geographical basis of class distinctions in Buffalo was between the better-off West Side and the less well-off East and South Sides. We have already noted the existence of wealthy American neighbourhoods to the west of Main Street, and the concentrations of mostly working-class Germans and Irish to the east and south respectively. Elaboration of this class geography comes in the shape of literary, as well as quantitative, sources.

This east/west class geography is clearly reflected in fiction of the period. Consider firstly the Irish-American and Buffalo native Roger Dooley’s novel *Days Beyond Recall* (1949). The central character is Rose Shanahan, who grew up in the city’s overwhelmingly Irish First Ward. The characters are fictional but real placenames are used and the depiction of city localities and their social flavour noticeably real. The book chronicles Rose’s family and social relationships in turn-of-the-century Buffalo, and shows not only how she and other First Warders perceived other areas of the city but also hints at an east-west migration of upwardly-mobile Irish within the city. For instance, we hear that “there was no keeping up with (Rose’s cousins – the Kilcoynes) since they moved over on the West Side. But Rose knew that she would not have traded any street in the First Ward for Delaware Avenue itself, where the rich people lived and her Aunt Biddy worked out” (Dooley, 1949:1).

Various references are made in the book to the ‘real high-toned Irish’ of the West Side in opposition to the ‘shanty Irish’ who lived on the beach at the foot of Michigan Street. These working-class Irish were cut off from the rest of the city by the maze of freight yards, grain elevators, docks, slips, and other features of the waterfront landscape. The
Irish and the Portuguese who lived along the sea wall were mainly fishing families who even had their own Roman Catholic church built on the beach at the foot of Michigan Street; it was built in 1873 and closed in 1915 (Valaik 1997). For the Buffalo Irish generally, if not for the city's population as a whole, the east-west distinction was political- as well as class-based, since Rose mentions that “in First Ward politics, whatever Mike Crowley (the fictional ward boss) said, went. [It was] Democratic politics, of course, for in the Ward, you were born a Democrat as you were born Irish and Catholic. What few Irish Republicans there were... generally lived on the west side.” (Dooley, 1949: 19).

Cartographic and quantitative analysis provides a less subjective confirmation of these distinctions. Using the citywide sample, Figures 3.5 and 3.6 map the proportions of unskilled and middle-class by ward in Buffalo for 1880. The large area of the east and south sides, comprising the German and Irish neighbourhoods respectively, as well as the waterfront, were the areas in which labouring men and their families were found most often, particularly the Irish First Ward (Figure 3.5). In contrast, Figure 3.6, where the five middle-class occupation categories are aggregated to provide a cumulative percentage, broadly supports the idea of a more affluent West Side; the pattern revealed on this map coincides closely with the ethnic geography of Americans in the city (Figure 3.3). The 1880 citywide sample data for Buffalo were aggregated in order to compare the East with the West side. The main axis of division was Main Street, which also acts as one long continuous ward boundary as far north as Delaware Park. The results are shown
Figure 3.51 Unskilled households as a percentage of all households in selected Buffalo wards, 1880

Percentage of all households

- > 35%
- >20 - 35%
- >5 - 20%
- <= 5%

0 Miles 1

Source: Buffalo citywide sample, 1880
Figure 3.6: Upper and middle-class households as a percentage of all households in selected Buffalo wards, 1880

Percentage of all households

- > 60%
- > 45 - 60%
- > 30 - 45%
- <= 30%

Source: Buffalo citywide sample, 1880
Table 3.4, and confirm the relative supremacy of the owner/manager, white-collar, clerical and middle-classes on the West Side as opposed to the self-employed, semi-skilled and unskilled classes of the east and south. The ‘West Side’ was defined as wards 8,9,10, and 11. The ‘East Side’ was defined as wards 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 and 13. The overall blue-collar working class percentages were 58.2 percent for the East Side and 38.5 percent for the west side. In the latter area, the working-class population lived nearest the waterfront in the vicinity of Niagara Street.

Table 3.4: Occupational distribution on Buffalo’s East and West Sides, c. 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>East of Main Street</th>
<th>West of Main Street</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners/managers</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents on commission</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other middle class</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue-collar working class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building trades</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No stated occupation</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1065</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: US Federal Census manuscripts five percent sample.

It is obvious from the above calculations that the West Side covered a smaller area and had a smaller population than the east and south side (Figures 2.2 and 3.1). There was

3 Due to its peripheral location to the north of Delaware Park, ward 12 was excluded from this analysis.
internal heterogeneity within the West Side, however. The transient waterfront districts of the eighth ward, peopled by English, Irish, Canadian, Scottish and German immigrants were a contrast to the stable middle-class atmosphere of North Street and the new areas north of there. What little residential housing there was that was constructed of brick was located here for the upper- and middle-class Yankees. In reality though, this fashionable part of the West Side, centred on Delaware Avenue, was only a small part of the city. Overall, Gerber (1989: 101) concluded that in the antebellum period “the American West Side had a high level of ethnic institutional completeness” in terms of its network of Protestant churches, fraternal lodges, and voluntary associations.

While ethnic and class geographies constituted Buffalo’s residential structure, the workings of the city’s labour markets and social institutions on its households, families, and individuals produced separate sets of interaction geographies for the city’s ethnic and class groups. In late nineteenth-century Philadelphia, Golab wrote that (1977: 129) although “Poles, Italians, Jews, Irish, Germans, Anglo-Americans and blacks shared the same space and identified with the same neighbourhood . . .they did not, as a result, feel impelled to interact socially or emotionally” commenting further (1977: 132) that “coexistence was possible . . .because unseen networks were recognized and respected.” All accounts suggest that the Delaware Avenue rich lived in splendid isolation, with Main Street and Delaware Avenue acting as the thoroughfares connecting these families with the downtown for business affairs in the week, and conspicuous consumption on a Saturday afternoon. By the turn of the century, Delaware Avenue had reached its
heyday, where Protestant upper-class families were now building houses even more substantial to those that had preceded them. According to Mable Dodge Luhan (1933: 3):

it seemed to us the only real Buffalo... On Delaware Avenue you knew everyone you met on the street, but people never talked to each other except of outward things. There was hardly any real intimacy between friends and people had no confidence in each other... they neither showed their feelings nor talked about them... In those days only the outermost rim of life was given any conscious attention.

Unsurprisingly, the majority of households containing two servants (excepting hotels or saloons) were located in the private middle- and upper-class households of the West Side’s tenth and eleventh wards (Figure 3.7). In total, 42 households from the citywide sample that were not hotels or saloons employed at least two servants in 1880. Seventeen of these contained at least one Irish female servant, Irish in this case meaning either born in Ireland or whose father was born in Ireland. All of the houses in which these Irish female servants worked were in the Delaware district, three on Delaware Avenue itself. For example, James Dudley, an American oil refiner who lived at 560 Delaware Avenue, employed two Irish female servants plus one other servant.

The demand for female servant labour by these rich families connected well with the supply of labour emanating from working-class households elsewhere in the city.
Figure 3.7 Location of households employing two or more servants in Buffalo, 1880.
According to Feather (1993), the origins of these Irish servants was, in many cases, the family homes of the Irish First Ward where:

Irish girls left home (before the age of 18) almost always to become live-in domestic servants in the homes of native-born citizens. However, this was not a permanent occupation for most women; by age 21, over half were married. Thus, while men of the First Ward had very little contact with other Buffalonians outside their ethnic and geographic area, women usually spent several years learning the values and ways of life of the native-born Buffalo elite.

This reality is also reflected in Days Beyond Recall, where Rose Shanahan’s eldest aunt, Biddy, works as a cook for Judge Harrison Lovett who lives on Delaware Avenue. Portrayed as a member of one of Buffalo’s oldest families, with New Hampshire roots, Lovett is married to Charlotte Emhardt who, with her German last name, comes from a wealthy banking and brewing family. In the book, “through Aunt Biddy, Rose knew almost as much about Delaware Avenue as she did about the First Ward, though in quite a different way. To her, the names associated with these houses were as magically remote and fascinating as those in a fairy tale” (Dooley, 1949: 23).

The Buffalo labour market for domestic service then, produced a geography of movement that connected the worlds of the Irish working-class family and the Yankee upper-class family. The low wages of the working-class created a situation where most members of such families who could work had little choice but to. The immigrant ‘family economy,’
as working-class historians such as Bradbury (1982, 1984), Barrett (1987), and Bodnar (1985) have termed it, was thus produced. In the case of the Irish family in Buffalo, a diverse set of workplace geographies for the unskilled resulted, exposing young unmarried females to an upper-class world their male counterparts rarely encountered. We will have more to say on this matter in the next chapter.

The class and ethnic geographies that we have so far uncovered for Buffalo also combined to produce a geography of political affiliation. By 1880, two main parties competed for control within the city. While neither was a wholly monolithic grouping, the Republican Party had become heavily German and the Democratic Party had become heavily Irish. The Yankees were present in both parties however, the most notable Democrat among them being Mayor Grover Cleveland who in 1884 went on to become President of the United States. Political power in the city lay in the hands of the aldermen who were elected by separate city wards, while the electorate chose the city commissioners. As Horton (1947: 238) puts it succinctly: “The municipality was corrupt [and] everyone knew it who lived there” though in such respects, Buffalo was not too dissimilar from many other American cities at the time.

The association of Catholic Irish immigrants with the Jeffersonian Democratic Party had its roots in the French Revolution, when that party was sympathetic to France in contrast to England (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970). Such an anti-English stance was attractive to Irish immigrants to America, many of whom had been forced off their farms by rent increases imposed by English and Anglo-Irish landlords. In addition to this, the anti-Irish
and nativist sentiments espoused by the Know Nothing Party in the 1850s (many of whose members were later to form the Republican Party) solidified the Catholic Irish allegiance to the Democratic Party. Thus, by the time the Famine-stricken hordes arrived in New York City towards the middle of the nineteenth century, “They got off the boat to find their identity waiting for them: they were to be Irish-Catholic Democrats” (Glazer and Moynihan 1970: 221). Some of these arrivals, of course, made their way subsequently to Buffalo where they exerted such an identity centring on their waterfront territories of that city. In the First Ward of 1880, John Sheehan, who lived on Elk Street, had been elected as City Comptroller, while his brother “Blue Eyed Billy” was a key ‘ward boss’ (alderman) as well as local lawyer. and together they built what Goldman (1983: 167) described as “a fortress of working-class Democrats in Irish South Buffalo.”

The centre of such a fortress, of course, was the ‘machine government’ that had worked so well in New York City and Boston, the elements of which drew from both American urban politics and rural Irish custom (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970). The history of corrupt English misrule in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland, where suspicion of the formal legal system combined with fresh memories of Catholic emancipation. Furthermore, the rather rigid social and power hierarchies established in rural Irish custom, founded on patronage, respect for rank, and eventual reward, were transferred overseas to shape the Irish contribution to the Democratic Party. Such hierarchies would result in the creation of an effective political bureaucracy (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970: Cochrane 1995-96; Robertson and McKivigan 1996; Taylor 1998).
These political antecedents were important shapers of a working-class community parochialism for the Buffalo Irish during their formative years of their neighbourhoods in the city. By 1880, this arrangement was still in place. The German East Side was likewise a Republican stronghold. No wide labour-based coalitions existed in the city at this time; those trade unions that did were divided on the basis of skill and occupation (Goldman 1983). That each of the three main ethnic groups in Buffalo had political control over their own particular 'city trench' then, parallels Katzenelson's (1981) findings for New York City.

Toronto’s Social Structure c. 1880

Protestant immigrants from Great Britain and their descendants dominated the social scene of nineteenth-century Toronto. Toronto was not alone in this respect, for English-speaking Protestants were to be found at the administrative helm of other sizeable nineteenth-century Canadian cities such as Montreal and Halifax and Québec. The shaping of Protestant British North America commenced at the end of the eighteenth century when the United Empire Loyalists fled the newly-created American republic. A larger influx of Protestants from the British Isles, triggered by agricultural and industrial change, entered the colony after 1815. In the 1840s, the central business districts of both Québec and Montreal were populated primarily by English-speaking Protestants whose economic power was manifested in their ownership of commercial services (Harris and Warkentin 1974).
English-speaking Protestant immigrants from the British Isles were prevalent in the early days of Toronto and they would remain the dominant population group in the city. While they had the upper hand in imposing a moralistic tone to the civic administration, the Toronto Protestants and their different religious sects, were not monolithic entities. Although the Anglican Church could claim the early settlers and leaders of Toronto, immigration later in the nineteenth-century increased the working-class element of the group (Goheen 1970). The Scottish and Ulster-Scots populations of Toronto brought the Presbyterian religion, which also counted a number of socially prominent figures. Methodism, in contrast, seems to have been, as it was in Britain, "more identified with the working class population of Toronto" (Goheen 1970: 81). Although such distinctions may have existed in the mind's eye of many Toronto Protestants, the relative positioning of each congregation within the class hierarchy may have been contested by each religion. There is also little reason to believe that whatever class patterns emerged within each religion remained constant over time as more immigrants from Great Britain flowed into Toronto, especially after 1900. Still, the occupational characteristics of these religious groups may be explored in a quantitative fashion for 1881 (Table 3.5).
Table 3.5: Occupational distribution of Toronto religious groups, 1881.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owners/managers</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>49</td>
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<td></td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>62</td>
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<td>58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agents on commission</td>
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<td>Semi-skilled</td>
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</tr>
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<td>210</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>156</td>
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<td></td>
<td>188</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>161</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>924</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sample data.

The different religious groups in 1880s Toronto were not distributed evenly throughout the labour market of the city. Table 3.5, based on a citywide sample, demonstrates this point. The table covers the four main religions of the city that together made up 95% of the total in 1881, as well as the city figure. The overrepresentation of Presbyterians among the professional managers and business owners is noticeable, as is the relatively small (Irish) Roman Catholic representation in the upper/middle-class. The proportion of Catholics in unskilled work was twice the average for the city. This broad
Protestant/Catholic divide in the urban labour market parallels Olson’s (1989) findings for Montreal in 1861 where relatively affluent Protestants contrasted with less well-off Catholics of both French-Canadian and Irish origin. The other Protestant groups, of course, were a mixture of Irish, English, Welsh and Scottish peoples mainly. They occupied certain niches within the working-class. While there were fewer Methodists in unskilled jobs, compared to Anglicans and Presbyterians, the former had a larger proportion of personnel in skilled and semi-skilled jobs than the latter two denominations. The skilled construction trades occupied few Catholics. The Methodists and Anglicans were split almost evenly between the working- and middle-classes. Presbyterians, on average, had forty percent of their household heads among the blue-collar cohort. The Protestant barristers and physicians were more than likely to be living in relative affluence along wide, tree-lined, streets such as Jarvis and Sherbourne in the northeastern inner city. The working-class character of the Methodists identified by Goheen (1970) was substantiated by this sample for 1881, but it is clear that the Anglicans were no less working-class than the Methodists. Relationships based around the church permeated into the business life of the city also. For example, Timothy Eaton, creator of the giant retailing dynasty, obtained a strong line of credit from a fellow Methodist, John Macdonald, for the development of his retailing business (Careless 1984).

The Roman Catholic proportion in the working-class was, at 65.3 percent, the highest of the four denominations. Despite their relative concentration in the lower levels of the labour market, Roman Catholics in Toronto also acquired their own capitalist role models
such as Sir Frank Smith, an Armagh-born produce merchant who became president of the Dominion Bank, the Northern Railway, the Toronto Street Railway and investment companies, as well as Conservative senator and cabinet minister (Careless 1984; Cottrell 1988). To explore further the place of Protestants and Catholics in Toronto’s labour market hierarchy, the issue of local power requires comment.

Local politics and the Orange Order in late nineteenth-century Toronto

This examination of local politics in Toronto begins with the Orange Order, within whose lodges and meeting halls many felt the real power in the city was vested. As indicated, the Orange Order had a presence in Toronto that, in terms of numbers, did not exist in any other city of comparable size in North America. The Order originated in Ireland and had as its central heroic figure, King William of Orange, victor over the Catholic King James, at the Battle of the Boyne in County Meath, Ireland, in 1690. The Order's central tenets were the preservation of the Protestant Christian faith and loyalty to Britain, her imperialist possessions, and her monarch. For such reasons, the Order never bloomed in the United States (Houston and Smyth 1984). The pattern of diffusion and the degree of support and membership of the Orange Order in Canada, particularly Ontario, have led Houston and Smyth (1980) to conclude that it was more than simply an Irish immigrant institution. Their study of Toronto's Orangemen revealed a group of diverse occupational backgrounds, whose local lodges and leaders were not necessarily confined to the well-educated middle-class stratum. Membership of the Order then, whilst restricted to Protestants, was not confined to the Irish variety – Irish immigrants and their
Ontario descendants participated in the Order naturally, as did their counterparts from rural areas who had migrated to Toronto, but Protestants born in other parts of Britain also formed part of the brotherhood.

The Orange Order was an important component of Toronto’s social scene not only because of the influence they wielded at municipal level but also due to the widespread effects of their attitudes on the personality of the city and, it may be argued, large parts of southern Ontario. A high moral tone pervaded the administration and attitude of Toronto from the middle of the nineteenth century. As Houston and Smyth remarked (1980a: 156):

Temperance and prohibition, sabbatarianism and a public good defined in terms of protestant morality, and an undercurrent of anti-catholicism characterized the tone of local affairs.

The Orangemen were prominent in municipal administration in Toronto. They controlled most of the departments in the municipality, and jobs were allocated on the basis of patronage to a large degree. On the basis of the Buffalo evidence, it would be hard to believe that an Irish Catholic administration in Toronto would have behaved any differently. Nevertheless, the presence of Irish Protestants and the Orange Order in Toronto sharpened the identity of Irish Catholics there. In November 1885, the Irish Canadian, Patrick Boyle’s partisan newspaper directed to the Irish Catholic’s struggle for
political recognition in Toronto and Canada, proclaimed that sectarian jobbery still existed in the city:

Toronto…is today…more bigoted and intolerant than ever…A more scandalous exhibit of prejudice and injustice cannot be found in the records of any city…Catholics are excluded (from City Hall) as methodically and systematically as if by Act of Parliament…for every Catholic in the employ of the Corporation there are 14 Protestants.

Earlier, on the eve of the 1872 federal election, the spiritual leader of Irish Catholics in Toronto, Archbishop John Lynch, had complained to Conservative Party leader John A. Macdonald:

Irish Catholics could scarcely secure a (public) position. The railroad companies are generally Masonic, the Municipalities Orange, and the Government Employees are for the most part of both camps (quoted in Cottrell 1988: 321).

In 1884, the *Irish Canadian* jumped on a story about the city council’s contract with one of their Orange brethren, John Irwin, who supplied horses and drivers for the fire department’s reels and engines. Upon termination of the contract (which had lasted for seventeen years), Irwin succeeded in not only getting elected as a city alderman, but was also placed on the Board of Works despite having a son-in-law involved in a firm of Corporation contractors. While it would not be a new argument to state that such jobbery
and patronage occurred in cities elsewhere, for our purposes it is significant that the need to accommodate minority or ethnic interests was felt less in Toronto than in Buffalo. How can this be explained?

For one thing, the Irish as a whole in Toronto did not form one political bloc. This was in many ways a function of the religious division within the Irish ethnic group in the city. The Orange Order had a well-established link to the Conservative Party, much in the same fashion as the Buffalo Irish had with the Democratic Party. This link had its roots in the homeland. As Miller (1985: 230-31) noted:

in the pre-Famine decades the Orange lodges linked Protestant farmers and urban workers of all denominations to their Protestant landlords, employers, and ultimately, the Tory party leaders and the Irish administration in Dublin Castle.

Looked at in Protestant terms, it can be argued that the Irish did quite well in Toronto in the late nineteenth-century, with Ned Clarke, born in the Ulster county of Cavan, serving four terms as mayor, for example (Armstrong and Nelles 1977). It is also true, however, that not all Irish Protestants were Orangemen. The other major alternative political party was the Reform or Liberal Party (nicknamed ‘The Clear Grits’ as the Conservatives were ‘Tories’). Led for most of the nineteenth century by George Brown, the anti-Catholic editor of the Globe newspaper, their agenda appealed to liberally-minded Protestants. Neither party, however, was especially appealing to Catholics.
As we shall see, Irish Catholics in Toronto had no sector of a city to really call 'their own.' As a result, few Catholics were elected as aldermen in nineteenth-century Toronto. Two exceptions were John O’Donohoe and Peter Ryan. Their victories occurred in the working-class areas of early Irish settlement in the East End of Toronto, including Cabbagetown. O’Donohoe had represented St. David’s Ward in the late 1850s, while Ryan had represented St. Lawrence’s Ward, incorporating the small Catholic settlement of Corktown surrounding St. Paul’s Church, twenty years or so later. The political division of St. David’s Ward was practically coterminous with Cabbagetown which was a key gathering place for Catholic (and Protestant) Irish at mid-century (Careless 1985), and this fact may help to explain O’Donohue’s victory there. The ethnic shape of Cabbagetown was not to go the way of Buffalo’s First Ward, however. By the 1880s, the immigration of Irish Catholics had dried up, and the neighbourhood was becoming heavily working-class, Protestant, and Orange. In general, the presence of an Irish Catholic on Toronto city council was not assured in the same way as it was in Buffalo. Armstrong and Nelles (1977) reported on the 1888 municipal election thus:

The old gang was returned to city hall. The new council was much like the old one...eighteen Conservatives, seventeen Reformers, a Mugwump and, as far as can be determined, no Catholics. What better sign could there be that municipal politics had been returned to its accustomed keepers, the ward-heelers and lodge members who ran the local Liberal and Conservative organizations. Things were back to normal.
While the voting behavior of Irish Catholics at municipal level in Toronto has not been analyzed, Cottrell (1988) has shown that the Irish Catholic vote at provincial and federal levels swayed back and forth between Conservative and Liberal in the two decades following Confederation. Social circumstances such as the separate schools issue, as well as personalities such as Thomas D’Arcy McGee and the Archbishop of Toronto, John Joseph Lynch, heavily influenced such fluctuations. Although by 1871, the Catholic League publicly declared their support of the federal Liberals, the Irish Catholic rank and file had deserted that party by the 1878 election due to the “fundamental ideological differences between the Irish Catholic community and the Presbyterian Reform tradition in Ontario” (Cottrell 1988: 385).

**Ethnic Dispersion and Class Consolidation: Toronto’s Social Geography c. 1880**

The ethnic geography that prevailed in Buffalo in 1880 had little parallel in Toronto. The three leading ethnic groups of the city, the English, Irish, and Scottish, lived in a dispersed fashion throughout. But the gulf between these three groups in terms of background and knowledge of one another was far less than that which existed between the Yankees, Irish, and Germans of Buffalo. Households headed by individuals of Irish ethnic origin (i.e. of different generations with Irish paternal ancestry) and by Irish birthplace formed sizeable proportions of all households in all census divisions of Toronto (Figures 3.8 and 3.9). Households of Irish ethnic origin ranged from a minimum of 20.3% of all households in the affluent northern section of St. Thomas’ Ward, to a
Figure 3.8: Percentage of Households of Irish Ethnic Origin by ward subdivisions, Toronto and suburbs (1881)

Source: Census of Canada manuscripts

Lake Ontario

Toronto Harbour

Queen St.

Don River

Miles

0

>40%

30 - 40%

<30%
Figure 3.9: Percentage of Households with Irish-born heads by ward subdivisions, Toronto and suburbs 1881

Source: Census of Canada manuscripts
maximum of 49.3% of all households in the heavily working-class southern section of the same ward, south of Queen Street. The proportion of Irish-born for these city divisions reveals these two same districts to possess the variable’s maximum and minimum of 10.6% and 37.9% respectively.

Likewise, the location of industry in Toronto did not produce ethnic residential neighbourhoods cluttered with wooden dwellings, boarding houses, and saloons to a similar extent as in Irish Buffalo. True, there were industries located along Toronto’s harbourfront and in the central business district, but their direct impact on the formation of proletarian neighbourhoods was not as salient as the waterfront industries of Buffalo, for instance. That Toronto had failed to exploit fully its capacity to capture all the manufacturing interests within its hinterland meant that there was room for improvement. As Beeby (1984: 216) has observed, there was also a morphological dimension to these failings: “Without waterfront industrial lots served by a deep-water harbour, Toronto was at a continual disadvantage.”

The staunchly Protestant milieu that shaped Toronto’s personality in the nineteenth century meant that ethnic difference corresponded to religious difference more than anything else. Loyalty to Britain and its empire set this provincial milieu apart from the republic to the south. The English, Scottish, and Irish Protestants of different generations in Toronto hardly looked upon each other as foreigners. Unsurprisingly then, the various Protestant religions were spread throughout the city’s residential geography. The Toronto Methodists in 1890 were described by Goheen (1970: 188) as being “distributed
in those intermediate zones between the industrial furnace and the shaded suburban street,” but also outside the areas where Catholics were most numerous. Likewise, membership of the Protestant Orange Order, which crossed the lines of various Protestant confessions, was not confined to any one area of the city. Houston and Smyth (1980a) mapped the distribution of Orangemen in the city of Toronto in 1894 and they demonstrate that the membership showed no marked concentration or clustering. At the local scale they observed (1980a: 106) that:

The density of Orangemen was lowest in the elite residential areas of Jarvis Street and Rosedale and on the expanding northern and western fringes of the city... they were found in their greatest density in the heavily populated and older residential eastern sector of the city known as Cabbagetown.

Cabbagetown had emerged in the nineteenth century as a key gathering place for immigrants to Toronto (Figure 3.10). Located between the well-off districts west of Parliament Street and the Don River, the association between its inhabitants and membership of the Orange Order, was aptly described by a Toronto historian thus: “(The people’s) Orange hue was markedly bright, one they shared with the Protestant city about them” (Careless 1985: 39). Yet, once again, a religious mix was present in this east end locality. The census returns for St. David’s Ward (defined here as being coterminal with Cabbagetown; see Figure 2.1) in 1881 show that 2,410 (Irish) Catholics lived alongside 8,113 members of the four leading Protestant denominations in this area. Indeed, Careless has shown that by subtracting the Catholic total in the ward from the
total of Irish ancestry, one arrives at a figure of 2,138 Irish Protestants in Cabbagetown in 1881, estimating that "probably close to half of the Irish residents in Cabbagetown of the eighties were of Orange rather than Green affinity (Careless 1985: 34)." Mapping Irish Protestants as a proportion of all those of Irish ethnic origin on a ward subdivision basis, while indicating that Irish Protestants were to be found in every area of Toronto, also confirms the prominence of Cabbagetown in the story of Irish Protestantism in Toronto (Figure 3.11) as well as the northern subdivisions of the city generally where their middle-class stratum lived and few of their Catholic countrymen were to be found. In these areas, over eighty percent of those of Irish ethnic origin were not Catholic. In the west end, Parkdale's Irish were also mainly Protestant, while in its northern suburban neighbour, Brockton (where St. Helen's Church was established in 1875), the Irish there were mostly Catholic (Figure 3.12). The subdivisions do not take account of population density, and it is worth noting that the population of Brockton and Parkdale in 1881 was 756 and 1,074 respectively, compared to St. David's Ward which was over 10,000.

Within St. David's Ward, however, there were clearly micro-geographies where either Protestantism or Catholicism was prominent if not dominant. John McAree (1953), the son of a second-generation Ulster Methodist, reported few contacts with Catholics in his Cabbagetown childhood, remarking that in his childhood of the early 1880s, Irish Catholics "were generally spoken of as Dogans, a term of contempt I suppose (and) considered as foreign as if they had been Italians and were viewed with suspicion" (1953: 92). He later added that the "unreasonable prejudice (felt towards Catholics then) would not have existed, I think, had it not been for Separate Schools" (1953: 93). Examining
Figure 3.11: Irish Protestant Household Heads as a Percentage of all Heads of Irish Ethnic Origin, Toronto and suburbs 1881

Source: Census of Canada manuscripts
Figure 3.12: Irish Catholic Household Heads as a Percentage of all Heads of Irish Ethnic Origin, Toronto and suburbs 1881

Source: Census of Canada manuscripts
John McAree’s ethnic neighbourhood in the 1881 census manuscripts reveals that his family home on Parliament Street was indeed surrounded by Irish Protestant households with a Methodist Church nearby at the corner of Oak Street (Figure 3.10). These families lived in single-family dwellings built of brick whose values ranged upwards from $900. The occupations of the heads of McAree’s neighbouring families ranged from teamster and machinist to commercial traveller and grocer. These Irish Protestant families then lived a comfortable existence if not an overly affluent one.

Catholics, then, with their seat of power located supra-nationally in Rome, were viewed with a certain suspicion and mistrust. Since Catholicism was the great ‘Other’ in Great Britain at the same time, it is not surprising that such sentiments were transplanted to Toronto. In Toronto, unlike Buffalo, Catholicism translated into Irishness, but this identity did not work in reverse. The loyalty of the Catholic Irish, firstly to British North America and later to Canada, was frequently questioned, and the embarrassing Fenian invasion of 1866 did not help the Catholics’ cause. Yet, by 1880, if these ethno-religious divisions continued to occupy the mind’s eye of many in Toronto, they were scarcely reflected in the residential environment. Goheen (1970) identified a strong correlation between residential segregation, Catholicism and lower occupational categories in 1870. The areas of Catholic Irish concentration he identified were threefold: west of the mouth of the Don River and south of Cabbagetown and centred on St. Paul’s church (Corktown); the Bathurst and King Street area (Claretow); and the Toronto Junction/Brockton area in the west end. Figure 3.12 confirms the prevalence of Catholics among the Irish ethnic group in Corktown and Brockton, although the structure of the
ward subdivisions (being divided by Bathurst Street, for example) does not hint at a similar concentration in Claretown.

In reality, however, the residential pattern of Irish Catholic settlement was more complicated. The east-west corridor of Queen Street acted as a spine from which streets containing local concentrations of Irish Catholic families protruded. Beginning in the east end, the southern boundary of Cabbagetown and the area of Corktown, located in the vicinity of St. Paul’s Church continued to house predominantly Irish Catholic families (Figure 3.10). Around Sackville, Sydenham, and Queen Streets, most Irish Catholic households were headed by Irish-born labourers, widows, and spinsters who resided in modest dwellings of frame and rough-cast construction ranging from $150 to $550. The premises of local entrepreneurs such as the grocer Martin Carden, and the coal and wood dealer John Clancy, both of whom lived on Sackville Street, served as local centres of news, gossip, and credit. Further west towards the centre of town, the area around Duchess and Jarvis Streets, its population density increased due to a cluttering of hotels, boarding houses, and houses with rear dwellings, was another area of Irish Catholic concentration. Three such families lived in the rear dwellings of a house owned by a local Catholic grocer named O’Leary. With two labourers and a tinsmith as their main breadwinners, life was hard for these families who were sheltered in virtual shanties valued at $100 each by the tax assessor.

If one followed Queen Street westward into the central business district, other pockets of Irish Catholic settlement could be found on both Bolton and William Streets. Bolton
Street housed a mix of Irish Catholic labourers, railway workers and other skilled individuals, who lived adjacent to the foundry of Patrick O’Connor and Alfred Webb. William Street, on whose corner the favourite target for Orange rowdies, Owen Cosgrove’s tavern, was situated, was another noticeably Irish Catholic street at the north end of which was located St. Patrick’s Church. House values in this working-class community ranged from under $200 for mostly rear housing to upwards of $800 and $900, reaching the standards of McAree and his Methodist neighbours in Cabbagetown. Further west towards Bathurst Street and St. Mary’s Catholic Church, built in 1852, Portland Street had a mix of Irish Catholic railway workers, comprising engine drivers, conductors, and engineers.

Although Queen Street provides the artery along which working-class Irish Catholic streets have been identified for 1881, they were by no means exclusively Catholic colonies. Table 3.6 shows that one seeks in vain for purely Catholic streets in the ‘Belfast of Canada’ in 1881. Few unbroken blocks of Catholic housing existed, if any. A block of houses on Duchess Street between George Street and an unnamed laneway housed eight Irish Catholic families, while the ninth was a Methodist butcher. In Corktown, labourers such as Richard Creagh owned two houses in addition to his own, which were leased to two Methodist families. Finally, despite its reputation as a flashpoint during July 12 parades in the 1870s, William Street was home to many Protestant families, many of whose heads also worked as labourers and whose housing conditions were little different to those of their Catholic counterparts.
Table 3.6: Concentration of Roman Catholics on Toronto streets, 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Street Name</th>
<th>No. of households</th>
<th>Number of Roman Catholic households</th>
<th>Percentage of Roman Catholic households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sackville</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duchess</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>67.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarvis</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>78.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolton</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>59.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of Canada census manuscripts, Toronto tax assessments.

a= both sides from Queen Street to St. David; b= both sides from Jarvis Street to Walker's Lane; c= east side, numbers 83-123 from Duchess to Queen Streets.

In sum, despite the micro-geographies of Irish Catholic concentration described above, the scale of such clusters in Toronto did not match for Buffalo's First Ward where the Irish, although they did not populate the latter area exclusively, had a presence and population level (circa 1,000 households) that resulted in the area being labelled as 'Irish' by most city dwellers.

Outside of Cabbagetown, Corktown, and Claretown, work by other scholars has revealed that on a typical Toronto street, Catholics and Protestants lived side by side. The Orange Hall on Euclid Street, in the city's west end, for example, had an intermixture of Orangemen, Catholics, and others on that street and its surrounding streets. This spatial
arrangement, although signifying a growing tolerance between Protestants and Catholics, did not completely preclude the possibility of conflict. In 1878, there was some post-Orange parade rioting outside Cosgrove’s hotel at William and Queen streets. This particular hotel had been the site of previous disturbances (Kealey 1980) since it was the focus of a small Catholic neighbourhood. Clashes between Orange and Green, both emotional as well as physical, had not begun to fade until the 1890s, so the nickname ‘Belfast of Canada’ still applied to Toronto in many ways alongside other varieties such as ‘Toronto the Good.’

If we have failed to find much of an ethnic or religious geography within 1880s Toronto, we fare better when exploring spatial patterns based on occupation or class. The growth of Toronto’s reputation as the major population and employment centre of southern Ontario continued in the 1880s, helped somewhat by the National Policy. As an historian of Toronto observed: “factory expansion (and overexpansion) rose rapidly into the Eighties, what with the sheltering tariff rates, a world trade revival early in the decade, and hopes of broad new markets raised by the Canadian Pacific Railway, now building to open the North West” (Careless 1984: 112). Goheen (1970) mapped the city of Toronto for a series of social and economic variables for the last five decades of the nineteenth century to illustrate the different geographical patterns produced by the growth of the city. By 1880, he found that the central business district of Toronto had not been abandoned as a place of residence; the settlement of Roman Catholic Irish and others on streets such as Bolton in the heart of the central business district are testament enough to this.
Although in some cases the spatial units are quite large, and tend to conceal as much as they reveal, Toronto’s wards were used to map the occupations from the general city sample of households. As Figure 3.13 shows, St. James and St. Thomas, despite their internal diversities, emerged as wards with the highest proportions of households where the head was engaged in a middle-class occupation. Goheen’s (1970) analysis also identified a privileged area, in mainly the northern sections of these two wards, where the middle and upper echelons of Toronto society were concentrated along Church, Jarvis, and Sherbourne streets, stretching as far north as Bloor street. This northeastern part of the city was Toronto’s version of Buffalo’s Delaware Avenue district, and was frequently commented upon in contemporary accounts of the time:

Of all the avenues extending south from Bloor Street to the Bay, the noblest are Church, Jarvis, and Sherbourne Streets....Jarvis and Sherbourne are lined on either side through most part of their extent by the mansions of the upper ten. Of a summer morning it is pleasant to saunter down one of these streets while the thick verdure of the chestnut trees is fresh with the life of June, and the pink and white bunches of blossom are as beautiful as any of the exotic flowers in the lawns and gardens of the houses (Mulvany 1884: 43).

The street index of the Toronto city directory reveals the concentration of upper/middle-class households on these streets. The residences of the wealthy were not all concentrated around Jarvis and Sherbourne, however. At the city’s developing western
edge, streets such as St. George, Madison Avenue and Spadina Avenue were soon furnished with residences that rivalled those further east. Mulvany (1884: 45) remarked about "the magnificent roadway of Spadina Avenue... Sumptuous mansions, chiefly of the Queen Anne style, are rapidly arising along both sides of the avenue."

As with Buffalo and many other cities such as Montreal, New York, Detroit, and Chicago, the Toronto wealthy lived largely in separate neighbourhoods. But what of the remainder of the work force? In other parts of the city, the spatial intermixing of different social classes on the same street was no impossibility. The 1881 city directory shows that the thirty-four houses on the north side of Baldwin Street in St. Patrick's Ward housed families headed by barristers, clerks, grocers, labourers, carpenters, baggagemen, and salesmen. Even Cabbagetown, "while chiefly occupied by wage earners lacking capital... also held influential middle-class components, and by no means functioned as a consciously proletarian district" (Careless 1985: 41). Still, the beginnings of a new class-based geography of residence was apparently taking shape with the growth of the city, according to Barbara Sanford (1987: 28):

New class-based residential areas appeared to separate the wealthy factory owners, merchants and managers from their increasingly hostile labour force. Various urban services reinforced this separation by providing costly infrastructure only to those residential streets which could afford the price.
Clearly, social inequalities persisted. Despite the rapid gains made by Toronto in terms of industrial output and employment, Darroch (1983) found in an analysis of the period 1861-1900, that the industrial and occupational division of labour had changed little. He also found, unsurprisingly, that the commercial (professional and commodity-dealing) sector had the lion’s share of the best residential property and of taxable personal property and income in the city. Mapping the geography of the unskilled in Toronto in 1881 by ward does not show a sectoral pattern comparable to Buffalo (Figure 3.14). St. Lawrence emerges as Toronto’s ward with the highest percentage of unskilled heads of household (27% of all households), while St. James, at 9.9%, had the lowest percentage. While Figure 3.14 does not reveal this to be the case, the earlier discussion of working-class Irish Roman Catholic concentrations, where they were found to be interspersed with their Protestant neighbours more often than may be expected, suggests that Queen Street may have served as a corridor along which the various pockets of working-class Toronto were situated in 1881. Goheen (1970) noted that the areas of lowest building quality were in the eastern areas of Cabbagetown near the Don River as well as in the west end south of Bathurst and Queen, where the railway intersected with residential areas around Niagara and Tecumseth streets. The residences in these districts, often built of wood, were located in the vicinity of factories such as the Don Brewery, The Toronto Brewing and Malting Co. and the Goodherham & Worts Distillery. The owners of these factories lived in the affluent enclaves at the northern edge of the city. For example, William Gooderham (later to be knighted), an Englishman, became one of Toronto’s most prominent capitalists with a mansion at St. George and Bloor Street. A distillery, established by Gooderham and his brother-in-law James Worts near the mouth of the Don
Figure 3.14: Unskilled Household Heads as a Percentage of all Household Heads by Ward, Toronto 1881

Source: Toronto citywide sample 1881.
River produced a third of the proof spirits made in Canada by the mid-1870s. Besides milling and distilling, the firm had dairy and beef-fattening adjuncts and held interests in railway companies (Careless 1984). Low-income working-class households inhabited the streets in the vicinity of his distillery.

In addition to these areas in the east and west end, an inner-city area known as ‘The Ward’ (located in the southern part of St. John’s Ward), later to become the city’s main reception area for Jewish immigrants, had already acquired notoriety by the 1880s. Mulvany (1884: 44) described ‘the Ward’ in comparative terms with London’s East End:

Elizabeth Street is of unsavoury appearance and repute. Teraulay…is little better in either respect. Centre Street is another slum, the three forming the Alsatia and St. Giles of Toronto.

By the 1880s, Goheen had concluded (1970: 194) that “economic rank (as opposed to religion) provided a more significant basis according to which groups sorted themselves residentially.” It is likely then, that the clustering of Irish Roman Catholics on streets hugging sections of Queen Street was a temporary phenomenon. It was only in the twentieth century that Jewish and Italian immigrants noticeably set up home in certain sectors of the city. Before this was to happen though, class was, in 1880, a more important variable than ethnicity in defining Toronto’s social geography.
Conclusion

Both Buffalo and Toronto were settled by Protestants whose various moral strands of conservatism, sabbatarianism, and entrepreneurship shaped each city’s personality. The spirit of Yankee entrepreneurship in Buffalo, combined with the realities of European immigration, aimed towards ethnic group co-operation rather than conflict and resulted in a less intense social atmosphere in that city than in Toronto. In Toronto, Irish Catholics were a minority in a city peopled mostly by other Protestants from Great Britain where sabbatarian inclinations flourished. True, the Buffalo Irish, who were mostly Catholic, endured phases of discrimination. In Buffalo however, the long-term impact of the presence of large numbers of Germans, both Protestant and Catholic, was to contribute to harmonious relations between Catholics and Protestants in the city generally (Taylor 1998). As with other cities in the northern United States, however, such interethnic relationships did not preclude the Irish propping up Buffalo’s cultural division of labour in 1880. In Toronto, the Roman Catholics, most of whom were Irish, were also worst off in that city’s labour hierarchy.

While both cities possessed city councils elected on the basis of wards, the geography of wards and ethnic settlement lead to divergent outcomes. In Buffalo, some wards corresponded well with the neighbourhoods of Irish and Germans, guaranteeing a voice for their interests in local affairs. Ethnic-based residence patterns in Buffalo then, contributed to a real sense of democracy in terms of ethnic group participation in municipal decision-making and the redistribution of patronage. It also engendered a
sense of parochialism in working-class communities that precluded large-scale labour-based coalitions, save for trade-based organizations.

Social class was the primary sorting mechanism of urban space in Toronto in 1880. Ethnoreligious groups were generally dispersed throughout the city at this time, with few clusters remaining from the 1860s and 1870s. As with Chicago’s Gold Coast and Buffalo’s Delaware Avenue, the most cohesive residential clustering in Toronto was that of the wealthier citizens in the northeastern part of the city. Local political structures and electoral mechanisms did not noticeably work for the best interests of minorities, such as Irish Catholics, in Toronto. There, large elongated wards, stretching north-south through the city, bisected neighbourhoods comprising a variety of ethnicities and social classes, and thus produced unpredictable electoral outcomes. If the system worked for anyone, it was the Orange Order and members of other fraternal societies in Toronto, whose fellowships contained many Irish Protestants. No minority in the city then, had any sense of control over a ward, and few class-based groups did. The term ‘Tory Toronto’ was not coined for nothing.

These are the urban milieus into which the Irish were placed in Toronto and Buffalo circa 1880. We have not, as yet, fully elaborated on the heterogeneity of the Irish in the two cities. The opening chapter warned against the temptation to stereotype the Irish immigrants in North America without fully considering the complexities of time and place. Nor have we elaborated on the everyday existence of these households in their various city neighbourhoods. A more detailed look at the lives and livelihoods of Irish
immigrants and their descendants, and how their families were integrated into the ethnic and class tapestries of Buffalo and Toronto, is the task of the next chapter.
CHAPTER 4

PATTERNS OF WORK, RESIDENCE AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION AMONG THE IRISH IN TORONTO AND BUFFALO C. 1880

Introduction: The Irish Ethnic Group in Toronto and Buffalo

The previous chapter placed the Irish communities of Toronto and Buffalo in their general urban setting, as well as providing an overview of the economic and social milieus of both centres. This chapter elaborates on the structure, character, and geography of those Irish communities in the two cities in greater detail than the previous chapter. The two samples of Irish households in 1880/81, as described in the second chapter, form the backbone of this analysis. Here, our primary interest is in reconstructing the residence and occupation patterns of these Irish families, with emphasis on their integration into the community structures, residential fabric and labour markets of the two cities.
The history of Irish settlement in Toronto and Buffalo precedes the influx of immigrants fleeing the Great Famine of 1847. In fact, the Famine did little to disrupt the general pattern of Irish settlement in the province of Ontario that had been shaped since the early nineteenth century (Akenson 1984, Houston and Smyth 1990). By 1841, over two thousand Catholics were resident in Toronto, and many if not all of these were Irish (Clarke 1993). The building of Saint Michael’s Catholic Cathedral began in 1845, two years before the inflow of poverty-stricken peasants. An earlier church, Saint Paul’s had been built in 1826. However, the increase in Catholic numbers in Toronto between 1841 and 1851, from 2,401 to 7,940, confirms the fact that the Catholic component in that city was significantly affected by immigration during the Famine era, setting it apart from the general provincial pattern.

Irish Protestants were also present in Toronto long before the Famine. Prominent residents of this background in the city in the 1830s were William Baldwin, James Beaty, and William McMaster. Baldwin, born in County Cork, resided in Spadina House, a country mansion overlooking the developing city of Toronto in the 1830s, and became an Upper Canadian Assemblyman. His son Robert rose to greater heights becoming, in Senior’s (1988: 627) words, “a symbol of political moderation in Canadian history.” Beaty, a prominent Orangeman, was later to become a Conservative MP, newspaper

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1 The present-day memorial statue to the immigrants of the Great Irish Famine who arrived in Toronto is located outside St. Paul’s Catholic Church, at Queen Street East and Power Street. Contrary to what one might expect, the Irish Catholic immigrants did not exercise complete administrative control over St. Paul’s from the outset. Up until 1835, “through a complicated voting system in which only those who held pews renting at five pounds a year could participate, the (non-Irish Family) Compact had excluded the vast majority of Irish Catholics from having a voice in the administration of their parish” (Clarke 1993: 39).
owner, and mayor of the city. McMaster was born in County Tyrone, arrived in Toronto in 1833, and rose to later prominence as a banker, a founder of both the Bank of Commerce and McMaster University, and as a senator (Armstrong 1988; Kealey 1980; Houston and Smyth 1990; Globe, December 24, 1883). That the Orange Order had a presence in Toronto since 1818 also testifies to an Irish Protestant presence in the city prior to the 1840s. The leader of the Order in Canada, County Wexford man Ogle Gowan, founded and was master of lodge 137 in Toronto in 1835 (known informally as ‘The Toronto Dandies’), for example (Houston and Smyth 1980a). Relations between Irish Roman Catholics and Protestants appear to have been cordial in the Pre-Famine period in Toronto. The Saint Patrick’s Society, formed in the early 1830s in Toronto, included Protestants and Catholics and was essentially a political organization (Clarke 1993).

The history of Pre-Famine Irish settlement in Buffalo is poorly documented. Though a Pre-Famine cohort of Irish had settled in the city, we do not know how many there were compared to Toronto. Bishop Timon of Buffalo reckoned that at least 400 Irish people were present by the early 1830s (cited in Gerber 1989: 122). These individuals and families joined with other Catholics of German and French (Alsatian) background to form the parish of St. Patrick’s in 1841 (Buffalo Evening News, May 13, 1972). The earliest-built Catholic church, St. Louis (1829), had been the preserve of the French, German, and Irish settlers, before immigrant numbers of all three groups increased and additional parishes were created. One Buffalo historian credits the construction of the Erie Canal in the early 1820s as having brought the first Irish settlers to Buffalo (Tielman
1990). The number of Irish workers on that project reportedly reached the heights of
3,000 by 1818. Condon (1974: 150) wrote that "as canal construction had inched its way
westward, it left behind little colonies of Irish families . . . In Buffalo, they were
especially numerous simply because that was where the canal terminated." By the early
1840s, the construction of the Boston and Buffalo railroad acted as an additional spur to
Irish settlement in Buffalo (Buffalo Evening News, May 13, 1972). In addition to the Erie
Canal, the Famine had a significant impact on the Irish population of Buffalo, with
10,020 individuals of Irish birth residing there in 1855. Michael Katz and his colleagues
(1982) estimated that the oldest male age group among these Irish settlers (55 years and
over) had, on average, been resident for an average of just 8.9 years.

The above data, however fragmentary, suggest significant differences between Toronto
and Buffalo in terms of the economic background of the Pre-Famine Irish population.
The Toronto Irish, particularly the Protestants, seem to have been present at all levels of
economic rank in the city by the 1840s. Many of the Pre-Famine Irish in Buffalo, in
contrast, had arrived in the city fresh from projects in other parts of the northeastern
United States that involved mainly unskilled labour. Following this group, Gerber has
noted (1989: 122) that "Famine-era immigrants then established the basis for both a
sizeable Irish population and Irish ethnicity."

It is difficult to generalize about the long-term impact of the Famine immigrants on each
city in terms of permanent settlement. With reference to Toronto, Gilbert Tucker (1937)
noted that a citizens’ immigration committee was formed in response to the large influx of Famine victims. He observed (1937: 540) that in the summer of 1847, the group’s attempt to keep the immigrants moving out of the town as rapidly as possible seems to have been fairly successful, for we learn that by the middle of July, out of a total of sixteen or seventeen thousand that had arrived in the town during the season, there were only 238 remaining. The local board of health reported the following year that during the 1847 season, 38,560 immigrants came into the town, of which number 36,650 were sent on. Of the remainder more than 1,100 died.

Despite such efforts, the number of Catholics in Toronto continued to rise from 7,940 in 1851 to 12,135 in 1861 (Clarke 1993), suggesting that these efforts to minimize the permanent settlement of Irish Famine immigrants in Toronto were short-lived and/or did not apply to the Post-Famine immigrants. Houston and Smyth (1990: 28) observed more generally that:

The Famine immigration represented the conclusion of a British North American era of mass Irish emigration, but in the republic to the south it represented an originating force for a new phase of expansion of Irish communities.

The reaction of Buffalonians to the Famine Irish is poorly documented. Aid and charity was available, but little is known of any efforts to move the starving peasants on to other cities. The rise to prominence of Buffalo as a grain port in the 1860s, with a parallel rise
in its demand for unskilled labour, would have made it a happier hunting ground for the unskilled Famine and Post-Famine immigrant than Toronto, where the demand for unskilled labour in general was not as great. Indeed, Glasco’s (1980) analysis of Irish immigrant families in Buffalo in 1855 noted their strong concentration in unskilled labour, compared to the Germans who were engaged in skilled trades to a much larger extent than the Irish. He noted that 56% of the Irish in Buffalo in 1855 had arrived in the country in 1850/51 alone.

The other significant difference between the Irish ethnic groups in the two cities was religion-based. While Irish Protestants slightly outnumbered Irish Catholics in Toronto (in 1881, the split was approximately 55:45), the Irish in Buffalo were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. Yet there is little doubt that Irish Protestants were present in the American city. Buffalo, alongside Detroit, was a key destination for many who chose to leave Ontario in the nineteenth century. In 1870, 4,044 Canadian-born individuals lived in Buffalo; by 1880, this had increased to 6,021. Given their sizeable numbers in Ontario, rural and urban, it is likely that many of these migrating individuals were Protestants of Irish background; just how many is impossible to calculate.

There were enough, however, to establish Orange lodges in Buffalo. The Toronto Globe (July 12, 1878) reported that Toronto’s Orange parade wound its way towards Front Street and Toronto Harbour:
where it was expected that the brethren from Buffalo would join the procession... As the vessel steamed into the harbour, the band with the Buffalo company struck up 'God Save the Queen.' A Buffalo Orangeman proclaimed in a speech later that day that the order in that city was not an old one, but it was built of the finest materials.

Buffalo city directories have few entries on the Order until later in the century, and the evidence suggests that their institutional apparatus in Buffalo was unlikely to cater to much more than 100 persons (Houston 2000). Glasco (1980) and Gerber (1989) find little evidence of any distinctive Protestant Irish group life in Buffalo. As Gerber (1989: 442) noted, Irish Protestants and their institutions "had no visibility in the city's public life." Therefore, it seems likely that, with a common language, perceived Anglo-Saxon ancestry, religion, and spared of hostile stereotyping, the Irish Protestant in Buffalo blended into the Yankee Protestant society. Buffalo Irish Protestants, such as the Republican politician Rowland Mahany, and the crockery retailer William Glenny, were regular attendees at the Buffalo Club, where they rubbed shoulders with the wealthy men of Delaware Avenue. To summarize, while the discussion of the Toronto Irish will include both Catholic and Protestant, their Buffalo counterparts will be assumed to be Catholic, except where otherwise stated.

Up until 1880 then, the Irish in both cities exhibit differences not only in terms of religious denomination, but also in terms of time of arrival. The 1880 Irish samples present a picture that would support these impressions. The 1881 Toronto sample consisted of 667 households, comprising a total of 3,115 individuals. The Buffalo
sample of 524 households translated into a total of 2,698 individuals. Those in the samples of Irish ethnic origin only are tabulated by birthplace in Table 4.1. These samples also included wives who were not of Irish ancestry, for example. In Toronto, these were mainly of English and Scottish origin, and few were Catholic. In Buffalo, a mixture of non-Irish wives, servants, and boarders was present, from a multiplicity of backgrounds. The table demonstrates that, over thirty years after the Famine migrations, the immigrant generation was proportionally greater in the Buffalo Irish sample (39.2%) than in the Toronto sample (30.9%). These percentages provide a rough but reasonable measure of the relative importance of Famine and Post-Famine immigration to each city. In addition, fewer American-born Irish were present in Toronto than Canadian-born Irish in Buffalo, but not by much. Given that many Irish individuals and families arrived in Canada, but used it as no more than a temporary settlement location before making their way to the United States, this is not surprising. Those American Irish who travelled north were mostly Protestant, including many Baptist families, about whom more will be said later.
Table 4.1: Birthplaces of individuals with Irish paternal ancestry, Toronto and Buffalo, c. 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Toronto</th>
<th>Buffalo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish-born</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Irish-born</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1,866</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>1,767</td>
<td>61.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York State</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,890</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Buffalo and Toronto Irish sample data.

These aggregations, when broken down by religion, also allow us to view the Irish ethnic group in Toronto by birthplace (Table 4.2). By 1881, the Presbyterians had the proportionate majority of Irish-born within their ranks. This pattern is not surprising given Miller’s (1985: 376) comment that during the post-Famine period, “Ulster’s rural Presbyterians…seem to have preferred the New World over Belfast, despite the latter’s reputation as a ‘Presbyterian city,’ while rural Anglicans disproportionately chose internal migration over emigration.” As Houston and Smyth (1990) observed generally, the aftermath of the Famine signalled the resumption of the mostly Protestant Irish migration stream to Canada. Though Catholics may have been more disposed to try their luck in the industrial centres of the northeastern United States than in Canada, 31 percent of Toronto Irish Catholics were born in Ireland, a proportion comparable to Anglicans.
and Methodists. Those Catholics who continued coming to Toronto were probably utilizing links established by friends or kin from the Pre-Famine and Famine migrations. As Clarke (1993) has noted, however, few Irish Catholics migrated to Toronto after 1860. The 'other Protestants' refer to adherents of the Baptist religion as well as others such as the Plymouth Brethren, Bible Christian, Unitarian, and Disciple congregations, as well as 'free-thinkers.'

Table 4.2: Religion of individuals of Irish paternal ancestry by birthplace, Toronto 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Ireland N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Ontario N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Elsewhere N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>1,162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Protestant</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>1,768</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2,889</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto Irish sample data.

Our knowledge of the regional Irish origins of the immigrants to both cities is quite fragmentary. The importance of Irish Protestant immigrants in the Toronto data suggests that many of these originated in the northern Irish province of Ulster. The earliest Irish migrations to British North America had emanated mainly from this province. The Famine immigrants, in contrast, hailed from diverse parts of Ireland that lacked Ulster’s commercial and market infrastructures. The export of people from these remote Irish
source regions to Canada slowed to a trickle beyond 1850, while Ulster resumed its status as the main source area for Irish immigration to Canada, heralding a return to the Pre-Famine spatial pattern (Houston and Smyth 1990: 40). In contrast, the origin of Toronto’s Irish Catholics was likely to emanate from all four Irish provinces (Clarke 1993).

The origins of the Buffalo Irish are not much easier to reconstruct. There are, however, some indications that many of these immigrants came from parts of Ireland other than Ulster. That Protestants were relatively rare within the group has already been indicated. Glasco (1980: 21) remarked that the Buffalo Irish of the mid-1850s came mainly from southern Ireland, though this seems to be based on impression more than anything else. Around the same time, however, Gerber (1989: 135) reported that:

Galway Irish, County Mayo men, Corkonians, and ‘Fardowners’ (from Longford) fought with one another at, and tried to drive their adversaries from, construction sites around Buffalo where they were employed, especially when they took part of their pay in whiskey and had little else other than drinking and fighting to do in the evenings and on weekends.

In addition, a sub-district of the First Ward was christened ‘I-hakertown,’ by the Irish immigrants, apparently since most of the immigrants there came from the counties of Cork and Kerry in the southern Irish province of Munster “where they ate much hake-fish” (Evans Family Tree. n.d.). Jeremiah Sheehan, one of Buffalo’s pioneer dry goods
merchants, was born in Bantry, county Cork (*Buffalo News*, January 8, 1913). The father of Buffalo Democrat, William “Blue-Eyed Billy” Sheehan, was also born in Cork (*Buffalo Times*, January 22, 1919). Dooley’s (1949) novel on the First Ward, *Days Beyond Recall*, is based around the lives of descendants of County Limerick (Munster) immigrants. Of the six detectives at police headquarters in Buffalo in the early 1890s, two hailed from county Cork, two from county Clare (both in Munster province), and one each from Mayo (Connacht) and Derry (Ulster). The current Famine memorial standing on Buffalo’s waterfront today, unveiled in 1997, was a gift from the city of Cork to commemorate all those who ended up in Buffalo via the southern Irish port of Queenstown (now Cobh). It is also well-known that the southern and western counties of Ireland were more emigration-prone in the post-Famine period than those from the east and north (Miller 1985), and many post-Famine Irish did end up in Buffalo. Taken together, these fragments of evidence suggest that the Buffalo Irish may, on average, have emanated from southern and western Ireland rather than from the northern counties of Ireland. At present, such impressionistic evidence on the regional origins of Buffalo’s Irish cannot be verified from additional sources.

Patterns of living for the various Irish households in their localities within the two cities will now be investigated. The previous chapter disregarded all notions of segregated slum-bound Irish communities in each city, providing more evidence for dispersal than concentration. In this chapter, use of a 1880/81 cross-section is essential not only for obtaining a snapshot of the degrees to which the Irish were socially and economically
integrated into the two cities, but also for establishing the basis of a mobility study, discussed in the final two chapters.

Community, Neighbourhood, and Territory

The previous chapter described the place of the Irish within the social geography of the two cities. While Irish Catholics lived in most areas of both cities, there were particular streets and neighbourhoods in which they were more numerous than others. Irish Catholic clusters in Toronto covered scarcely more than a housing block, situated on various streets off Queen Street, from the east to the west of the city, in a ribbon-like fashion. The generally dispersed pattern of Irish families in Toronto, Protestant and Catholic, is not surprising, given earlier research by Houston and Smyth (1980a, 1990) and McGowan (1999). Thus, in terms of residential segregation, Toronto was certainly no Belfast. Although Toronto’s Irish Catholics mixed residentially with Protestants, heterogeneity did not negate community. In this regard, one should recall Golab’s general distinction between community and neighbourhood, drawn from her work in early 1900s Philadelphia (1977: 113):

Diverse peoples shared the same city-space, but proximity did not lead them as a matter of course to interact with one another at the social or emotional level; rather, each group kept to its own network of affective structures. The distinction between

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2 The lack of extant records means that patterns of religious segregation in nineteenth-century Belfast cannot be verified, though Hepburn (1996) has shown that, by 1901, significant Roman Catholic and Protestant enclaves had taken shape in the city.
neighborhood and community is critical, for it explains how neighborhoods could physically integrate diverse cultures and yet be ‘provincial’ and ‘isolated’ places.

Lees also noted this distinction in her work on the London Irish in the mid-nineteenth century, commenting (1979: 63):

Although Irish migrants were not ostracized and locked in an urban ghetto, most were relegated to the side streets and back alleys of their neighborhoods. They lived close to the English, but they remained apart. Ethnicity, operating within constraints posed by London’s economic and residential geography, shaped patterns of Irish settlement. The result was a chain of Irish buildings and enclaves within English working-class territory. Although neighborhoods were shared, neither geographic nor social assimilation took place. In the tiny world of a London street, the social distance between a court and a corner house was vast.

In Buffalo, the evidence of Irish concentration in 1880, appears stronger than for Toronto, but not much more so. The Irish in Buffalo, with a higher proportion of immigrants than Toronto, were also represented in every ward of the city, but remained closely tied to the waterfront area, especially the First Ward where the grain elevators were dotted along the Buffalo River at the Erie Canal terminus. Taken together, the first and eighth wards accounted for 52% of all sampled Buffalo Irish households in 1880, with the first ward alone accounting for 36%. In the First Ward alone, the 188 families sampled revealed that just over 55% of all Irish employed household heads (n=155) there in 1880 worked
as unskilled labourers. More skilled personnel in the neighbourhood occupied a range of skilled and middle-class jobs such as ship carpenter, painter, grocer, saloonkeeper, boarding house keeper, and inspector. The remainder of the mostly Catholic Irish were clustered on streets located adjacent to the first and eighth wards. Even today, Buffalo's so-called 'Old First Ward' has an enduring local identity as an Irish neighborhood, just as the Irish grain scooper occupies a definite niche in the city's labor history.

Although they had different denominational profiles in the two cities, elements of community and neighbourhood life were present for the Irish in both. In Toronto, the multi-denominational character of the Irish population, in tandem with their occupational diversity and geographical dispersion, meant that these various communities or 'interaction spaces' overlapped at a complex variety of scales. In Buffalo, the fact that the majority of Irish were working-class Roman Catholic combined with the industrial geography of the city to produce the First Ward as the principal Irish neighbourhood; they were more dominant there than in the eighth ward, where more Americans and Germans were present, producing more of an ethnic mosaic than in the grain elevator district. The primary elements of community for the Irish in both cities revolved around churches, schools, and social institutions.

The church and parish school was an anchor of North American urban Roman Catholic neighbourhoods. Rooted within specific parts of the city, the creation of Roman Catholic parishes fostered a closely-knit sense of territoriality and attachment to place.

Membership of a Roman Catholic parish required one to live within its boundaries unlike,
for example, the congregation of a Protestant church or Jewish synagogue. In Boston’s “traditional Catholic world, moving across the street could mean leaving your parents and your old community behind” (Gamm 1999: 114). Similarly, Toronto and Buffalo’s Catholics usually identified their neighbourhood by the name of their parish.

That a similar sense of ‘parish turf’ territoriality applied equally to Irish Protestants and their churches in Toronto appears doubtful. The range of Protestant denominations in which men and women of Irish descent were found went beyond the main three of Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian. Smaller numbers of families than were present in these three belonged to Baptist, Unitarian, Bible Christian, Disciple, Congregationalist, and Plymouth Brethren congregations. Membership of these congregations undoubtedly fostered a sense of togetherness, but this did not translate into a particular way of viewing urban space. Anglicans had parishes, but Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, had not. As H. Paul Douglass found in his study of churches in Springfield, Massachusetts in the early twentieth century (1926: 282): “Unlike the Roman Catholic churches, those of Protestant faith do not mass their adherents in geographical areas distinct from one another... The result is a network of geographical ties between church and home of incredible perplexity and incoherence.” Nevertheless, McCormack (1993) has argued that English immigrants to Canada in the early twentieth century looked to Anglican parishes for emotional support, so one should consider these parishes as having meaning for Irish Anglicans also.

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3 An important exception is Orthodox Jewish congregations, who are required to reside within walking distance of their synagogue.
A familiar appendage to Roman Catholic churches was the parish school. The parish school was not an entity that came easily to Roman Catholics in North American cities, however. It was not until 1863 that the Scott bill was passed in Canada, permitting the establishment of separate schools (Cottrell 1988). By the middle of the nineteenth-century, New York had become the first of the original thirteen American states to prohibit the teaching of religion in public schools: the Roman Catholic Church there then set about establishing its own school system (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970).

Public and separate schools then, were part and parcel of the education systems of Toronto and Buffalo circa 1880. The Buffalo city directory for 1881 listed 36 public schools and eight parochial schools, the latter usually built beside parish churches. There were thirteen Roman Catholic churches in the city in that year catering mainly to Irish English-speakers. Their location in mostly downtown and waterfront districts provides a good index to the overall distribution of Irish families in the city. Toronto’s Catholic Irish population, smaller in numbers than that of Buffalo and dispersed through the city, were served by nine schools run by the Sisters of St. Joseph, and five by the Christian Brothers. Most of these schools were located adjacent to the seven Catholic churches dotted around the city from St. Helen’s in the west (Brockton) to St. Joseph’s in the east (Leslieville). In Irish Buffalo, the parochial schools were apparently staffed by Irish nuns, many of them Irish-born and educated (Seller 1979). A similar situation prevailed in parish schools in Toronto, where lay teachers were few and far between until the twentieth century (McGowan 1999).
Public schools in both cities, funded by taxpaying citizens, were important sites of acculturation, where social distances between pupils of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds were dissolved over time. Irish Protestants in Toronto were public school supporters. In 1881, twenty-two public schools were present in the city, to which their sons and daughters were sent. These institutions were more familiar to these Irish Protestant immigrant families than may seem apparent at first sight. Schoolbooks used by the Irish National School Board, for example, were adopted as standard in the Ontario curriculum during the 1850s and 1860s, with American readers excluded by 1859 (Akenson 1985). Pupils from a plethora of Protestant denominational backgrounds attended these schools and some Catholic families did also send their children to them, but how widespread this was remains unknown (McGowan 1999). McAree (1953) did not meet any Catholics as a schoolboy in Cabbagetown, so one should not assume widespread Catholic attendance at public schools in Toronto.

In contrast, the Catholic Irish certainly did not shun the public school system of Buffalo. Although Seller states that “Unlike the Germans, the Irish in Buffalo had relatively little interaction with the public school system. They made few demands upon it and received little from it with one major exception – jobs” (1979: 25), she is factually incorrect. Consider the following testimony that recounts life on Tennessee Street in the First Ward (Downey n.d.: 6, 10):

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4 Although used in Ireland, these schoolbooks did not contain any particular bias towards Irish culture or history as such, which later brought the disdain of Irish nationalists. Moreover, although not secular texts, they were religiously neutral. Written for a Crown-loyal population, they were, as Akenson (1985: 160) observes “nearly as appropriate to the population of Ontario as...to that of the British Isles themselves.”
(The children) played under the sidewalks, swam in Buffalo Creek and delivered milk and lunch to the workers of the nearby elevators. They went to St. Bridget’s Church until 1897 when Our Lady of Perpetual Help was founded... (They) all attended Public School No. 30... Of the 239 pupils that registered (in Public School No. 30), 150 were Irish. All the teachers were of Irish descent.

While the above recollection actually relates to public school number 34, education commissioners’ annual reports support the above view regarding the Irish participation in Buffalo’s public school system (City of Buffalo 1882). Public School Number 4, on Elk Street near Louisiana Street, had over 50% of its pupils claiming Irish-born parents, and was described as being “overcrowded with pupils” (City of Buffalo 1882). Public School Number One, on the West Side of Buffalo, had just under half of its pupils claiming Irish parentage. Moreover, a good many of the teachers in the Buffalo public schools were Roman Catholic. It is not known whether the teaching staff of Toronto public schools contained, as in Buffalo, a fair proportion of Roman Catholics. As is discussed in Chapter 5 though, there is little reason to believe they did.

Territoriality was more characteristic of an Irish Catholic than an Irish Protestant immigrant community. As Houston and Smyth (1990: 46) note: “The Catholic population’s stronger sense of place was derived from its native identity, its never having known another place, and the limitations to movement imposed by the (Irish) system of landholding.” These Roman Catholic Irish had come from a rural Irish background where social life was focused not only on the Catholic parishes and their associated
chapels, but also on a key geographical division known as the townland whose area usually varied between 500 and 5,000 acres. The transatlantic crossing had little effect on Old World rivalries. Certain streets within Detroit’s ‘Corktown’ district, for example, housed families from each of the five Munster counties such as Kerry, Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, and Clare (Vinyard 1976). While the bleak and dreary industrial landscape of Buffalo’s First Ward could scarcely hope to impress an outsider, the goings-on within its spaces were full of significance and meaning for the local residents. Small areas within it were, for example, etched into the mindscapes of immigrants (Figure 4.1), as the following extract shows (Bonner, n.d.: 24-26):

If you happened to live between South Park (then Elk Street) and Louisiana Streets to St. Clair Street down near the waterfront, you were known as a “Bagley” towner. If you resided in the area bounded by Alabama Street and O’Connell Avenue (including all of the side streets within that area), where the sidewalks were higher, you were known as a member of “Haker” or “Hager” town. Those who lived in the vicinity of Hamburg and Katherine Streets (to the Buffalo Union Furnace and the Erie Railroad tracks near the waterfront), were known as “Union” towners. Opposite Ganson Street, near the waterfront, was known as “Rogue’s Hollow.” I do not know what the significance of this name is. The younger people in the ward used to have some dandy fights sticking up for their section of the ward.

A correspondent to the Irish Canadian, using the suitably cryptic pen name of the ‘rambler’ reported on his travels to Buffalo that county-based factionalism was all but
dead among the Irish there. He noted in his column on July 14, 1881, that "Many sincere Irishmen have advanced against our fellow countrymen of Buffalo the charge of fostering 'Provincialism.'" before adding with dismay that "There is unfortunately good grounds for the indictment."

Names were bestowed not only on places, but also on people. That such was the case indicates the high degree of interaction and familiarity that families in the First Ward had with one another, in contrast to areas such as Delaware Avenue where the self-absorbed rich kept mostly to themselves. The large number of households with a given surname such as O'Brien, Fitzgerald, or Sheehan in the First Ward was another reason to coin nicknames on people. Thus, an inhabitant of Buffalo's First Ward, whether at school, working in a grain elevator, or working behind a saloon counter, would have encountered local characters with names such as "Beans" Danahy, "Pig Iron" Sullivan, "Goose" McGowan, "Stogie" Sheehan, "Bunny-Ears" Slattery, "Harp" O'Brien, "Acres" Pendergast, and "Iggy" Holleran (Shine 2000). First Ward locals of non-Irish background were not excluded from this practice either, as names such as "Snooky" Stockowicz, "Butch" Smolinski, "Foo-Foo" Felchow, and "Hot-Dog" Feiner testify (Shine 2000).
Despite the juxtaposition of Buffalo’s West Side ‘Lace Curtain’ Irish with the ‘Shanty Irish’ of the First Ward in *Days Beyond Recall*, it is doubtful that such class-based spatial distinctions ended there. Other passages in the book suggest that within the First Ward itself, the tightly-knit nature of things and subtle class or lifestyle distinctions generated a general lack of privacy and small-town snobbery (Dooley 1949:7):

There were few (families) whom the Shanahans did not know, at least among the families who had always lived here. Tenants might come and go, forever moving from one back yard to another or living in flats over Elk Street stores, but the families who owned their own houses, they who had formed St. Bridget’s nearly 50 years ago…these were still the backbone of the parish, and the ones who rated a greeting from Mary Ellen Shanahan.
Such distinctions were also present among the Irish in Toronto. Even the predominantly Roman Catholic William (formerly Dummer) Street, at the north end of which was located St. Patrick's parish church, was divided by respectable and 'rowdy' elements, as the following extract from the *Globe* (May 2, 1878) testifies:

About the southern extremity of the street there live a score or so of disreputable families whose members are a terror to all well-doers to the north of them. Be it Sunday or any other day of the week the same disgraceful scenes are enacted, and as there are no policemen detailed for duty here, there is not the slightest check brought to bear on the ever-increasing rowdy element in this quarter. It so happens that the parties complained of own for the most part the wretched hovels they live in and cannot, therefore, be driven out of the street...So notorious has the south end of William Street got to be, that ladies will travel any distance rather than go up it and run the gauntlet of the foul language which is made use of at all times, by men as well as boys.

Social institutions also contributed to the shaping of neighbourhood and community for the Irish in both cities. In her study of Philadelphia's Poles, Golab (1977: 146) noted the general importance of the self-employed sector, dubbing them "a ready index of the maturity and viability of the immigrant community. The greater their variety, the more developed and permanent was the community." Saloonkeepers were an important component of this middle-class group. Saloons, cited as key components of nineteenth-
century urban working-class culture generally (DeLottinville 1981), appear to have been particularly important to the Buffalo Irish. As the following section shows, the Buffalo Irish were more working-class than their Toronto counterparts. The previous chapter also demonstrated the high incidence of saloons in Buffalo. As was the case with Barrett’s (1987) intimate portrayal of Chicago’s Packinghouse district, the saloon (often doubling as a boarding house and grocery) was the most common commercial establishment in Buffalo’s Irish First Ward. In 1880, the latter district exhibited traits similar to the “extensive parish and pub-based ethnic infrastructure” that Belchem (1999) described for nineteenth-century Irish Liverpool. In Buffalo, the hire-and-fire boss scoopers who employed the grain-scooping Irish gangs also acted as saloon owners and minor political bosses in their neighborhoods where votes were directed, political plums distributed, and attempts to curb alcoholism frequently frustrated (Levy 1940). The irregular nature of grain scooping and other dock-based work meant that workers’ often utilized the saloon as a cafeteria, a hiring location where networks were forged, a place to sleep, and a location for general conviviality. These saloons were overwhelmingly a man’s world, and the saloon owners were men who had previously worked as labourers or in semi-skilled labour who had come into saloon ownership as a form of economic mobility. They knew what to expect from their clientele, but at the same time not all saloons were alike. As Duis has written for saloons in Boston and Chicago (1983: 154) “the German saloon was as much a family institution as the Irish bar was a man’s world” and this distinction was probably true for Buffalo as well.
The Orange lodge was an important social outlet for the Irish Protestant in Toronto, as it was for many male Protestants in the city generally, Irish and non-Irish. However, the thirty or so lodges of the Order in early 1880s Toronto did not act as social forums for all Irish Protestants in the city (Houston and Smyth 1980a). Neither were they confined to working-class Protestants. Kealey (1980: 109) has noted that generally, "job, neighbourhood, and leisure came together" in the lodges, observing that lodges were established on the basis of relationships forged in the workplace. For example, he notes that Boyne Lodge 173 had a membership of workers concentrated in horse transport, while Enniskillen Purple Star had a large number of brewery labourers and teamsters.

A sense of loyalty to Britain and her imperial possessions was solidified through membership in the Orange Order. The Order's strength in Toronto's social and political circles sharpened the distinctions between the Protestant and Catholic Irish. Since the Orange Order was no longer purely an immigrant Irish institution, it served to draw the Irish Protestant alongside his English and Scottish counterpart into a general Canadian-Protestant majority population in Toronto. In this it has parallels with the English city of Liverpool, where Irish Catholics and Protestants also resided. In Liverpool, the Orange Order, according to Belchem (1999: 206) "recruited strongly among workers with no Ulster connections (therefore) Irish Protestantism was subsumed within a wider British membership and identity." The identity of Irish Protestants in Tory Toronto was less sharply drawn than that of Irish Catholics. The latter, for example, had their own ethnic press for most of the nineteenth century. The Irish Protestant newspaper, for example, enjoyed but a year-long circulation in the 1890s, before fading into obscurity (Nicolson...
1985). Distinctions between Protestant and Catholic Irish, which had sharpened since Pre-Famine days, were solidified through the use of mockery and stereotyping by such newspapers as the Orangemens’ Sentinel. As Clarke has observed for Toronto in the nineteenth century (1993: 43) “by differentiating themselves from Irish Catholics on the basis of religion and British loyalism, Irish Protestants reinforced the image of Catholicism as an alien threat,” though such threats were taken less and less seriously as the century drew to a close.

In addition to engendering a patriotic sense of Britishness in Canada, the Orange Order performed important benevolent functions. For working-class Orangemen, the society aided the unemployed, helped with medical expenses in times of ill-health, and provided financial aid for families who lost loved ones (Kealey 1980). Like many saloons, the fraternal functions of Orange lodges were male-centred and provided an atmosphere of conviviality, though some lodges frowned on alcohol consumption. In other lodges where no such constraints were present, Protestant saloonkeepers in Toronto doubtless “found lodge membership a prerequisite for attracting clients” (Kealey 1980: 113).

While the Orange lodge was a man’s world, Irish Protestant women were active in voluntary and benevolent associations such as the Young Women’s Christian Association.

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5 Consider the following ‘report’ by P.G.W. of the Sentinel (December 15, 1880) on a meeting of the mainly Catholic Irish Land League in Montreal, where the unflattering dress and colloquial speech of the participants are made the object of scorn by the correspondent: “(1) was astonished at the vision which greeted my eyes. About forty filthy-looking fellows, smoking dirty black clay pipes were scattered in groups here and there two or three gentlemen (?) in plug hats being sandwiched between them. Soon after my arrival the President entered, which was the signal for a few to doff their hats to him to exclaim ‘Be gobs, it’s glad I am to see you.’ A little later the President mounted the platform and said: ‘Fellow citizens and sufferers through the obnoxious laws made in England for the grinding of money out of Oireland’s suffering, patriotic children, I greet you all (Loud cheers). We are here to help Oireland, and to aid her, we must have more money. Come, gentlemen, roll in the cash; we niver needed it as much as we do now….if ye don’t we will niver be able to take the land from the tyrant cut-throats to divide it aiqually among ourselves.”
and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Other sources of benevolence existed for Irish Protestants in Toronto, such as the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society (IPBS). President of the society for 1879-80 was the Tyrone-born banker and senator William McMaster (who was no Orangeman), and meetings were held monthly. It was one of the few organizations in Toronto that combined the words 'Irish' and 'Protestant.' However, the distribution of aid by the IPBS was limited, it appears, to Protestant immigrants (Nicolson 1985).

All Irish in Toronto, then, were not alike. While Irish Catholic children were educated in separate schools, their elders had their own separate associational world. Central to the renewal of their church along ultramontane principles in the 1850s and 1860s was a mission to devotionalize the congregation, through increased emphasis on Mass attendance and devotional performance. Women's confraternities in Toronto integrated devotional practices "into the daily lives of their members" (Clarke 1993: 63) through the popularization of the rosary and the regular reception of the sacraments in the 1860s and 1870s. The participation of Irish Catholic housewives in such organizations, especially as executives, was seen as a vehicle for respectability or a 'status enhancer.' Parish-based societies for men were more recreational than devotional in nature, but served as an important beginning in the Church's plan to extend devotional organizations to men later in the century.

An extensive network of religious, social, and recreational voluntary associations were in place for the Roman Catholic Irish in Toronto by the late nineteenth century, therefore.
The activities of lay Roman Catholic activists, both men and women, in the second half of the century established these associations which were either linked to or under the auspices of the local Catholic hierarchy. The end result, according to Clarke (1993: 256-7) was a network of newly-forged social relationships and this:

engendered new loyalties among the rank and file (that) created a comprehensive social life separate from that of the Protestant majority. The associational network of the parish, which was sustained by the initiative and activism of the laity, made possible the formation of an Irish-Catholic ethnic culture inseparable from the Roman Catholic church.

Social and benevolent functions similar to that provided by the Protestant Orange Order, were available to societies that lay outside the control of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Organizations in Toronto sympathetic to Irish nationalism such as the Hibernian Benevolent Society, the Emerald Benevolent Society, and the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union possessed pro-Irish Home Rule nationalist agendas in addition to serving informal and benevolent functions. The latter two societies were open only to devout Catholics (Clarke 1993). A Toronto Irish Land League branch was founded in 1881 and included Toronto's few lay Irish Catholic leaders such as Alderman Peter Ryan and ex-Liberal M.P. John O'Donohoe and labour activist Dan O'Donoghue, but it barely lasted a year (Kealey 1980).
In Buffalo, branches of the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association were organized along Catholic parish lines, thereby providing an additional layer to the tightly-knit community and neighbourhood structures already in place. The presence of German Catholics in these associations, however, meant that they did not have the same Hibernian exclusivity as did Catholic associations in Toronto. This also served to foster Catholic identities in Buffalo that were not defined solely along national lines. Although all the Catholic Irish bishops of Buffalo were of Irish birth or ancestry over the period of study, there is no evidence that tension between the German and Irish Catholic communities resulted. Our knowledge of Irish nationalist associations in Buffalo circa 1880, however, is limited, signifying perhaps that, after the embarrassing Fenian invasion of the 1866, such sentiments were on the wane amongst the working-class sons and daughters of Erin.

The rate of intermarriage is frequently cited as an indicator of the cohesiveness of ethnic identity amongst a given ethnic or cultural group (Gordon 1964). A key hypothesis concerning this is that the smaller the proportion of a minority group in the total population, the higher will be the rate of intermarriage for that group. This theory does not always hold, however. Despite a diversity of immigrant national origins in his study of Chicago’s Packingtown district, Barrett (1987: 75), for example, demonstrated an “almost total absence of interethnic marriages.” Although the Buffalo Irish occupied a proportionately smaller share of the population than their counterparts in Toronto, (in 1880, the Irish-born comprised 7% of Buffalo’s population, 12% of Toronto’s in 1881), such a position did not make them more susceptible to marrying outside the ethnic group.
In Buffalo, the Irish-born were married to each other to a degree that surpassed that of Toronto (56% to 42%; Table 4.3). Since the Buffalo Irish were more concentrated residentially and were generally more recently arrived than the Toronto Irish, Protestant and Catholic, this is not a surprise. Out of a total of 367 married couples identified in the sample of 524 Buffalo Irish households, only 60 involved an Irish individual of either the first or second generation marrying a partner who did not have any identifiable Irish ancestry within two generations (e.g. with Canadian or United States-born parents, or parents born elsewhere) on the paternal side. Whether the Irish-born couples were married in Buffalo or elsewhere prior to arrival there is not known, however. Almost half of such couples were resident in the First Ward – such a high degree of endogamy buttressed the heavily Irish character of this southeastern waterfront area. The old saying there was “Never throw a stone (in the First Ward). You might hit your cousin” (Buffalo Evening News, May 13, 1972). The social environment there was apparently akin to an Irish rural village where “everyone knew everyone else” (McCarthy 1966: 5).

Theoretically at least, the geographical dispersion of the Irish population in Toronto was a factor working in favour of marriage among ethnic origins and religious groups, although the presence and strength of the Orange Order would have worked as a discouraging factor for Protestants marrying Catholics. Pressure from within the Roman Catholic hierarchy to minimize such interfaith unions was another potential factor. A headline in the Toronto Catholic Register as late as October 1907 referred to “the evil of mixed marriages.”
Table 4.3: Birthplace data for married couples in Irish households

Toronto and Buffalo, 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Toronto</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland/Ireland</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland/Canada</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland/United States</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland/Britain</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland/Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain/Britain</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain/Canada</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain/United States</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada/United States</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada/Canada</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States/United States</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada/Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States/Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain/Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>454</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>367</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto and Buffalo Irish samples.

Endogamous marriages between generations (for example, a first-generation Irish immigrant with a second-generation Irish-American or Irish-Canadian) were common for the Irish in both cities, and to a greater extent in Buffalo than in Toronto. The great majority of unions involving an Irish- with an American-born took the form of an Irish-
born male marrying an American-born female. Since most of the latter’s parents were
born in Ireland, the ethnic factor remained significant. The pattern was similar with an
Irish-born and Canadian-born unions – in eleven of fifteen cases, the brides were
Canadian-born.

In Buffalo, all-American couples where both the bride’s and groom’s parents were Irish-
born were quite common. Of the 43 all-American unions, in only fifteen (34.9%) was
one partner’s ancestry not identifiably Irish – in eleven such cases, either both parents or
the father was US-born. But, without any further indicators, such as the maiden name of
the bride, it is difficult to identify ancestry. In Toronto, 37.4 % of all-Canadian marriages
among the Irish included one non-Irish partner, a figure slightly higher than the
corresponding all-American figure for Buffalo (34.9%), but not significantly so.

Religion reinforced ethnic endogamy in Toronto. The lowest rate of exogamy for the
Irish sub-groups in Toronto in 1881 was among the Irish Roman Catholics (Table 4.4).
For a total of 168 couples identified in the sample of Irish households in Toronto that
included at least one Roman Catholic, only twenty-five couples (14.9% of the total)
included a partner of a different denomination. In twenty of these cases, the other partner
was an Anglican, which was closest to the Roman Catholic faith of all other Christian
religions. Twelve of these cases involved one or both persons being born in North
America, mostly in Ontario, although the exact location in the province was not stated.
Not surprisingly, most of the endogamous marriages involving Irish Catholics were between those who were born in Ireland. In analyzing such unions, we are again handicapped by the fact that when and where these marriages were performed is not known. Chi-square tests were performed on the data in Table 4.4. The resulting p-values show that Irish Roman Catholics' degree of endogamy was significantly different from Anglicans, but not for the other two main Irish Protestant groups. The three Protestant denominations did not differ significantly from one another with respect to their interfaith marriage patterns. It is tempting to extrapolate from these patterns and suggest that the higher endogamy rate among Catholics was in some way a function of living in 'the Belfast of North America,' but such an interpretation has many pitfalls, not least the lack of knowledge on place of marriage. Of the 143 all-Catholic unions moreover, 59 included at least one North American-born partner - twenty of these were between a second-generation female and first-generation male; in only eight cases did the reverse hold.
Table 4.4: Interfaith marriage rates for the Toronto Irish, 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion and marriage type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic/Catholic</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>85.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic/Non-Catholic</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican/Anglican</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>71.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican/Other</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist/Methodist</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>84.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist/Non-Methodist</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian/Presbyterian</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>77.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian/Non-Presbyterian</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $\chi^2$ p-value (Roman Catholic v Anglican) = 0.006; $\chi^2$ p-value (Roman Catholic v Methodist) = 0.886; $\chi^2$ p-value (Roman Catholic v Presbyterian) = 0.116; $\chi^2$ p-value (Anglican v Methodist v Presbyterian) = 0.139; Overall $\chi^2$ p-value = 0.028.

Source: Toronto Irish sample.

This low interfaith marriage rate for Toronto Irish Catholics needs to be put in a broad context. Of all the religious groups of appreciable size present in Toronto in 1881, the Catholics were in a unique position in that the vast majority of their members were Irish-
born or of Irish ancestry. The case was different in Buffalo, where German Catholics were present. The propensity of the Roman Catholic Irish in Toronto to find and marry non-Irish and/or non-Catholic partners was less than their co-ethnic Protestants.

Furthermore, it is unlikely, from a reading of McGowan's (1999) profile of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Toronto, John Joseph Lynch, that the local hierarchy would have approved of interfaith marriages. As McGowan states (1999: 58) "Protecting the integrity and insularity of the Church and its faithful was a hallmark of Lynch's career; he blocked the incorporation of the Orange Order in Ontario (and) had a hand in censoring the curriculum of public schools."

Mixed marriages were increasing for Roman Catholics in Toronto, but it was not until well into the twentieth century that their incidence became in any way significant. McGowan's (1999: Table 3.1) data show that between 1887 and 1920, the proportion of Roman Catholics marrying outside the denomination increased over time, from 3.8% in 1887 to 31.1% in 1920. The likes of the conservative Archbishop Denis O'Connor (1899-1908) did their best to keep the rate down, though not all of his parish priests possessed similar intransigence (McGowan 1999). In the nineteenth century however, Clarke's comment (1993: 52) that "However much individual cases may have caused (the Toronto clergy) anxiety... mixed marriages simply were not a major source of leakage" is appropriate.

The Protestant Irish were more likely than Roman Catholic Irish to marry somebody whose ethnic origin was not Irish. The Irish Anglicans, Methodists, and Presbyterians
who settled in Toronto had co-religionists from other parts of the British Isles in their midst. Given the social context of Toronto, these 'non-Irish' were likely to be Scottish and English, but the degree to which marriage outside the ethnic group occupied the mind of the second generation Irish Protestant is difficult to measure. Whether he had links to the Orange Order or not, he was quite likely to think more in terms of marrying a fellow British or Canadian Protestant than anything else; the survival of the Irish as a distinct group in the city was far less likely to feature on his agenda.

The discussion so far has shown that the Irish in both cities, though demonstrating varying degrees of residential concentration, were served by a variety of community structures, religious and otherwise, that served as forums for the different sub-groups within the ethnic group. Dispersal in Toronto contrasts with concentration in Buffalo, but community structures existed to serve working-class and middle-class, Protestant and Catholic Irish in both places; structures that fostered a sense of separateness within each sub-group.

**Greenhorns and Narrowbacks: Male Occupational Structures**

The occupational heterogeneity of the Irish in Toronto, as compared with Buffalo, reflects the economic bases and employment opportunities of the two cities as well as the history and composition of their Irish populations. The samples indicate that just under 44% of Irish household heads in Buffalo worked as labourers, whilst in Toronto this
figure was much lower at 21% (Table 4.5). Even the Roman Catholic figure alone (34%) is ten percentage points lower than in Buffalo, where the vast majority of Irish were Catholic. The Toronto figure for unskilled Roman Catholics rises, however, once birthplace is accounted for: 43% of Irish-born Roman Catholics in that city were engaged in unskilled labour compared to 16% of Irish Catholics who were not Irish-born (Table 4.6). Putting the Buffalo Irish in further perspective, Vinyard (1976) calculated an index of concentration for the Irish-born in unskilled work in 1880. Irish immigrants in Buffalo, with a score of 183 (representing overconcentration, where 100 is equality) were apparently less dependent on unskilled work than their countrymen in Cincinnati (191), Newark (244), Philadelphia (194), Boston (191), and Brooklyn (207), but a lot more dependent than those in San Francisco (131), Milwaukee (147), and Pittsburgh (144).

The data nevertheless indicate a noticeable improvement in occupational position for Irish-born Roman Catholics in Toronto between 1860, when Houston and Smyth (1980b) found that almost two-thirds of this group were engaged in unskilled occupations, and 1880. Table 4.6 shows that over forty percent of this group were present in this category twenty years later: in Buffalo, where the Irish were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, almost fifty percent of immigrants were unskilled labourers (Table 4.7). These authors' results showing that Irish-born Protestants were stronger than Roman Catholics in the semi-skilled occupational sector and among the business community in 1860 also holds true twenty years later.6 Their study, however, was based on a ten-percent systematic

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6 Houston and Smyth's (1980b) study was based on the occupational classification used by Goheen (1970) for his study on Victorian Toronto. His 'unskilled' category includes occupations such as teamster, expressman, carter, cab driver, and Sawyer, which I have chosen to include in my 'skilled/semi-skilled' category. Thus, the magnitude of change will be less when these are accounted for. However, looked at in
sample of one section of the city only, namely St. David's Ward, which was practically
coterminous with working-class Cabbagetown (Careless 1985).

Table 4.5: Occupational Distribution of Irish Household Heads,
Buffalo and Toronto, c. 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Buffalo (All Irish)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Toronto</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners and managers</td>
<td>4  0.9</td>
<td>25  4.5</td>
<td>19  5.4</td>
<td>6  3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents on commission</td>
<td>5  1.1</td>
<td>20  3.6</td>
<td>17  4.9</td>
<td>3  1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>52  11.9</td>
<td>98  17.8</td>
<td>68  19.4</td>
<td>30  14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other middle class</td>
<td>32  7.3</td>
<td>52  9.4</td>
<td>44  12.6</td>
<td>8  4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>11  2.5</td>
<td>28  5.1</td>
<td>24  6.9</td>
<td>4  2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working-class blue-collar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled/semi-skilled</td>
<td>108  24.8</td>
<td>148  26.9</td>
<td>89  25.4</td>
<td>59  29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>192  44.0</td>
<td>115  20.9</td>
<td>46  13.1</td>
<td>69  34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building trades</td>
<td>32  7.3</td>
<td>65  11.8</td>
<td>43  12.3</td>
<td>22  10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>436  100.0</td>
<td>551  100.0</td>
<td>350  100.0</td>
<td>201 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Chi-square for Toronto religion data = 52.19, df = 7, p = 0.000

Source: Toronto and Buffalo Irish samples.

another way, my data suggest an improvement for Irish Roman Catholics in the nonmanual sector, where
the two schemes are more comparable. Even if the self-employed are excluded. 12% of Roman Catholics
were working in nonmanual jobs, compared to Houston and Smyth's estimate of 2.9%.

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Table 4.6: Occupational distribution of Toronto Irish household heads, by birthplace and religion, 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th></th>
<th>All Other Places</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roman Cath.</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>Roman Cath.</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners and managers</td>
<td>3  2.2</td>
<td>16  7.2</td>
<td>3  4.7</td>
<td>3  2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents on commission</td>
<td>2  1.5</td>
<td>10  4.5</td>
<td>1  1.6</td>
<td>7  5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>21  15.3</td>
<td>44  19.7</td>
<td>9  14.1</td>
<td>24  18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>4  2.9</td>
<td>22  9.9</td>
<td>4  6.3</td>
<td>22  17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>3  2.2</td>
<td>12  5.4</td>
<td>1  1.6</td>
<td>12  9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working-class blue-collar</td>
<td>35  25.5</td>
<td>53  23.8</td>
<td>24  37.5</td>
<td>36  28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled/semi-skilled</td>
<td>59  43.1</td>
<td>40  17.9</td>
<td>10  15.6</td>
<td>6  4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>10  7.3</td>
<td>26  11.7</td>
<td>12  18.8</td>
<td>17  13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building trades</td>
<td>137 100.0</td>
<td>223 100.0</td>
<td>64 100.0</td>
<td>127 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto Irish samples.
Table 4.7: Occupational Distribution of Irish Household Heads by Birthplace, Buffalo and Toronto, c. 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Buffalo</th>
<th></th>
<th>Toronto</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irish-born</td>
<td>Born Elsewhere</td>
<td>Irish-born</td>
<td>Born Elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners and managers</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents on commission</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working-class blue-collar</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled/semi-skilled</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Chi-square for Toronto data = 34.376, df = 7, p = 0.000; procedure invalid for Buffalo data due to expected values less than 5 occurring in over 20% of cells.

Source: Toronto and Buffalo Irish samples.

Differences between the Irish-born and those born elsewhere are shown for both cities in Table 4.7. As Table 4.1 demonstrated, the majority of this 'born elsewhere' group were, in Toronto's case, Ontario-born, and in Buffalo's case, New York-born. Table 4.7 confirms the improvement in occupational position that one would expect in a comparison between the immigrant and succeeding generations. The second-generation Irish household heads in Buffalo had a working-class component of 64%, compared to the immigrants' 81%. In Toronto, these figures were 55% and 62% respectively for all
religions.\textsuperscript{7} In both cities, generational differences were most marked in the middle-class and clerical sectors, where the Irish immigrant was less likely to be found than his co-ethnic who was not Irish-born. An opposite pattern existed when one examines the unskilled component of the working-class. Immigrants were more likely to occupy unskilled work than those of succeeding generations. Given that Buffalo had a higher immigrant population from the Famine, it is not surprising that the second-generation Irish in Buffalo had a similar proportion of unskilled household heads (30.3\%) than the Irish immigrant generation in Toronto (27.2\%).

The above differences in occupational distribution between the immigrants and later generations in the two cities suggests that despite their small middle-class in Buffalo, the second-generation Irish there were making inroads to nonmanual jobs. The cities’ economic structures, Toronto being less of a purely industrial city than Buffalo and with a larger middle-class component than Buffalo’s, explains much of the occupational distribution of the Irish in the two cities. At the same time, that the working-class share of the immigrant Irish in Toronto (at 62\%) was not much less than those of Irish ethnic origin but not Irish-born (55\%) suggests that structural rigidities existed within the Toronto labour market. While the immigrant Irish Catholics in Toronto had a working-class component of 76\%, the share for those who were not Irish-born was 72\%, an improvement of just four percent. The picture was only slightly markedly brighter for Irish Protestants in the city whose comparative figures, at 53\% and 46\% respectively, were an improvement for the later generations over the immigrants by seven percent.

\textsuperscript{7} One cannot speak purely of a 'second-generation' of Irish in Toronto. The census variable 'Irish ethnic origin' includes third- and fourth-generation, but it is doubtful if many extended beyond three generations.
Whether or not the Buffalo labour market was more fluid than Toronto’s will be elaborated on more with the longitudinal study of occupational mobility among the working-class Irish in the following chapter.

Despite their larger middle-class relative to Catholics, occupations were not spread evenly among the Irish Protestant sub-groups in Toronto in 1881 (Table 4.8). Of the three main Irish Protestant groups in Toronto, the Methodists were the most advanced in terms of their occupational distribution. The proportion of working-class Methodist Irish was 43%, compared to the Anglican 54% and the Presbyterian 56%. The Toronto Methodist population was drawn from many parts of Great Britain including Ireland during the nineteenth century, and comparing Table 4.8 with Table 3.5 suggests that the Toronto Irish Methodists were slightly less working-class than those in the city’s population as a whole. Famous Irish Methodists in Toronto included County Antrim-born Timothy Eaton, whose retail business was to last more than a century and become a household name in Canada since its 1869 opening. His faith was one of stern conviction: his store never sold tobacco or playing cards (Shapiro 1978).
Table 4.8: Occupational Distribution of Protestant Irish Denominations, Toronto 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Group</th>
<th>Protestant Denomination</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners and managers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents on commission</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Middle class</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class blue-collar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled/semi-skilled</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building trades</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto Irish sample.

In terms of their labor market profiles, the Irish Presbyterians and Anglicans in Toronto did not fare as well as the Methodists. Far fewer Irish Methodists were unskilled labourers than Anglicans and Presbyterians, but the latter groups still had proportionately fewer unskilled workers than did the Irish Catholics. The Irish Anglicans and Presbyterians had sizeable numbers in the middle-class, self-employed, and building trades sectors, as well as the skilled/semi-skilled blue-collar sector. In terms of the occupational distribution of these Protestant denominations in Toronto as a whole however (Table 3.5), the Irish Presbyterians had a larger working-class element (56%), than Presbyterians in the city as a whole (40%). The ten Irish Baptist families, five of whom had heads born in Ireland, occupied high positions in the Toronto labor market.
Two in particular held notable positions – the President of Toronto Baptist College, Reverend John Castle, and Senator William McMaster, born in Strabane, County Tyrone.

The Irish Catholic middle-class was less substantial compared to the other Irish religious groups in Toronto, but was still in a process of growth. One success story was Laurence Coffee, a 61-year old Irish-born Roman Catholic commission merchant whose business was established in 1845. While his 1881 address on Sherbourne Street would have been the envy of many, his later residence was even more so. His two sons, John and James, carried on the business after the family had moved to the affluent northern suburb of Rosedale, and the business headquarters had moved to the Board of Trade building in the central business district. Successes such as this were important, but it is difficult to assess their impact on the majority Protestant population in terms of social acceptance. Certainly, noted Irish-Catholic politician and former Speaker of the House of Commons, Cork-born Timothy Anglin, who came to Toronto to live in 1883 from New Brunswick, did not think that these successes were doing much to improve the status of Catholics in Toronto. As his biographer, Baker (1977: 243) remarked:

The Anglins found few other Catholics at the social gatherings in Toronto to which they were invited. To Anglin this indicated both prejudice against Catholics and the failure of Catholics to work their way into elite social circles in Toronto, in spite of their apparent success in business... While the Anglins did not find their social life in Toronto unbearable, it was neither very stimulating nor very comforting.
There were less fortunate Irish in the city, of course. A short distance from Coffee’s residence, assessed at $3442, were the modest dwellings of working-class Cabbagetown. There, on streets such as Ontario, Sydenham, and Sackville, labouring Irish men, Catholic and Protestant, scraped out a living for their families from the city’s labour market. The assessed values of these dwellings rarely exceeded $500. Additional comments on the housing conditions of the Irish in both cities will be presented later in the chapter.

How accurate, then, was the nickname ‘The Belfast of North America’ for Toronto? Comparison of these occupational distributions by religion in 1881 Toronto with Hepburn’s (1996) analysis for Belfast in 1871 uncovers some parallels. Though Hepburn’s occupational classification differs from that used here, several trends are noticeable amongst the working-class. Firstly, Belfast Roman Catholics were over-represented in ‘general and factory labour’ work in 1871 while the two other religions analyzed, Church of Ireland (Anglican) and Presbyterian, were less so. In fact, Presbyterians were under-represented among these unskilled while Anglicans were at parity. Likewise, Presbyterians tended to dominate building trades such as joiner, bricklayer, and plumber compared to Roman Catholics and Anglicans. These occupational patterns earned Toronto the label ‘The Belfast of Canada’ since members of the Roman Catholic working class there also endured worse living conditions and poorer employment prospects than their Protestant counterparts in the Ulster city (Kealey 1980;
Jobs apparently under the control of the Protestant Orange Order in Toronto included the post office and the customs house at the federal level, and the gasworks, waterworks, police and fire departments at the municipal level (Kealey 1980).

Buffalo’s Irish had not developed a middle-class to the same extent as in Toronto. Things had apparently improved little since the mid-1850s, when the wife of Thomas D’Arcy McGee (cited in Gerber 1989: 142) complained during their Buffalo sojourn that “there were few of the type of people she hoped to befriend among her fellow Irish.” The few middle-class members there were, were mainly merchants of dry goods, lumber, and liquor. In addition, there were captains of lake vessels, harbour masters, foremen, accountants, engineers, and Catholic clergymen. They had no discernible residential pattern; they certainly did not occupy the exclusive enclaves of the Yankees in the Delaware Avenue district. Some resided in the working-class First Ward, others had established comfortable existences in Ward Nine whose occupational profile straddled the lower-white collar and upper working-class. Others, still, resided within and on the margins of the central business district. However, the occupational distribution of the second-generation Irish household heads in Buffalo indicates that there was some scope for upward mobility out of the working-class. More will be said on this matter in the following chapter.

The vast majority of Irish in Buffalo then, belonged to the working-class. They occupied a variety of niches within the city’s working-class as teamsters, moulders, policemen.

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5 It seems that such economic and social disparities between Irish Protestants and Catholics were also transplanted from Ulster to other parts of the Irish Diaspora such as nearby Scotland (McRaild 1999).

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shoemakers, blacksmiths, firemen, and as railroad employees (switchmen, brakemen, conductors). The small proportion of Irish who were occupying 'injured' skilled trades by 1880 were channeling their young sons into the same occupation, as evidenced by the census manuscripts. Occupations that had such a hereditary nature included shoemakers, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, and carpenters. The majority of working-class Irish in Buffalo, however, were unskilled labourers. This occupational term in itself does not signify in what industry the individual worked, but local evidence makes it clear that many unskilled Irish household heads worked as grain scoopers or in some other waterfront-dependent industry. They resided, for the most part, in what became the principal Irish immigrant neighbourhood in Buffalo – the First Ward.

The milieu of Buffalo's First Ward was akin to a small industrial mill town where, rather than the Satanic mill, the Irish lived in the shadow of the grain elevator. Like Golab's (1977) Polish immigrants in Philadelphia in 1880, place of work determined residence in Irish Buffalo. Unlike those Poles however, the industries that employed Irish unskilled labour were not decentralized in Buffalo; thus, the immigrant neighbourhood grew, in classic Chicago School style, out from the southern edge of the central business district. The 'rambler,' reporting in the Irish Canadian (July 14, 1881) commented that "a large section of Buffalo – that towards the South – is largely inhabited by Irishmen and their immediate descendants. I am told they exceed forty thousand." Since I have estimated the number of Irish families of two generations (paternal ancestry only for the second generation) in wards 1, 2, 3, and 13 to be 2,920 with an average number of five per household, this figure is probably something closer to 15,000 individuals with additional
numbers concealed in boarding houses. Despite this gross overestimation, more credible insights into social life were included in the report:

The grain-shovelers, of whom there are thousands, are almost all Irishmen, the ‘Bosses’ being of the same nationality. The ‘Boss’ yields autocratic sway. To him is confided the task of hiring men; and being invariably the proprietor of a boarding house and lager beer saloon, he protects his interests to the extent of employing no man who will not accept his board and drink his beer. Thus, it will be seen that the man of family labours under a most serious disadvantage: whilst the unmarried man, fortunate enough to secure the favour of the ‘Boss,’ very often finds himself at the end of a season, owing to the avarice and cupidity of which he is the victim, not only out of money, but deeply sunk in debt.

As former resident of the First Ward, John Crowley, put it: “There never was an area too far away from a business or manufacturing plant. This very much affected the way of life there. The residential land values gradually lowering because of it.” (Downey n.d.: 15). The recollections of Buffalo grain scooper James “Jim Boy” Smith provide important insights into the social world of Buffalo’s First Ward where industry, residence, and ethnicity had a classic interlinkage. Smith started scooping grain in Buffalo in the 1940s, but his reflections have relevance for the late nineteenth century. (Isay 1996: 108-110):

I started scooping grain when most of the Irish were from the old country...they’re a little bit clannish....They spoke with a brogue and they’d say “Who’s your
father?” and “Who gave you your union book?” and “What county are you from?”

They’d go right down the Irish tree. The union books were handed down from family to family, see? If the father was a scooper and he had a son, why he gave him the union book.

The old harps – the old-timers from Ireland, they called us “narrow backs,” see, because we were born in this country and they didn’t think we were strong enough to do this. Years ago they had big iron shovels, and they were so proud they wouldn’t let you touch ‘em. They were maybe four hundred pounds, and one man’d work ‘em. When I had twenty years on the job they still called me a baby, ‘cause some of those old harps stayed till eighty years old!

Scooping grain was just another form of unskilled labouring which didn’t merit a title more specific than ‘labourer,’ as far as the 1880 federal census enumerator was concerned. Yet there seems to have been some degree of social prestige attached to the occupation. Such prestige was based mainly on the appropriation of masculine imagery and ethnic exclusivity, and while it certainly existed within the Irish community, it may even have extended outside of it. The scoopers worked in gangs of fifty or so men and, for the men of western Ireland at least, communal types of labour organization in an outdoor setting was something they were well accustomed to. The concept of a communal working gang, or meitheal, was described by Arensberg and Kimball (1940) for 1930s County Clare, from where many Buffalo Irish emigrated, but it was a system that was widespread in most parts of rural Ireland in the nineteenth century. The

In the old days, if you were a grain scooper, why everybody loved ya, 'cause ya spent a good dollar in a tavern. In those days a lot of guys were "on the book"...They’d put you on the book for your money and you’d come in there on payday and pay up. Every payday they’d be waitin’ for you. You could get a steak sandwich for a quarter and a shot for a quarter, and the bartender’d say “Have the first drink on me!” And you’d stay for a while....There was many a fight in the taverns...Years ago there wasn’t much else to do...They’d play pinochle and poker, and they’d be arguing and they’d start calling each other names, then they’d go fight....But there was never any hate – two days later they’d be back at the tavern drinkin’ again....(The scoopers were) friendly....you could go to their houses and the door was always open. They’d have a beer for you and a cigar, and you could sit down and eat. That was how the grain scooper lived.

While the Irish of the First Ward were primarily known as grain scoopers, they also worked in other waterfront industries and as longshoremen who unloaded cargoes. A tightly-knit economic system prevailed in the 1880s where saloonkeepers/contractors had pre-arranged deals with vessel captains and expected the gangs of longshoremen to be patrons of their saloons (Horton 1947). In terms of exerting control over a labour force, the relationship between Irish boss scoopers/saloonkeepers and their workers in Buffalo
was not dissimilar from the Italian immigrant contractor (*padrone*) who organized immigrant workers in unskilled construction projects in different regions of North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Kessner 1977).

**Irish Female Labour**

The most popular occupation among Irish females in both Toronto and Buffalo, with twenty percent in each city, was that of domestic servant/servant. These jobs were not necessarily confined to Irish immigrant females either; most of them were in the hands of those of succeeding generations (approximately 70 percent in both cities). This is not surprising. Manuscript evidence presented in the previous chapter suggested that there was a geography of movement of Irish females in Buffalo from the First Ward to the wealthy mansions on Delaware Avenue. Their service in the homes of the rich provided valuable supplement to the family economies back on the streets in The Flats, Uniontown, The Beach and Rogue’s Hollow. This was not the only direction in which they directed their disposable income. Reflecting on the history of Catholicism in Buffalo, a local priest, Fr. Ormsby, remarked in the *Buffalo Evening News* (May 13, 1972): “The Delaware Avenue maids really did a lot to help build St. Joseph’s New Cathedral… They were very generous.” Irish Roman Catholic females were also overrepresented as servants in Toronto: given the groups’ large working-class contingent in that city as a whole, this is not surprising.
Analysis of female servant numbers in the census manuscripts however, particularly those of the United States is fraught with numerous ambiguities. In a study of Irish women workers in Philadelphia, Clark (1996) noted the vagueness of various census descriptions for the female members of households. Such ambiguities carry through to the Buffalo study as well, for instance the cryptic census categories of 'At home,' 'Keeping house' and 'Housekeeper.' Clark (1996: 119) sums up the researcher's dilemma nicely:

This could be a source of major confusion. Colloquially, 'keeping house' implied being at home and caring for a household. 'Housekeeper' was usually a woman who acted in a servant capacity in a household, boarding house or hotel... What the distinction was between 'At home' and 'Keeping house' must remain a mystery of enumerator's jargon.

The Buffalo data also provide 'servant' as a census category, and the results as described above apply only to this group. The other descriptions of 'At home,' 'Keeping House,' and 'Housekeeper' were not considered, so it is possible that the number of servants has been underestimated, at least for Buffalo. The Canadian census includes 'servant' as an occupational category. It does not list 'at home' or 'keeping house' as wives' occupations, for example. In any case, these servants, who were almost always unmarried, were less common in Irish households than those of the host population, but their presence, indicating a middle-class lifestyle for the family who received their service, demonstrates one other way in which the Irish population was internally
stratified. In Buffalo, only twenty-eight households employed servants, and these were located mostly in the First Ward. Servants were found residing in both middle-class households, households of blacksmiths and the semi-skilled, and in the boarding houses that lined Ohio and Michigan Streets, packed with grain scoopers and others employed in heavy manual labor. Generally though, the story was more about Irish women leaving the family home to become live-in domestic servants in the homes of native-born citizens, and in doing so they became exposed to the values and ways of life of the elite classes of the host societies in both cities than the men. Such gender differences may illustrate Hickman's point about multiple ethnic spaces experienced by the Irish community in Britain (Hickman, 1999). In Buffalo's First Ward in particular, it seems working men had very little contact with other Buffalonians outside their ethnic and geographic area during this period (Feather, 1990).

Victorian values of cleanliness and efficiency combined with domestic skills to enable Irish servant girls in the United States to become aware of what was needed to obtain their vision of an ideal home, once married (Miller et al 1996). Thus, they would create the homes of the 'lace-curtain Irish,' and for those who successfully established them, domestic service was only a temporary stage between adolescence and marriage. Escape from domestic servitude was not accomplished by all Irish females however, but it may have been a lesser evil compared to the abusive and broken marriages, fractured by the curse of drink, with which many Irish women of different generations had to contend in the United States and Canada.
While the image of 'Bridget,' the Irish girl working in domestic service in the homes of the rich in urban America will be forever etched in the labour history of the Irish in North America, it should not be allowed to obscure what was in fact a great diversity of work experience for Irish females at the time. Apart from those who worked as domestics, the most popular occupation among Irish females in Toronto and Buffalo in 1880/81 was that of dressmaker. Over twenty per cent of the female Irish workforce was engaged in this occupation in Toronto, eighteen per cent in Buffalo, and the great majority were young, seventy per cent of these dressmakers being less than 24 years of age in both centres.

There were other, subtle differences between the two cities in how the Irish female was integrated into their urban labour forces. The female boarding house keeper was common throughout Buffalo's waterfront and Irish districts to an extent not seen in Toronto. Differences in occupational niches occurred elsewhere: there were proportionately more females working in the clothing and printing/publishing trades as tailoresses, milliners, bookfolders, and bookbinders in Toronto than Buffalo. Conversely, proportionately more Irish females were occupied white-collar and clerical occupations in Buffalo, in areas such as (public school) teaching, sales work, and telegraph operating. Significantly, these were more likely to be held by second-generation Irish females than immigrants. In contrast, Irish immigrant females in both cities were overconcentrated in laundry and washing work compared to their co-ethics of succeeding generations. In Buffalo also, the cosmopolitan yet notoriously rough Canal Street District, frequented by the transient population of sailors and other shady characters, provided an arena for the activities for at least two Irish-born 'ladies of leisure.'
Irish Families and the Family Economy

The previous section discussed the occupational distribution of Irish households in the two cities, but said little about the internal working of these households. A more rounded picture of these Irish families and households is the focus of this section. The census manuscripts of Canada and the United States present problems for comparative work in this respect, but attempts have been made to minimize these. Claudia Goldin (1981: 277) summarizes the general complexities of family and household research thus: “The family, by a complex set of processes, determines its size and composition, the allocation of each household member’s time, its geographic location, and its expenditures.”

We begin with some summarizing measures relating to Irish households in Toronto and Buffalo. Irish households were generally larger in Buffalo than they were in Toronto.9 Firstly, the average number of members per Irish household in Buffalo was 5.1 persons, whereas in Toronto it was 4.7 persons. Secondly, the average number of family members per household was larger in Buffalo (4.7 persons) than in Toronto (4.3). Thirdly, the

9 The United States federal census of 1880 was the first to list the relationship of these various household members to the ‘head’ of the household (Goldin 1981). The Census of Canada for 1881 makes no such provision. Only the marital status of individuals is provided. A scheme was devised for the Canadian data in order to ‘determine’ the relationships of these listed individuals to the household head. A common surname was assumed to represent blood ties. The order of listing in the census was assumed to represent those nearest to the head of the family in terms of relationship (husband, wife, children, etc.) Differentiation of sons and daughters from brothers and sisters was done as follows: if the age gap between the wife and another individual ‘in the family’ was less than fifteen years, the latter was assumed to be the brother or sister to the head. For a given household, those individuals listed towards the end that had a different surname to the head of the household were not assumed to have any blood ties to the head. This obviously leads to the exclusion of the in-laws of male heads. This probably explains much of the lower rate of extended families and higher rates of augmented families for Toronto in comparison to Buffalo.
average number of non-family members per household in Buffalo, at 46 per 100 households, also outstripped Toronto’s figure of 33 people per 100 households.

Making sense of these patterns is easier when families are classified. In both cities, the nuclear family, defined as a family unit containing both a married couple and at least one child, was the most common form of family structure among the Irish but it was not overly dominant (Table 4.9). Comparing these figures with other research on the Irish family is handicapped by the fact that few have studied the Irish beyond the immigrant generation and have used multiple systems of classification as a result of data variation. However, Goldin (1981) found that households with Irish-born heads in Philadelphia in 1880 contained an average of 4.74 individuals, excluding servants and boarders, which is almost equivalent to the two-generational Buffalo figure reported above.

Extended families, where relatives of the household head resided with their hosts, were more common in Buffalo (16.6%) than in Toronto (9.2%). These families were most common in the neighborhoods of oldest Irish settlement in Buffalo, located close to the waterfront sites of industry. Goldin (1981) also found that sixteen percent of households headed by an Irish-born individual in Philadelphia in 1880 contained other ‘non-nuclear’ individuals who were related to the head of the household, consistent with the definition of ‘extended’ families in Table 4.9.

The ability of the hard-bitten Irish working-class household to augment its income from sources other than the wage of the head is well-known, and not only in North America.
Lees (1969) pointed to the strong propensity of the working-class Irish to take in members from outside the nuclear family in Victorian London and has linked this to Irish rural practices of household adaptation. Chinn (1999) identified similar tendencies for extended family formation in early Victorian Birmingham, whereas in the smaller English city of Stafford, Herson showed that “for the majority of Irish emigrants, nuclear and extended family units were the key social institution influencing the courses taken in peoples’ lives” (1999: 181). He did not note whether one form was more prevalent than the other.

Table 4.9: Irish household structures in Buffalo and Toronto, c. 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Type</th>
<th>Buffalo</th>
<th></th>
<th>Toronto</th>
<th></th>
<th>Toronto (Roman Catholics)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augmented</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One parent with children</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childless couples</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Household samples from Canadian (1881) and US (1880) census manuscripts. Family classification based on Harzig (1983).

Augmented households contained members that were not only related to the head, but also others outside the kin group. Harris (1992) noted that in 1890 for example, more
than half of Toronto’s boarding population was served by private homes rather than specialized boarding houses. Barrett’s (1987) study of the industrial slum of Packingtown in Chicago found that where a family was in its early stages of formation, the taking in of boarders served as an invaluable supplement to the income of the household head. These findings contradicted patterns found elsewhere by Hareven and Modell (1973), who believed that older families were more likely to take in boarders. The Buffalo evidence is mixed on this point. A total of 78 households containing children and boarders were identified, and in only 56 percent of cases was the household head over forty-one years of age. Some labourers’ families had a surprisingly large capacity to cope with a boarding clientele. For example, John McMeehan, a 30-year old laborer who lived with his wife and four children in rented accommodation on Ohio Street in the heart of Buffalo’s First Ward, took in ten laborers and two servants. In many instances, those who worked as boss scoopers often had the men on their gangs living in their households, but since the ordinary ‘scooper’ is seldom identified as an occupation in the manuscripts, evidence of this is not likely to progress beyond the written memoir. The expansion of the household to include boarders was also a response to the death or desertion of the male household head.

Further summary information on Irish households and families in Toronto and Buffalo is presented in Tables 4.10 and 4.11. In both cities, families headed by the Irish-born had more children and larger families than families of subsequent generations, but this was probably a consequence of the differing age distributions of these two groups. Vinyard (1976) uncovered similar patterns for the Detroit Irish in 1880; the average number of
children of Irish-born parents was 3.2; where these parents were born in the United States to Irish-born parents, the figure was 1.8.

Other differences are observable from these tables. Firstly, Irish Protestant households in Toronto had more non-family members than those headed by Irish Catholic households. That Protestants were more likely than Catholics to employ live-in servants may explain this. In Toronto, forty-one households of Irish origin reported live-in female servants in 1881, the vast majority of these headed by Irish middle-class Protestant barristers, brokers, and clergymen, as well as a small class of merchants. These houses were located on well-to-do tree-lined streets such as Sherbourne, Jarvis, Parliament, and Wellesley in the north-central end of the city. In fact, most of these Irish Protestant families were Ontario-born, which may explain why non-family members were more prevalent among households headed by those who were not born in Ireland. Wherever Catholic families employed servants, it was usually because they were running hotels and used servants as staff rather than as a household luxury.
Table 4.10: Toronto Irish household patterns, c. 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of members per household</td>
<td>4.74</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of family members per household</td>
<td>4.34</td>
<td>4.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of non-family members per household</td>
<td>0.40*</td>
<td>0.23*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of children per household</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>2.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of nuclear and childless parent families</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:  * significantly different at the 0.05 level,  ^ significantly different at the 0.10 level.

Source: Toronto Irish sample data.
Table 4.1: Buffalo Irish household patterns, c. 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>East and South</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>Irish-born</th>
<th>Born Elsewhere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average number of members per household</td>
<td>5.34*</td>
<td>4.78*</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of family members per household</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>4.79*</td>
<td>4.33*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of non-family members per household</td>
<td>0.55^</td>
<td>0.30^</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of children per household</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>2.89*</td>
<td>2.22*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of nuclear and childless parent families</td>
<td>47.9^</td>
<td>56.3^</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * significantly different at the 0.05 level, ^ significantly different at the 0.10 level.

Sample: Buffalo Irish sample data.

Attempts to uncover geographical patterns relating to family type or status are frustrated in Toronto, where the Irish were dispersed throughout the city. Some spatial differences in family type are discernible in Buffalo, however. Nuclear families of Irish origin were less likely to be found within that heartland of the First Ward and its surroundings, than on the city’s West Side. Likewise, the Irish in the latter part of the city had significantly lesser numbers of non-family members per household than those in the First Ward. These spatial patterns are undoubtedly the result of the prevalence of boarders in the households in the First Ward and surrounding areas. These patterns link well with Scherzer’s findings for New York City in the mid-nineteenth century when, after noting (1992: 132) that “family status had only a weak impact upon neighborhood geography
when compared to ethnicity and class,” he conceded later (1992: 133) that “the significant antagonism between children and the subculture of boarding that emerges...did presage later patterns of a familial differentiation of space.”

Boarding houses were as much part and parcel of the First Ward landscape as were the Irish single-family houses and grain elevators. Streets in the harbour area such as Canal Street were also lined with these establishments. Buffalo’s superiority as a Great Lakes port compared to Toronto, with its high demand for seasonal labour on its waterfront in particular, explains much of this. These boarding houses, concentrated in the downtown, canal and waterfront districts, housed a cosmopolitan population of mainly single and transient males.

While Toronto did not have a comparable port culture, it did possess a highly-mobile population. In many ways, Toronto, like Quebec and Montreal, was no more than a way station for European immigrants passing through Canada on their way to the United States (Houston and Smyth 1990; McInnis (1994). At a different scale, Inwood and Irwin (1999) have estimated that despite its growth in the late nineteenth century, Toronto still suffered a net emigration of people, doubtless moving towards the border in search of higher wages and steadier employment than could be found in Canada. Some of them probably ended up in the Buffalo boarding houses, many of which were often combined with a saloon. The widow Mary Gallagher’s saloon and boarding house on Exchange Street in central Buffalo, for example, had twenty-four boarders. These included a cigarmaker, a carter, a brakeman, a servant, a stonemason, and nineteen railroad laborers.
Most of these were Irish-born with others born locally, in Canada, and in other American states.

The sharing of physical space with individuals who had no blood ties to the household head or family was a common source of supplementary income. The association between the Irish and work on Buffalo’s waterfront meant that most of the boarding houses strung along its main and side streets housed mainly single men, many of them Irish-born. To illustrate this, the birthplace and marital status of boarders in fourteen dwellings on Ohio Street are shown in Table 4.12. Most of those providing shelter were Irish, and while they did not take in Irish boarders exclusively, the latter dominated the scene, representing well over half the total. The non-Irish boarding house keepers still took in a lot of Irish people. In two cases, the occupation of the household head was given simply as ‘laborer,’ but in the case of John Hoolahan, his making space for ten boarders highlights the degree to which an informal market for shelter existed. Where a link existed between the boarding house keeper and the waterfront labour market, the operation of ethnic-based exclusivity on the part of the Irish saloon and boarding house keepers may have been a reality to keep the jobs in the elevators confined to Irish people, in their eyes the only ones with the muscle to do it right. The most impressive example of this point is the case of John Haley, an elevator boss who took in 32 boarders, 27 of whom were single Irish-born males. His lodgings were teeming with men in their 20s and 30s with last names such as Shaughnessy, Hickey, McCarthy, Griffin, O’Day, Hennessy, Dolan, and O’Grady.
Table 4.12: Characteristics of selected lodgings on Ohio Street, Buffalo 1880.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House number on Ohio St.</th>
<th>Occupation of Proprietor</th>
<th>Birthplace of Proprietor</th>
<th>Total No. of Irish-born Boarders</th>
<th>No. of Boarders*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Boarding Ho / Saloon</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>10 (2)</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Boss Shoveller</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>15 (3)</td>
<td>12 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Boarding Ho / Saloon</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>25 (4)</td>
<td>8 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Boarding House</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>19 (2)</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Boarding Ho / Saloon</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>5 (1)</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>Keeping House</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Boss Shoveller</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>19 (1)</td>
<td>18 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Boss Shoveller</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>17 (1)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>286</td>
<td>Grocer</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td>Saloon Keeper</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>14 (1)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>370</td>
<td>Boarding Ho / Saloon</td>
<td>Baden</td>
<td>8 (1)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>390</td>
<td>Elevator Boss</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>496</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. federal census manuscripts.

*: Number of married or widowed boarders shown in parentheses, otherwise all are single.

These trends in Irish household structure in the two cities are reflective of trends in Irish communities elsewhere in North America. Goldin (1981), for instance, found that 15.5% of these Philadelphia households headed by Irish immigrants contained 'boarders or subtenants' with a further five percent having servants in residence.

Another critical element forming part of the Irish family economy was the frequency of households having more than one breadwinner. This was related to the immigrant
family's life-cycle. As soon as they had reached the appropriate age, children were frequently put to work; likewise, before they had reached wage-earning age, the household income was occasionally supplemented by boarders. Many working-class families in both cities failed to cover household expenses sufficiently through their head's wage income alone. When boarders were not taken in, the incomes of working children were crucial to household survival. Bodnar observed (1985: 76) that:

(Premigration communal traditions) contributed significantly to the shape of family and household life but would have been insufficient factors in themselves without the accompanying reality of an industrial workplace which encouraged mutual aid and especially the widespread existence of wages insufficient for even modest standards of living.

Newspaper reports on the plight of the working-class in Toronto at the beginning of the 1880s offer sufficient evidence to show that the wage of the household head was frequently insufficient to meet the everyday needs of the family. The Toronto *Globe* surveyed the wage rates of various occupations in the city in 1881, and some of their results are presented in Table 4.13.
Table 4.13: Daily wage rates for selected occupations in Toronto, 1881.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Daily wage range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Railroad drivers</td>
<td>$2.75 to $3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moulders</td>
<td>$2 to $3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklayers and Stonemasons</td>
<td>$2 to $2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>$2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>$1.75 to $2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage- and wagon-makers</td>
<td>$1.75 to $2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painters</td>
<td>$1.75 to $2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railroad brakemen</td>
<td>$1.25 to $1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railroad switchmen</td>
<td>$1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day labourers</td>
<td>$1 to $1.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto Globe, April 2, 1881.

Whatever the value of these wage rates, they need to be supplemented by some indication of the cost of living at this time. A skilled carpenter, interviewed by a Toronto newspaper, estimated the weekly expenditure for his family of six at over six dollars, which did not include rent (Globe, February 3, 1883). A labourer, interviewed by the same reporter, paid five dollars a month rent. Coal was reported to be a particular drain on a household's income. For many working-class households also, a portion of income was reserved and spent on activities relating to the local community, such as the erection, maintenance and upkeep of the local Roman Catholic church or other religious institution. Saving money to pay for the passage fares of Irish kin was another concern for many families, and the migration chains thus created were a favoured mechanism
used by Irish families in both Toronto and Buffalo to introduce new arrivals of kinfolk to 
the New World.

The problem of low wages compared to costs was accentuated by the fact that a 
significant segment of the working-class was underemployed during the winter months. 
Railroad workers were relatively secure in year-round employment. Others were less 
fortunate. Painters, for example, were reported to be working for only "eight or nine 
months in the year" (Globe, April 2, 1881). A mechanic estimated that he worked 200 
days per annum on average (Globe, February 3, 1883). The labourers of the city had to 
accept the lowest wages and often withstand the hardship of seasonal unemployment. 
Their response was to form a union and fight for a higher wage. In March of 1881, 
plasterers' and bricklayers' labourers established the Toronto Labourers' Union. The 
union's president, Thomas Webb, in conversation with the Globe (April 30, 1881) 
described their situation thus:

During the summer months we get along well enough, but we are unable to lay by 
anything for the winter. Then when winter comes we have very little work, and the 
additional expenses of providing extra fuel and clothing to withstand the cold is had to 
bear.

The situation was similar in Buffalo. Indeed, the fact that a greater proportion of the Irish 
there were in unskilled work than in Toronto, may have made the prevalence of the 
family-based economy far more salient in the southern city. In the shadow of the grain
elevators lay the frame-built single family houses and corner grocery stores of the Irish First Ward whence the workers walked to their places of employment. During the harsh Buffalo winters, these men suffered great underemployment and had to seek work elsewhere, mainly outside the city or in other states, to make ends meet.

What is also clear though, is that the burden of underemployment varied from worker to worker, even among labourers. In fact, as Gagan and Gagan (1990) have shown for 1889 in Ontario as a whole, overemployment was also present amongst certain working-class groups such as coal and gas workers, railway employees, and beverage workers whose actual annual incomes exceeded their equivalent under full employment. Labour demand then was a more important determinant of family incomes than the skill-related pay rate. Such realities enable Gagan and Gagan to conclude rather depressingly (1990: 174) that "this was a system that rendered wage differentials related to skills relatively meaningless."

Whatever way one computes the cost of living and what constituted underemployment, it is clear that the income of the main wage-earner of the working-class household was frequently not enough to live on. Gagan and Gagan's data for 1890 show that for outdoor domestic servants, operatives in the 'sweated' trades, harness makers and others. "neither full employment nor overtime produced incomes equal to the cost of living (1980: 176)."

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10 Estimates of what constitutes 'full employment' vary. Gagan and Gagan (1990: 173) define it as "277 days annually based on a 5½ day week with no work on Christmas, Boxing and New Year's days or Good Friday, or during a week of normal factory downtime annually." They note further that their estimate is six weeks more than that of Walkowitz's (1976) millhands in Troy, New York.
A hotel proprietor in Toronto (*Globe*, February 3, 1881) confirmed that similar burdens existed at the beginning of the decade:

Whereas wages generally have risen only ten per cent since 1881, provisions have risen from thirty to forty and this militates terribly against the workingman... I say, emphatically, it is impossible a man with a family can live on a dollar a day and feed himself and them and clothe them decently; it cannot be done.

The testimonies of others in the same issue of this newspaper mirror the views of this hotel proprietor. There were other means of survival, however. Cabbagetown in Toronto apparently derives its name from the practice of the working-class families there of selling vegetables grown in their back gardens in order to bolster the annual income (McAree 1953). In addition, the family racked with unstable employment and uneven income levels was rarely cast out by the local shopkeeper, to whom they were usually indebted. This system of credit existed in rural Ireland also, where the shopkeeper was known in unaffectionate terms as the 'gombeen man' by the indebted farmer. The Cabbagetown store operated by Ulster Anglican immigrants and described by McAree (1953: 8-9) was one such institution:

A man lost his job, and in two weeks was penniless. It was then that the small store did for him what no big store would do. It came to his rescue. It tided him over... In our own store it would be unheard of to stop a man's credit just because he was out of work... So far as rent was concerned, it did not greatly distress him.
He would not be evicted for falling a month or two behind... (A) sick man could get credit at the little drug store; the doctor did not expect to be paid for months, if indeed ever... From whatever cause a customer lost his job, whether it was a temporary period of unemployment, or whether he had to hunt another job, he could count on his little neighbourhood store to stand at his shoulder.

The family economy, however, was unable to cope with the problem of destitution, and families sometimes had to go to the wider community to seek relief. Still, some families became destitute and were in need of relief. Families in need could expect aid from their religious-based benevolent institutions such as St. Vincent de Paul (for Catholics) and the House of Industry (Catholics and Protestants). In any case, the Irish working-class responded to these challenges in both cities by sending their children to work. In Buffalo, the employed sons were concentrated in the semi-skilled (28.9%) and laboring (43.1%) sectors to an extent comparable with their fathers, although they had already begun to occupy a significant niche in the white-collar clerical sector (9.8% as opposed to the head of households’ 2.5%). In Toronto, the move by employed sons into the clerical sector was even more impressive, at 18.2%, compared to the household heads’ 5.1%. Elsewhere in the latter city, they began to enter skilled trade sectors such as shoemaker, blacksmith, and molder in larger numbers compared to Buffalo.

The struggles faced by Irish immigrant families and those of their descendants who remained within the working-classes of the two cities were pervasive and real. Also real, however, was the fact that the group was not an undifferentiated mass of labouring
peasantry and, as the following section on housing shows, these everyday struggles did not necessarily take place in the tenement ‘rookeries’ described for Irish immigrant communities in cities such as New York and London.

Housing the Irish in Toronto and Buffalo in the 1880s

The Irish in Toronto and Buffalo differed in terms of occupational structure and residential pattern. The Irish middle-class in Toronto was larger than in Buffalo, and while the Irish were dispersed throughout both cities, a more concentrated pattern was evident in Buffalo. Analysis of the housing markets of each city provides an additional dimension to our knowledge of how the Irish were integrated into the cities’ social geographies. Urban housing markets are usually conceptualized as the focus for certain actors (landlords, builders, politicians, housing consumers) operating within the constraints of social, political, and institutional contexts. The outcome of these transactions and relationships can be identified in terms of housing values and quality, tenure patterns, and social areas (Knox 1995). The housing market also mediates the access of various income and wealth groups to the ranges of housing opportunities within a given city, and indicates how and where these groups became integrated in such locales. This section discusses the housing conditions of the Irish in Toronto and Buffalo, using a number of indicators for housing tenure, construction, and quality.
Tenements and slums, popular settings for stories of life among the Irish in cities such as New York, were not common features of the urban landscapes of Buffalo or Toronto in the late nineteenth century. The ratio of residence to population, dwellings per hundred persons, a measure of intercity housing differences employed by Barrows (1983), reveals that Toronto, with a score of 19 for 1881, suffered less population overcrowding than Buffalo, whose score was 15 in 1880. While Buffalo may not have possessed a residential landscape of single-family homes like Philadelphia, its housing stock was closer to this model than that of New York City. In 1890, 7.6% of all dwellings in Buffalo’s housing stock were tenements, 17.8% being doubles, and 74.6% single-family dwellings (Barrows, 1983).

The Irish family in Buffalo frequently had to share building space with other households. In Buffalo, 212 out of 506 Irish families (41.9%) whose dwelling characteristics could be identified, inhabited buildings with other families. Of these 212 families, 117 (55.2%) shared their dwelling space with one other family, while in 45 cases, 3-family dwellings were present, and 50 cases in which four or more families occupied the dwelling. Thus, in 95 cases (18.8% of the sample) the Buffalo Irish lived in tenements (i.e. where three or more families were present). Given Buffalo’s larger propensity to sustain boarding houses than Toronto, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, this overall pattern is not surprising. Its economy, receptive to mobile and single males, many of whom were Irish, contributed to the prevalence of such establishments. As Harris (1994: 32) has noted

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11 The Toronto score, not covered in Barrows’ analysis, is calculated using the number of houses per capita. While it is clear that the number of dwellings exceeded the number of houses in Toronto, these were not counted as such in the Canadian census for 1881. In any case, the difference is not expected to lead one to a different conclusion regarding the comparative housing situation in the two cities.
simply but crucially “lodging speaks of a housing shortage,” suggesting that Buffalo’s housing market was not particularly responsive to the housing demands of increased numbers of blue-collar workers.

The Irish multifamily unit occupants in Buffalo, unsurprisingly, were mostly families headed by working-class male Irish immigrants. There were also a number of single-person families, mostly widows and spinsters who did not state any occupation in the census. Most of the multifamily units in which these Irish families resided were located either in Buffalo’s central business district or in the older adjacent waterfront districts of primary Irish settlement. The Irish shared tenements in the central area with families of other ethnic background in addition to American-born ‘whites.’ In wards one and eight meanwhile, and especially for two-family dwellings, the co-dwellers of the Irish households sampled were also likely to be Irish. These general comments on the profile of the Irish in Buffalo’s housing market then, reflects both their residential pattern of clustering within and on the edges of the central business district, which in turn was related to their low position in the city’s labour market.

In Toronto, Irish families, Catholic and Protestant, were less likely to be living in multiple-family housing in the late nineteenth century than Irish families in Buffalo. Tenements were even rarer in Toronto, as Barrows’ measure indicated, than in Buffalo. Only 112 out of 641 Irish families (or 17.5%) had to share dwellings, 43 of whose heads were not Irish-born. Seventy-eight of these households lived in two-family ‘double’ housing, with the remaining 34 (5.3% of the entire Irish sample) in tenements. Despite
the Irish Roman Catholics’ greater likelihood to occupy low-paying jobs, they were no more likely to occupy multiple-family housing than were the other Irish religious groups. In comparison to Buffalo, the Irish families in multiple-family housing drew from a broad spectrum of the labor market, and so while the semi-skilled and unskilled sectors were well represented as usual, there were others from the middle class, upper-middle class, and self-employed sectors. As we shall see later in this section, the wide spectrum of actors in Toronto’s housing market in 1881 accommodated the various income and wealth groups into which the Irish were divided. The response of the Toronto housing market to the increasing numbers of working-class families resulted in more houses being built rather than a proliferation in lodging or boarding house numbers.12

Toronto and Buffalo also differed in terms of their housing morphology. Civic tax and assessment sources act as valuable supplements to census manuscripts if one wishes to investigate further the condition and morphology of housing as well as tenure. Exploring aspects of the housing stock of the different occupational groups reveals much about how different social classes were sheltered. Gilliland and Olson (1998) pointed out in a ‘brick for the classes/plank for the masses’ dichotomy for Montreal that in the late nineteenth century Canadian city “the fundamental class distinction was between stone and wood (with) comfortably-off households of the Protestant sample more often in brick-clad or all-brick dwellings” compared to that city’s French-Canadian and Irish Catholic populations. The distribution of occupational groups in Toronto in 1881 in terms of housing material (Table 4.14) illustrates a pattern similar to that found for Montreal.

12 Despite this response, Harris (1994) has noted that lodging was strongly related to business cycles in Toronto, increasing over the boom years of the 1880s, and falling again during the depression of the 1890s.
There were three main types of building material distinguished in the assessment rolls – brick, frame, and roughcast, and their citywide shares were 22.1, 23.3, and 46.9 percent respectively, while the group of buildings, which were composed of a mixture of the three materials, comprised eight percent.

Table 4.14: Housing material by occupational category, Toronto, 1881.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Brick</th>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Roughcast</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners/managers</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents on commission</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other middle class</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class blue-collar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building trades</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled/semi-skilled</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto city sample (five percent).

Housing material predicted, to a limited but noticeable degree, the social status of the occupant of the residence. More than forty percent of the members in the three main middle-class categories (owners/managers, agents on commission, and other middle classes) occupied all-brick dwellings. Of the owners/managers who lived in frame dwellings, most were hotels of the low-grade variety. Almost half of the unskilled sector were living in all-frame housing, along with over a quarter of those in skilled and semi-
skilled occupations. The majority of the working-class lived in frame and roughcast housing, few in brick. While the wooden houses were better insulators than brick houses against the cold winters in the city, they were of course highly susceptible to fire.

Brick houses were less in evidence in American cities such as Buffalo than they were in Toronto. Key differences in the morphology of urban housing between Canadian and American cities were noted in the *Toronto Mail*, 1893:

> Take a walk through the residential parts of Toronto and look at the mile upon mile of solid brick and stone houses. Then compare these with the gaudy, painted wooden shells upon the residential streets of Buffalo or Detroit and wonder why people in the United States live in wooden cottages such as our citizens occupy in the summer at the Island (cited in Shapiro 1978).

While the above may appear as nothing more than a crude and partisan observation on the housing stock of American cities such as Buffalo, the commentator was not incorrect in his estimation. Inspection of the two-volume Sanborn fire insurance maps for Buffalo in 1881 confirm that outside of the central business district, most of the residential housing was indeed of frame construction. Brick-clad buildings, the domain of merchants, grocers, and other retailers, were often present on busy streets radiating out from the city's centre of Niagara Square. Elm Street, for example, a key thoroughfare in the heavily Irish First Ward, had many brick-built businesses strung along it as it stretched eastward toward the city line. Off main streets such as this, however, where
working-class housing was interspersed occasionally with industrial establishments such as breweries, foundries, and sugar factories, families were sheltered within walls of wood rather than any other material.

In the German neighbourhood to the north, a similar geography was present. Broadway acted as the centre of business and retail establishments, while the preponderance of brick buildings along it declined with distance from the centre of town. Intersecting streets such as Spruce, Walnut, Hickory, Pratt, and Spring were dominated by frame houses. Breweries such as that of David Haas broke the residential monotony. Unfortunately, due to coverage bias, we have no confirmation from these insurance maps that the houses of upper-class Buffalo were brick-built, but contemporary photographs and descriptions support the claim that a similar correlation between house material and social class existed in the American border city. The lack of a city-wide coverage in the Sanborn maps is their main weakness: indeed, key Irish streets such as Tennessee, Hamburgh, and Sandusky were not covered, and neither were parts of the city’s north-western side. The second edition of the atlas, which appeared in 1899, confirms that frame housing was widespread in these areas, with brick housing popular in the wealthy enclaves to the north in the Delaware Avenue axis.

The class-structured character of Toronto’s housing market is confirmed by house valuations (Table 4.15). The patterns are quite similar to Table 4.3, showing the owners/managers and middle-class groups out in front, whether one chooses to look at the mean or the median house valuation. Exceptions are shown in the case of the
skilled/semi-skilled versus the building trades workers, where the means and medians
give different impressions. These differences are relatively small, however.

Table 4.15: Residential house valuation by occupational category, Toronto, 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean ($)</th>
<th>Median ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owners/managers</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>2861</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents on commission</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1234</td>
<td>931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>1490</td>
<td>870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other middle class</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>2097</td>
<td>1150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class blue-collar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building trades</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled/semi-skilled</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>1140</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sample data.

Housing differences also existed between Catholic and Protestant Irish. The larger and
more valuable brick-built structures were more likely to house Irish Protestant than Irish
Roman Catholic families (Table 4.16). Of 109 houses that were constructed of either
brick only, or of brick and other materials, Catholic families inhabited only 24. Of the
eighty structures built of brick only, only eighteen (or 22.5% - see the fourth column of
Table 4.5) were occupied by Catholic households – the corresponding percentage for
frame-only housing was 53.1%, while the three ‘shanty’ households were all inhabited by
Catholics. On the whole then, Irish Catholic families in 1880s Toronto, occupying lower
positions in the urban labour market on average than Irish Protestants, were more likely than the latter to reside in cheaper and easier-to-erect roughcast and frame housing.

Table 4.16: Housing characteristics for the Toronto Irish sample, c. 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Housing Material</th>
<th>No. of all households</th>
<th>No. of Catholic households</th>
<th>% of Catholic households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brick only</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick and other materials</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame only</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>53.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame and roughcast</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roughcast only</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanty</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>158</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto Irish sample.

Immigrants in North American cities were more likely to attain homeownership in cities where single-family dwellings prevailed, than in those where multi-family structures were the rule (Kirk and Kirk 1981). Toronto and Buffalo belonged to the former group generally, though single-family housing was more prevalent in the Canadian city. In Toronto, out of 470 Irish households, regardless of religion, whose tenure could be identified, 167 or 35.3% were owner-occupied in 1881. Since Choko and Harris (1990) have estimated that the overall city rate of homeownership was 26.1% (1880), this provides evidence of an above-average rate of property ownership for the Irish and appears to corroborate the Kirks’ results. Irish Protestants in Toronto then, were not
necessarily acquiring more property than their Catholic countrymen despite their higher social status: the Catholic property ownership rate was 32.3% or 54 out of 167 classifiable units. Proportionately, the Irish of the second and later generations were less likely to be homeowners than the immigrants in Toronto: 40% of the latter were homeowners. Their older age profile probably accounts for this difference, however.

Access to homeownership then was not as discriminating by social class as one might expect. Moreover, lending institutions existed in Toronto for the minority Irish Catholic population. Bishop Charbonnel had established the Toronto Savings Bank in 1854. for example, but it did not last. Its successor, the Home Savings and Loan Co. Ltd. had in 1880 a number of prominent Irish Roman Catholic businessmen among its directorship.\textsuperscript{13} Its advert in the \textit{Irish-Canadian} (November 3 1880) noted that it received deposits "from twenty cents and upwards," providing loans "on real estate mortgages" and for other purposes. In any case, length of residence in the city was (and still is) a key determinant of homeownership and may explain a lot of these patterns. A Bay Street tailor, interviewed by the \textit{Globe} (February 3, 1883) contrasted the fortunes of labourers in 1881 with previous decades in the following way:

I admit that labouring men who came here twenty years ago, when... land (cost) next to nothing, are now owners of lots worth $500. But it was not their industry created their worth. The lots they purchased for $30 have, through natural or artificial causes,

\textsuperscript{13} These included the Honourable Frank Smith, politician and later owner of the Toronto Street Railway, the brewer Eugene O'Keefe, dry goods retailer Patrick Hughes, and the solicitor James J Foy
increased a hundredfold in value, and they are now comparatively wealthy through no foresight or industry of their own.

An English labourer, interviewed in the same issue, stressed progressive saving as the key to homeownership, no matter how modest the home was, but again juxtaposed the economic present with that of the past:

I know men, Englishmen like myself, Irishmen, and Scotchmen who saved their five cents and put them in the bank and after a while they bought and own lots, but every one can’t do that now a days at all events.

The process of purchasing a home took time for many working-class families and operated in a stepwise fashion. McAree’s (1953: 6) memories of Cabbagetown in the 1880s and 1890s are a helpful source in understanding the process:

Not having enough money to order and pay for a full-sized house, most people in Toronto sixty years ago built their homes by instalments. They would save enough to buy a lot. Then they would save enough to buy the material for three or four rooms; and then they would build what was intended to be the rear of the house. It was composed, generally, of lath and plaster, with gravel mixed in a sort of stucco effect, and this was called rough-cast...I can recall seeing street after street of these unfinished houses, greyish white blocks, with an entrance on the side, many of
which were never finished but stood like clumsy tombstones, as monuments to the unfulfilled ambitions and broken desires of the owners.

The Irish, despite their greater concentration in the Buffalo's working-class, were only slightly less successful in acquiring property in that city as they were in Toronto. The Buffalo Irish population had a slightly older age structure (44% of household heads there were over 45 years of age) than Toronto's (36%), and so one may expect a higher overall rate of homeownership there in the former city, but the results do not support this, and may reflect their more entrenched position in the housing and labour markets of the American city. In terms of housing type, the homeowning Irish were not necessarily confined to single-family dwellings: 61.1% of Irish homeowners in Buffalo invested in single-family housing, equivalent to the portion of the entire sample living in such housing. Glasco (1980) found the Irish-born to be less capable than native "white" Americans of acquiring property in 1855 Buffalo, but this analysis was done only one decade after the arrival of Irish immigrants fleeing the Great Famine.

By 1880, the overall rate of homeownership for the Buffalo Irish was 157 out of 482 households, or 32.6%. The rate was 37.3% for the Irish-born but, as with Toronto, their older age structure probably accounts for their advantage over the second generation. The rates ranged from 27.3% in the First Ward to 44.4% in the central third ward, where most of the Irish in the business and skilled sectors resided. The homeownership rate then, differed for different strata within the Irish ethnic group. Little is known of the sources of loans used to access these mortgages by the Irish working-class. By 1884,
however, the Irish-American Savings and Loan Association was established in Buffalo
"for the purpose of providing a means whereby individuals could pool their savings and
have them invested principally in first mortgages on real estate" (Buffalo Evening News,
January 29, 1942).

Other indicators used to investigate differences among the Toronto religious groups in
terms of housing were firstly, house value (used as a surrogate for house quality) and
house value/person (used as a surrogate for crowding/space inequality). The results of
this analysis are shown in Table 4.17, and again, an Irish denominational hierarchy, with
the Methodists at the top, and the Catholics at the bottom, is sharply drawn.14

Table 4.17: House value and house value/person by religion, Toronto Irish sample. 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>House value ($)</th>
<th>House value/person ($)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irish Protestant</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Median</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>920.42</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>1048.47</td>
<td>717.5</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>754.46</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Roman Catholic</td>
<td>595.46</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: F=3.416, p=0.009 (mean house value); F=5.598: p=0.000 (mean house value per
person).

Source: Toronto Irish sample.

14 A number of occupations and residences were excluded from the calculations due to their propensity to
skew the results. These included hotelkeepers, grooms, a senator, and a bishop.
Rear or alley housing represents one example of marginal urban housing for working-class families living close to the poverty line. Toronto city directories indicate where families have their dwelling quarters at the rear of other houses on certain streets. Twenty-six Irish families whose addresses could be traced were identified to be living in such rear locations in Toronto in 1881. These families, mainly nuclear families of between three and eight people, lived in mostly one-storey frame houses. The median value of such housing was $200, although the values ranged from a minimum of $50 to a maximum of $600. Not all of these rear houses were frame-constructed - nine were roughcast and one was constructed from brick. In terms of location, rear houses were found in all areas of Toronto, but especially in areas of most recent construction.

Unsurprisingly, the residents of rear housing were employed in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations and fifteen of the household heads or 57.7% were Roman Catholic, suggesting a further dimension to the pattern of housing inequality among the religious sub-groups revealed earlier.

While housing inequalities clearly existed for different religious sub-groups of the Irish population in Toronto, it is pertinent to ask if these were a function of the labor market inequalities described earlier, or were housing conditions similar for a given occupation across religions. This question was tackled for the valuation and value/person variables, comparing Catholics with all other Irish denominations for the three occupational sectors of self-employed, skilled/semi-skilled and unskilled in an analysis-of-variance procedure (Table 4.18). Since an adequate number of Catholic households was needed, the three occupational groups in which they were most numerous were chosen. The broad
citywide sample, including Irish and non-Irish alike and across different religions for the three occupational categories, was included to act as a control group. Since the sample sizes are relatively small, it was felt that all Protestant religions should be collapsed into one category.

Examination of Table 4.18 reveals disparities between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants in the measures of housing quality and crowding for all three occupational groups. For instance, the mean house value of skilled and semi-skilled Irish Protestants was $565, compared to $423 for Irish Catholics; in addition, the mean house value of the citywide control sample was $561. The median house values for the three samples within this occupational group were $145, $112, and $131 respectively. The F-ratios and their p-values demonstrate, however, that for a given occupational group the differences in house value indicated by these descriptive statistics were a result of house value variation within each sample rather than variation between samples. None of the p-values exceeded 0.05 significance, thus the null hypothesis of no difference between the three samples for a given occupational group could not be rejected. These results need to be viewed with some caution however, due to the small sample sizes, particularly that for Irish Roman Catholics.
Table 4.18: House valuation and valuation per person of three occupation groups, by Irish Protestant, Irish Catholic, and Toronto city samples, 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Mean house value ($)</th>
<th>Mean house value per person ($)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Self-employed</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>1490.17</td>
<td>279.41</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Protestant</td>
<td>1199.21</td>
<td>258.77</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Roman Catholic</td>
<td>1140.00</td>
<td>308.83</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-Ratio</td>
<td>0.486</td>
<td>0.193</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>0.616</td>
<td>0.825</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skilled and semi-skilled</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>560.69</td>
<td>130.90</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Protestant</td>
<td>564.64</td>
<td>144.69</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Roman Catholic</td>
<td>422.91</td>
<td>112.25</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-Ratio</td>
<td>2.173</td>
<td>0.885</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>0.115</td>
<td>0.414</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unskilled</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>388.45</td>
<td>91.83</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Protestant</td>
<td>336.69</td>
<td>77.73</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Roman Catholic</td>
<td>441.04</td>
<td>92.24</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-Ratio</td>
<td>0.583</td>
<td>0.365</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>0.559</td>
<td>0.694</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto city and Irish samples.
Irish Tenants and their Landlords

The last section demonstrated that the heterogeneity of the Irish population in Toronto in terms of class and religion, was reflected in the city’s housing market. While the housing data on Irish households could not be analyzed in similar detail for Buffalo, the greater propensity for the group to occupy multiple-family housing was noted. In this section, the internal workings of the housing market in Toronto are examined in more detail than previously, to assess the determinants that facilitated access to housing for different class groups of Irish in the city. Similar data for Buffalo have not been uncovered, though the last section showed that broadly, access to homeownership there was only slightly less than it was for the Toronto Irish.

Actors in urban housing markets, such as landlords, and their relations with tenants, are little-researched in historical geography and urban history. Investigations of those individuals who owned urban properties in which various communities of Irish found themselves all over the United States and Canada in the nineteenth century are also rare. This may be a consequence of a lack of data at the city level or a preference for other research agendas.

Nonetheless, analysis of landlord-tenant relationships in a city for an ethnic group such as the Irish give rise to several questions. Were the group of landlords renting to that particular ethnic group characteristic of the landlords renting to the general tenantry of the city? To what extent did the ethnic group rent housing from fellow ethnics and did
such a relationship change with the course of time? Was there segregation or
discrimination in the housing market that facilitated such intra-ethnic relationships in
housing provision? Given the widely divergent views about the integration of Irish
Catholics in nineteenth-century Toronto, ranging from Nicholson's (1985) comments of
ghettoization to McGowan's (1999) picture of a well-integrated group, analysis of the
housing sector should resolve some central issues in the debate.

In any event, indicators suggest that providers of rental housing in nineteenth-century
urban Canada were a diverse group of people, and not just wealthy investors or
speculators. In a survey of Canadian landlords in 1871, covering twenty cities of varied
size, Burley (1997) found housing investment to have an appeal among a broad section of
the population in large cities such as Montreal, Quebec and Toronto, a broad appeal that
was not replicated in small centres. The title of his essay 'The Senator, the merchant, two
carpenters, and a widow,' illustrates the wide range of individuals who engaged in the
practice of landlordism. Richard Dennis, in a (1987: 36) study of three areas of Toronto
circa 1890, concluded that:

the picture emerges of large numbers of small landlords and a handful of large
operators, whose influence far outweighed their number, and most of whom had
interests in other aspects of the property market which they probably found more
lucrative than collecting rents on working-class houses.
Although his figures are slightly biased in favour of the large landlord, Dennis found that 55% of landlords owned only 15.5% of dwellings, while the top 7.5% owned over 41% of rented houses (Dennis 1987). While Burley’s results show that all Canadian cities contained large-scale housing landlords, only the largest cities surveyed, as demonstrated by Dennis for Toronto, had a plethora of ‘neighbourhood’ landlords, occupied in the self-employed, skilled and semi-skilled sectors.

Fortunately, one of the few studies that explores landlord-tenant relationships in an ethnic context is of Toronto. In his study of Toronto’s Jews, Dennis (1997) has shown how ethnic groups were interlinked as both actors and consumers in an inner-city housing market. He observes that the percentage of Jewish householders renting from Jewish landlords in the central area known as “The Ward” increased dramatically from 10% to 57% within the space of ten years (1899-1909). Acquisition of property by Jews was concentrated in The Ward during that time, and Jewish landlords who owned property outside of the area had few Jewish tenants, while the non-Jews who rented to Jews in The Ward were nearly all ‘absentee’ landlords (i.e. they lived outside Dennis’ sample areas). Moreover, Dennis (1997: 387) states that “wealthier Jews felt obliged to acquire property to rent to poorer co-religionists, who were being denied tenancies by non-Jewish landlords,” admitting however that this argument holds more weight in the 1920s and 1930s, rather than around 1900 when most Jewish tenants rented from non-Jews. Dennis found that small-scale Jewish landlords were more likely to rent to other Jews than non-Jewish real estate men with speculative investment portfolios. The coincidence of ethnicity in the instance of landlord and tenant should not always be extended to assert
some sort of ethnic aid system, of course. Indeed, aid and exploitation can be embodied within the same gesture or action. There was also scope for ethnic landlords to exploit their co-ethnic tenants, as in the Jews of East London (Dennis 1997).

Given that narratives of Irish settlement in nineteenth-century urban America have frequently depicted them as a marginalized group, it would be valuable to explore if a pattern of shelter provision similar to that of Toronto’s Jews existed. Identification of those who rented to Irish households was done in a number of ways. Where the lessor was living in close proximity to the lessee, characteristics such as religion or occupation of the lessor were often given on the same page of the assessment roll. Where this did not occur, names were recorded (their street of residence was often also given) and they were subsequently traced in the 1882 or 1881 Toronto city directory. Also, the index to the census of Canada for Toronto in 1871 was consulted to provide additional information on the religion, ethnic origin, and occupation of the landlord. This seemed a valid strategy since it could be expected that a fair proportion of landlords in the city in 1880 were also resident there ten years earlier.

In total, 285 individual landlords were identified, the vast majority of whom were private individuals. Twelve properties were held by estates, one by executors, four were held by ecclesiastical institutions, five by financial institutions and four others by private companies, leaving 258 or 90% in the hands of private individuals. The occupations of only 170 of these individuals could be traced and their distribution is shown in Table
4.19. Seven of these private individuals leased two different properties, while one leased three.

The diversity of private landlords who rented to the Irish in Toronto reflects the general diversity of landlords who supplied rental housing in the city (Burley 1997, Dennis 1987). Although he used a different occupational ranking system, Burley’s ‘big city’ landlords were drawn mainly from the self-employed, skilled, white-collar, and managerial sectors. This pattern is consistent with the findings for the landlords of the Toronto Irish (Table 4.19). The Irish tenants of the city, divided by denomination, possessed the same class-based diversity of landlords; no religious group’s tenants were leasing from any one type of landlord. In other words, Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics were just as likely to be leasing from an unskilled labourer or small-time builder as from a speculative property-owning professional.
Table 4.19: The occupational background of lessors to the Irish in Toronto, 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owners and managers</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents on commission</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class blue-collar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled/semi-skilled</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building trades</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto Irish sample, Toronto city directories.

The extent of ethnic and ethno-religious overlap between landlords and Irish tenants in Toronto was measured. The ethnic origin of the landlords was gleaned from the 1871 census, and was determined for 119 landlords. Such a method of ethnic identification biases long-established landlords, but the results point to an ethnic diversity among the landlords who rented residences to the Toronto Irish in any case. Since no Irish Protestant or Catholic residential concentrations existed in Toronto in 1881, expecting an outcome whereby most Irish were renting from their fellow ethnicseems unlikely. Nevertheless, the Toronto Irish were most likely to rent housing from someone of their own background. Just over half of the landlords whose ethnic origin was determined were Irish (54.6%), with lesser percentages of English (24.8%) and Scottish (18.6%) ancestry. This is more than we would expect, since less than forty percent of Toronto's population was of Irish ethnic origin (Clarke 1993).
Ethnoreligious bonds appear not to have played any significant role in the housing market. In other words, Irish Roman Catholic families were not renting property in substantial numbers from fellow Catholics. The religion of both landlord/lessor and lessee could be established for only 125 cases, and the resulting matrix (Table 4.20) shows that for the four main religions of Toronto, no discernible religious-based pattern existed when it came to the renting of residential property to Irish households. If one examines this under the binary Protestant/Catholic context, then the result is little changed. Of the three main Protestant groups, the Methodists were least likely to lease a residence to an Irish Catholic.
Table 4.20: The relationship between landlords, tenants, and religion for the
Toronto Irish sample, 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LESSOR</th>
<th>Anglican</th>
<th>Methodist</th>
<th>Presbtn.</th>
<th>R.Catholic</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbtn.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto Irish sample.

Note: Row percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

The landlords or lessors in Table 4.20, divided on the basis of religion, came from a
mixture of Irish, English, and Scottish backgrounds. Given their composition in the city
generally, Irish ethnic origin dominated amongst Roman Catholic landlords. Irish
Presbyterian households were also the most likely to rent from a landlord of Irish origin.
Of their nineteen households, fifteen (83.3%) rented from an individual of Irish ancestry,
but only three of these Irish landlords were also Presbyterian. At least nine Orangemen
with municipal links were identified in the list of property owners renting to Irish
households, but probably there were others. Of these Orangemen, one (Joseph Sheard)
had sat in the Toronto mayor's chair while another (Emerson Coatsworth) was a city commissioner whose son (Emerson Jr.) became mayor in 1906 (Houston and Smyth 1980a). The expectation that these adherents to a joint agenda of British imperialism and anti-Catholic bigotry preferred renting to fellow Protestants is supported by the evidence, albeit thin. Only one of the nine Orangemen leased to an Irish Catholic household. Having said this, nothing short of compiling a substantial inventory of renters on some of these Orangemen's properties, will sufficiently address the question of housing discrimination suggested here.

Absenteeism was not a common characteristic among landlords of Irish tenantry. There were a few. In seven cases, landlords lived outside the Toronto region in places such as Port Hope, Hamilton, Scarborough, and Thornhill. Other landlords resided on relatively affluent Toronto streets such as Jarvis, Sherbourne, Church, and Carlton. In contrast, there is evidence that the local, community-type of landlord was quite common among the Irish in Toronto. Sixty-eight landlords lived on the same street as their lessees or 26.4% of all (258) private landlords. Given the length of most streets in Toronto as with most North American cities, this is an imperfect measure of the degree of informality in landlord-tenant relationships, but the mapping of such relationships is beyond the scope of this study. Nineteen of these 'local' landlords were Roman Catholics, five were labourers, while another thirteen were involved in the building trade, including contractors. These were active in building construction along the constantly expanding edge of the city in particular. Olson (1989: 90) observed a similar tendency among those involved in the construction trades in nineteenth-century Montreal, where she found that:
Occupations with a peripheral distribution include roofers, plasterers, masons, carpenters, and painters. The old rim of poverty was subject to perennial destruction and ejection. On that frontier, the construction crafts were able to achieve high rates of homeownership and space for themselves.

Some examples illustrate this point. Joseph Murphy, a 61-year old Catholic plasterer, living on the western fringes of Toronto in 116 Strachan Avenue, owned two other properties adjacent to his own. On the eastern side of the city, Patrick Mahoney, a 44-year old Catholic teamster owned from 67 to 89 Sackville Street, a total of twelve properties; he lived in number 89. Land speculation on the edge of Toronto was not wholly the domain of members of the skilled and semi-skilled trades, of course. To the north of the city, Senator David McPherson had extensive properties in the area around Roxborough Avenue, on the edge of the future garden suburb of Rosedale. Other landlords from the middle- and upper-classes came from prominent streets such as Jarvis, Spadina, Sherbourne, Parliament, and Carlton. Traders in the city centre had speculative interests on the fringe, e.g. Alexander Purse, an Anglican saloon keeper on Adelaide Street rented two houses in the Bloor and Brunswick area to two carpenters, James and Robert Dempster. Also in the centre of town, Thomas Bonner, a Catholic dairyman, living at 35 Ann Street in St. James’ Ward owned eight other properties on the same side of that street. Thus, it is clear that the housing demands of the diverse occupational and income groups of Irish in the city were met by an equally diverse group of landlords.
Thus, these sub-groups of Irish were channeled into housing of varied size, composition, and quality which broadly reflected their position within Toronto's social geography.

As was noted above, homeownership among the Buffalo Irish was just over 30%. Reconstruction of the landlord classes in Buffalo cannot be accomplished to the same extent as in Toronto. The tax assessments of the First Ward frequently cite members of the city’s elite, such as the capitalist Schoellkopf and Tifft families, as landowners. No evidence of a local Irish landlord class is suggested by these assessments. As was shown earlier in this chapter, boarding provided the primary mechanism whereby immigrant Irish newcomers were provided with shelter in Buffalo. Landlord and tenant relationships operate on a different level of intimacy, however, and our knowledge of such with regard to the Buffalo Irish unfortunately remains limited. Few of the property-owning Irish in Buffalo, it seems, had real estate interests beyond the houses that sheltered them.

There is evidence, however, that the owner of a number of plots and buildings in the First Ward, William Glenny, was a businessman of Irish background who lived on Main Street. Glenny was born in Ireland and was a member of the First Presbyterian Church in the city. The Buffalo Times (February 11, 1929) in its obituary of Glenny’s son, William Jr., give some insight on the progress of William Sr., one of the few Irish Protestants in Buffalo:
(His father) came here in 1836 to take a job in a bookstore. It was only a short time later that he decided to strike out for himself and he began the importing and retailing business which bore his name... The family established itself here in the business of importing and retailing crockery, pottery, and glassware, and that was conducted at 204 Main Street until the late 1890s.

Glenny later became a member of the prestigious Buffalo Club, with his two sons William Jr. and John. His store was frequented by the upper echelons of Buffalo society on a regular basis. Inspection of the tax assessment entries for Buffalo’s First Ward in 1880 note his name as the owner of thirty-eight separate properties, mostly on Vincennes (nine properties) and Alabama (eight) streets. William Jr., a graduate of Yale University, later became a charter member of the University Club, and was for more than fifty years a member of the Buffalo Savings Bank (Buffalo Times, February 11, 1929). By the 1920s, the Glenny offspring were residing in the upmarket residential area of Buffalo centred on Delaware Avenue. These second-generation Protestant Irish-Americans inhabited a world where house maids and domestic servants from working-class Irish Catholic families in the southeastern part of the city came to live, work, and be schooled in Victorian values of domesticity.

In returning to the ghettoization/integration dichotomy then, a number of points can be made. It is clear that the Irish in Toronto, Catholic and Protestant, were quite a heterogeneous group, both having working-class elements. Micro-examples of ghettos were present, since pockets of extreme poverty existed in areas of the city of low-value
frame housing. This was also true of Buffalo, and to a larger extent than Toronto.

Multiple-family housing was experienced by the Buffalo Irish to a larger degree than their Toronto counterparts, for example. Yet, at the same time, many among the Irish working-class in Toronto were homeowners, while others leased property from other members of the working-class. The evidence then, conveys more a sense of an ongoing process of residential integration for the Irish in both cities than it does of a group trapped in physical ghettoization. While the latter scenario may have been true of the immediate post-Famine period, it had mostly broken down by the 1880s.

Conclusion

While similar numbers of Irish-born resided in Toronto and Buffalo at the beginning of the 1880s, analysis of their and their descendants' socioeconomic character and geographical patterns of residence indicate differences, not only within each city, but also between them. The prevalence of the Irish ethnic group in all parts of Toronto, Catholic and Protestant, contrasted with their relative concentration in certain parts of Buffalo. If one speaks of Irish Catholics only, there is evidence that although residential clusters of this sub-group existed in both cities, they were in a process of continued residential integration and dispersal rather than sustained concentration. Although the Irish were not much longer settled in Buffalo than in Toronto, their position in the ethnic division of labour, relative to the Irish in Toronto, combined with patterns of industrial location on Buffalo's waterfront to produce tightly-knit Irish neighbourhoods such as the First Ward.
Moreover, the religious mix of the Toronto Irish, paralleling Belfast, split the ethnic group into two, one side of which blended into the Canadian Protestant mainstream, the other forming the city's first significant ethnic minority.

The residential dispersal of the Irish in Toronto was countered by the development of a matrix of community structures that served Roman Catholic and Protestant elements of the group, with little social overlap. Along with intermarriage patterns, these flexible and diffuse networks fostered social and ethnoreligious cohesion that was little constrained by geography. Orange halls, public schools, and Protestant churches and meeting houses were dotted around Toronto alongside Roman Catholic churches, separate schools, and the locales where nationalists and lay leaders of devotional organizations found their voice. While these may have engendered a sense of psychological ghettoization or separation on the part of the Irish Roman Catholics, the saloon, the workplace, and other outlets would have brought some degree of social intermixture between the two Irish denominational groups and others in the city. The common experience of working-class poverty at the neighbourhood level must have meant that a degree of social interaction between various denominations was a daily reality. That the Protestant Irish had a more substantial middle-class in Toronto than the Roman Catholic Irish, parallels closely the Ulster city of Belfast, even if the residential patterns limit further comparison. The discussion of housing patterns confirmed that, for a given occupational category, differences between denominations were not significant.
Buffalo’s large Post-Famine Irish immigrant population, the entrenchment of the group in unskilled labour relative not only to other groups in Buffalo but also to their Toronto counterparts, and the familiar community structures of church, school, and saloon, solidified a First Ward ethnic neighbourhood in which the Irish, though comprising only 65% of that ward’s population, left the dominant stamp on its personality. The waterfront industries in Buffalo strengthened the neighbourhood’s reputation as a gathering place where many boarding houses were populated with large numbers of unattached and unskilled Irish males.

Such neighbourhoods in Buffalo fostered a sense of Irishness undoubtedly, but these forces were mitigated by a number of factors. Firstly, no equivalent of the Irish Protestants in Toronto existed in Buffalo to sharpen Irish Catholic identities. German Catholics were present and participated in church-based associations with the city’s Irish. Secondly, save for the divisions of the Ancient Order of Hibernians later in the century, there does not seem to have been any significant nationalist mobilization by the Buffalo Irish. Thirdly, the fact that so many children of Irish Catholics not only attended but also taught in the city’s public school system exposed the group to forces of acculturation unavailable to their counterparts north of the border.

While the family economy was important to the working-class Irish of both cities, it was probably more critical in the case of Buffalo, where the heavy dependence on grain scoopers would have meant working for only eight months of the year. Nevertheless, despite the apparent differences in their housing markets, access to home ownership was
a goal attainable in the two cities, and a goal realized to a roughly similar extent by the Irish in both.

The cross-section approach upon which the above patterns have been discerned provides the basis for the analysis of geographic and social mobility in the following two chapters. The study of mobility necessitates a dynamic perspective, but without a static cross-sectional beginning, our understanding of the mobility patterns that we find is much reduced. The following chapter, then, addresses geographic and occupational mobility, while the final chapter explores residential movements within the two cities during the study period.
CHAPTER 5

GEOGRAPHIC AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Introduction

Most people conceive of the term ‘mobility’ as involving movement, and mainly over geographical space. Over the past 350 years at least, the settlement and resettlement of individuals and families from one place to another, and frequently over long distances, has remained one of the central forces shaping North American society and culture. Since so many Europeans made the decision to risk the uncertainties associated with starting a new life on the other side of the Atlantic, it is reasonable to expect that their mobility did not end in the first, or even second, city they landed in. Such mobility had an end goal for the individual or family head, of course. Though many ‘single-step’ Irish emigrants did remain within their cities of arrival for the rest of their lives, Houston and Smyth (1990: 152) note that, for the majority of other multiple-step migrants, ‘(their) movements… in North America were purposeful, deliberate, and directed at achieving
eventual permanent settlements.” To illustrate this point, the authors, in addition to Katz (1975), have described and mapped the itinerant wanderings of Ulster migrant, Wilson Benson, throughout Ontario during the mid-nineteenth-century, but note further that his last sixty years were spent within the same region. In the preceding chapter, the samples of the Irish ethnic group in Toronto and Buffalo for 1880/81 were described in detail in order to provide the context for the analysis that follows. In this and the following chapter, the mobility of sub-samples of these groups is investigated.

The traditional notion of mobility as described above is only part of the story, however. Mobility can also refer to changes in the social standing and financial achievement of an individual and/or his family over the course of a generation or longer. Social mobility, for example, refers to situations where a working-class family moves to a middle-class neighbourhood or where the occupational status of the household head is improved from say, a bricklayer to a foreman or shopkeeper. These two dimensions of social mobility, occupational and residential, are not entirely independent of each other, of course, but they are not always strongly correlated either. There is also the issue about how ‘mobility’ is viewed by the population under study, as opposed to how it is conceptualized by the scholar.

This chapter focuses firstly on the general pattern of geographic mobility of the Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, which is approached by examining their rates of out-migration from each city, before turning to their patterns of occupational mobility. For those Irish workingmen who remained, their occupational mobility within the labour markets of the
two cities is discussed, and the reasons why the patterns of the two cities may be different are explored. The following chapter investigates the residential movements of the surviving households within each city. Analysis of the Irish in both of these chapters then, requires that they no longer be viewed as a mix of immigrants and second-generation, but now as a mix of second-, third- and possibly even fourth-generation members of this ethnic group in two industrializing North American cities. Since time, expense, and methodological problems could not be averted in tracing the fortunes of all 1,192 families in the two cities, two sub-samples, totalling 389 families, were selected (as discussed in chapter two), and so form the core of analysis in this and the following chapter.

**Geographic mobility**

This section explores the general pattern of geographic mobility among the Irish (both immigrants and their descendants) out of Toronto and Buffalo between 1880 and 1910. Historians of mobility in nineteenth-century America have used the term 'geographic mobility' to refer to the rate of movement of populations into and out of the cities, regions, or states they have studied (Thernstrom 1973, Ferrie 1998). In addition to focussing on out-migration, its converse, persistence, has been used to measure of geographic mobility and urban population turnover. Hundreds of thousands of individuals and families moved between different rural and urban settlements across the
continent during the nineteenth century in pursuit of their goals, and the Irish were in the vanguard of these movements.

Through a series of stepwise migratory movements, many Irish relocated in successive steps beyond their original urban and rural settlements in the Atlantic and Great Lakes regions. In a commissioned article on the Irish in the United States for *The Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Blessing (1980: 530) remarked that: "The majority of Irish immigrants remained in the Northeast, but a significant proportion, generally after spending some time in eastern cities, continued inland and some went on to the Pacific Coast states." Such mobility, of course, was common not only among immigrants but also among the native-born populations of both the United States and Canada throughout the nineteenth century.

The quantitative revolution in urban and social history in the 1960s and 1970s inspired scholars to tackle issues relating to geographic mobility and population persistence. City-scale case studies such as those of Chudacoff (1972), Katz (1975), and Griffen and Griffen (1978) exemplify well the attempts made by historians to calculate the frequency and magnitude of population movements for the cities of Omaha (Nebraska), Hamilton (Ontario), and Poughkeepsie (New York). Analysis in this section parallels the analysis of these case studies. Furthermore, additional hypotheses are investigated, e.g. whether or not these persistence rates were selective in terms of occupation, age, birthplace, and housing tenure. In addition, given the similarities that have been drawn between Toronto and Belfast in the nineteenth century, it is also worth probing whether Irish Protestants
were more likely to persist in the Ontario city than their Catholic counterparts. Though it may be a task well within the capabilities of the patient genealogist, charting the subsequent fortunes and locations of those Irish families who left Toronto and Buffalo is not within the scope of this dissertation.

Individuals and families were traced in city directories at five-year intervals between 1880 and 1910. Various circumstances explain the disappearance of individuals and households from the (imperfect) record of these directories. Within five or ten years, the head and his wife may have died, and their children may have moved elsewhere. Some decided to relocate at a different address within these cities, while their old neighbours stayed put. In addition, there were households that moved out of these cities forever, never to return. Such was part of the dynamics of the North American city in the nineteenth century. Methods employed in observing such population dynamics vary from quantitative models to less sophisticated tools, but the measurement of a population's persistence is central to this inquiry about geographic mobility and its converse, stability. The persistence of a family/household head/individual within a city between two studied years can be thought of in two ways: (a) persistence at the same address, or (b) persistence within the city, here termed intra-city persistence. The next problem concerns the unit by which persistence shall be measured. Most studies on the persistence of urban populations involve the tracing of heads of household (Chudacoff 1972, Pooley 1978) over a number of years. Katz and others (1983) have criticized this method, since the death of a male head often left the widow and children resident at the same address or at another address in the city. Accounting for the wife’s continued survival extends the unit
of analysis from simply a 'head of household' to a 'continuity household.' In addition, populations of adult males have acted as the units by which persistence levels in a city were measured (Themstrom 1973, Griffen and Griffen 1978).

The differences that distinctions between these two measurements of persistence and household can make are illustrated in Figures 5.1 and 5.2. In Figure 5.1, where persistence is measured in terms of the 1880/81 address, survival rates of Irish continuity households in both cities exceed those of the household heads as given in the original samples. This is not surprising given the definitions of the two types of unit. The persistence rates for the years 1880/81-1885/86 in Toronto and Buffalo using only the household heads are 30.7% and 24.5% respectively. Using the continuity measure increases these respective figures to 38% and 28.3%. Differences beyond these years, however, do not appear to be very significant; in other words, use of household heads does not seem to skew the persistence rates downward very much.
Source: Toronto and Buffalo Irish mobility samples.

The measurement of persistence in terms of 'persistence at same (1880/81) address' is likewise always going to be less than the intra-city measure. Figure 5.2 plots these data for Irish continuity households in the two cities. Clearly, how one defines persistence has
a significant outcome on the results, since the levels vary between 45 and 70 percent in Toronto for 1881-86 and between 28 and 38 percent for Buffalo for 1880-85. The intra-city measure is approximately the inverse of out-migration from the city, once death is accounted for, and using continuity households as the unit of analysis partially compensates for the mortality factor, since the widow becomes the new 'head'.

Whatever way one measures persistence, the graphs demonstrate that there was a steady outflow of Irish households from the city limits of Buffalo and Toronto throughout the period 1880-1911. Since the United States was the principal destination for those leaving Toronto and other parts of Ontario, the Canadian-born formed a significant component of the foreign-born populations of American border cities such as Buffalo and Detroit. Buffalo and Detroit were 'sifter cities,' who managed to attract some of the thousands who poured through on their way to other destinations. As Table 5.1 shows, Detroit absorbed larger numbers of Canadian-born into its urban economy than Buffalo, for each of the intercensal years between 1860 and 1910. Since Buffalo had a larger population than Detroit in these years, the Canadian element in its total population was comparatively less significant. In Buffalo, the Canadian-born reached a peak of 4.9% of Buffalo's total population in 1900; that same year, Canadians living in Detroit formed twice this proportion of their city's total population. The Canadian-born in these two border cities were mainly English-speaking; significant numbers of French-Canadians were present in New England industrial centres and New York City, on the other hand (Truesdell 1943). The vast majority of those English-speaking Canadians in Buffalo and Detroit had their origins in the British Isles. As the Irish Protestants who entered Buffalo
from Ontario blended into the ‘American/Yankee’ host group, it is likely that their counterparts in Detroit did the same. As Vinyard (1976) has noted for the early 1850s, Irish Catholics outnumbered Irish Protestants in the Michigan border city by a 6:1 ratio. Unfortunately, data for later periods are not available, but her findings do little to dispel the perception of American cities as strongholds of Irish Catholic ethnicity in the nineteenth century.

Table 5.1: The Canadian-born in Buffalo and Detroit, 1860-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Canadian-born</th>
<th>Canadian-born as a percentage of total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>Detroit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>2,464</td>
<td>3,088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>4,119</td>
<td>7,625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>5,951</td>
<td>10,576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>10,610</td>
<td>18,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>17,242</td>
<td>28,944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>17,434</td>
<td>42,814</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: French- and English-Canadians are aggregated. For years prior to 1910 persons born in Newfoundland are included.
Source: Truesdell (1943).

Toronto appears to have a better record of retaining Irish families, both Catholic and Protestant, than Buffalo over the years 1881-1911. Conversely, Buffalo’s Irish were much more mobile than Toronto’s Irish. New households were obviously begun after 1881 when sons and daughters wed and started families in both cities, but they are not considered in this section of the analysis. In searching for an explanation as to why Toronto’s persistence rates exceed those of Buffalo, one must remember that the results may in part be a function of the imperfections of data sources in both cities. A series of
explanations are discussed later in this chapter. Firstly though, consider data from other case studies.

Persistence rates for different variations of the Irish ethnic group in six North American cities of varying size during the second half of the nineteenth century are provided in Table 5.2. Clearly, the rate at which the Irish were prone to remain in these cities varied by time and across space: ten-year rates of Irish persistence range from less than 20 to over 50 percent. Only in the case of Poughkeepsie, New York, was the persistence rate significantly higher than the others reported here. Otherwise, it was rare for more than forty percent of the Irish household heads to survive for ten years or longer in a given city. Although definitions of 'Irish' and 'persistence', as well as the measurement units complicate the figures, they do mirror the wide ranges of persistence levels reported for different American cities by Thernstrom (1973). What he found most striking was the general similarity between the rates of persistence reported by other historians, rather than their differences. Thus, the persistence rates of the Irish were not especially unique.
Table 5.2: Irish population persistence rates (%) in selected cities, c. 1860-1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City and location</th>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Persistence (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poughkeepsie, NY (Irish-born)</td>
<td>1870-80</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poughkeepsie, NY (US-born to Irish parents)</td>
<td>1870-80</td>
<td>56.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Toronto, Ont. (Irish ethnic group)</strong></td>
<td>1881-91</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Buffalo, NY (Irish ethnic group)</strong></td>
<td>1880-90</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waltham, MA (Protestant)</td>
<td>1880-90</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waltham, MA (Roman Cath.)</td>
<td>1880-90</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaha, NB (Irish-born)</td>
<td>1880-1900</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton, Ont. (Irish Protestant)</td>
<td>1861-71</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton, Ont. (Irish Catholic)</td>
<td>1861-71</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal, Que. (Anglo-Protestant group)</td>
<td>1881-91</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Toronto, Ont. (Irish Protestant)</strong></td>
<td>1881-91</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal, Que. (Irish Catholics)</td>
<td>1881-91</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto, Ont. (Irish Catholic)</td>
<td>1881-91</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Factors Affecting the Persistence of Urban Populations**

There are a number of variables which may be seen to affect the persistence of households, Irish or otherwise, in Toronto and Buffalo. Chief among them is housing tenure, occupation, and age; others include indicators of labour market structures such as comparative wage rates and the frequency of labour strikes. Contemporary migration researchers such as Cadwallader (1982) have argued that housing type (i.e. tenure and size characteristics) is the most important determinant of residential mobility.

Theoretically, ownership of a home reflects community attachment and a desire for long-term rather than short-term settlement in an area (Harris and Hamnett 1987. Morrow-Jones 1988). In an effort to analyze the role of tenure and other variables in promoting
household persistence, a straightforward statistical procedure was undertaken. Initially, persistence frequencies for two periods (1881-91 and 1881-96) for Irish household heads were cross-tabulated with a number of categorical variables, and a two-way chi-square test performed on each. The two time periods were chosen in order to avoid invalidating the analysis through having too few households remaining. The results are reported in Table 5.3 for Toronto and Table 5.4 for Buffalo.

Table 5.3: Factors affecting Irish household persistence, Toronto

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Valid N</th>
<th>1881-1891</th>
<th>1881-1896</th>
<th>χ²</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>χ²</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tenure (rent, own)</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>33.317</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>15.886</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (15-29, 30-49, &gt;50 years)</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>4.424</td>
<td>0.109</td>
<td>4.765</td>
<td>0.092</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace (Irish-born, born elsewhere)</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>2.358</td>
<td>0.125</td>
<td>0.602</td>
<td>0.438</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion (Irish Cath., Irish Protestant)</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>0.095</td>
<td>0.758</td>
<td>0.076</td>
<td>0.783</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion by birthplace</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>2.515</td>
<td>0.473</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.552</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation (manual, nonmanual)</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>0.516</td>
<td>0.472</td>
<td>0.240</td>
<td>0.624</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intra-city persistence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Valid N</th>
<th>χ²</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>χ²</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>2.068</td>
<td>0.150</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>6.523</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>12.692</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>0.694</td>
<td>0.405</td>
<td>0.046</td>
<td>0.829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>1.196</td>
<td>0.274</td>
<td>0.185</td>
<td>0.667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion by birthplace</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>2.333</td>
<td>0.506</td>
<td>1.155</td>
<td>0.764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>4.709</td>
<td>0.030</td>
<td>0.639</td>
<td>0.424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation (4-class)</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>6.598</td>
<td>0.086</td>
<td>0.953</td>
<td>0.813</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

a. The tenure characteristics of sixty households in Toronto in 1881 were not known.

b. This resulted in a four-way classification: Irish-born Roman Catholics, Irish-born Protestants, Non-Irish-born Roman Catholics, and Non-Irish-born Protestants.

c. The four-way classification simplified the occupational classes into (1) unskilled, (2) other manual (skilled/semi-skilled and building trades), (3) middle-class (white-collar clerics, middle-class, and agents on commission) and (4) owners, managers, and the self-employed.

1 At least 20% of the cells in a crosstabulation must have expected frequencies of five or greater for the chi-square analysis to have validity. It is preferable, of course, if all of the cells meet this rule.
Table 5.4: Factors affecting Irish household persistence, Buffalo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Valid N</th>
<th>1880-1890</th>
<th></th>
<th>1880-1895</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>p-value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure (rent, own)</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>7.804</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>9.638</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (15-29, 30-49, &gt;50 years)</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>0.526</td>
<td>0.769</td>
<td>1.915</td>
<td>0.382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace (Irish-born, born elsewhere)</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>1.078</td>
<td>0.299</td>
<td>0.209</td>
<td>0.648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation (manual, nonmanual)$^a$</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>0.443</td>
<td>0.506</td>
<td>Inv.</td>
<td>Inv.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intra-city persistence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Valid N</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>2.406</td>
<td>0.121</td>
<td>4.281</td>
<td>0.039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>1.824</td>
<td>0.402</td>
<td>2.663</td>
<td>0.264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.953</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>1.537</td>
<td>0.215</td>
<td>0.908</td>
<td>0.341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation (4-class)$^b$</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>5.766</td>
<td>0.124</td>
<td>Inv.</td>
<td>Inv.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

a. Since more than 20% of cells had expected counts less than five in the same-address persistence analysis, the results were invalidated and not reported.

b. The four-way classification simplified the occupational classes into (1) unskilled, (2) other manual (skilled/semi-skilled and building trades), (3) middle-class (white-collar clerics, middle-class, and agents on commission) and (4) owners, managers, and the self-employed. Since more than 20% of cells had expected counts less than five in the same-address persistence analysis, the results were invalidated and not reported.

Use of two-way chi-square analysis to assess the factors affecting Irish household persistence clearly depends on how one defines persistence and over how many years it is measured. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 demonstrate that if 10- and 15-year persistence rates for Irish household heads are analyzed on a same-address basis, housing tenure is the only factor that is significant at the 5% level for both time periods in both cities. This clearly supports the long-established interpretation of tenure as an important determinant of persistence by historical and contemporary researchers. The clear differences that existed in the persistence levels of owners and renters are graphed in Figure 5.3. Irish households owning real estate in Toronto in 1880 were more likely to be at the same address five and ten years later than their counterparts in Buffalo.
Source: Toronto and Buffalo Irish mobility samples.

Since persistence can be conceived of as a dichotomous variable (i.e. 0/1, persistence versus non-persistence), logistic regression procedures can be employed to test to see whether statistically significant relationships exist between persistence as a dependent variable and independent variables such as tenure status and occupation. Of course, how persistence is defined (same-address method or intra-city) will have a crucial bearing on the results. For both cities, logistic bivariate regressions were run on ten-year same-address persistence with tenure as the independent variable. The odds-ratios for Toronto and Buffalo were 20.4 and 3.2 respectively. This means that homeowners of Irish origin were over 20 times more likely to remain in Toronto compared to their renting

---

2 Logistic regression also lends itself to multivariate modelling of residential mobility. Gilliland (1993) has shown that where a number of bivariate regressions consistently produce significant results, these independent variables can be built into a multivariate logit model. His results for nineteenth-century Montreal explained population persistence by tenure, age of household head, ethnicity, and occupational status. Since the chi-square analysis as shown in Tables 5.3 and 5.4 yielded a large number of independent associations, the value of pursuing a multivariate logit model like that of Gilliland (1993) was not deemed to add significantly to our discussion.
counterparts. In Buffalo, the corresponding likelihood was just 3.2, supporting the trends shown in Figures 5.3 and 5.4. Unexpectedly, those renting property in Buffalo were more likely to persist after ten years than renters in Toronto. In the long run, while owners remained more persistent than renters in both cities, their rates converged due to the general attrition rate.

If we analyze persistence using the intra-urban definition, however, housing tenure loses its significance, and age and occupation increase in significance if one examines their p-values in Table 5.4. Thus, while changing address may have been restricted mainly to non-homeowners regardless of age and occupation, these latter variables assume greater significance when the choice is whether a household remained within the city or not. The results for Irish households in Buffalo and Toronto (Table 5.5) show that it was, as expected, the youngest cohort, aged between 15 and 29 years, who were most likely to uproot themselves and their families, and move on to live out their middle years in some other place beyond the city line. Since death is not controlled for, the decreased intra-city persistence for the age group above 50 was undoubtedly influenced by mortality.
Table 5.5: Irish intra-city household persistence rates by age of head and occupational group, Toronto and Buffalo, 1880-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>1882-86</th>
<th>1887-91</th>
<th>1892-96</th>
<th>1897-1901</th>
<th>1902-06</th>
<th>1907-11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-29</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-49</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;50</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation Group</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners, self-employed</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>67.9</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-class, clerical</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>72.4</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled, semi-skilled</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>68.1</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>1881-85</th>
<th>1886-90</th>
<th>1891-95</th>
<th>1896-1900</th>
<th>1901-05</th>
<th>1906-10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-49</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;50</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation Group</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners, self-employed</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-class, clerical</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled, semi-skilled</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto and Buffalo Irish mobility sample data.

For the 15-year analysis of intra-city persistence, age becomes significant at the 10% level in Toronto only (Table 5.3). However, logistic regression results show that in comparison with the oldest age group (over 50 years), the middle-aged group (30-49 years) was significantly different in both cities (p=0.001 in Toronto and 0.10 in Buffalo), but the youngest group (15-29 years) was not. Such patterns verify the earlier
interpretation of this middle-aged group being the more persistent in these cities in comparison to the ageing elderly and the footloose young. Young, unpropertied, and relatively poor Irish families left Buffalo at a faster rate than Toronto, doubtless in search of surroundings where wages were high and work was steady and, where relevant, amenable to the raising of a family.

Analyses of urban persistence rates in North America with regard to occupation have yielded mixed results. In theory, it is predicted that persistence will be inversely related to occupational status or social position. Contrasts have been drawn between less-skilled workingmen, handicapped by unsteady employment and insufficient wages, and middle-to upper-class groups where doctors, lawyers, and shopkeepers, with an established base clientele and ‘stake in the community,’ stayed in cities the longest (Thernstrom 1973). Such selectivity was apparently present not only beyond the old cities of northeastern North America. Tank’s (1978) analysis of the frontier city of Denver, Colorado, confirmed similar patterns there, although Chudacoff’s (1972) work on Omaha, Nebraska, revealed all major occupational groups to be out-migrating to similar degrees. Paralleling Chudacoff’s results, Katz and others (1982) found that unskilled laborers did not persist notably less than other occupational groups in the eastern Canadian city of Hamilton in the mid-nineteenth century. “In general” conclude the Hamilton researchers, “occupation had only a slight relationship to persistence” (ibid. 112).

The relationship between persistence and occupation was mixed in Buffalo and Toronto. As Table 5.5 shows, the few Irish household heads within the Buffalo middle-class were
least likely to be on the move after at least five years, but only seven percentage points separated them from the unskilled labourers. The p-values reported in Table 5.4 (0.516 and 0.215 for both definitions of persistence 1880-1890) do not reveal the migration behaviour of Irish occupational groupings to be significantly different within that city. The unskilled Irish were also the least persistent occupational group among their ethnicity in Toronto, but they seem to have been in a more stable position than those in the smaller Irish middle-class of Buffalo. Occupation clearly had a weak relationship to persistence in Buffalo, compared to Toronto. After at least twenty years, those working in the skilled and semi-skilled sector (i.e. in the iron foundries, as railroad switchmen, firemen, and on the police force) were most likely to still remain in Buffalo. By the same point in Toronto (1901), the middle class of bookkeepers and other clerical workers were still most likely to remain.

A refined, four-class, occupational grouping system was significant at the 10% level for the 10-year analysis in Toronto (Table 5.4). Inspection of the results reveals the owners and self-employed to have had a greater tendency to persist than expected, with the unskilled showing less tendency in this regard, supporting the trend shown in Table 5.5. Overall, the odds ratios calculated by logistically regressing the two-category occupational group on ten-year (1881-1891) persistence showed that the Irish nonmanual workers were twice as likely to persist in Toronto compared to working-class manual workers.
Religion, even when place of birth was controlled for, did not emerge as a significant factor, suggesting that the residential mobility behaviour of Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants in Toronto was more or less the same. While Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants may not have differed significantly in their propensity to remain at the same address in Toronto, Figure 5.5 indicates differences between them in terms of remaining within the city proper, but these were only statistically significant at the five percent level for the period 1881-86.

Two other case studies in southern Ontario, undertaken at earlier dates in the century, found Roman Catholics to have had a higher rate of out-migration than Protestants, these being Hamilton (Katz et al 1982), and Peel County (Gagan 1981), west of Toronto. While same-address persistence was used in the Hamilton study, Gagan was interested in those entering and leaving his county of study, and he commented (1981: 120) that:
Cultural intimidation, implicit or overt, appears to have been one of the causes of outmigration among some elements of Peel's population. Foreign-born Roman Catholics, Scots and Irish alike, were the least likely of Peel's principal cultural groups to put down roots in this county.

The explanation behind this pattern lay in the proliferation of Orange lodges in this part of southern Ontario. Though thirty or so lodges had been established also in Toronto by the early 1880s and the last years of the 1870s had witnessed some rioting between Orange and Green elements in the city, there is no evidence here that Roman Catholics, Irish-born or otherwise, were leaving the city any quicker than Irish Protestants. The tensions in the city that were present on March 17 and July 12 each year had subsided by then. The St. Patrick's Day parade had entered into a hiatus that was to last more than one hundred years, and the extremist bleatings of men such as the anti-Catholic Liberal and Globe owner, George Brown, and editor of the Irish-Canadian, Patrick Boyle, were becoming a thing of the past. Recent research by Gilliland (1993) in Montreal, where religion was used as a proxy for 'cultural community' (in his case, French-Canadian Catholics, Irish Catholics, and Anglo-Protestants), uncovered significant differences between groups. In that instance however, religion was correlated with occupation and tenure status such that the relatively propertied and prosperous Anglo-Protestants stayed the longest in that city.
Reasons To Leave

Economic expansion, population increase, and social diversification were characteristic of developments in both Toronto and Buffalo between 1880 and 1910. Deciding to leave two cities that were growing and expanding their employment bases may seem odd. Similar developments occurred in cities across the North American continent in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries, however, in frontier cities as well as old ones. Neither was the trajectory towards economic development continuously upward in either Toronto or Buffalo’s case. Both cities endured an economic slump beginning in 1893 with the worldwide depression. During those years, the transiency of the working-class in both cities may have increased as skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled alike departed in search of steadier employment elsewhere. Chudacoff noted the effects of the 1890s depression in Omaha, commenting (1972: 16-17) that “In past years, the number of newcomers had always more than compensated for high rates of emigration, thereby producing high rates of population growth; but in the mid-nineties the differential disappeared.”

Explaining differences between cities in terms of population persistence rates is no easy matter. The decision to stay in or to leave a given locality was a function of many interrelated components, only some of which are directly measurable. Since each city directory is a document unique to that city as a whole, it is possible that where the city directories’ publisher differs, so too does coverage quality. With a similar tracing method being employed in both cities, city directory shortcomings alone hardly explain
the difference in persistence rates. As noted earlier, Thernstrom (1973) elected to comment on the general similarities of persistence rates among nineteenth-century North American cities rather than focus on the differences. A starting point for explaining different rates of persistence for the Irish in the two cities must begin, where possible, on previous research done in Buffalo and Toronto.

Mid-nineteenth-century Buffalo has been the focus of previous scholarly work. Katz and others (1982) found a surprisingly high rate of population persistence in Buffalo in those years compared to that of the smaller city of Hamilton (50% versus 35%). They explained the disparity by the differences in rate of growth of each of these urban economies, and their associated opportunity structures. Later that century however, the evidence for the population of Irish ancestry overturns this picture. The Buffalo Irish were more prone to leave their city than their counterparts in Toronto, whether Catholic and Protestant. Owing to their over-representation in unskilled labour in Buffalo, it can be argued that the Irish were unrepresentative of the general population of the city. The previous chapter illustrated this point also; of Buffalo’s three main ethnic/immigrant groups, the Irish ranked third in terms of economic and social position.

It is, therefore, likely that the more extensive and varied middle-class Irish in Toronto, compared to Buffalo, explains much of the difference in Irish persistence rates between the two cities. Certainly, the Irish middle-class were more likely to persist in Toronto on average than their working-class counterparts. The relatively small Irish middle-class in
Buffalo could not make a similar claim. But there are other factors in each city that merit discussion.

The operations of the Buffalo housing market may help to explain the lower level of persistence among the Irish there. Moreover, Barrows' (1981) figures show that the number of families over dwellings (as a % of total families), used as a measure of living density, worsened in Buffalo from 23.5% in 1880 to 32.2% in 1900. The majority of Irish household heads in Buffalo were in the occupational group most likely to take flight – unskilled labourers. The prevalence of lodging in Buffalo's waterfront districts suggests a housing shortage. In Toronto, Irish families were more likely to be sheltered in single-family homes, in contrast. While it is hard to assess the quality of living conditions for the Irish living in closest proximity to Buffalo’s waterfront, the increased encroachment of industry on residences in the First Ward after 1880 can hardly have produced a residential environment in which those aspiring to be upwardly mobile could raise their families. As we shall see in the following chapter, the residential choices for the Irish in Buffalo were more spatially-restrictive than they were in Toronto, and this, combined with the desire to escape their proletarian status, may explain much of their low levels of persistence in Buffalo.

The 1880s were a prosperous time for Toronto. The National Policy tariff aided the city’s economic recovery after the world-wide depression of the mid-1870s had severely affected its footwear and tobacco industries. For many, however, the recovery may have come too late. In addition, the early 1880s witnessed an increase in residential house
rents in Toronto – “like a balloon” as one witness told the Royal Commission on Labour and Capital. As real estate agent Charles Pearson told the commission (RCLC 1887: 255) “A mechanic pays from $10 to $15 a month for an ordinary house. Ten years ago the rent would be $7 to $10 a month for the same house.” The lure of higher wages elsewhere, especially in the United States border cities such as Detroit, Rochester, and Buffalo may have tempted workers out of the city also, though without firm evidence of any wage differentials, excepting individual testimonies to the Royal Commission, it is hard to support this. The out-migration of the poorest elements of the Roman Catholic Irish community in Toronto was aided by the St. Vincent de Paul Society in the 1860s, who made arrangements with railway companies to purchase tickets to destination locations at half price (Clarke 1993). It is not known if this practice extended to the 1880s, however.

The nature of general labouring work may also have been different in the two cities. While underemployment and a lack of job security are key features of the labourer’s existence, it is possible that they existed to a greater degree on Buffalo’s waterfront than in that city generally or in Toronto, but evidence is admittedly thin. Although it was an occupation that commanded some prestige locally due to the strength needed to undertake the labour, grain scooping was not noted for its high rates of pay. The high number of Irish grain scoopers, out of work while Lake Erie was under ice every winter, coupled with the ever-present talk of opportunities further west in heavily Irish cities such as San Francisco or Butte, may have filtered some labourers and other members of the Irish working-class out of Buffalo faster than in Toronto.
While it served an initial function of helping Irish immigrants to accumulate some capital, it may also be the case that the various dangers associated with grain scooping resulted in high rates of turnover for those involved in the work. The following account relates to a time where the concept of health insurance was unknown (Isay 1996: 110):

People who come by and see us work say, “Oh my God, it’s so dangerous!” And it is dangerous – people have gotten hurt. In the old days you’d get hit, but ya’ didn’t report it because you were proud. You might as well not tell it anyway, because they wouldn’t give ya’ any mercy. The boss’d say, “If you don’t want the job, go home.” They had their own way.

In addition to the seasonal and hazardous natures, as well as economic rewards of the job at hand, dissatisfaction in the workplace regarding pay and other factors related to workers’ conditions undoubtedly propelled many to change city in search of better conditions elsewhere. Trade union organization in Buffalo was heavily Catholic, with a large German and Irish membership, but was fragmented among a number of trade-specific unions rather than united in a single unit (Goldman 1983). The grain scoopers had no union and were at the mercy of boss scoopers and saloonkeepers, to whom they depended on work, a meal, a place to stay, and possible avenues of upward mobility. As with Barrett’s multi-ethnic Packingtown district (1987: 65), the Irish working men of Buffalo’s waterfront:
found a common ground – not only in the sense that they came into contact with one another in the (various workplaces) and in the neighborhoods, but also through shared work experiences and grievances, grievances often seen as threats to precisely the traditional values of family and community which lay at the heart of their cultures. It was upon such common ground that working-class formation and organization developed.

Unsurprisingly then, the trade union movement in Buffalo crystallized in immigrant neighbourhoods such as the German East Side and the Irish First Ward. It was effective, as the Central Labour Union (formerly the United Trades and Labour Council) in achieving employer recognition of unions for skilled workmen who by the 1890s enjoyed an eight-hour working day, at an acceptable wage. It did not preclude the possibility of strikes, of course, and Irish workers were at the centre of two of the more memorable ones of the late nineteenth-century in Buffalo, the 1892 switchmen’s strike, and the 1899 grain scoopers’ strike. The switchmen’s strike was crushed violently by state militiamen within ten days. The scoopers’ strike sought to end the saloonkeepers’ long reign as intermediaries between them and the ships’ captains. The outcome was different this time. Railroad and elevator interests pressurised the parties to reach a settlement, and the saloonkeepers, led by William ‘Fingy’ Conners, were defeated and the Longshoremen’s Association recognized as a trade union (Goldman 1983).

Toronto was not without labour unrest itself, but no brutal suppressions were recorded for that city. In 1886, the workers of the Toronto Street Railway Company, which included
many Irish Catholics, also struck against the Irish Catholic owner, Armagh-born Sir Frank Smith. Strikes were common in the city; a total of 91 strikes took place between 1883 and 1892 in Toronto (Kealey 1980). A labourer’s trade union was established in 1881, but this covered only bricklayers’ and plasterers’ labourers, although it had recruited 300 members within the first five weeks (Globe, April 30 1881). The labour situation in the city in the 1880s made it a fertile ground for the establishment of branches of the Knights of Labor, an amalgam of a political party, trade union, and benevolent association. Though many workers may have left the city because of these grievances, the Irish working-class were more persistent in Toronto than in Buffalo.

Economic downturns and the spread of poverty and unemployment also propelled people to move in search of a better life elsewhere. The depression of the 1890s signalled desperate times for the poorest elements of the Irish working classes in both cities. As Michael Katz (1983: 63) noted for Erie County as a whole: “the number of individuals on outdoor relief exploded during the 1890s, rising from 7.7 per thousand in 1892 to 29.6, 16.3, and 28.4 during the middle years of the decade.” The Irish-born had been more likely to spend longer than a six-month spell in the Erie County Poorhouse between 1853 and 1886 in comparison with the American- and other foreign-born (Katz 1983). Over the period, 1870-86 for example, most Irish inmates of the poorhouse were male adults, spread evenly from the young to the old. These statistics, of course, miss the plight of second-generation Irish who are absorbed by the American-born figure.
These tragic tales from Buffalo were no anomalies. Dublin and Baker (1920) reported exceptionally high mortality for Irish-born adult males compared to ‘native whites’ and other immigrant groups for the eastern states of Pennsylvania and New York in 1910. Tuberculosis was a prominent cause of death for many Irish. Indeed, these authors’ figures, calculated for the states of New York and Pennsylvania, showed that their (mostly urban) Irish had mortality rates twice that of their counterparts who remained in Ireland! Preston and Haines (1991) devised a ratio of actual to expected child deaths for women who had been married from 0-24 years. Their results demonstrated that in 1900, both first- and second-generation Irish women in urban areas of the United States experienced above-average child mortality in contrast to ‘native white’ women, whose rates were below-average. As expected, the rate for immigrant Irish women was higher than for the second-generation, but other immigrant groups such as the Germans and Scandinavians did generally better than the Irish.¹ Research on Montreal by Thornton and Olson (1991) however, shows French-Canadians in that city suffered higher infant mortality rates than their Irish Catholic and Anglo-Protestant contemporaries. These living conditions, then, affected persistence rates not only through their forcing out of upwardly-mobile and new families, but also through the spate of premature deaths that occurred.

The above discussion then, provides some perspective as to why Buffalo may have differed from Toronto in terms of the reasons propelling the Irish out but, in practice.

¹ As Table 3.4 in Preston and Haines (1991: 104-105) shows, the mortality rates among first-generation Irish and German immigrants in urban America were similar. The second-generation Germans decreased their rate to a larger extent to second-generation Irish women however, due mainly to improvements in socioeconomic status that exceeded those of the Irish.
these explanations remain speculative. It remains for us to explore the fate of those who
did remain in both cities, and to explore their fortunes in their labour markets in terms of
occupational mobility, and the various avenues by which jobs were obtained.

**Mobility Within and Among Generations**

Occupation is usually seen to be the most convenient measure of social status. During
the second half of the nineteenth-century, discourse on the ideology of social mobility,
centred on the permeability of labour divisions, was common in the United States. These
discussions centred around the United States' view of itself as an egalitarian society, as
opposed to Old World countries such as Great Britain where the class structure was seen
to be more rigid. A review of the evidence by Kaelble found that differences between
North America and Europe were at least ambivalent, but remarking (1981: 27) that “it
was the low danger of skidding from the father's social class rather than the promise of
social ascent which characterized American cities.”

Assessing the evidence for the fluidity of the American labour market has likewise
involved a great deal of methodological debate on how occupational mobility can be
measured. Thernstrom (1964: page 91) defined occupational mobility as “a move from
one to another of the four broad categories: unskilled manual, semiskilled manual, skilled
manual, and nonmanual” the last group containing the self-employed. Thernstrom’s
(1964) inquiry was based around the years 1850-1880, but automation from the mid-
nineteenth-century on reduced the skill gap between skilled craftsmen and general labourers. In this section, the success of Irish male labourers in escaping unskilled work is analyzed, as is the propensity of all those Irish males in manual work (the working-class) to penetrate the lower reaches of nonmanual or white-collar work. No distinction between semi-skilled and skilled work is considered in this analysis.

Intra-generational mobility analyzes the career pattern of individuals throughout their lives, in an effort to establish their movement through the working- and middle-classes, or lack of it. Analyses are usually performed on those in the unskilled and other sectors of the working-class to investigate their relative success in attaining nonmanual jobs. Here, the occupational histories of Irish labourers, as evidenced from inspection of city directories in Toronto and Buffalo, are analyzed. While the Irish were gradually moving out of the ranks of the unskilled, these results require qualification in light of Lipset and Bendix's (1959: 172) comment that:

It is difficult to estimate from the data how much genuine social mobility is reflected (when) persons (change) from manual work to lower white-collar and sales jobs or to ownership of small businesses (because they) may not actually be changing their status and income level.

Due to the generally low levels of residential persistence for those in working-class occupations, we are left with rather small samples with which to analyze occupational mobility among the Irish in the two cities. Small samples hamper generalization, but
some patterns are observable nevertheless. Firstly, in both cities, half of the cohort of Irish who were unskilled labourers in 1881 and remained city residents for the following twenty years, found an occupation in a line above general labouring (Tables 5.6 and 5.7). Most of these opportunities existed in the semi-skilled, skilled, and building sectors as drivers, railroad signalmen, fireman, plasterers, and policemen. Nonmanual work was rarely achieved for this group, and when it occurred, it was in supervisory roles as foremen or self-employment as building contractors. It is perhaps unrealistic to expect these individuals to have progressed far beyond the skilled element of the working-class: after all, it was often difficult for the foreign-born immigrant to accumulate the education and training required for the professions after emigrating.

The exit of Irish household heads from the ranks of the unskilled rarely extended beyond the ranks of the skilled/semi-skilled occupational group. In fact, the occupations they entered were rarely artisan- or craft-based, but were rather concerned with transportation (drivers, teamsters, signalman) and other industries (maltster, polisher). Those who made it into the building trades were occupied as plasterers and bricklayers, and only one had a (brief) tenure as a foreman. Only a tiny minority climbed into nonmanual occupations in both cities. Although the tale of Irish labourers in Toronto concerns mostly Catholics, the only labourer to climb into a nonmanual calling (clerk) was a Protestant.
Table 5.6: Intra-generational mobility, Buffalo, 1880-1910

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Note: Occupations are abbreviated: U=unskilled; S/SS=skilled/semi-skilled; BT=building trades; CL=clerical; SE=self-employed; MC=Other middle-class; AC=agents on commission; O/M=owners and managers. Percentage upwardly-mobile (%UM) is measured as the percentage of the unskilled or manual group of Irish who, for a given year, had managed to climb (upwards) out of it. So, for example, of all those who started as labourers and manual workers in 1880, 26% and 12% respectively had managed to climb upwards by 1885. Percentage downwardly-mobile (%DM) refers to that percentage of the nonmanual or white-collar group of Irish who, for a given year, had skidded into manual labour. So, by 1885, five per cent of the 21 Irish white-collar workers in 1880, found themselves in manual jobs.

Source: Buffalo Irish mobility sample.
Table 5.7: Intra-generational mobility, Toronto, 1881-1911

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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| ALL MANUAL |     |    |      |    |    |    |    |    |     |      |
| UNSKILLED |     |    |      |    |    |    |    |    |     |      |
| 1886 | 73 | 33.2 | 45.2 | 13.7| 2.7 | 5.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 8.0  |
| 1891 | 51 | 33.3 | 41.2 | 13.7| 2.0 | 5.9 | 3.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 12.0 |
| 1896 | 45 | 20.0 | 48.9 | 17.8| 0.0 | 6.7 | 4.5 | 0.0 | 2.2 | 13.0 |
| 1901 | 39 | 23.1 | 46.2 | 15.4| 0.0 | 0.0 | 7.7 | 0.0 | 7.7 | 15.0 |
| 1906 | 31 | 12.9 | 51.6 | 16.1| 6.5 | 0.0 | 3.2 | 0.0 | 9.7 | 19.0 |
| 1911 | 24 | 29.2 | 37.5 | 20.8| 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 12.5| 13.0 |

| ALL NONMANUAL |     |    |      |    |    |    |    |    |     |      |
| ALL NONMANUAL |     |    |      |    |    |    |    |    |     |      |
| 1886 | 30 | 6.7 | 3.3  | 0.0 | 26.7| 36.7| 20.0| 0.0 | 6.7 | 10.0 |
| 1891 | 25 | 4.0 | 12.0 | 0.0 | 32.0| 24.0| 20.0| 0.0 | 8.0 | 16.0 |
| 1896 | 21 | 0.0 | 19.0 | 0.0 | 23.8| 19.0| 28.6| 0.0 | 9.5 | 19.0 |
| 1901 | 22 | 0.0 | 18.2 | 0.0 | 18.2| 18.2| 27.3| 0.0 | 18.2| 18.0 |
| 1906 | 19 | 0.0 | 10.5 | 0.0 | 10.5| 21.1| 31.6| 0.0 | 26.3| 11.0 |
| 1911 | 17 | 0.0 | 11.8 | 0.0 | 11.8| 23.5| 29.4| 0.0 | 23.5| 12.0 |

Note: See Figure 5.6 for explanation of table headings.
Source: Toronto Irish mobility sample.

Examining upward mobility from the manual (unskilled, skilled/semi-skilled, and
building trades) to the nonmanual (clerical, owners/managers, commission agents, self-
employed, and other middle-class) sector as a whole, it seems that middle-class
supervisory positions were attainable for skilled workingmen such as machinists, more so
than they were for other less-skilled members of the working-class. One of these
machinists, Henry Orpen, was listed in the 1891 directory as a foreman and in the 1901
directory as a weighmaster. In general though, entry into the white-collar ranks was
modest, and never exceeded twenty percent for any given year (Table 5.7) in Toronto.
The rate of entry was into nonmanual work was higher for the working-class in Buffalo (Table 5.6), suggesting less rigidity in the labour market there. Since the Buffalo Irish, covering middle- as well as lower-class occupations, had a lower persistence rate than their countrymen in Toronto, it may be argued that the resulting number of job vacancies opened up avenues of occupational advancement for the working-class Irish of Buffalo to a greater extent than in the Canadian city. The Buffalo Irish then, most of whom were Catholic, do not seem to have suffered from any sort of cultural backwardness or dependence inherited from their Gaelic origins, given that the Canadian group they are being compared to contains Irish Protestants.

That horizontal rather than vertical mobility was the norm is not surprising, given research on the Irish in other cities in the late nineteenth century. Burstein (1981), for example, demonstrated for the Irish in Philadelphia, job changes between industries were more common than occupational status shifts within industries. Vinyard (1976: 75) commented that in the case of Detroit at the same time, such “lateral (job) movements served most to provide men with the important illusion of personal progress while requiring little need for retraining or entailing only a minimal investment of family savings.”

Nonmanual pursuits being entered in Buffalo were mainly in the fields of engineering and saloonkeeping, plus lower white-collar pursuits such as a letter-carrier. Classifying occupations is particularly important when such inter-city differences are revealed. In this instance, the labelling of engineer as a nonmanual occupation may be suspect if the
individual was in fact a stationery engineer, a job where the individual operates rather than designs the engine. Stationery engineers were listed as such in the Buffalo directories however, so an error of judgment here seems unlikely. With a plethora of saloons operating in Irish Buffalo, entry into self-employment in this sector, requiring little in the way of capital, was easier than in Toronto where their numbers were smaller and operations closely scrutinized. Liquor regulations were consistently enforced by the Toronto police force after the mid-1870s, which may have curtailed this avenue to upward mobility (Clarke 1993). While just over 200 hotels and saloons were enumerated in the 1880 city directory for Toronto, only 110 tavern licenses, each costing $1,600 per annum, were issued by the municipality in 1909, more than the price of a small frame cottage without services (City of Toronto 1910; Harris 1996).

Indeed, saloonkeeping was generally popular as a route out of manual labour among the Irish in urban-industrial communities. Saloonkeepers in Poughkeepsie, New York, for example, were invariably recruited from the ranks of blue-collar workers: in 1880, over half of them in that city who had lived there in 1870 were then blue-collar workers (Griffen and Griffen 1978). In Chicago's Packingtown, ownership of a saloon was "one of the few avenues of upward social mobility" according to Barrett (1987: 82). He further noted that those traversing such avenues were predominantly Irish and German. In Detroit, Vinyard did not specify saloonkeeping as an avenue out of the working-class, but nevertheless hinted at the lure of self-employment when she found (1976: 156) that "across the decade of the eighties, two-thirds of the immigrant and second-generation Irish who moved up out of the skilled trades chose to become businessmen." Back in the
Old Country, the significance of what was there termed ‘the pub’ as an avenue of upward mobility paralleled that of the saloon on the other side of the Atlantic, especially for Roman Catholics. As Hepburn (1996: 76) observed, “it is part of Catholic lore in the north of Ireland that the ownership of a pub constituted virtually the only significant vehicle for social mobility open to Catholics.”

Downward movements from the nonmanual (mostly lower white-collar clerical jobs) sector to the manual sector were also possible. Again, small numbers hamper generalization, but in neither city did downward mobility exceed twenty percent. In terms of proportions though, the downward movements in Toronto mostly exceeded those proceeding upward; in Buffalo, net mobility remained upward. To remain in Toronto, then, may have meant a higher probability of downward mobility than in Buffalo! This may seem surprising, but if anything, it requires a closer look at the nature of what we term ‘downward mobility.’

Downward mobility from lower white-collar jobs to skilled blue-collar work may not, in reality, have been viewed as such by its ‘victims.’ As Vinyard has pointed out for the Detroit Irish (1976: 74), such downward mobility may have:

Meant an improvement in income and financial security. Men who had managed barely to break even in marginal groceries, taverns or dry goods stores found the weekly pay as a salaried employee to be a welcome relief from the ceaseless worry
which had earlier haunted them when, as proprietors, they had depended upon an irregular clientele.

The varieties of ‘downward mobility’ that took place in Toronto were a move from self-employment or clerical work to mostly skilled work. Three individuals who worked as clerks, for example, later worked as a bartender, shipper, and finisher. In two other cases, a barber became a blacksmith, and a foreman reverted to the status of a labourer. Nothing is known of the contexts in which these job shifts took place, however. In the case of the last-mentioned individual, the completion of a construction project may have seen him revert from leading a crew to resuming work as an ordinary labourer.

Morawska’s (1985) work exemplifies the fact that, in the eyes of some social groups, occupational prestige does not follow a smooth continuum from the manual to the nonmanual. The ranking of ‘prestige’ occupations in 1920s Johnstown, Pennsylvania, was undertaken not by the researcher, Morawska, but by her informants from the East-Central European communities. Her informants placed skilled workers ahead of “small shopkeepers and store clerks” (Morawska 1985: 235). Labourers were similarly distinguished in this community between general labourers and those who were based in Johnstown’s steel mills and engaged in mechanized work. Finally, this community ranked police constables “high in terms of power and occupations, although below the top occupations (of merchants)” (Morawska 1985: 237).
Evidence is lacking regarding the prestige in which the Irish in Toronto and Buffalo held various occupations. That labour-intensive work out of doors involving much muscle power, such as grain scooping, counted for something prestige-wise was alluded to in the testimony of James 'Jim Boy' Smith in the fourth chapter. Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) anthropological investigations in the 1930s in the western Irish county of Clare also shed light on this issue. Like Morawska's Slavic steel workers in Johnstown, occupational prestige in rural Ireland had a strong utility element:

In the Irish countryside, the organization of the community upon an occupational basis can be understood not in terms of such considerations as income, wealth, or skill, or any such factors, but in terms of the place and function of the persons specializing among their fellows (Arensberg and Kimball 1940: 271-272).

These two authors from Harvard found that, in the eyes of the rural folk of Clare, occupations such as tailor, weaver, and shoemaker "were intrinsically of less value than the more robust crafts of outdoor life" such as those performed by the smith and the mason who won "the admiration the country people feel for physical strength and prowess" (Arensberg and Kimball 1940: 256-7). In contrast, the shopkeeper, the policeman, the priest, and the county councillor/local politician all occupied high status occupations in these districts. As the authors (1940: 274) note: "Contact with the outer world brings in the outer world's ways and sets them apart and a little above." Therefore, transposing these occupations to the classification system adopted in this dissertation and in countless other works on urban mobility since the days of Ternstrom is not
unproblematic. The policeman, for example, appears to have been bestowed a respect that perhaps invalidates his position in the skilled/semi-skilled sector here, but as the above discussion has shown, income and skill were not the main determinants of occupational prestige in rural Ireland. The entry of the Irish to the ranks of the police force in the two cities is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Comparing the occupational status of fathers and sons is the most straightforward measure of inter-generational mobility. Determining the appropriate stage of a son's career in order to compare his occupation with that of his father is problematic in studies such as this. Control for age has been employed in a similar way as Thernstrom (1964). I have chosen to examine the labour market fortunes of the sons of labourers who were born between 1860-1880, an interval of twenty years. While it would have been preferable to compare an 1860-69 cohort with an 1870-79 cohort, this option was rejected due to the small size of the sample. Tables 5.8 and 5.9 depict the inter-generational mobility of the sons of Irish labourers in Toronto and Buffalo respectively. Though Tables 5.6 and 5.7 show that some of the fathers of these men moved up the occupational ladder also, such advances are disregarded.

Most Irish labourers' sons remained within the working class, but few remained labourers themselves. Thernstrom (1964) found that in Newburyport between 1850 and 1880, the sons of labourers did not enjoy career opportunities superior to that of their fathers, observing that the most common form of advance was upward movement within the working-class. While the latter point is paralleled in this study, it is clear that the
nineteenth-century stereotype of the Irish indigent labourer was becoming more and more of an anachronism by the turn of the century.

The breakthrough of working-class sons into the nonmanual sector was a reality in both Buffalo than Toronto, though proportionately more moved upward in Buffalo. By 1910, half of the Buffalo Irish labourers' sons were working in nonmanual jobs. Self-employment and supervisory jobs such as grocers, lawyers, foremen, engineers, and contractors were the main areas of destiny. Toronto's rate of exit from the manual class for labourers' sons never exceeded thirty percent. In Toronto, the sons of Irish labourers were likely to end up in a skilled or semiskilled manual position. Familiar occupations in such instances were driver, teamster, packer, fireman, and policeman. Some also moved into the skilled building trades as tilesetters, brickmakers, plumbers, and stone masons. Less penetrable were nonmanual occupations. Although the numbers are small, entry into the white-collar sector does not appear to have been as widespread for Irish labourers' sons in Toronto as in Buffalo. Jobs in this sector were mainly clerks and letter carriers. The relative failure of labourers' sons to break into nonmanual work in Toronto is perhaps not surprising given that:

As late as 1914, only 373 children of unskilled-labour origins went on to the non-compulsory public schools, compared with 2,086 drawn from various middle-class mercantile and professional backgrounds (Careless 1984: 169).
Grouping together the sons of Irish manual workers in order to increase the sample sizes reveals less divergence between the cities in the rates of upward mobility (Toronto maximum 33% 1911; Buffalo maximum 42% 1910). No reliable comment can be made about the religious differences in Toronto in this respect since the numbers of Protestants are so small. While it may be over-optimistic to say that the second and third generation Irish did not suffer any handicaps or discrimination in their quest for respectable status, there was clearly a trend towards parity with the host societies.
Table 5.8: Inter-generational mobility of sons of unskilled and manual workers, born 1860-80, Toronto 1881-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>N</th>
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<th>S/SS</th>
<th>BT</th>
<th>WC</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>MC</th>
<th>AC</th>
<th>O/M</th>
<th>% U1</th>
<th>%U2</th>
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<tr>
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<td>60.0</td>
<td>24.0</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>15.6</td>
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<td>6.3</td>
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<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>56.4</td>
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<td>61.8</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
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<td>11.1</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>33.0</td>
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Note: Occupations are abbreviated: U=unskilled; S/SS=skilled/semi-skilled; BT=building trades; CL=clerical; SE=self-employed; MC=Other middle-class; AC=agents on commission; O/M=owners and managers. Percentage unskilled upwardly-mobile (%U1) is measured as the percentage of the unskilled group of Irish who, for a given year, had managed to climb (upwards) out of it. Percentage manual upwardly-mobile (%U2) is measured as the percentage of the group of Irish manual workers who, for a given year, had managed to climb (upwards) out of it. Source: Toronto Irish mobility sample.
Table 5.9: Inter-generational mobility of sons of unskilled and manual workers, born 1860-80, Buffalo 1880-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>S/SS</th>
<th>BT</th>
<th>WC</th>
<th>SE</th>
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<td>5.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
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<td>5.9</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ALL MANUHAL |     |    |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |      |
| 1880 | 54 | 53.7 | 25.9 | 1.9 | 14.8| 1.9 | 1.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 19.0 |     |
| 1885 | 37 | 40.5 | 37.8 | 0.0 | 16.2| 2.7 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 22.0 |     |
| 1890 | 37 | 24.3 | 35.1 | 10.8| 10.8| 2.7 | 10.8| 2.7 | 2.7 | 30.0 |     |
| 1895 | 32 | 28.1 | 40.6 | 6.3 | 15.6| 3.1 | 0.0 | 3.1 | 3.1 | 25.0 |     |
| 1900 | 31 | 19.4 | 32.3 | 12.9| 9.7 | 9.7 | 9.7 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 35.0 |     |
| 1905 | 30 | 23.3 | 33.3 | 10.0| 13.3| 6.7 | 6.7 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 33.0 |     |
| 1910 | 26 | 23.1 | 19.2 | 15.4| 11.5| 3.9 | 15.4| 3.9 | 7.7 | 42.0 |     |

Note: See Table 5.8 for explanation of table headings.
Source: Census of Canada manuscripts, Buffalo city directories.

Avenues of Mobility in the Private Sector

The previous section analyzed how the Irish working-class breached the lower end of the middle-class occupational group in Toronto and Buffalo. Some of those who were already in this middle-class group suffered downward mobility; the majority, though, consolidated their position within it. The occupations of fathers played no small part in channeling their sons into the same line of work or opening up other avenues of mobility, thereby maintaining their general social position. For example, the sizeable Irish middle-class in Toronto, particularly the self-employed merchants of dry goods, lumber, and other goods, offered occupational heredity opportunities for their sons in the private
sector. Many of these businesses endured through the passing of ownership and management from fathers to sons. James Aikenhead, a 60-year old Methodist hardware merchant, had his business taken over by his son Thomas while two other sons, James and John, worked as a clerk and a traveller in the business also. Families such as these, their religion in tune with the social environment of urban Ontario, rarely experienced downward mobility. One of the Anglicans, John Usher, was deputy provincial registrar, whose son John Jr. was later to co-found the stockbroking firm of Usher, Playfair, and Martens, by which time he had moved to the suburb of North Toronto. The two sons of the Catholic merchant Laurence Coffee continued the business after the family had moved to the affluent northern suburb of Rosedale, and the business headquarters had moved to the Board of Trade building.

The apprenticeship and craft-union structure of sections of the skilled working-class can also "exert a particular pull of sons into the same occupations as their fathers" (Hepburn 1996: 106). Patrick O'Rourke, a shoemaker originally from Ohio Street in the heart of the Irish First Ward of Buffalo with premises on Main Street, had his two sons learn the trade in their youth, as evidenced in the census manuscripts. One of these sons, Thomas, eventually established his own premises further up Main Street in 1883, originally in boots and shoes, but these premises were later modified to include a hotel business (The Eureka Hotel) as well as a gents' furnishings retail business. In an example from the semi-skilled sector, John Downing, a 50-year old Buffalo cartman, channeled each of his seven sons to work as cartmen at different stages of their lives. They contributed to the durability and profitability of an already-extensive business, as evidenced by the five
boarders (three of Irish descent) who lived in the Downing family home in 1880 and were driving his drays.

Those in the building trades exhibited the clearest evidence of direct occupational inheritance, especially in Buffalo. Occupations such as carpenter, ship carpenter, and painter were frequently passed from father to son in that city. Instances where the fathers aided an initial stage in the occupational careers of sons and daughters through a 'bit of pull' are numerous. In Buffalo, George Fullerton, a superintendent with the Mutual Gaslight Co. of Buffalo secured a job for his son, George Jr., with the company, firstly as a foreman and later as assistant superintendent. His daughter Amelia also worked there in her late teens as a clerk. In Toronto, occupational heredity in working-class occupations was less easily observed than in Buffalo, but cases of sons of the unskilled entering the building trades were noted, e.g. the four sons of John Finucan who became brickmakers (two of whom remained in this occupation for the rest of the study period). Such movements in status need to be qualified however – the generality of the term 'labourer' is such that it hardly discounts the possibility of these brickmakers' father from being involved in the building industry, even if his involvement was in an unskilled capacity.

Changing Immigration Contexts

By the early twentieth century, the composition of the Irish ethnic group in both cities had shifted towards the second, third, and fourth generations. While the Irish in Toronto
and Buffalo were climbing out of the unskilled category, their places were being taken in both cities by new waves of immigrants. In Buffalo, these were mostly the Poles and Italians; in Toronto, these were British (but mostly English and Scottish) and Eastern European Jews.

Cross-tabulations on ethnicity and occupation are not available for turn-of-the-century Toronto. However, the declining proportion of the Irish from unskilled work in the city was confirmed from the last section, as it was for Buffalo. The change in Toronto’s population structure from 1881 to 1911 had less of an ethnic component than Buffalo. New cloth-capped immigrants came from the traditional source region of Great Britain looking for work in Toronto, with larger proportions from England and Scotland than Ireland (McCormack 1993; Harris 1996). The main ‘foreign’ immigrant group was Eastern European Jews who, as described in the last chapter, settled mainly in the central part of downtown known as ‘The Ward.’

By 1900, the Irish formed 10.8% of Buffalo’s foreign-born population, having being surpassed by Poles and Canadians. In the absence of a specific census sample of families with a Canadian-born head, it is hard to know how many of these Canadian families were of Irish ethnic origin. With over 17,000 Canadian-born in Buffalo in 1900, it is likely that a couple of thousand of these were Irish Catholic, with a couple of thousand more Irish Protestant. Persistence rates in Toronto, as noted earlier, did not reveal any religious differences: whether Catholics were more likely than Protestants to cross the border is another question, however.
The cultural division of labour in Buffalo, as described in Chapter 4, had been extended by 1900 to take account of new arrivals. This had implications for the position of the Irish in the city's labour market hierarchy. Tables 5.10 and 5.11 present the percentage of males and females of Irish ethnicity in certain occupations in Buffalo for 1900. In reality, the numbers of Irish in the tables contain a mixture of immigrants and second-generation since the 'ethnicity' census definition covers all whose parents are born in Ireland, as well as those who have one Irish-born parent with the other parent born in the United States. Third-generation Irish then, would have been subsumed under the 'native' category. This census definition does not correspond with the Canadian definition used to identify 'Irish' families from the manuscript samples of each city in Chapter 3. Still, the two tables reveal much about the twin processes of immigration and industrialization in the city.

The Irish male labourer, as the previous section on occupational mobility suggested, was slowly but surely becoming an entity of Buffalo's nineteenth-century past. The concentration of Irish in the unskilled sector of the Buffalo labour market was, at 14.3%, in a period of decline, their place being taken by many Polish-, Italian-, and German-born. Table 5.10 also confirms that operating a saloon was clearly one of the main avenues to self-employment among the Irish. Overall, there are six occupational sectors in which over twenty percent of the work force was of Irish ethnicity - watchmen, policeman, and firemen; steam railroad employees; engineers and firemen (not locomotive); steam boiler makers; boatmen and sailors; and foremen. Of these, the Irish
share of the first category, containing the police force and fire brigade, was the most numerous, comprising over one-third. Within the building sector, the group had elevated itself to a supervisory capacity, and was engaged in other skilled employment such as plumbing and gas fitting. Their share of the lower white-collar sector of clerks and copyists, who were mostly of native American stock, was a healthy 14.4%. The Germans were dominant in the latter group, as they were of many occupations in the table, especially tailoring, printing, carpentry, and saloon keeping, which is due to their larger representation in the city as a whole.
Table 5.10: Percentage Male Occupational Distribution by Ethnicity⁴, Buffalo, 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Polish</th>
<th>Native 'White'</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle-class and self-employed</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saloon keepers</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>1,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks and copyists</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>5,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailors</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1,456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchmen, policemen, firemen</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>1,591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steam boiler makers</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steam railroad employees</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>5,607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boatmen and sailors</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers and firemen (not locom.)</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>2,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbers and steam/gas fitters</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>1,321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>16,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hackmen and teamsters</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>3,374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron and steel workers</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>3,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters and joiners</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>4,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinists</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>3,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painters</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>2,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printers</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>1,649</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S Bureau of the Census.

Among Irish females, the creation of new jobs in the clerical and office spheres offered an avenue out of domestic service (Table 5.11). In terms of absolute numbers though, the main employer was still the private family requiring the services of a domestic servant.

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⁴ Ethnicity = both parents born as specified and or one with one parent native-born (USBC 1904: 502).
Miller (1983: 80) noted that in 1900, 60.5% of Irish-born women wage-earners in the United States worked in domestic service occupations; less than 19% of second-generation girls and women worked in household labour at the same time, however. Large numbers of Irish females were still involved in the clothing industry as dressmakers and seamstresses. As Katzman (1978) contends, the occupation of domestic servant was mainly the domain of immigrants and their descendants: in Buffalo's case, these were mainly Irish and German. Hence Roger Dooley's (1947) choice of a middle-aged and unmarried Irish domestic servant working in the home of a rich American family in uptown Buffalo as one of the central characters in his novel *Days Beyond Recall*. To work a lifetime in an employer's family without marrying was an accepted custom in Ireland (Katzman, 1978). However, while the participation of 'native-born' Buffalonians in the domestic service category is larger than expected, one may reasonably suspect that a significant number in this cohort are the third-generation whose grandparents were of German or Irish background. Although both groups were moving up in the ethnic labour hierarchy, they still had large numbers of working-class families within them, families where the need to contribute to the family economy was an imperative once the offspring had reached their teens. Supplementing the family economy did not begin and end with domestic service now, though, as the following First Ward account (Bonner, n.d.) recalls:

The girls graduated from Buffalo Central High School...Mary went to work for Adam, Meldrum, and Anderson. Alice and Josephine went to Bryant and Stratton Business School. They became bookkeepers. Stasha and Clara went to State
Normal School, now SUNY at Buffalo. They both became teachers. Their brother, John Crowley, graduated from Canisius High School and went to Canisius College...

In Canada in 1911, immigrant women formed 35 percent of the female work force in domestic and personal service, even though they made up only 24 percent of the female work force in all occupations including service jobs (Acton et al 1974). Unlike Buffalo and other cities in the north and east of the United States, the stereotypical Irish servant girl does not seem to have been as prevalent in Canada. Acton and others (1974: 95, 98) note that:

most domestic servants (in Canada)... were immigrant women, workhouse children from Britain, Canadian children whose families could not support them, ex-convicts, reformed prostitutes, single mothers or widows with one or two children, older women, and women whose husbands were unemployed... Servants were first recruited in England and Scotland, then in northern and southern Ireland (in that order)... The agents of recruitment were the government, the church, and volunteer associations of upper and middle-class women.

Thus, the selection of immigrant women to work as domestics in Canada seems to have operated in tandem with the general Protestant visions of what sort of person was ‘right’ to be in the country. In 1915, a Toronto social survey commented that “It is a sufficiently well-known fact that the trained English servant is a young woman of a rather superior
type – not at all the sort who is likely… to ‘get into trouble’” (Toronto Social Survey Commission 1915: 43). Cultural-based constructions such as these created a hierarchy of preferences then, stratifying females from different parts of Great Britain, in the domestic servant market in Canada.

From 1880 through to 1920, when urbanization and industrialization intensified in North America, the ratio of servants per thousand families fell by more than one-half, so that by 1920 “servants were available to only about half as many families as they had been in 1870” (Katzman 1978: 55). In the case of Buffalo, this decline was even more dramatic. In 1880, there were 145 servants over ten years of age per thousand families in the city, by 1900. this was 118, and by 1920, it was 47 (Katzman 1978: Table 2-6, 61). The low propensity of Italian women to work outside their own homes is clearly shown in Table 5.10, while the low inclination of Polish women toward domestic service is also noticeable. Although their numbers are not identifiable from Table 5.10, there were Jewish families who emigrated to Buffalo around the turn of the century, and Jewish females also tended to avoid household work which was seen frequently as “culturally objectionable” (Katzman 1978: 69).
Table 5.11: Percentage Female Occupational Distribution by Ethnicity, Buffalo, 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Polish</th>
<th>Native 'White'</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle-class and lower white-collar</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegraph and telephone operators</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>1,678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks and copyists</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>1,461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stenographers and typewriters</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>1,039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeepers and accountants Saleswomen</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic and personal service</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>12,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressmakers</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>3,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seamstresses</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>808</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

In his study of the feminization of clerical occupations, Lowe comments (1980: 362) that "the administrative revolution accompanied, and indeed facilitated, the transition from small-scale entrepreneurial capitalism to modern corporate capitalism." The early twentieth-century saw a great expansion in the clerical ranks, particularly by women. Prior to this, the few clerical positions in the labour force were held mostly by men. Strong social sanctions prohibited the employment of married women (Lowe 1980). The creation of new occupations such as stenography, facilitated by mechanization and the emergence of the typewriter, combined with prevailing male notions about the role of women in the workplace, produced occupational niches that were exclusively female. The number of female clerical workers in Canada rose from 4,710 in 1891 to 33,723 in
1911 (Lowe 1980: Table 1), their percentage of the total female labour force rising from 2.3% to 9.1% over the same period.

Table 5.11 shows that those Irish females who were not engaged in domestic service or the clothing industry occupied a sizeable presence in new white-collar work such as typewriting, stenography, sales, and telephone operating. Older clerical occupations such as book-keeping and accounting also employed Irish female labour. The principal white-collar occupation of Irish Catholic women in Buffalo, however, in terms of numbers and proportion, was public school teaching. This occupational niche is discussed further in the next section and, as we shall see, it was an avenue of middle-class mobility that was open to few Irish Catholic females in Toronto, if at all.

Unlike Buffalo and unlike English immigrants to Toronto, East European immigrants in Toronto did not necessarily form a large pool of unskilled and semi-skilled labour. These Jewish immigrants were mostly self-employed in 1901 (Hiebert 1993) as petty traders, and Jewish families with a range of occupational backgrounds took up residence in the central part of Toronto known as 'The Ward' (referring to St. John's Ward). It was in this same district that many lower-class Irish Catholic families had lived during the preceding half-century, when it was referred to as 'Macaulaytown.' As the 1900s progressed though, the participation of Jews in blue-collar employment would rise (Hiebert 1993).
The influx of immigrants from new source areas of Europe, combined with the diminished concentration of the Irish in unskilled work in Buffalo, reflect well Lieberson’s (1980) ideas on the queuing effect of ethnic labour markets. The entry of large numbers of Poles and Italians into the least desirable jobs in unskilled labour occurred in tandem with a general intergenerational change whereby the sons of the unskilled Irish moved into semi-skilled and skilled work within the working-class. The Buffalo Irish became quickly aware of the competition for unskilled work from other Europeans. Greek families, mistaken for Italians, were attacked in Buffalo’s Canal District in 1884, for example. Tensions among the established Irish dockworkers on Buffalo’s waterfront in the 1880s shaped a longstanding enmity between Irish and non-Irish. Religious commonalties counted for little in these confrontations. By the 1920s, however, the Irish, along with the Germans, were an ‘old’ immigrant group in North American history. For example, they were not considered for study by sociologist Niles Carpenter (1927) in his investigation on ethnicity, race and economic opportunity in 1920s Buffalo.

The inclusion of new immigrant groups in urban social hierarchies across North America had an uplifting effect on the Irish. Morawska (1985), for example, reported a promotional pecking order of Americans, Welsh, Germans, and Irish at the Cambria Iron Works in Johnstown, Pennsylvania. These groups were followed by the recently-arrived Slavic and Magyar populations. The Irish remained least-favoured of the West European ethnic groups, but the arrival of immigrants from south and central Europe promoted them in the cultural division of labour. Moreover, Lieberson (1980) has calculated that,
for 66 'non-Southern' cities in the United States in 1900, the Irish ranked third behind South and Central European immigrants and Blacks in terms of percentages occupying unskilled labouring jobs.\(^5\)

**Politics, the Public Sector, and Irish Social Mobility**

Despite their differing profiles in Toronto and Buffalo, modest levels of occupational advancement from the ranks of the working-class were uncovered for the Irish in these two cities for the turn of the century period. Thernstrom (1973) reported similar findings for Boston, but Blessing has noted that "the likelihood of encountering a white-collar Irishman during the 19th century increased as one moved west across the continent" (1980: 530). Thus, it may have been the case that Toronto and Buffalo formed nodes within a larger regional complex in the eastern part of the continent in which, for the Irish at least, the labour market experience was less flexible than it was further west. Certainly, the promises of egalitarianism and speedy upward mobility were key factors spurring movement towards the western frontiers of the continent. Back in the east, though the Irish were advancing upwards, it was a slow process.

The intersection between local politics and the urban labour market, particularly where the Irish are concerned, is yet another avenue of job mobility that is worthy of consideration. The preceding section of this chapter demolished the nineteenth-century

\(^5\) Lieberson (1980) defined South and Central European immigrants as hailing from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia. The German-born were not included
image of the indigent Irish labourer as largely inapplicable to the early twentieth century. Nonetheless, modern stereotypes such as the ‘Irish cop’ or ‘Irish politician’ begin to take shape and replace these earlier images. The genesis of these modern stereotypes is linked intimately to increased Irish participation in urban politics in North America (particularly in the United States) and the redistribution of public sector jobs therein. We will begin to tackle these issues with an insight from political scientist Robert Dahl who advanced the provocative yet appealing thesis that in certain American cities, and particularly in the northeast of the United States, “politics was evidently one of the main routes the Irish took to climb out of the wage-earning class” (1961: 41). In a comparative insight, Dahl added (1961: 42) that:

The Irish had brought with them no tradition of business enterprise or the learned profession... Where the Irish used ward politics to surmount obstacles to their advance in the socio-economic world, Italians and Jews more frequently used gains in the socio-economic world to attain elective positions in politics.

Therefore, once some measure of local power had been gained through the electoral strength of mass immigration numbers, the Irish in the United States expanded municipal employment to appease their loyal supporters. Geography did not play an insignificant role in the process of power attainment. In cities such as Buffalo and Boston, Irish neighbourhoods coincided with ward divisions that acted as municipal electoral units. The Irish, forming a mass proletariat in American cities by the 1850s and 1860s, were the key ethnic group of ‘ex-plebes’ who used their advantages of sheer numbers and
geographical concentration to depose the business and industry men as the political leaders. The following insight by Dahl (1961: 33) neatly summarizes the key issue facing those who fancied exploiting ethnic-based voting blocs:

Any political leader who could help members of an ethnic group to overcome the handicaps and humiliations associated with their identity, who could increase the power, prestige, and income of an ethnic or religious out-group, automatically had an effective strategy for earning support and loyalty.

His research in New Haven demonstrated that half of that city’s twelve wards were electing Irishmen as early as 1880. In New York City, Irish-dominated wards in Lower and Midtown Manhattan gave the Democrats an average of two-thirds of their votes in the 1870s and 1880s, and in 1880 Tammany Hall elected the city’s first Irish-born Roman Catholic mayor, William R. Grace. By 1910, the Irish proportion of New York City’s population had fallen to only 15%, but they controlled all but a handful of the city’s Democratic Party district chairmanships and nearly half of the party’s ballot positions for local offices (McKivigan and Robertson 1996). In fact, “individually and organizationally, Irish-American labor in New York City had largely become an arm of the Democratic Party by the twentieth century (McKivigan and Robertson 1996: 313).” These political leaders took the initiative in helping immigrants becoming naturalized citizens, encouraging them to register on party rolls, as well as addressing everyday problems associated with working-class districts, and rewarded their loyalty with city jobs or franchises.
Chapter three described the Buffalo system of ward-based politics based on universal manhood suffrage. The concentrated ethnic settlement geography of Buffalo meant that, at the ward level, the voices of immigrants and other ethnic groups had a better chance of having their voices heard, not least the Irish in the waterfront districts. A merging of ethnic and class interests was the main characteristic of Buffalo's political scene for the period of this study. For the most part, class homogeneity determined political homogeneity; certainly, it did for the mainly Democratic Irish of the First Ward. An exception in this regard was the popular First Ward politician, Jack White, who was a Republican. His politics was imbued with the same pragmatism of the Democrats in the waterfront district, where "it was the first ward first and the party later" with both Republican and Democrat leaders" with "basic loyalty... first to the riverfront community" (Buffalo Times, June 27, 1933). Joining the Republican party out of a desire to accrue the advantages of leading the minority rather than the majority party, White remained on Buffalo's board of aldermen for the better part of a quarter century. This was a significant achievement, since the First Ward remained mostly a Democratic ward.

Ethnic cohesion at the ward scale then, translated into political power that had the capacity to last well beyond a single generation. Ethnic voices and economic interests were well served by these aldermen who came from a variety of occupational backgrounds. The system was seen to be corrupt by urban reformers in the 1890s, and there is little argument that it was. Reformers in Buffalo advocated elections-at-large that would limit the influence of ward bosses. This, in turn, would limit the voice of
spatially-concentrated immigrant groups as power became more decentralized. Grover Cleveland had attempted reform earlier when mayor between 1880 and 1882. He checked the power of ward politicians, appointed people on merit and eschewed patronage. Attempt at charter reform by the Citizens’ Association of Buffalo in 1890, while electing a separate Council at large, did not displace the Common Council of twenty-five aldermen elected by ward (Shelton 1976) which First Ward stalwart “Blue-Eyed Billy” Sheehan helped to guide through the state legislature. Despite initial jubilation, “the new government was no more honest, efficient, or economical than its predecessor” (Shelton 1976: 56).

The Irish Catholics in Toronto, with a more heterogeneous class structure than their Buffalo counterparts, had no established record of political alignments. The electoral divisions in that city precluded any ethnic-based bloc voting by minority groups such as Irish Catholics, mainly because the city was not divided on an ethnic basis such as Buffalo. Furthermore, few wards were homogenous in terms of class structure. While the majority of Irish Catholics in Buffalo voted for the Democratic Party, no such relationship was cemented between the Irish Catholics of Toronto and either of the two main political parties there, the Conservatives (Tories) and Liberals/Reformers (Grits). Theoretically, it is tempting to say that, since the Orange Order had such strong links with the Conservatives, Irish Protestants would align themselves closely with the latter. Yet, since the Order had outgrown its Irish roots, this argument is difficult to sustain. In terms of class, Kealey (1980: 126) has remarked that “Orangeism successfully harnessed Toronto working-class voters to the Tory machine.” More amusingly, Cabbagetown
native McAree (1953: 100) quipped that “to find an Orangeman (in the 1880s and 1890s) who was also a Grit would have created the same feeling of astonishment that the sight of a red-headed Chinaman would have produced.” The long line of Conservative mayors in nineteenth-century Toronto is testament to the success of this affiliation.

From the point of view of Irish Catholics in Toronto, the Irish Canadian correspondent John McCormick unhappily remarked that he had “found little of a positive nature in Canadian politics. He dismissed the Grits as the ‘John Calvin Ring’ (who were) of the same kidney as their confreres, the Cromwellians of the New England States... Yet the Tory ‘Orange Ring’ was even worse” (quoted in Kealey 1980: 275-76). The influence and operations of the Orange Order at municipal level in Toronto then, was not drastically different to that of the Irish on Buffalo’s city council in terms of rewarding loyal supporters with plum positions in civic administration, franchises, and other work. If the system in Toronto worked for anyone, that person was more likely to be an Irish Protestant than an Irish Catholic. With little in the way of municipal involvement, the Separate School Board remained as the only political institution open to Irish Catholics (Clarke 1993). The patronage of the Orange Order in Toronto extended into the public school system where five out of the twelve trustees elected in 1894 came from the ranks of the Order as did the superintendent and then Orange grand master of Ontario West. James L. Hughes (Houston and Smyth 1980a).

As with Buffalo, reform movements led by elite sections of society pushed for ‘good government’ in the early 1890s in Toronto. Their pleas were met with sympathy from
then mayor Robert Fleming (nicknamed ‘The People’s Bob’). The aim was to break the Orange Order control of civic patronage. The outcome was the appointment of a Board of Control in 1896. In 1891, a municipal reform scheme reduced the number of wards in Toronto from thirteen to six and the number of aldermen from 39 to 24 (Kealey 1980). The Board of Control was elected by the citizenry in 1904, but beneath the Board and mayor, the old pattern of a council of aldermen elected by wards persisted, as it did with Buffalo. The ward system then, the territorial base of municipal voting, worked more for the Orange Order and the voice of Protestants in Toronto, Irish and otherwise, than it did for the Irish Catholic minority. The long-run outcome, according to Houston and Smyth (1980a: 158) was that “Orange power continued to be manifested in the city until after the Second World War.” According to Careless (1984: 193):

there were still political in-groups linked with Conservative and Orange machinery: lawyers and contractors steering land-lot schemes, merchants and manufacturers keenly guarding business interests - and not very many labour representatives.

Uncovering the link between politics, the public sector, and Irish social mobility is difficult, but not an impossible task. Since many of the appointments to the fire service and police departments took place within the working-class, the previous section’s discussion on upward mobility revealed little about movement into and out of public sector jobs. Likewise, those who remained within the working-class frequently changed occupation, a policeman one year, an ironworker five years later. However, since both
the Toronto and Buffalo city directories also provide data on place of work, there is potential for differentiating between private and public sector occupations.

Analysis of Irish private and public sector employment was carried out in the following way. For those families and individuals who persisted twenty and thirty years in both cities, a cross-section of occupations held in 1900 and 1910 was compiled and the sectors defined for each job. These years were chosen for analysis because the large number of labourers in the Buffalo sample of 1880 would have made identification of the majority of the Irish labour force difficult. Instead, an intermediate stage of the mobility process was chosen, when a sufficient number of individuals were still residing in the city, and was then compared with the end of the study period. Place of work data were not essential in differentiating between public and private sector work. If an individual was self-employed as a barber or saloonkeeper, the answer is straightforward. Where clerical or general labouring work is concerned, it is less so. In such cases, if no information on place of work was available, the job remained unclassified. Public sector employment in Toronto referred to any job where the place of work was a government department (whether city, provincial, or federal) or a municipal service such as the police and fire departments. In Buffalo, a similar scheme was employed to distinguish between those working in the private sector and those working for municipal, state, and federal governments. There is also the matter of public ownership of certain utilities that may case uncertainty in categorization.  

6 Armstrong and Nelles' (1986) work on the organization and regulation of Canadian utilities, Monopoly's Moment, was used for the classification of railway workers in Toronto. Identification of workers in public utilities in Buffalo was aided by Goldmans' (1983) High Hopes: The Rise and Decline of Buffalo, New York, which discusses municipal ownership of local services.
The results, presented in Table 5.12, confirm that, for the two study years of 1900/01 and 1910/11, that portion of the Buffalo Irish who had persisted twenty and thirty years in the city were proportionately more likely to be employed in the public sector than their Toronto counterparts. Almost thirty percent of ‘surviving’ males and females of Irish background in the former city worked in public sector jobs, while the Toronto figure was just over half of this. Public employment in both cities ranged across a variety of white- and blue-collar tasks. In Toronto, the Irish Methodists on the city payroll were ensconced mostly in white-collar work, while Irish Catholics were concentrated in blue-collar work in comparison. Of the eight Irish Catholics who persisted, three worked as motormen for the Toronto Street Railway Company. Kealey (1980) noted that this company, whose streetcars ran throughout Toronto in the late nineteenth century, employed predominantly Irish labour.

Table 5.12: Public and private sector employment in 1901 and 1911 for members of Irish households resident in Toronto and Buffalo for twenty years or more

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Toronto</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Buffalo</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public, 1901</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private, 1901</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>76.6</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Classified, 1901</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public, 1911</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private, 1911</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Classified, 1911</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $\chi^2$ p-values for 1901 and 1911 = 0.000
Source: Toronto and Buffalo mobility sample data.
Toronto Irish public workers had proportionately more Irish-born in their ranks (36%), compared to the Irish in the Buffalo public sector (14.8%). These figures suggest that, for long-term Irish residents of both cities, public sector employment was more of a second-generation phenomenon in Buffalo than in Tory Toronto. As far as gender was concerned, Irish female workers were less in evidence in Toronto’s public sector; the few there who appeared in the sample, worked as nurses. In Buffalo, many became public school teachers, and formed a significant proportion of the public white-collar workers of Irish background.

The opportunities for Irish females to enter the public service as teachers seem to have been more widespread in Buffalo, and not only because of the higher number of schools there. A commentary on the state of Buffalo’s schools in 1893 condemned political interference in the education system, the argument being that such political appointments could only result in corruption and a poor standard of teacher (Shelton 1976). The superintendent in 1891, Crooker, had been labelled as “a tool of Tammany and of local Democratic boss William Sheehan” (Shelton 1976: 98). In any case, the buildings were overcrowded and in a sorry state. Up until the early 1890s in Buffalo, the education superintendent had complete responsibility over the hiring and firing of teachers in public schools. As Shelton (1976: 98) remarks:

Teachers in Buffalo had frequently owed their appointment to the political affiliation of their fathers. Most were young girls, many without even a high school diploma, and since they had to resign when they got married, the turnover was high. The
Republican Press enjoyed commenting on the number of Irish saloonkeepers' daughters who became teachers.

Given the last sentence in the above quote, it is pertinent to note the role that First Ward Republican Jack White played in the redistribution of patronage to his loyal local electorate. Though the First Ward Democrats were obviously engaged in a similar process of giving a 'start' to their supporters, through labour appointments and franchise granting, White was something of an enigma, as a feature on him by the *Buffalo Times* (June 27, 1933) testifies:

He could get jobs for his constituents regardless of which party was in power. During the long period of the 80's when the school department was a Democratic political preserve, White managed to have more teachers on the payroll than any other individual. It was the same with the police department.

The story is told that one of his worthy followers came to him for a job on the police force. There happened to be none available at that time, but White thought the would-be cop could be satisfactorily placed in the school department.

"But I couldn't teach anything," the applicant protested.

"Been to school haven't you?" White asked. "Then you could teach school fine."

The efforts of the educational reformers in Buffalo in the 1890s did partially dismantle the system based on appointments. With the introduction of civil service exams in the early 1890s, the education of the individual for entry in this sector became crucial. A
Board of School Examiners, selected by the mayor, administered these tests, and the superintendent then chose teachers from the list of those who passed (Shelton, 1976).

Irish Catholic females did not look to Toronto's public school system for employment as their counterparts in Buffalo availed themselves of that city's public schools for teaching jobs (Table 5.11). Assessment rolls in Toronto list the names and addresses of teachers for each public school in the city. Seven such schools were investigated, and the addresses of 64 teachers compiled. These addresses were re-traced in the same assessment rolls to determine the religion of these teachers. Only thirty of the teachers (46.9% of the total) could have their religion traced, since the remaining 53.1% were boarding in the houses of others. The point is that none of the thirty were Roman Catholic. Clearly, public school teaching was not the occupational avenue available to Catholic females in Toronto that it became in Buffalo and other cities in the United States. In 1890, ninety percent of the teachers employed by Toronto's Separate School Board were clergy or religious, although by 1915/1916, 57, or over one-third of the teachers in the board were laypersons, mostly unmarried Roman Catholic women (McGowan 1999). The latter had to contend with earning a wage below that of their counterparts in the public schools (Stamp 1982).

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7 The seven schools were chosen to include all areas of Toronto. They were Withrow Avenue School (Ward 1), Duke Street School and Winchester Street Schools (Ward 2), Cottingham Street School (Ward 3), Borden Street School (Ward 4), and Niagara Street and Parkdale Schools (Ward 5).
The Occupational Stereotype: Case Studies of Policemen and Firemen

The rewards of political loyalty then, were frequently appointments to jobs in the public sector that depended on municipal expenditure, such as the police force and the fire brigade. Table 5.10 demonstrated that the Irish were overrepresented in these sectors in Buffalo also, and so these patterns are deserve close attention.

Buffalo’s port city status had always guaranteed that a large number of sailors and other boatmen would pass through its streets in the middle part of the year. This throughflow of people on an annual basis, coupled with the growth of the population and areal expansion of the city, put pressure on the resources of the police department. The number of patrolmen increased from 129 to 469 between 1881 and 1895, with the number of arrests rising from 9,086 to 24,889 over the same period (Table 5.13). On January 21, 1897, police superintendent William S. Bull requested an addition of 100 men, adding:

We are more populous, we have more wealth, and the coming summer will see our City filled to overflowing with strangers, from the Spring until late in the Autumn. I think it safe to estimate that we will have an average floating population of 25,000 during the entire summer, and unless our Force is increased we cannot assume our guests the protection and attention they are entitled to expect (Buffalo Police 1897: 9)
Table 5.13: The growth of the Buffalo Police Department, 1881-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Number in Police Department</th>
<th>Total Number of Patrolmen</th>
<th>Total Number of Arrests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>9,086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>10,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>17,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>24,889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>28,347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>784</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>22,203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Buffalo Board of Police Annual Reports.

The plethora of Irish names in the annual reports of the Buffalo Board of Police is testament to the strong representation of the first- and second-generation Irish of the city on the force. The popular folklore of ‘Irish’ cops is well founded in the Buffalo case.

The publication by Mark Hubbell (1893) of the history of the Buffalo police force, titled *Our Police and Our City* presented a rare opportunity to view the backgrounds of the senior personnel of the police department in Buffalo before the twentieth century. The book lists twelve detectives at headquarters in the early 1890s, nine of which have Irish-sounding names. As it happens, five of these men are Irish-born, two from County Cork, one from Clare, one from Derry, and one from Mayo. Four of these men lived with their families on Front Avenue on the city’s West Side, one of the choice residential areas for Buffalo’s ‘lace-curtain’ Irish-American families (see following chapter). Of the remaining four, one was a native Buffalonian, and the other three were born in England, rural Ontario, and Boston, Massachusetts. The assistant superintendent, Patrick V. Cusack, born in Clare in 1839, came to Buffalo in 1852 with his family. Escapees from the ravages of the Famine, they landed on the shores of America in 1847.
Never the majority ethnic group in the city, the Buffalo Irish did not come to dominate the police force there, despite their general overrepresentation within it. Leafing through the names of captains, patrolmen, and others in the annual reports, many German names appear also, reflecting their solid working-class stratum and numerical significance in Buffalo, and corroborating the pattern shown in Table 5.13. It appears also, from the report of 1890 at least, that the allocation of policemen to certain precincts followed the general ethnic geography of Buffalo in the late nineteenth century. Within precinct number 7 at 455 Louisiana Street in the First Ward district, the Lieutenant was Irish-born Michael Regan, and his support staff had mostly Irish names; of the 24 patrolmen stationed there, 15 had distinctively 'Irish' surnames. At precinct number 8 in contrast, located in the heavily German Fifth Ward, the Lieutenant was Emil Zacher and the force there had distinctively German surnames: of the 25 patrolmen, only 7 had non-German surnames.

Table 5.14: Distribution of 'Irish' police in Buffalo precinct stations, 1890 and 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th></th>
<th>1910</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>%Irish</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captains</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detectives</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeants</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenants/Specials</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrolmen</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Buffalo Board of Police Annual Reports.

Table 5.14 was compiled from a list of police officers of varying rank at each precinct station in the annual reports from the years 1890 and 1910. Officers at headquarters and others who worked in clerical positions are not counted in the table. Surname analysis is
an imperfect measure of (imputed) ‘Irishness’ of course, since the possibility remains that ambiguous surnames such as Brown may have belonged to Irishmen. The above table therefore, may represent a slight underestimate of the Irish presence. Nevertheless, the table does show an impressive Irish presence in the force at all levels, and over the period surveyed, an increased presence at the higher ranks of the force, such as the ranks of sergeant and detective-sergeant, as a consequence of promotions.

Whilst the image of the Irish fireman resonates far less than that of the Irish policeman, at least in the United States, as a body dependent on city expenditures, the Irish were likely to find their way into this organization also. Table 5.15 suggests that this was the case in Buffalo. As with the study of the police department, a surname check was done in the fire department’s annual reports for 1900 and 1910, and a similar pattern resulted (Table 5.15). The survey covered the various engine and hook and ladder companies of the brigade throughout the city (these numbered 29 and 9 respectively in 1900 and 33 and 11 in 1910). The Irish were well represented at all levels in the brigade, and their share of captains increased over those ten years from 39.5% to 53%. In any case, the fire department was presided over by men with Irish surnames. In 1893, the chief of the Buffalo fire department was Bernard J. McConnell, with Edward P. Murphy as his assistant chief, and these men had still remained at the helm by 1910. In 1900, the brigade consisted of 488 personnel, including 291 first-grade firemen, fifty second-grade firemen, forty-three captains, forty-five lieutenants, and thirty-two engineers. By 1910, their numerical strength had increased to 624.
Table 5.15: Distribution of ‘Irish’ firemen in Buffalo stations, 1890 and 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captains</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenants</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firemen</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Commissioners of the Buffalo Fire Department Annual Reports.

As with the police station, the fire station reflected somewhat Buffalo’s ethnic geography.

Two engine company stations in the First Ward, numbers 8 and 10, had eighteen out of twenty-four staff of Irish extraction, based on surname. A station on the West Side, engine company number 17 at 512 Rhode Island Street, had eight out of twelve staff of Irish extraction also. Likewise, East Side stations employed very few staff with Irish surnames – the majority was instead either German or Polish. Employees at these two city services then, the fire and police, were ethnically in tune with their surroundings, and formed an added layer of cohesion to the anatomy of the ethnic neighbourhood.

The Toronto police show a different pattern. Table 5.16 below shows the share of the Toronto Police Force in 1910 that was Irish-born, and further enumerates those within this cohort who belonged to different religions. Previous background in Ireland, such as service in the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC), is also tabulated. The information provided for each member of the police force in the annual reports of the Chief Constable is impressive and includes other variables such as age, height, whether married or single, date when joined, and the date of appointment to present rank. It is surely no irony then, that in a city accused of institutional bigotry by the print media of its Roman Catholic population, that the religion of individuals was so closely monitored via the census, city
assessment rolls, and municipal labour schedules such as these police reports. Analysis of Table 5.16 shows that out of a total of 484 male personnel on the force, 116 (24%) were born in Ireland, the vast majority were Protestant, and only eleven (9.5%) Roman Catholic.

Table 5.16: Irish-born members of the Toronto Police Force by religion, 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Irish-born</th>
<th>Ang.</th>
<th>Pres.</th>
<th>Meth.</th>
<th>RC</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Ex-RIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inspectors</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeants</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detectives</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrol Sergeants</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st class constables</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd class constables</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd class constables</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = Includes one ex-member of the Northern Ireland Imperial Yeomanry.
^ = Includes one ex-member of the Northern Irish Yeomanry and one ex-member of the Dublin Metropolitan Police.


As might be expected by 1910, a majority of the Toronto Police Force was Canadian-born. As one inspects the birthplace data for the ranks of patrol sergeants and constables, where younger men were present, the strength of the Canadian-born cohort comes through. For example, the Canadian-born shares of the ranks of patrol sergeants and first-class constables were eighty and sixty percent respectively. A majority of the top-ranked officials on the force had their origins in Great Britain, however, and most of these hailed from Ireland. Chief Inspector David Archibald, for example, was an imposing six-foot and three-inch Irish-born Methodist who had joined the Toronto Police Force in 1865, with four years of experience in the Royal Irish Constabulary behind him.
Below him, nine of the twelve inspectors were Irish-born and all were Protestant. The two eldest, Robert Gregory and Robert McClelland, both 61 years old, had joined the force in the 1870s, both having served for over a decade in the Royal Irish Constabulary. None of the other Irish-born inspectors were ex-RIC men, however.

Despite the overall Protestant look of the force, Roman Catholics were making inroads by 1910 in comparison to the nineteenth century. Three of the eight Irish-born sergeants, John Mulhall, Edward Murphy, and Owen McCarron, were Catholic. McCarron had served for over three years in the RIC. Overall, 52 Catholics (10.7%) were present on a force of 484. Most (55.8%) were Canadian-born, followed by the eleven Irish-born. By 1911, Roman Catholics comprised 13.2% of Toronto's population (McGowan 1999), so the discrepancy was not large. By the early twentieth century, when the generations of Canadian-born were increasing, old tensions between Orange and Green were fading and were little more than folk stories for these new sons of Canada. Though Orange power continued to be wielded at the municipal level, efforts to keep Catholics out of public sector employment were clearly being relaxed. McGowan (1999) adds further that small inroads were made by Roman Catholics into the Toronto Fire Department. All in all, these achievements were significant as they signalled a growing tolerance between Roman Catholics and Protestants and the waning of bigotry and sectarianism in the city. Sectarianism was not much in evidence in Buffalo around the turn of the century either. As Shelton (1976: 63) comments: "The American Protective Association never achieved significant headway in the Queen City. In ethnic and religious bigotry, as in so many other matters, Buffalo's conservative character prevailed." The weakness of the Orange
Order in Buffalo then, combined with the large number of Catholics in that city, acted as a bulwark against sectarianism. In addition, the Buffalo Irish enjoyed easier avenues into public sector employment than did their counterparts in Toronto. They did not have to cope with Orangemen, and along with their German co-religionists, formed a numerically significant Catholic bloc in the city. Sectarianism in Buffalo was the preserve of a relatively small number of upper-class American families and was not significant. ⁸

What were the mechanisms that operated to facilitate Irish employment into the public sector? Political patronage is the broad heading under which this is seen to occur, but the Horatio Alger-like story of Anthony McGowan aids our understanding of how networks and contacts were important nodes in the mobility process. McGowan, an immigrant from rural County Clare, who arrived in Buffalo in 1886, illustrates in one case the upwardly mobile path towards self-employment as a tavern keeper. His story demonstrates the saliency of transatlantic networks of based on friendship, kinship, and other factors that originated in a region of rural Ireland where out-migration was commonplace. Such networks were undoubtedly crucial to survival for a seventeen-year old emigrant. As Houston and Smyth (1990: 92) observed:

The existence of networks known in advance of emigration indicated the intensity of communication and the role of chains of migrants in the mass exodus. New emigrants followed in the wake of information sent home by the earlier leavers.

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⁸ Goldman (1993) confirms this point, noting that the nativist American Protective Association, had little success in Buffalo.
After initial arrival at New York, where a meeting was arranged with a friend engaged in the liquor business in Brooklyn, McGowan made his way to Buffalo where, he recalls with exaggerated nostalgia:

I arrived at the old Erie Rail Road at Exchange and Michigan St. and was met at the station by a policeman named John Pyne who was known by all the tuff (sic) characters from Buffalo to San Francisco and he took me to my brothers home at Fulton and Chicago St. and after two weeks rest I applied for a job to Mr. Cunningham as a (grain) scooper...(after) a few months things started to get quiet on the waterfront and one afternoon we were sitting on a tow board at the end of the In Bound freight house and (Mr. Kennedy) asked me how I’d like a job bartending. I said anything would be better than what we were doing at the present time. With the result that I started the next morning tending bar at 19 Main St. which at that time was one of the most prominent parts of Buffalo. He paid his men every Saturday about 5 o’clock and when he finished paying them he got up to the bar and said I was the greatest man that ever got behind his bar and raised my pay 2-dollars and said if I stayed with him that he would put me on the police force and saying this in the presence of all those men made me a king in their eyes (cited in Powell 1996: 19-20).

Clearly, the influence of one individual or local ‘boss’ counted for much in the mobility patterns of a significant number of other individuals besides McGowan. His story illustrates the importance of these local ethnic-based socio-political networks, and the role of the relatively small Irish middle-class as social agents and employment brokers.
John J. Kennedy had more than one saloon interest in Buffalo, and according to McGowan "at that time had charge of all the freight coming into the Port of Buffalo" (cited in Powell 1996: 19). Kennedy himself had earlier in life worked with the local army of grain scoopers and had by the early 1890s served five terms as an alderman of the old eighth ward. It is not known whether or not McGowan joined the Buffalo police force like many of his countrymen. However, he later became the manager of Kennedy's Seabreeze Hotel, and opened his own tavern in 1897 at 206 Elk Street in the heart of Irish Buffalo. He had been active locally in the Democratic Party, working as a committeeman in the First Ward shortly after his arrival in Buffalo. The rise of this one-time grain scooper in local politics continued in 1908 when he, on account of all his work at grassroots level, was appointed to the Department of Markets by then Mayor J.N. Adam and served as assistant superintendent in charge of the Elk Street market for 31 years (Powell 1996).

Public sector employment, then, was one of McGowan's rewards for diligent labour and active political loyalty. He rose to achieving ownership of his own saloon, viewed by the Irish as a key avenue of upward mobility within their community. Thus, success in the private sector was not independent of involvement in local ethno-political structures and networks.

These figures should not be confused as representing the proportion of the Irish workforces in public and private employment in both cities for these years. They apply only to that cohort of the Irish who had persisted for at least twenty years in the sample.
Thus, while noting the inter-city differences in Table 5.12, there is a danger of overestimating the association between the Irish and the public sector in terms of the scale of their workforce generally. For a city such as Chicago, the percentage of the Irish workforce of the first- and second-generation in municipal employment in 1900 was 8.7%, the highest among the heavily ‘Irish’ cities of the United States at this time (Erie 1988). This figure, although not counting state and federal jobs, points to the reality that in general “the private sector, not the machine, generated up to 90 percent of job opportunities for these workers.” (Erie 1988: 59).

Thus, the frequency and breadth of Irish public sector patronage raises the issue of opportunity cost. One of the oldest hypotheses about ethnic groups in industrial societies is that ethnic attachments impede social mobility through lost opportunities for better jobs and higher earnings (Reitz and Sklar 1997). In his analysis of the Boston Irish from 1880 to 1950, Themstrom (1973: 167) concluded that political victories such as the “winning of 3,000 jobs in the Public Works Department...may involve seizing one kind of opportunity at the expense of other opportunities. The success of the Irish in the political sphere was not matched by comparative gains in the private economy.” This was evident in late nineteenth-century San Francisco, where the political machine led by Chris Buckley expanded municipal employment in favour of the Irish (Erie 1988). In a study of late nineteenth century San Francisco, Erie (1978: 284) points out “public employment allocations were highly dependent upon mass political activity and elite influence,” although he concluded surprisingly (p. 287) that there was “little evidence that Irish political clout dramatically improved group economic prospects.” However.
evaluating these trade-offs in economic terms is quite beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Conclusion

Like other ethnic groups in urban North America in the nineteenth century, the Irish were highly mobile and dynamic. Significant numbers of Irish individuals and families moved both within and out of Toronto and Buffalo during the period 1880-1910. Depending on the definition of persistence, those Irish who persisted in the cities were differentiated mainly in terms of tenure, age, and occupation. In Toronto, religion had little influence on mobility behaviour. By way of contrast, the Buffalo Irish were less differentiated in terms of these variables, with the exception of tenure. The concentration of the Irish in manual labour in the American city, combined with a small middle-class, helps to explain their lower levels of persistence there, compared to Toronto. Buffalo was a much more mobile place than Toronto generally. Its port culture, as outlined in Chapter 3, depicted an inner city and waterfront with a population continually in a great state of flux. While other factors affecting persistence, such as labour and housing conditions add explanatory context, the reasons for families and individuals leaving these cities were manifold.

Those working-class Irish who remained in Toronto and Buffalo experienced only modest levels of advance into white-collar jobs. Significantly, however, the Irish in
Toronto (Catholic and Protestant combined) did not demonstrate a greater capacity to move out of either the unskilled or the manual class than their Buffalo counterparts, who were mostly Catholic. This is significant because it does not suggest that any sort of a cultural backwardness described by Miller (1985), originating in a Gaelic-Catholic past and embittered by exile from the Shamrock Shore, really existed among the American Irish found in Buffalo. With the inclusion of a Protestant component among the Toronto working-class, one would expect higher rates of occupational mobility and lower rates of downward mobility to exist in Toronto than Buffalo, but this has not been the case. Both groups of Irish adapted in roughly equal measure to the opportunities provided by each city.

The dominant Protestant milieu of Toronto did not allow public school teaching to become an avenue of upward mobility for Irish Catholic females. This is a crucial distinction in the experience of the Irish female in Canada compared to the United States. Buffalo’s ethnic groups, continually drawn together in social and political coalitions, did not exert such constraints. Besides, many Irish Catholics there attended public school. While the unskilled Irish did not disappear in both cities, the in-migration of other ethnic groups aided their move up the urban labour hierarchies, especially in Buffalo. Occupational advances were within the reach of Irish sons more than their fathers, not surprisingly. Certain occupational niches distinguished the Irish, Protestant and Catholic, in the two cities. Saloonkeeping and public school teaching were avenues of upward mobility for the mostly Catholic Irish males and females respectively in Buffalo. Irish Protestants were more numerous as policemen in Toronto than Roman Catholic Irish.
who formed a significant part of the force in Buffalo. Occupational movements of the Toronto Irish of all religions were generally quite diffuse, spread over different sections of the private labour market. By way of contrast, entry into public sector employment was relatively easy for the mostly Roman Catholic Buffalo Irish, due to the intersection between their place in the city’s geography and their propensity to enter politics.

Municipal politics, based on ward-level elections on an annual basis, was important to the Irish in both cities. In Toronto, Orange politics worked to the benefit of Irish Protestants; in Buffalo, the Catholic Irish used the political stage to pursue an aggressive strategy of job mobility, based mostly around public sector employment. The material rewards at local level, promised by the ward politician, were his key to success.

The remainder of this dissertation is concerned with the residential and housing dimensions of mobility among the Irish in the two cities. While the fourth chapter described the residential milieus of the Irish, the residential mobility of their inhabitants within the changing geography of the city is an area of research rarely tackled. The propensity of the Irish to change the addresses and localities settled by their fathers and grandfathers offers an important insight into their assimilation and integration into the two host societies.
CHAPTER 6

RESIDENTIAL DIMENSIONS OF MOBILITY

Introduction

The previous chapter investigated patterns of geographic and occupational mobility for the Irish in Buffalo and Toronto. Labourers represented the most volatile occupational group within the class structure of the Irish in the two cities in terms of persistence. The majority of those 1880 labourers who remained failed to progress beyond the unskilled proletariats of the two cities. Sons had more success than their fathers in this regard, however. In Toronto, escaping unskilled work for fathers was not only limited but was also confined mainly to other occupations within the working-class rather than nonmanual work; when such upward mobility occurred, successes were temporary. A high proportion of their sons, however, passed into jobs in skilled and semi-skilled labour and the construction trades, with smaller proportions progressing to nonmanual work in business and clerical work rather than the professions.
In Buffalo, escape from unskilled work was charted along less predictable avenues. Fathers and sons in Buffalo had a better chance of escaping unskilled labouring jobs, by running a grocery or saloon for example, than their counterparts in Toronto. Whether this was a consequence of a larger urban population and a less conservative inner-city atmosphere is open to question, but the different urban-political climates were important too. The Irish-American patronage system in Buffalo had a counterpart in Toronto that favoured for Protestants, particularly members of the Orange Order, which included a sizeable proportion of Irish Protestants and their descendants. The latter, however, had proportionately few unskilled members. Thus, the prominence of Conservative government in Toronto contrasted with an American municipality where accommodation, negotiation and coalition were necessary to avoid ethnic or other group-based conflict. While American Protestants stood at the top of Buffalo’s cultural division of labour, they did not have the numbers necessary to harness electoral power in a way comparable to Toronto Protestants. In Buffalo, immigrant groups were empowered by universal manhood suffrage and intricate structural bureaucracies of loyalty shaped at the neighbourhood and other levels. The sectoral geography of ethnic residence in the city, where one or two ethnic groups dominated some city wards, was also important in this empowerment process. In contrast, there is little evidence that the largely dispersed Roman Catholic Irish in Toronto had ward politicians courting their vote as a social group or political block. Unable to dominate any ward numerically or spatially, they were unlikely to be given the ‘nod’ to have a daughter appointed a public school teacher or a son a policeman.
The preceding chapter, then, was concerned with whether Irish families stayed in the cities or not, and the fate of those who stayed in the respective labour and housing markets. The spatial implications of those collective decisions of Irish families who chose to stay in these cities must now be addressed. Of those who moved within the city, the frequency with which they moved house, the directions and distances moved, and its implications for the social geographies of the Irish in the two cities are assessed. A key concern is to describe the socio-economic surroundings of the areas into which they moved. The main attractions of their new surroundings are investigated, as are the possible disadvantages associated with their former localities. The outcome of this inquiry will clarify issues on class- and ethnic-based loyalties among the inhabitants of North American cities in the early twentieth-century, that have been the subject of much debate.

Patterns of Property Mobility: Home Ownership

The purchase of a home, during the second half of the nineteenth century, was seen generally as an indicator of social advancement or upward mobility. A stable family home, fixed in place and fostering an environment suitable for rearing a family, was a goal for many families, not least the less well-off. While one cannot assume that cultural groups within a city all held identical values regarding property ownership, the historiography of the Irish in North America suggests that the ownership of real estate
was quite high on the list of objectives for the average immigrant family and its descendants. In Newburyport, Massachusetts, Thernstrom (1964) observed that the working-class family’s goals of property ownership were achieved at the cost of providing a better education for the sons, thus constricting the latter’s occupational mobility opportunities. This was, he found, particularly the case for Irish working-class families. Katz and others (1982) found a similar pattern of property mobility among the Irish in Hamilton, Ontario, with little difference between Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant families. The Irish, in those years, were seemingly not very adept at climbing out of low-status manual occupations, but they were adept at accumulating property.

Understanding the propensity of the Irish to accumulate property has been aided by recent historical studies, at least for Roman Catholics. Gamm (1999) explored the tightly-knit Catholic parishes of twentieth-century Boston, commenting on the strong sense of turf in that city’s Catholic population, and the strength of institutional constraints in binding Catholics to their neighborhoods. With the building of parish churches signifying the Church’s long-term commitment to a neighbourhood, the parallel act by lay parishioners was the purchase of homes in its vicinity. Edel and others (1984) also noted that Catholics remained longer in Somerville, a Boston suburb, longer than other religious groups, in the post-World War II period. The propensity of Catholic immigrants in particular to purchase homes has been linked to a wide strategy of keeping the territories of urban Catholic parishes in the northern United States stable and intact in the face of new immigration by non-Catholics in the twentieth century (McGreevy 1996, Gamm 1999).
In contrast, Protestant churches and non-Orthodox Jewish synagogues were less rooted to their urban neighbourhoods than Roman Catholic churches; their propensity to 'anchor' their adherents to a particular urban territory was weak. Thus, if a majority of the adherents of Protestant and Jewish institutions moved towards the suburbs, these churches and synagogues simply moved with them. At the same time, the founding of Catholic churches and associated parish schools followed former parishioners who moved to the outer areas of cities. Note, however, that it does not necessarily follow from this perspective that Protestants and Jews had any weaker disposition towards the purchase of real estate than had Catholics. Analysis in the fourth chapter, for example, found little difference between Protestant and Roman Catholic Irish in 1880s Toronto.

The previous chapter outlined the persistence rates for the Irish in both cities. Homeowners had higher persistence levels than renters, unsurprisingly. Tables 6.1 and 6.2 present housing tenure data for 1881-1911 for those Irish household heads remaining in the mobility samples for Toronto and Buffalo respectively. Lodgers and co-resident kin were also identified from city directories. A lodger here broadly refers to an individual who was residing not with kin but in a boarding- or rooming-house.¹ Co-resident kin (usually male), on reaching adulthood, were identified in the city directories as 'living' in the family home before moving out as a young adult or returning later in life during the years of retirement.

¹ Like Harris (1994), lodging is defined broadly here. No attempt is made to distinguish if lodgers rented a room only ('rooming') or if they also received meals and other services ('boarding').
The proportion of Irish homeowners increased over the period in both cities in tandem with a decrease in the proportion of renters (Tables 6.1 and 6.2). Persistence in these cities then, for twenty years or so, culminated in homeownership for at least half of the Irish households, sometimes more. Owners were generally older than renters, at least in Toronto, but as the sample sizes decrease and the population becomes older, the average ages increase and the age gap between owners and renters diminishes.

Becoming a homeowner was rarely associated with a change of occupation. In only four out of eighteen cases in Toronto or 22.2% (where occupation both before and after the tenure change was known) was this the case. None of these signified substantial upward occupational mobility: in one case, a labourer changed his occupation to driver on becoming a homeowner. In two cases, the renting household heads who worked as laborers in 1881 had acquired homes by 1886 without moving out of the laboring class. Most of the time, however, becoming a homeowner did not involve occupational mobility. For example, Robert Erskine, an Ontario-born Presbyterian, rented a property on Ontario Street, a street with many Irish families in the heart of Cabbagetown in east Toronto. Erskine worked all his life as a teamster and became a homeowner in his early fifties with a home on Logan Avenue, in Riverdale, east of the Don River. Annexed by the city in 1884, Riverdale quickly became the focus of housing development within reach of the city’s expanded streetcar system.

Irish Roman Catholic householders in Toronto were, at 28%, underrepresented among households graduating to homeownership from tenancy, indicating a greater relative
struggle to achieve property mobility, since their overall share of the Irish Toronto sample was over 42%. A large part of this trend may be explained by their larger working-class component compared to Irish Protestants. Discriminatory practices in credit markets based on ethnicity or religion are an unlikely explanation; Irish Catholics had lending institutions in both cities by the end of the nineteenth century, namely the Toronto Savings Bank, and the Irish-American Savings and Loan Association in Buffalo.

Table 6.1: Housing tenure data for Irish household heads, Toronto 1881-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodgers and co-</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resident kin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>205</td>
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<td>96</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Renters who have become owners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>14</th>
<th>14.6</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>16.4</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>29.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Average age

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto Irish mobility sample.
Table 6.2: Housing tenure data for Irish household heads, Buffalo, 1880-1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1880</th>
<th></th>
<th>1900</th>
<th></th>
<th>1910</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodgers and co-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resident kin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters who have</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>become owners</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Buffalo Irish mobility sample.

Table 6.3: Housing tenure data for Irish males aged 15-45, Toronto 1881-1911

<table>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
<th>1891</th>
<th></th>
<th>1901</th>
<th></th>
<th>1911</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodgers and co-</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resident kin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>46</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters who have</td>
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<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>become owners</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>41.3</td>
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<td>49.0</td>
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<td>59.2</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Lodgers/co-resident</td>
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</table>

Source: Toronto Irish mobility sample.
Table 6.4: Housing tenure for Irish males aged 15-45, Buffalo 1880-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1880</th>
<th></th>
<th>1900</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodgers and co-</td>
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<td>58.1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resident kin</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>Renters who</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodgers/co-resident kin</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Buffalo Irish mobility sample.

The sub-sample of households chosen for the mobility study was reprocessed to explore home ownership for males who, at the start of the 1880s, were aged between 15 and 45. Given the thirty-year period of study, this age cohort enables one not only to minimize the effects of death but also to observe the trajectory of individuals some of whom went on later to form their own households elsewhere in the city. As Tables 6.3 and 6.4 show, many such individuals graduated to homeowner status. That their general rates were lower than the household head samples is probably attributable to the age factor.

As with the household heads, property ownership was not associated with occupational mobility for the 15-45 male age group. In Toronto, in only ten out of twenty-nine cases or 34.5% was the graduation to homeownership associated with a change of occupation. A similar situation prevailed for the Irish in Buffalo. Eleven individuals were listed as
homeowners in 1910 who did not have this status in 1880. Although their occupational histories were traced through the city directory at five-year intervals, their tenure status between 1880 and 1900 was not known due to data deficiencies. Thus, it is possible that some may have become homeowners before 1900. However, even if this did happen, the lack of upward occupational mobility within this group was common.

Few Irish families in either city remained in the same residence throughout the thirty-year period, as Chapter 5 demonstrated. Most homeowners acquired this status after years of renting different properties in particular neighbourhoods or elsewhere until they decided to buy a home and could afford to do so. Some owners subsequently became active in the local market for property and, as Chapter 4 demonstrated, these were drawn from a wide range of occupational backgrounds. Owen Gleason of Toronto is one such example. In 1881, Gleason was listed in the census as a 47-year old Irish-born labourer. He lived on Borden Street in St. Patrick’s Ward near Toronto’s developing western edge, where he and his wife Norah were raising their four girls (three of whom worked as servants) and son, William, an 18-year old labourer. Gleason owned the one-storey frame house in which his family lived as well as the house next door. Over the following two decades or so, Gleason remained employed as an unskilled labourer. His son William is documented as being a resident of the house until his late 30s, before his name no longer appears in the city directories. By the early 1900s, Owen Gleason had at least one son and daughter living in the family home on Borden Street. By 1911, the city assessment rolls identify him as being retired but his property interests had expanded – he now owned two adjacent properties on Borden Street and two other properties on a rear
side street, Croft Street. The latter were simple structures, assessed at fifty dollars each. Mary, a daughter of Owen, owned one other property on Borden Street. This example illustrates that not only could the unskilled sector of the working-class become homeowners, but also small-time landlords, their properties assembled over time through work, thrift, and patience.

In Buffalo, instances of a tenure change from renter to owner did not lead to spectacular gains in occupational or class position either. Most of the Irish renters there came from working-class backgrounds, and few left their class origins in tandem with becoming a homeowner. One exception was Daniel Melligan, who worked (as did his father) as a labourer when he was seventeen years of age in 1880, eight years after entering the United States. Melligan grew up in Elk Street in the First Ward. By the late 1890s, when he was in his early thirties, like many workers who experienced upward mobility, he entered self-employment as a saloon owner on Michigan Street, a trade he continued to pursue in 1910. In that year, he had five children and a boarder staying with him and his wife.

While the sample sizes are rather small, the results indicate that although access to homeownership was available to the Irish of different social classes in both cities, its realization did not typically occur alongside upwardly-mobile occupational changes. Unfortunately, a key variable of interest, the non-home wealth or asset ownerships of these families, cannot be reconstructed from the available records. Chapter four indicated in any case that occupational mobility was generally quite limited for the Irish ethnic
group in the two cities. In any case, it can hardly be argued that occupational mobility is a prerequisite for home ownership. Harris (1996) demonstrated the prevalence of unplanned home-building by blue-collar British immigrants on Toronto’s suburban fringe during the early twentieth century. The attainment of such residential suburban ways of life was not dependent on occupational gains; values of thrift, self-reliance, and the determination to survive on one’s own property were central to such achievements.

Advancing a different argument, a study by Edel and others of Boston circa 1900, using Thernstrom's (1973) data, argues (1984: 169) that “the working homeowner did not gain additional mobility either in terms of jobs or social power from homeownership.” A similar argument may be applied here, at least in the occupational sense, since power relations are not our concern. Occupational stability then, is perhaps what was needed to become a homeowner, as opposed to occupational mobility.

Making Sense of Residential Mobility: Concepts and Method

Clearly, a lot of residential movement took place in both cities over the thirty-year period. Not all those who chose to remain became homeowners, but many did. The preceding chapter found modest levels of occupational mobility among the Irish without offering a geographical perspective on the intra-urban movements of those who remained in Toronto and Buffalo. Such residential mobility requires contextualization in terms of the expansion of each city and their social geographies. Commenting on residential mobility
for the mainly working-class Irish Catholic community in Montreal for the second half of the nineteenth century, Gilliland (1993: 146) remarked:

When Irish households moved, they appeared to stay closer to their point of origin, and were less likely to stray from the familiarity of the present neighbourhood, parish, or homes of their family.

To substantiate this statement, he compared the residential location of sons to their fathers, noting that 32.4% of sons lived in the same district as their fathers, while 38.2% lived in an adjoining neighbourhood. Depending on the designation of Montreal’s districts, Gilliland noted further that 29.4% of sons lived in non-adjacent districts – which could, in practice, have been little more than one kilometre away or on the other edge of the city. In any case, the spatial concentration of the Irish in Montreal, whereby they stayed close to their employment sites such as the canals and railway yards, was confirmed. Pooley (1978) found a similar pattern of short-distance moves among the Liverpool working-class in the mid-nineteenth century, which included a substantial number of Irish families. These findings on short-distance intra-urban migration also support the insights of Gamm (1999) and McGreevy (1996) regarding the nature and distance of intra-urban moves being occasionally contingent not only upon social class but also upon religious denomination.

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2 The districts into which Gilliland divided Montreal were smaller than wards, being a “collection of street segments, fairly homogeneous in socio-economic characteristics” (Gilliland 1993: 137).
This literature then, reveals tensions between schools of thought whereby ethnic groups, beyond the immigrant generation, either undergo complete residential dispersal or retain a pattern of concentration, either in the original neighbourhood or by resegregation or group-based movement to another part of the city. Commentators such as Burgess and Ward have described this spatial assimilation model, while Zunz predicted that cities would become divided along class and not ethnic lines. The movement of families from inner-city working-class districts to other parts of town may lead one to assert that they have ‘achieved’ upward mobility or have became assimilated into the American mainstream. As Massey (1985: 321) has stated:

In order to improve its position in society and to gain access to richer amenities, or to find a location more in keeping with its stage in the life-cycle, an ethnic household typically moves, an event that promotes spatial assimilation with the native majority.

At the same time, these residential choices were rarely made without due consideration to factors external to the household. As Massey and Mullan (1984: 859) explain: “Social mobility is a group, as well as an individual phenomenon… and residential decisions are often made on group criteria.” To use Chudacoff’s (1972: 157) term, the “place utility” of mobile Irish households was multidimensional, including economic, social, psychological, ethnic, and other components.
The areas into which Irish immigrant families and their descendants moved thus require proper systematic evaluation. Some sense of the class and ethnic surroundings of the new residence or ‘destination area’ is needed, along with a general sense of the district’s and environmental milieu. In summarizing the development of suburban areas within American cities between 1870 and 1900, Warner (1962: 46) notes:

people were separated by income and mixed together with little regard to national origin. Although ethnic concentrations continually appeared, such groupings were strictly temporary and subsidiary clusters subject to the general movement of people by income capability and income identification.

Given that the class and ethnic character of a given street frequently changes from one block to the next, depicting the social characteristics of destination areas requires evaluation at the block level or another small-scale unit. Ward-level depictions are meaningless. A number of urban historians and geographers have recognized these scale issues. Zunz (1980) analyzed different areas of Detroit at the level of block faces, while Ward (1980) looked at ‘environ’ (three families either side of the target household) and the neighbours either side of the target household. Other authors have similarly tried to characterize the socioeconomic characteristics of small areas within cities. Olson (1989) and Harris (1990) have examined ‘street segments’ within their research on Montreal and Toronto respectively. The number of families sampled in all of these cases have fluctuated, which begs the question: how many families is sufficient to capture the essence of a particular family or household’s residential locality?
Ward's (1980) concept of 'environ' was adopted in this study. The social, occupational, and tenure characteristics of the five households surrounding the target households (as opposed to all households in the five surrounding buildings) were collected to assemble a profile of the environs in which all remaining Irish families were living in 1910. As Chapter 4 demonstrated, multiple-family households and buildings were relatively more common in Buffalo residential districts than in Toronto. Therefore, all families in multiple-family houses were included in environs, occasionally increasing the environ size to twelve or thirteen households. In other cases, where the residence was located in a newly-developed area on the edge of the city and relatively distant from other dwellings, data on a small number of families (usually varying between six and eleven) were collected. In Buffalo, the remaining Irish families were traced and their socioeconomic characteristics recorded from the 1910 federal census manuscripts. The corresponding census period for Canada is not yet open to researchers, so Toronto's city assessment rolls were used instead. Both sources provide occupation and tenure data, but are found wanting regarding religion and ethnicity. The American federal census manuscripts provide data on ethnic background through the place of birth of the individual and his or her parents, while Toronto's assessment rolls provide data on religion but not birthplace. The latter also provide assessed building values for each residence, allowing one to evaluate each district not only in terms of social class and homeownership, but also on the average residential building valuation, used here and in chapter four as a surrogate for housing quality.
The incorporation of class and ethnic variables into a classification of the 'character' of an environ was achieved in a fairly straightforward manner. Those Irish families who remained resident in the two cities in 1910 were conceptualized as living in one of three types of class-defined environ, i.e. working-class, mixed-class, or middle-class. Ethnic labels were added to these class-based definitions, resulting in an area being designated as primarily Irish, German, or American, in the case of Buffalo. Given its ethnic structure, such labels do not make sense in Toronto. The population there was overwhelmingly of British (which then included Irish) origin, thus environs were defined in terms of being mainly Catholic or Protestant rather than English, Irish, or Scots.

The first issue is to develop a method of defining these environs along class, ethnic, and religious lines. Occupational classes were grouped to simplify the class designation. Thus, for both cities, owners and managers, the self-employed, the middle-class and those employed in clerical jobs all formed the 'middle class,' while the ranks of the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled were summed to form the 'working class.' Miscellaneous designations such as 'gentlemen,' retirees, widows and others were not considered. Some measure was also required to measure the relative presence or absence of the various ethnic, religious, and class groups within each environ. If the number of families in either the middle- or working-class was at least twice the share of families in the other group, the environ was then characterized as either middle- or working-class, otherwise it was categorized as mixed. Likewise, if over 45% of the families (five out of eleven or greater) in a Buffalo environ were of a given ethnic stock (first- or second-generation Irish or German, or Americans of longer generation) then the environ was also defined in
terms of that ethnic group. An array of environ classifications was thus produced that account for both class and ethnicity in Buffalo. The number of Roman Catholic households in the environ of a target household was enumerated, and if 6 or more out of the 11 households were Roman Catholic, the environ was declared Catholic.

**Toronto: Suburbanization and Dispersal**

Chapter four demonstrated the Irish ethnic group to be broadly dispersed through the city of Toronto in 1881. The slow-down in immigration from Ireland to the Ontario capital over the subsequent thirty years meant that no new immigrant concentrations took root in the city. Of those Irish immigrants who arrived in Toronto in the early twentieth century, it is likely that most were drawn from Protestant denominations in Ulster, though there is at present no way of adequately verifying this. However, Houston and Smyth (1988) have shown that 57% of Irish emigrants to Canada between 1895-1900 came from Ulster, with 6.9% from Munster.\(^3\) Certainly, the Canadian government was aggressively recruiting immigrants to populate prairie lands as well as to service growing industrial centres in Ontario. At the same time, the religious configuration and industrial structure meant that, on balance, the Irish Catholic emigrant was more likely to choose the United States than Canada by the early 1900s. For example, Protestant emigrants from the northern part of the Ulster county of Fermanagh moved to Canada during these years.

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\(^3\) The United States figures for these provinces during the same time period confirm the relative attractiveness of Canada and the United States to these two provinces. Of those who emigrated from Ireland to the United States between 1895 and 1900, 42.4% were Munster-born, and 15.8% Ulster-born.
while their Catholic counterparts in the south of the county moved to the United States (Mogey 1947).

The main division in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Toronto was social class, despite the growth of a Jewish ghetto on the edge of the central business district. Figure 6.1 maps the residential moves made by Irish household heads who were part of working-class households in 1881 who survived at least twenty years in the city, thus representing a graphic portrayal of intra-generational residential mobility. Figure 6.2 maps the same information for those heads who were in middle-class households in 1881. In both cases, Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant families are identified. The western, northwestern, and eastern parts of Toronto south of Bloor Street emerged as favoured destinations for working-class families of both Irish Catholic and Protestant persuasion. The northern edge of the city, as well as the upper-class areas of the northeast around Jarvis and Sherbourne streets, are unsurprisingly empty in Figure 6.1. The corresponding
Figure 6.1: Irish working-class intragenerational mobility, Toronto, 1881-1911

- Intermediate locations
- ▲ No change of residence (Prot.)
- △ No change of residence (Cath.)

Legend:
- Irish Protestant
- Irish Roman Catholic

Map showing migration patterns with markers and arrows indicating movement between different areas of Toronto.
map for Irish families of middle-class background (Figure 6.2) explains why this was the case. Yorkville and The Annex emerged as areas into which the Protestant Irish middle-class moved around the turn of the century. Protestants, with their origins in other parts of Britain joined their brethren of Irish background in the formation of these new Toronto neighbourhoods. Few Irish Catholics resided in these districts of tree-lined streets with mainly detached brick buildings, some of substantial stature.

Suburbanization was prompted by several factors: a growing dislike of industrial encroachment in the inner-city, a desire for a less congested environment than the inner-city, the lure of work, the presence of social and educational institutions, and the response of the local housing market. The fourth chapter presented newspaper reports concerning the tightening of the land and housing markets in early 1880s Toronto, especially in the areas adjacent to the central business district. The Royal Commission appointed to investigate labour and capital relations in Canada, whose testimonies date from 1886 and 1887, add further insights to this issue. The suburbanization of the Toronto working classes, including those of Irish background, in these years was stimulated by rental increases in the central city during the 1880s. There were also instances where “in the central parts (of Toronto)...the poorer classes of houses are being torn down to make room for better ones, and the result is that the workingman has to walk further to his work” (RCCL, 1889: 125).

The activities of Toronto’s real estate market had, by the end of the 1880s, extended the built-up area of the city beyond its municipal limits. The expansion of the Toronto
streetcar lines spurred speculative house-building activity in the outer areas of the city. Charles Pearson, an agent for a prominent real estate firm, commented that in Toronto in 1887: “It is possible for a workingman to get a house at nearly the same rent as ten years ago. But to do that he has to go to the outskirts of the city, and this necessitates the expenditure of (street) car fare” (RCCL, 1889: 254). One carpenter who testified before the commission told of working men “acquiring houses over in Dovercourt Village... houses suitable for workingmen, houses with two or three rooms, little cottages... a great many workingmen obtain their homes through loan societies” (RCCL, 1889: 75). Even where connections with downtown were limited east of the Don River, developers still “leap-frogged over one another to stake out the ‘goose-pastures’ that lay between Riverdale and the small community of East Toronto” (Armstrong and Nelles 1977: 4).

The move of working-class sons and daughters away from the family home was usually of short distance. Such distances usually increased with social class (Pooley 1978). Figure 6.3 compares the residential location of 1881 fathers in working-class households with that of their sons and daughters in 1911. Figure 6.4 maps the same information for middle-class households. The patterns observed in Figures 6.1 and 6.2 are reinforced by these new distributions. The 1911 residences of the offspring of 1881 households shows that they moved further outwards than their fathers, but the pattern of dispersal towards the western and eastern fringes is reinforced. Some working-class families also settled on northern streets such as Davenport Road and Cottingham Street, in the vicinity of the CPR railroad tracks and at the foot of the escarpment. The mainly Protestant middle-
class offspring were setting up new homes in the northern and western parts of town, in the former village of Parkdale (where a great many of them lived in 1881), and in North Toronto.

The sons and daughters of Irish Catholic families settled in environs that were mixed in terms of their religion, thus confirming the dispersed social geography discussed in the fourth chapter. Analysis of the environs reveals the average percentage of Catholic neighbours to have been nineteen percent for the Irish working-class and nine for the Irish middle-class in Toronto in 1911. While no heavy working class Irish district akin to Buffalo’s First Ward ever existed in Toronto, no one sector of the city became established as the predominant destination for the Lace-Curtain Irish either. The term ‘lace-curtain’ Irish has been applied mainly to the context of the Irish in the United States, and refers mainly to the quest for ‘respectability’ among Irish Catholics in that country. The term then, has a religious context. Divisions between the ‘shanty’ and ‘lace-curtain’ Irish in Toronto undoubtedly existed, however. Chapter 4 presented an example from William (formerly Dummer) Street, and in the 1850s and 1860s, the visibility of shanty Irish districts such as Macauleytown and Corktown, fuelled the overt sectarian rivalry that was present in the city during those decades. Owen Cosgrove’s tavern, at the corner of William and Queen Streets, for example, was a favourite target of rowdy Orangemen after their summer parade (Clarke 1993).

Irish Catholics, occupying the upper levels of the working-class and lower levels of the middle-class, lived all over Toronto and though few of their immediate neighbours were
Figure 6.3: Irish working-class intergenerational mobility, Toronto, 1881-1911

Irish Protestant

Irish Roman Catholic

1881 origin of more than one mover
Figure 6.4: Irish middle-class intergenerational mobility, Toronto, 1881-1911

Parent(s) 1881

Parent(s) 1911

Irish Protestant

Irish Roman Catholic

1881 origin of more than one mover
Figure 6.5: Roman Catholic Churches in Toronto and vicinity, 1910

- St. Monica's 1906
- Roman Catholic Church
- St. Cecilia's 1895
- St. Peter's 1896
- St. Rosary 1892
- St. Anthony's 1909
- St. Francis of Assisi 1903
- St. Basil's 1852
- Our Lady of Mt. Carmel 1908
- St. Patrick's 1861
- Our Lady of Lourdes 1886
- St. Michael's Cathedral 1848
- St. Ann's 1909
- St. Joseph's 1878
- St. John's 1909
- Holy Family 1900
- St. Mary's 1852
- St. Paul's 1822
- Sacre Coeur 1887

Miles

0  1  2  3
Catholic, those adherents of the devotional revolution were seldom far from their spiritual centre, the Catholic church (Figure 6.5). As demonstrated in chapter four, residential heterogeneity did not negate community. The Cashman family offers one example of an Irish Catholic working-class family that suburbanized over the period 1881-1911.

Michael Cashman was an Irish Catholic with a middle-class job. He worked as a mail clerk in downtown Toronto in 1881. Cashman rented a frame house on Church Street, north of Wilton Avenue, where he lived with his wife, six children, and a female servant. By 1886, Cashman had secured clerical work with The Globe newspaper on King Street, just east of Yonge Street. The newspaper’s famous anti-Catholic proprietor and Reform politician, George Brown, was no longer at the helm. Earlier in the century, the views of Brown would have provided more of an obstacle to Cashman in gaining employment there. Indeed, with the Irish Catholic politician Timothy Anglin on board as an editorial contributor, “the Globe modified its attitude towards Catholic and Irish questions during this period (of the early 1880s)” (Baker 1978: 239).

Michael Cashman was not long at the Globe before he secured employment at that firm for his two eldest sons, Albert (as a clerk) and Richard (as a printer). All three were to remain at The Globe until the end of the study period (1911), with Michael retiring as chief mail clerk in the early 1900s. His son George later joined his father and two brothers at the firm, working as a line operator. Another son in the Cashman family, David, secured employment as a pressman for the Toronto Lithographing Company at King and Bathurst streets when 20 years of age, but his subsequent history remains unknown.
The Cashman family moved from one rental home on Church Street to another on nearby Gerrard Street by 1886. Albert moved to different locations around the vicinity of Yonge Street in downtown Toronto, as did his two other brothers who worked with him at *The Globe*. By the time they had reached their thirties however, all three had established roots as homeowners in middle-class environs of the city. Although the employment of all three remained downtown at *The Globe*, they all dispersed to new areas. Albert moved east of the Don River to a newly-developing area on Victor Avenue (the average building assessment was $1991 for him and his ten environ neighbours), while Richard moved west to Beatrice Avenue, a residential street with an identical average assessment. Further west, George settled on Howard Park Avenue (average building assessment $2591) where his two neighbours were an accountant and a glasscutter. As one would expect, given the general dispersal of the Toronto Irish, the Cashmans found few fellow Roman Catholics in the immediate environs of their new homes. George lived quite a few blocks from St. Helen's parish church, close to Lansdowne and Dundas Streets (Figure 6.5). Transit downtown was provided by either the Toronto Railway Co. or Toronto Civic Railways (Harris 1996), and they surely needed it. Spiritual provision was also provided (if required) in all three areas to which they relocated, with few localities of Toronto beyond reasonable reach of a Roman Catholic church (Figure 6.5). The story of the Cashman family illustrates occupational stability rather than occupational mobility, but it also illustrates the way in which the expansion of the city and its services gave them the freedom to be geographically mobile, while maintaining their employment
stability. They may have stayed in the same job, but they moved around residentially, until becoming homeowners.

Despite the dispersion of both groups, the most affluent parts of the city were more likely to house Irish Protestants than Irish Catholics. If average building assessment is used as a surrogate for the quality of an environ’s housing stock, then those of Irish Protestant ancestry were living in environs of higher housing quality than Irish Roman Catholics (Table 6.5). This is similar to the housing pattern described in the fourth chapter and is probably best explained by the higher proportion of middle-class Irish Protestants generally. Over half of the Irish Roman Catholic families lived in environs with an average building assessment of $800 or less, compared to 23.2% for Irish Protestants. More than one-third of the latter enjoyed residence in environs with average building values of over $2000; the Catholics were present in such areas just 17% of the time.

These patterns represent a continuity of general class-based stratification within the Toronto Irish, whose Protestants had a larger proportion employed in middle-class occupations than their Roman Catholic counterparts. Relatively affluent Irish families in Toronto lived in brick housing of a detached or semi-detached variety. Homeownership rates tended to be higher in these environs than in those that housed mostly working-class families.
Table 6.5: Average building assessments of environs of households in Toronto Irish sample by religion, 1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average building assessment of environ ($)</th>
<th>Irish Roman Catholic</th>
<th>Irish Protestant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;= 800</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;800 - 1400</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;1400 - 2000</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;2000</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto Irish census sample (Canadian Census manuscripts, 1881), City of Toronto Assessment Rolls.

An existence free of the worries of residential overcrowding or job uncertainty was enjoyed by Henry Reburn, an Irish-born Methodist. Aged 35 and working as a detective, he and his wife and two children lived in their own house, a 2.5 storey roughcast building on Shuter Street near the central business area with other middle-class families. By the 1890s, the family had moved nearby to 4 Pembroke Street, on buying a house assessed at $2400. By that stage, Henry’s two sons, Henry Jr. and Edward, had both secured clerical white-collar work downtown; Henry Jr. in the City Treasury and Edward at the Freehold Savings and Loan Co. Before they were even thirty years of age, both had married and had moved to middle-class areas on the outer edges of the city. Both spent a number of years renting dwelling space, but by the early 1900s, Henry Jr. was ensconced with wife Jemima on Brunswick Avenue in The Annex neighbourhood. Richard Harris (1990: 115) analyzed the character of part of this neighbourhood of Toronto circa 1913, commenting that:
Brunswick Avenue represented homes that fell close to the upper end of the market for speculative housing in Toronto in the early twentieth century. Over half of all families on the street were headed by men who were self employed, or in professional and managerial occupations. Most homes on this street were detached or semi-detached three-storey structures.

Later in the same decade, Edward had bought a house on Dunvegan Road, valued at just under five thousand dollars, with his wife Norma. Their house was located north of St. Clair on the old Baldwin Estate, annexed to the City of Toronto in 1908. Edward had by now acquired clerical work at the Canadian Permanent Mortgage Corporation. Having reached their mid-30s, they were both homeowners with young families living in solid upper middle-class localities of the city with high levels of homeownership and substantial properties. By this time, their father’s impending retirement from the police force may explain his move to The Annex by the time he had turned sixty years of age. Henry Sr. bought a house on Albany Avenue valued at $3400 compared to his namesake son’s $2500 property on nearby Brunswick.

Some of the descendants of middle-class Irish Protestants moved outside city boundaries. Norman Withrow, the manager of Massey Music Hall, the son of J.J. Withrow, a Methodist builder, had grown up in the eastern inner city, but was resident in a distant, but developing, residential suburb in what was the town of North Toronto. He bought a house assessed at $2400 on Sheldrake Boulevard, north of Eglinton Avenue, and in the vicinity of Eglinton Methodist Church. Since most of the adjacent lots had not been built
upon when he moved there, the atmosphere would have been quite rural. The same could
be said of nearby Blythwood Road where John Ussher, an Anglican real estate and stock
dealer and son of the Deputy Provincial Registrar, bought a house worth $7500. Both of
these men worked in downtown Toronto, and a Yonge Street interurban transit route
existed if they needed it.

There was of course a considerable range of experiences within Irish Catholic and Irish
Protestant communities in Toronto, even though in general their occupational
distributions were not identical. The story of a Protestant carpenter illustrates this. In
1880, David Carothers, then a 58-year old Irish-born Methodist, lived with his English-
born wife Caroline (also a Methodist) on Taylor Street in the heart of Cabbagetown. The
street, built only on the south side, was heavily working class – the families of labourers
lived alongside those of skilled tradesmen like Carothers. Since his children were all
born in the Province of Quebec, he and his wife had clearly lived there for at least eight
years if not more, prior to their move to Toronto. Their house on Taylor Street was a
one-storey roughcast structure, owned by Carothers and assessed at $343. By 1881, their
four boys and one girl had all reached their teens. One of them, Samuel, already entered
the wage labour market as a machinist. He later worked in the St. Lawrence Foundry
Co., within walking distance of Cabbagetown on Front Street East. David Carothers had
died by the early 1890s, and Samuel and his young family then occupied the house on
Taylor Street, with his widowed mother moving nearby to Simpson Avenue. By the turn
of the century, the three brothers and their families lived adjacent to each other in 61, 63,
and 65 Taylor Street, while David Jr. also owned number 67. David Jr. had followed in
his father’s footsteps, becoming a carpenter. The other brother, William, worked as a fireman and expressman.

Such kin-based residential propinquity was not to last, however. William moved to Wilton Avenue, while Samuel and David Jr. moved to the emerging eastern neighbourhood of Riverdale on the other side of the River Don. All three had a stake in their local property markets. William owned the house next door to his own where he lived with his wife and their five children. On Gerrard Street East, David owned the five houses to the east of his own and probably built them speculatively as a carpenter. His own house, assessed at $600, housed his wife and five children. Most of his neighbours were skilled tradesmen, and the average building assessment of his immediate environs was $668.

David Carothers’ brother Samuel moved to First Avenue in Riverdale where he became a homeowner in a locality where most other household heads were tradesmen like himself and the average building assessment was $863. It was a neighbourhood of working-class and lower middle-class homeowners. The story of the Carothers family exemplifies several points: firstly, the occupational stability that was associated with being a homeowner; secondly, the role of the small-scale builder in developing new areas of the city; thirdly, the role that kinship may have played in the choice of direction in which to relocate residence; and fourthly, the influence of city growth on decisions about where to live in response to the location of work. Their story, forming part of the history of
Toronto's lower middle-class/skilled working-class sector, is one of property and residential mobility in general.

Mapping the residential mobility patterns for Torontonians of Irish origin then, suggests that the middle classes moved over long distances, as did the working classes, particularly those in the latter group moving towards the northwestern edge of the city. What were the factors that brought families from one end of the city to the other, extending distances from other siblings and their parents? The reasons are multiple and include: desire for less congested living conditions, the lure of work, the proximity of educational and religious institutions to serve the family, dislike of the industrial inner city, or a combination of these and other, minor, factors. While it is not possible to say which factors were most important, a number of these factors can be disaggregated and studied separately, starting with workplace as a factor influencing suburbanization.

The Toronto city directories provide place of work data for most of those occupied in skilled labour. Analysis of the location of place of work and place of residence for a given individual, particularly one who has moved on more than one occasion, can provide clues to the strength of the workplace factor as a determinant in residential choice. Given that intra-urban transit was well developed, albeit costly, within the City of Toronto by 1900, there is little reason to expect that residence within walking distance of one's job was as necessary as it had been at an earlier period (Harris 1996). Buffalo was similarly well served by a local transit system, but place of work is poorly covered by the city directories there in comparison with Toronto.
After analyzing the locations of home and work for employees in early 1900s Toronto, Harris (1996:85) concluded that “In general, workers were quite capable of moving to the suburbs while retaining jobs downtown.” He illustrates this point by showing that the labour force employed at the Kodak factory in downtown Toronto was suburbanizing through the first decade of the century. Mobility patterns of Toronto workers of Irish origin do not alter Harris’s findings. White-collar workers of Irish origin who were employed by investment companies, banks, and city or provincial departments in Toronto’s central business district lived in areas north of Bloor Street such as The Annex. Their skilled and semi-skilled counterparts, working in other downtown industries, faced commutes of similar length or shorter. There is, however, no evidence to state with conviction that the close geographical link between home and work, seen most clearly among the Irish in Buffalo’s waterfront district, was no longer the dominant pattern for the working-class in either city by the early twentieth century. While the transit option existed to an impressive degree in Toronto and Buffalo, it is unknown how many such workers used it on a daily basis.

The geographical dispersal of places of worship for the main religions of Toronto facilitated a dispersed pattern of initial inner-city settlement and later, a similarly dispersed pattern of suburbanization. It is arguable indeed how much of a factor proximity to a house of religious worship played in residential mobility in the city. If it was important for any group, it was important for Roman Catholics. The devotional revolution among Toronto Catholics in the nineteenth century appears to have paid
dividends. Religious adherence in Toronto circa 1901 was sharply divided among Roman Catholics and various Protestant religions. Canadian census data for this year report the numbers of individuals professing belief for each denomination as well as total church membership (Canada 1902). Expressing the number of believers as a percentage of total church membership to provide a rough index of church attendance reveals significant differences between the denominations. Toronto Catholics, which in 1910 were still mainly those of Irish background, at 74% far outstripped the other main Protestant religions in terms of church attendance. The latter were led by Baptists (31.8%) and Methodists (29.2%), with Presbyterians (25.2%) and Anglicans (18.2%) further back.

By the turn of the century, Roman Catholics in Toronto were still overwhelmingly of Irish background – the building of churches followed their settlement patterns (McGowan 1999). Their infrastructure of separate schools continued to grow also. In 1909, of the total of 53,430 pupils in both separate and public schools, 6,474 or 12.1% were enrolled in separate schools. Given that Catholics made up 12% of Toronto’s population in 1911, these figures suggest that few Catholic pupils remained in public schools in Toronto. Continued institutional development was also a component of the residential history of the Buffalo Irish.
The major changes in Buffalo's ethnic structure after 1880 concerned the arrival of what American immigrant historians have termed the ‘New Immigrants’ from southern and eastern Europe (Bodnar 1985). In Buffalo's case, these were the Poles and Italians. Jews were less prevalent in Buffalo than they were in other cities such as New York, Montreal, and Toronto. As in Toronto, the numbers of Irish-born in Buffalo levelled off after the 1890s and entered a period of slow decline; 11,664 Irish-born were present in the city in 1890, but by 1910, this figure had diminished to 9,423. Behind these figures, of course, a dynamic process was in operation whereby Irish immigrants entered and left Buffalo; the important point is that the numbers of Irish-born had not increased to the levels experienced in other cities such as New York, Chicago, Boston or Philadelphia. If the mostly Catholic Irish were to retain a presence within a distinct 'neighbourhood' of Buffalo, it was a task that depended increasingly upon the residential choices of the second- and third-generations.

The new non-Irish settlers, however, did not disturb the established Irish neighbourhood of the First Ward through any process of residential succession, as Chicago School theorists would have expected. In what may have been an attempt to build an ethnic community on the city's edge similar to those that Golab (1977) studied in Philadelphia, the Buffalo Poles settled mainly on the East Side of the city in an area adjacent to the East Side German neighbourhood. The East Side working-class Polish neighbourhood had a large degree of institutional completeness with its churches, stores, newspapers,
and other institutions, consistent with Bodnar's (1985) depiction of a cross-class immigrant neighbourhood. The inhabitants lived in single-family homes of simple structure, similar to their counterparts in Detroit (Zunz 1982). The Italians, meanwhile, according to Shelton (1976: 6) "had crowded indiscriminately into old homes, warehouses, and offices never intended for multifamily dwellings," in the downtown area, as well as parts of the West Side, joining the otherwise cosmopolitan population in both places.

These changes in the ethnic geography of the city did little to dispel the economic and cultural differences that differentiated residences east and west of the Delaware Avenue/Main Street axis. Many of the Irish retained their presence in the shadow of the elevators in the old First Ward, while the established families of Buffalo in the Delaware Avenue neighbourhood continued to shape their upper middle-class district through the enlargement of residences and the northward extension of the neighbourhood towards Delaware Park. It was from this elite neighbourhood that city reformers mobilized in response to the negative impacts that industrialization was having on the city infrastructure. The spread of slums downtown, high municipal taxation, the negative impact of factories on the environment, and municipal corruption prompted their actions. The reformist agenda was shaped around the imposition of middle-class Protestant values of education, thrift, cleanliness, hard work, and temperance. As Shelton (1976: 37) commented "(Buffalo's) leaders reflected neither the buoyancy of Chicago nor the pessimism of disenchanted eastern aristocrats. Buffalo was, in short.
conservative... despite its recent population spurt, Buffalo remained a small town with a	her rather parochial outlook.”

The organization of charitable institutions was one outcome of the reformist impulse in
late nineteenth-century Buffalo. The Charity Organization Society, for example, formed
a Committee on the Sanitary Conditions of the Homes of the Poor. Their inspection of
429 buildings in the fall of 1892 showed that housing condition were negatively
correlated with the length of residence of an ethnic group in the city. In other words, the
groups living under the worst housing conditions were, in descending order, the Native
‘White’ Americans, Germans, Irish, Polish, and Italian. Inhabiting the worst homes in
the city did little to improve the general disdain which longer-settled Buffalonians,
including the Irish and Germans, felt towards the Italians and Poles. Significantly,
however, the Irish were on their way to achieving an intermediate position in the city’s
sociocultural hierarchy.

The geography of residential relocations by many of the Buffalo Irish reinforced the
social divisions between the First Ward and West Side of the city. Figure 6.6 maps intra-
generational residential mobility for all members of the Buffalo Irish families in the sub-
sample with First Ward addresses in 1880 who remained within the city for the thirty-
year period 1880-1910. Figure 6.7 follows a similar procedure for those whose origins
were not in the First Ward. Clearly, while First Ward refugees lived in other parts of
Buffalo during these thirty years, a clear pattern favouring settlement west of Main Street
is evident. While the district southeast of the First Ward towards the town of West
Seneca would eventually develop into an Irish-American settlement, movements in this direction had gathered little momentum before 1910.

Those Irish Buffalonians living outside the First Ward in 1880 generally had a dispersed pattern of residential mobility, but they also favoured the area west of Main Street (Figure 6.7). Since some of these families were also West Side residents in 1880, most chose to stay there; the map clearly shows the absence of any return migration to the First Ward. A move back to the Irish immigrant neighbourhood was not completely out of the question, however. United States Congressman Richard McCarthy related a story of how a relative, who had left the First Ward for the West Side, moved back temporarily in order to be eligible for a municipal court posting as a stenographer, received with the aid of influential First Ward politician, Jack White (Republican). Such stories were the exception rather than the rule.

Spatial assimilation for the second-generation, was only partially a reality for the Buffalo Irish. Intergenerational residential mobility followed a similar east-west pattern in Buffalo. Figure 6.8 maps the residential locations of fathers in 1880 with that of their offspring who had remained citizens of Buffalo by 1910. The distribution of second-generation residences shows a spreading out of families towards the suburban districts of the upper West Side as well as around Main Street, while some chose to remain within the First Ward.
Catholic Irish clannishness then, died hard in Buffalo. Table 6.6 shows that in 1910, more than one in three Irish households in Buffalo were living in environs characterized as Irish. The majority of these were working-class in composition. In terms of Buffalo's social geography, these environs were in the First Ward and on the West Side, although other West Side environs were also mixed- or middle-class. Roger Dooley's imagined Irish neighbourhoods in Days Beyond Recall then, were more than just that. The West Side had clearly emerged as a 'lace-curtain' Irish neighbourhood. The other environs to which the Irish moved were dispersed throughout the northern parts of Buffalo centred on Main Street. Their surroundings were mixed in terms of class, while other residents were a mixture of Americans and second-generation immigrants of generally German, English, and Canadian background. Travelling downtown was relatively easy on the street railway system and by the new asphalt-paved streets (Shelton 1976).
Figure 6.6: Irish intragenerational residential mobility from the First Ward, Buffalo, 1880-1910

- Intermediate locations
- 1880 origin of more than one mover

0 Miles 1
Figure 6.7: Irish intragenerational residential mobility from outside the First Ward, Buffalo, 1880-1910

- Intermediate locations
- 1880 origin of more than one mover

0 Miles 1
Figure 6.8: Irish intergenerational residential mobility
Buffalo, 1880-1910

Lake Erie

- Intermediate locations
- No change of residence
- 1880 origin of more than one mover

0 Miles 1
Table 6.6: Environ characteristics of households in Buffalo Irish sub-sample, 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environ characteristics</th>
<th>No. of households</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle class, American</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class, mixed ethnicity</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class, Irish</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class, German</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed class, American</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed class, mixed ethnicity</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed class, other ethnicity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed class, Irish</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed class, German</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class, American</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class, mixed ethnicity</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class, other ethnicity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class, Irish</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class, German</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total middle-class environs</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total mixed-class environs</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total working-class environs</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Irish ethnic environs</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>42.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. federal manuscripts, Buffalo city directories, Sanborn fire insurance maps for Buffalo 1899-1914 (five volumes).

While these patterns support the notion that the West Side was a popular area of settlement beyond the immigrant generation, it also demonstrates that the Irish First Ward was no temporary ethnic aggregation. In fact, it remained a solidly Irish working-class area of Buffalo for decades. Male and female graduates of schools in South Buffalo in the 1940s and 1950s frequently described the First Ward and South Buffalo with reference to four principal characteristics: Irish, Catholic, Democratic, and blue-collar (Herwood 1997). Figure 6.9, depicting intragenerational mobility for 1880 residents in

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4 South Buffalo refers to both the residential extension of the First Ward southward across Cazenovia Creek. This extension occurred after 1910, but many graduates comment on life in the First Ward.
the First Ward until 1910, suggests a high level of mobility by individuals and households over a relatively small geographical area.

The First Ward's enduring reputation as working-class and Irish was due in no small part to continued in-migration of Irish individuals and families after 1880. These arrivals acted as a balance to the high level of departures that were described in the previous chapter. The 1910 manuscript census provides year of immigration to the United States, a variable that shows that Irish immigrants continued to arrive and settle initially in the First Ward. As Golab (1977: 111) has stated generally of this period: "Once in a city, immigrants did not scatter randomly around the urban landscape. Their ultimate destination was (or became) a particular ethnic neighbourhood." To illustrate this continuity, household data for even-numbered segments of two primarily residential First Ward streets, Kentucky Street and South Street, were gathered and the results are presented in Table 6.7. The numbers are small, but the results are unambiguous. A sense of 'Irishness' that was confined not only to the immigrant but also to the second-generation endured on these two streets. Paradoxically perhaps, the preceding chapter demonstrated the low levels of household persistence on streets such as these. In fact, inspection of family names on the manuscripts for 1880 and 1910 reveals few overlapping surnames. The First Ward, however, continued to act as a point of arrival and first residence for Irish immigrants, accounting for the durability of households of Irish ethnic origin but curiously, the most recent immigrants on these two street segments by 1910 were Hungarian furnace labourers.
Figure 6.9: Irish intragenerational residential mobility within the First Ward, Buffalo, 1880-1910

Table 6.7: Irish households on two Buffalo streets, 1880-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kentucky #60-92 (even only)</th>
<th>South #28-72 (even only)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of households with Irish-born heads</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-1870</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-1870</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of household heads with Irish-born fathers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of families</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. federal census manuscripts.

Personal and kin networks were all-important in creating and perpetuating a chain of migration from specific Irish communities to places such as Buffalo's First Ward.

Anthony McGowan's story in Chapter 5, where his job and housing search was facilitated.
by friendship and kin networks, demonstrated this point. Bodnar (1985) has stressed that rather than being an uprooted, disoriented rabble unable to adjust quickly to life in the New World, immigrants were aware of the capitalist economic system and did not choose their destinations randomly. Information sent back to Ireland by the earlier migrants provided critical information on housing and labour conditions in rural and urban centres of North America. The channeling of Irish emigrants to different parts of rural Canada, forming a chain migration pattern that was maintained through a series of letters and prepaid passages, have been demonstrated by Elliott (1988) and Houston and Smyth (1990). Such kin and friendship connections served as a form of social capital (Massey 1985) that immigrants drew upon in adjusting to life in their new, urban environment. In nineteenth-century New York City, Scherzer (1992: 65) observed that Irish families:

sent adolescent members in the prime of their employable years to scout conditions in the new land (and/or to ease the economic burdens on those who remained behind) before sending new members to follow.

The early years of the Evans family in Buffalo demonstrate this pattern further. Thomas Evans arrived in Buffalo from Castlemaine in the Munster county of Kerry in 1885, and his story (Evans Family Tree, n.d.) exemplifies the saliency of these networks. Lacking any formal education, Thomas acquired work as a grain scooper shortly after arrival in Buffalo. His savings were first directed towards securing passage for his fiancee, Nora Fitzgerald. Five brothers followed Evans to the First Ward and to unskilled work on the docks. Like the county Clare man Anthony McGowan, Evans' path out of unskilled
work on the waterfront was through self-employment as a saloon owner. His brother, Michael, apparently "being the best businessman of the six... became the owner of a tavern 'Evans' Place' at 326 Ohio Street and a number of apartment buildings and houses." Michael Evans, like many other immigrants, knew the importance of the family economy. With no children of his own, he relied on his nieces to work for him in his tavern.

The durability of the First Ward as a gathering place for Irish immigrants and as a viable place of residence for their descendants was dependent on industrial employment on Buffalo's waterfront. Despite the influence of the railroad, grain scooping remained as a secure employment base for newcomers. Receipts of flour, corn, and grain by the port of Buffalo all increased during the period 1886-1901 (Hill 1902). A restructuring of its parochial geography between 1880 and 1910 reinforced the First Ward's Irish label further. Our Lady of Perpetual Help parish (known as 'Pet's' by parishioners) was carved from the original parish of St. Bridget’s. Another parish, 'St. Stephen’s-in-the-Valley' had also been carved from St. Bridget’s in 1875. The founding of 'Pet’s,' whose church was completed in 1900, as told by the Evans family tree manuscript, offers much insight into the role of the church as an anchor of the community:

Father O’Connell was the founder and first pastor of Our Lady of Perpetual Help. The first Masses said under the name of Perpetual Help Parish were said in a wood-frame building on Louisiana Street, near South Street. And old Mrs. Glavin’s Saloon...served as the temporary rectory for Father O’Connell when he first came to
the Ward... The street on which (the church was built), Sandusky Street, was renamed O’Connell Avenue upon the death of the pastor.

Despite the overall blue-collar profile of the First Ward, the snobbery that divided the lace curtain from shanty on a intra-urban scale operated at more local levels also (Dooley 1949: 40-41).

Elk Street divided more than the two parishes. Though the newer parish, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, was now so populous that it needed two assistant priests... the fact that it had absorbed the Beach population had considerably lowered its standing in the eyes of St. Bridget’s parishioners. It might boast many comfortable families, but it also numbered a great many more like... former Beachers, newer from the old country or more menially employed on the docks and in the mills.

Territorial attachments died hard in the First Ward; McCarthy (1966) tells of the lengths to which Irish youths went in the 1930s to ‘police’ the social events in the First Ward in order to prevent young Italian boys from courting their girls. As the mapping of residential mobility for those Irish who remained in Buffalo between 1880 and 1910 shows, however, such small-town parochialism was not to everyone’s taste. The history of Irish settlement in the First Ward bestowed on it a reputation as an ‘Irishtown.’ although other ethnic groups were present there. In terms of its history, the First Ward was almost like a place unto itself in terms of the ethnic and class homogeneity of its population. It had become more than just a place; it was also a state of mind. And for
those who aspired to greater things outside the realm of politics or saloonkeeping, the First Ward was hardly the place to be.

The popular class-based dichotomy between the Lace Curtain Irish and those Working-Class or Shanty Irish was inscribed into Buffalo's social geography. Experiencing one's childhood and years of adolescence in the shadow of the elevators in the First Ward and following this with relocation to the West Side later in life was the path followed by many Buffalonians of Irish background. Marriage, the starting of a family, or the attainments of job stability and/or promotion were usually the catalysts that enabled a family to move to the West Side. Niagara Street was to the West Side what Elk Street was to the First Ward. Few household heads in the midst of the West Side 'lace-curtain' Irish worked as unskilled labourers.

The reasons for leaving the First Ward were many. As a conceptual starting-point, consider Warner's comments on the development of three Boston neighbourhoods in the late nineteenth-century (1976: 98):

Once a small area was filled with houses, factories, and stores, there was no way it could respond to a further rise in income or standards among its resident families – they had to move on to fresh land or new neighborhoods.

Warner's statement however, fails to explain why a working-class Irish identity persisted for generations in the First Ward, even though many of its second-generation families
were moving out. Their selectivity in choosing the West Side for resettlement also requires explanation. Viewed over the time period of 1890-1910, a 'group movement' of Catholic Irish can be said to have occurred from the First Ward and adjacent working-class areas to the West Side of Buffalo. Although extended family ties and other networks based on kinship were pervasive in the First Ward, it is likely that such networks extended to the western side of town as well. As Chapter 4 has shown, there had long been an Irish population established on the West Side, but its presence was overwhelmed by the cosmopolitan character which dominated the district. To move to the West Side had other advantages, however. Industry and its negative externalities on the residential landscape were less in evidence there, particularly where the raising of a young family was concerned. Ubiquitous sights of the First Ward landscape, such as the saloons, boarding houses, railroad freight warehouses, and grain elevators were less familiar elements in the social fabric of the other side of town. Witness the following reflections (Evans Family Tree, n.d.):

At best the Flats (at Republic and Elk Streets) had never been a pretty section, but by the turn of the century – everywhere laced by trestles, viaducts, cindery establishments, and weed-grown vacant lots between factory sites, it had abandoned all struggle against shabbiness. In jaggedly-fenced backyards, ailanthus trees sprouted angular branches over the sprawling extensions of cottages; in front, mercifully obscuring them was Nature's one gift to the First Ward – the lofty poplars, which as in many older parts of Buffalo could turn the meanest cobblestoned streets into avenues of shade. But even the larger houses with their arched windows and scrolled verandas,
revealed every stage of decay toward the blistered black that was the final curse of the railroad and waterfront...

...Always discernable in the Ward was the strong, malty smell from the nearby grain elevators and mills. This pungent scent, floating through countless kitchen windows was as much a part of the First Ward streets as their horse-troughs and their carbon arc lights.

The environment no longer seemed attractive to Rose Shanahan in *Days Beyond Recall* (1949: 33) either:

Rose had long since become aware of the ineradicable malty smell, as she had of so many other aspects of the First Ward. Even the very things she had found exciting as a child, the scream of the fire engines, the nearness of the railroads that brought an endless variety of tramps to the kitchen door, the Saturday night brawls, now seemed good arguments for moving away.

The working environment of the grain scooper made him prone not only to serious injury but also to disease contraction, as the tragic recollections of the Evans Family Tree manuscript suggest. The first of the family to arrive in Buffalo, Thomas, witnessed the death of his wife and two children from tuberculosis. Tuberculosis, or consumption as it was known, was one of the three most deadly diseases in 1900s Buffalo, which were in order: pneumonia (claiming 158 persons per 100,000), diarrhea (133.4), and consumption or tuberculosis (131.7) (United States 1902). Three out of five children from Thomas
Evans' second marriage were also to succumb to tuberculosis at an early age. Although little is known about the geography of mortality in Buffalo at this time, local factors did not help the situation (Evans Family Tree: n.d.):

Tom (Evans)... got a job at the docks as a scooper. He worked long hours for little pay and he did not work under the most favorable conditions. T.B. was widespread among the scoopers; the grain dust also would get into their lungs and cause asthma.

While the First Ward was the area in which the Irish forged themselves into an enduring component of the city's solid working-class and where their political voice was mobilized and most organized, the West Side was the 'zone of emergence' for their integration into the city's respectable American Catholic middle class. As noted in the fourth chapter, Roger Dooley's novel, *Days Beyond Recall*, mentioned the existence of a socially-advanced Irish population whose residences were intermixed with those of other Protestant-American middle-class families on Buffalo's West Side. These Irish apparently voted mainly Republican, the "party of the upwardly mobile," according to Chudacoff (1972: 153), in contrast to the Democratic First Ward, but Irish Democratic politicians were residentially mobile as well. In *Days Beyond Recall*, the son of a First Ward politician, contractor, and saloonkeeper and his wife "now lived, very suitably, in Holy Angels' parish, in the heart of the fashionable west side, as far removed as possible from the First Ward" (Dooley 1949: 10).
Republican Irish politicians were rare in Buffalo, but there were a few. Jack White, the redistributor of many patronage jobs to Irish Buffalonians in exchange for their electoral support, was legendary, but he was a First Warder. In writing of the Irish West Side Republican, Dooley may have been thinking of one local Republican politician of Irish background, Rowland Mahany, the Harvard-educated son of a dockworker and lifelong Episcopalian, whose poetry enthralled audiences at the exclusive Buffalo Club. The other Irish Protestant businessman discussed in Chapter 4, William Glenny, and his sons were doubtless among the admiring crowds occupying these exclusive spaces. There was also John Laughlin, born in Erie County of Irish parentage who was a lawyer and member of the Republican Party. In October 1887, Laughlin was nominated and elected state senator in the Erie senatorial district, and although not a Democrat, was described in one local publication as a "supporter of Irish Home Rule" (Hubbell 1893: 656). Generally however, the lack of a return migration to the mainly Democratic First Ward, coupled with the favouring of a supposedly Republican area west of Main Street by many Irish, corroborates Chudacoff's (1972) findings further west in Omaha for the same time period. There, residential flows went from Democratic to Republican neighbourhoods and from one Republican area to another, but almost never from Republican to Democratic.

The principal form of housing on Buffalo's West Side was the detached two-family wooden house, organized on small lots and ordered in rows on tree-lined streets. Substantial 1.5 storey single-family houses were also present on these streets. The residential environment was an advance over the First Ward and was an ideal locus for
those wishing to upgrade their local milieu and still live within from two to three miles of at Niagara Square in the city centre, a walkable distance to work downtown. The West Side houses were also larger on average than those in the First Ward. Although frame housing dominated both neighbourhoods, more houses of 2.5 storeys in height existed on the West Side than in the First Ward, many of these housing two families. Overall, the West Side had a prestige value that the First Ward did not.

Despite the more homogeneous surroundings that Irish families that moved to the West Side were faced with, there was not necessarily any loss of the sense of community and territory:

The West Side... was a quiet and pleasant place. It was a neighborhood of well-kept frame houses set back from unpaved streets. It was an unhurried community where horses' hoofs rapped loudly as they clapped over wooden planks at the crosswalks. Everyone knew everyone else. People met at church and at market. Warm Sunday afternoons would find them on their awning-shaded front verandas (McCarthy 1966: 70).

Such an atmosphere appealed to working men like Edwin Bunny who emigrated from Ireland in 1859, when he was 24 years old. He raised a family of seven (five other children died) in a house on Fulton Street in the heart of the First Ward, and a block or so distant from St. Bridget's Church (at Fulton and Louisiana). He worked as a painter, and
owned his house by 1880. Two of his sons also worked, one as a labourer, the other as a paper hanger, while a daughter worked in dressmaking.

By 1885 however, the family decided to move to the West Side. We cannot know the precise reasons for the move, but the new family address at 197 Vermont Street was a two-storey, two-family house in a Lace Curtain Irish neighbourhood and was a block distant from that group's spiritual focus, Holy Angels Roman Catholic church (Figure 6.10). Like other houses in the neighbourhood, their floor of the house had a living room, dining room, kitchen, and bath, with at least two bedrooms in the rear. The upper segments of West Side streets such as Seventh, West, Niagara, and Fargo, contained a sprinkling of first- and second-generation Irish households, so that in social terms, Bunny and his family had not relocated to completely new surroundings.

Upon reaching their thirties and after more than a decade in wage labour, two of Edwin Bunny's sons decided to move out of the family home. They did not move very far - northwards but not more than ten blocks each! One of these, John, continued in his father's trade as a house painter, and two of his younger brothers, Daniel and William, followed in his footsteps as well, illustrating a fine example of generational transfer of trades. John had moved again before 1910, further north by ten more blocks, and settled in rented accommodation on Grant Street, near the grounds of the State Hospital. This was a working-class neighbourhood of mostly skilled tradesmen; in ethnic terms, it was composed of third-generation American families with other German families of the first- and second-generation. By 1910, Edwin Bunny had passed away at the family home on
Vermont Street, and his widow Margaret continued living under that roof with her two sons, Daniel and William, who had remained single, aged 32 and 28 respectively.

Other residential areas of either middle- or mixed-class composition grew up around the northeastern corridors of Delaware Avenue and Main Street, and some Irish on the move gravitated towards these areas. Few households that could trace their origins to 'the oulsod' were present in such environs; the neighbours of those that could were likely to be Native 'White' Americans of many generations and other households of German, British, and Canadian origins. Characters who went by the name of "Stretch" Doherty or "Pickles" Burke were few and far between on streets such as that where Joseph Dooley established his family home. Dooley, the son of coachman Patrick, grew up in rented quarters on Whitney Place on Buffalo's West Side. The 1880 census manuscripts reported six children present in Patrick Dooley's household. Three sons were already employed as book-keepers by that time, one of whom was Joseph. By 1910, aged 48, Joseph had become the secretary of the Irish Savings and Loan Association, and his twenty-five years of marriage had produced seven children (with no mortalities). He was now a homeowner; the family residence was located at 1440 Delaware Avenue. His was an impressive two-storey house (with an attic) situated opposite Forest Lawn Cemetery and a short walk from the Olmsted-designed Delaware Park. His neighbours included attorneys and other businessmen, as well as a landscape gardener.

Unlike Toronto, there was no distinctive correlation between homeownership rate and the social class characteristics of the various areas where the new generation of Irish
Figure 6.10: Roman Catholic Churches in Buffalo, 1910

- English-speaking Roman Catholic churches
- Roman Catholic churches serving non-English-speaking ethnic groups

0 Miles 1
Buffalonians settled. In the First Ward, the analyzed environ of St. Stephen’s Place had a high level (9/11 or 81.8% of households) of ownership – the residents there were mostly local railroad workers such as car inspectors and machinists. Whilst most of the other environs analyzed had homeownership levels of less than thirty percent, the number of family heads employed in unskilled work may have had something to do with this, since that group’s low levels of persistence was demonstrated in the preceding chapter. Similar variations in homeownership rates were present in affluent areas as well. Although most of Joseph Dooley’s neighbours on and around Delaware Avenue owned their houses, the nine households sampled on equally-fashionable Linwood Avenue rented their dwellings.

Along with their general class position, the geography of Roman Catholicism in Buffalo, with parishes organized along national lines, was an important mediator of residential movement by the Irish within the city. Stratified by Old World identities, i.e. Irish, French (initially, at least), German, Polish, and later Italian, it was a heterogeneous community that shared a common faith, in contrast to Toronto. Figure 6.10 shows that most Catholic churches in the city were German and Polish (located on the East Side), as well as Italian (downtown), with a small number of Greek, Romanian, and Hungarian congregations. Roman Catholic churches were dispersed over the city and tied to its ethnic geography. The Buffalo city directory, from which data for Figure 6.10 was drawn, also recognized these national divisions, identifying churches as being ‘German,’ ‘Polish’ and so forth. Thus, districts where the Catholic churches were popularly identified as ‘German’ were unlikely to draw a significant residential movement of Irish Catholics over time, save for those Irish who intermarried with Germans, who do not
appear to have been numerically significant. The focus of the West Side Irish people's faith was Holy Angels Church, consecrated in 1851, and located at Porter and West avenues. The flow of second-generation Irish- and German-American Catholics over time, however, resulted in the establishment of two more churches further north on the West Side, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin and Church of the Annunciation (Figure 6.10).

The residential mobility of the Buffalo Irish, as with Toronto, had little adverse effect on the matrix of community-based associations that became a central feature of their lives. The spatial patterns of community associations such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians provide a reliable index of the social geography of Irish Buffalo in 1910. The presence of active lay associations and institutions based on ethnicity and religion suggest that although many among the Buffalo Irish had few Irish neighbours in close proximity, their structural assimilation was by no means complete. Both the Hibernians' county president and county secretary were resident in middle-class areas of Buffalo, far from the First Ward. Ten divisions were present in the city in 1910, with six ladies' auxiliaries, covering the First Ward and West Side mainly, with one on the far East Side. Membership lists are not available, thus impressions of the activity of the organization are limited to the fact that each division and auxiliary held their meetings on either a weekly or bimonthly basis.

The Irish and other Roman Catholic ethnic groups in Buffalo shared another important lay association, the Catholic Mutual Benevolent Association. The association was
established in Niagara Falls, New York, in 1876, and by the turn of the century, 26 subordinate lodges were present all over Buffalo with a total membership of 6,968 (Hill 1902). Lodges were organized on the city’s Roman Catholic parish network, having 36 men’s branches and 41 ladies’ branches in 1910. St. Stephen’s Hall, located in the heart of downtown Buffalo, was an important building in that it integrated several Irish Catholic ethnic associations. The Irish-American Savings and Loan Association had their offices there, and the building was also used by lodges and branches of the Catholic Benevolent Legion, the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, and the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Unlike their Toronto brethren, the Orange Order remained marginal in Buffalo. In 1897, four active lodges were identified in the city, representing approximately 120 members attending on a regular basis; in Toronto, the number of lodges had reached fifty by the turn of the century (Houston and Smyth 1980a, Houston 2000). The 1910 Buffalo directory identifies these lodges as holding their meetings in various parts of the city, indicating the spatial and cultural assimilation that the Irish Protestant experienced in Buffalo. The weakness of the Orange Order in Buffalo may seem somewhat surprising given the large numbers of Canadian-born who resided in Buffalo in the early twentieth century. As Houston and Smyth (1984) have demonstrated, however, the Order in the United States was mainly an Irish immigrant’s institution.

The weakness of Orangeism in Buffalo, combined with the weakness of the nativist American Protestant Association (known informally as the “Ulstermen’s order”)
according to Berthoff 1953: 190) in the city, meant that sectarian tension existed in covert rather than overt form. True, labour competition among the unskilled on Buffalo’s waterfront produced occasional tension between the Irish, Poles, and Italians. But, as the fifth chapter illustrated, the latter groups eventually slotted into the bottom of the cultural division of labour in the city, thereby pushing the Irish up. Irish Catholic identity in Buffalo then, was not sharpened so much by the Orangemen, but more by the other Catholic groups such as the Germans and Italians, their residential patterns, and a shared awareness of their place in the city’s history.

Conclusion

The intra-urban residential mobility patterns and housing market behaviour of the Irish in Toronto and Buffalo between 1880 and 1910 reflected the processes of social change and economic development that were occurring in each city. Although the Irish were not experiencing a dramatic exit from the ranks of the working-class in either city, their representation among the unskilled was clearly declining. That there was little intake of Irish immigrants after the turn of the century contributed to this decline. Toronto and Buffalo then, should be seen in a different light to other major centres of Irish settlement in North America, such as Boston and New York. Unskilled Irishmen and women continued to settle in these cities long after Toronto and Buffalo lost their appeal and had different immigrant newcomers to cope with.
Irish immigrants and their descendants, Catholic and Protestant, who chose to remain in either city availed themselves of opportunities to purchase homes. This was a significant factor facilitating their integration into both places, and was not necessarily dependent on upward occupational mobility. Occupational stability was more important in this regard. While it is unlikely that Buffalo and Toronto differed in terms of the ease with which homes could be purchased, the Toronto Irish, Protestant and Catholic, settled in new housing on the city’s edge to a greater extent than their Buffalo counterparts. For the latter, the West Side of Buffalo met the criteria of prestige that engendered the growth of an Irish ‘lace-curtain’ community within a relatively old housing stock, much of which had been previously owned by Protestant Americans. These residential movements increased the complexity of differentiation within the Irish ethnic group in both cities along lines of occupation, income, education, and generation.

The key variable shaping the social geography of early twentieth-century Toronto was class, but the distribution of social classes was not always predictable with distance from the city centre. In Toronto, many among the Irish working-classes as well as their wealthier counterparts settled in new homes on the outskirts of the city. The northern part of Toronto was populated with wealthy Protestants, some of whom were of Irish background, but few Catholics were present. As with 1881, no significant Irish Catholic residential clusters were present in the city on a scale to rival the streets of Buffalo’s First Ward. The economic organization of Buffalo’s waterfront, combined with networks of Irish chain migration, ensured the longevity of the First Ward as a recognizably Irish neighbourhood where the ethclass of working-class Irish survived.
The residential mobility of the Irish in the two cities had little to do with observable status shifts in occupation. In fact, the ownership of a home was rarely linked to any gains in occupational mobility. For many Irish Roman Catholics in each city, however, the church was at the centre of communities defined by parish boundaries. The Buffalo stories related in this chapter indicate that while certain occupations (saloonkeeper, politician, other self-employed) gained much respect within the Irish community, residence on the city's West Side was viewed with a mixture of respect and envy by the Irish in other areas of the city. The Catholic Irish view of 'making it' then, at least in Buffalo, may have had more to do with where one was living and less to do with one's occupation. Such a mentality accords well with the Irish Catholic sense of territoriality.

A dearth of family manuscripts in Toronto, however, precludes a similar conclusion for that city. The western part of the city may have enjoyed a more favourable view than the east, however, if the following view by Cabbagetowner McAree (1953: 2) was shared by others: "the west end... was held to be populated by upstarts or even dudes. It did not have the history of the east end, especially the North of Ireland traditions which had developed there." What is certain though, is that in Toronto a similar network of Roman Catholic parishes and associations maintained a tightly-knit social community amongst Irish Catholics in the Canadian city, regardless of their residential intermixing with host society Protestants. The latter continued to draw upon the continued strength and vitality of the Orange Order lodges and other social institutions.
CONCLUSION

This is a study that has explored the settlement and adaptation experiences of a single immigrant group in urban North America. The Irish communities within Toronto and Buffalo were regarded as microcosms of those in the two urban societies generally. Given that the numbers of Irish immigrants in urban Canada went into decline in the Post-Famine (1850) period, it was important to find an American city that possessed a broadly similar wave of Irish immigrants. The stories of different generations of Irish in two urban locales of North American society, chronicled in this dissertation, not only illustrate the group’s diverse settlement experiences, but also illuminate key differences between urban Canada and the United States.

There are good reasons to believe that Buffalo and Toronto were representative of urban societies in their respective countries. During the study period 1880-1910, Buffalo was host to most of the major ethnic groups settling in urban America generally, viz. English-
speaking Protestants from Britain and Canada, Germans, Irish, Italians, and Poles, with much smaller populations of Jews and African-Americans, in contrast. In a study such as this one, where analysis interethnic relations was fundamental to the interpretative framework, that more than just some of these major ethnicities was present in Buffalo was important. In any case, Ward (1971) has shown that Buffalo did possess a population size and share of foreign-born close to the averages for the top fifty cities in the United States in both 1870 and 1910. These years also witnessed impressive industrial progress in that American border city, as it did for other major American cities.

Religion and language, as in the United States, divided ethnic groups in urban Canada between 1880 and 1910. There were English-speaking Protestants and Catholics, and Catholics of French, and later Italian, background, and Jews. The relative shares of these groups vary between cities such as Toronto, Montreal, and Halifax. Common to all Canadian cities, however, was a Protestant elite at the administrative helm. Toronto was seen to possess all the above ethnicities, bar French-Canadians, but was chosen so that Irish Protestants, up to now a neglected entity in the historiography, could be incorporated into the analysis. Since the Irish Protestant was a frequent arrival to Canadian shores in the nineteenth century, it was felt that a study of Toronto would take account not only of urban Catholic Irish, but also urban Protestant Irish.

While it is true to say that no two cities are identical, Toronto and Buffalo did resemble each other in terms of population growth and intake of Irish immigrants. Strong in terms of its port city and railroad hub status, as well as an expanding manufacturing sector, the
1880-1910 period witnessed the Golden Age of industrialization in Buffalo. Toronto, although in the shadow of Montreal, was an up-and-coming city, the largest in Ontario, and possessed a more diversified manufacturing and commercial base than Buffalo. Despite their geographical proximity and the porosity of the border, the two cities possessed social atmospheres reflective of the American and Canadian societies. The prevalence of Protestants of British origin in Canada, and especially Ontario, was nowhere more manifest than in Toronto, where a conservative atmosphere prevailed under the torch of empire and monarchy and the Catholic Other was treated with suspicion at worst, and formal but distant acceptance at best. Buffalo’s sociocultural structures were less impervious to the full civic participation of Roman Catholics than Toronto’s. Located on the northern frontier of the American republic, the tenets of sabbatarianism were less characteristic of Buffalo than they were of Toronto.

Exploring the response of the Irish communities in Toronto and Buffalo to intensified industrialization and population growth in the period 1880-1910 was done for two reasons. Firstly, to build on rather than repeat earlier work on the Pre-Famine and Famine immigrants earlier in the nineteenth century, and secondly, to explore the possibility that the Irish within each city would no longer be purely working-class at best, or unskilled labourers at worst. The study also eschewed the temptation to focus exclusively on Irish Catholics. That more Irish Protestants than Catholics settled in Toronto renders the city unique in the context of the long history of Irish migration to North America, and thus worthy of comparison. Furthermore, it also permits another tantalizing forage into exploring just how different New World accommodation was for
Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, thus adding to the perspective of Akenson (1988), whose research findings on the topic are encapsulated in the title of his book *Small Differences*.

Broadly, the research demonstrates that narratives of poverty and residential segregation, alongside simplistic "shanty / lace-curtain" dichotomies do not do justice to the breadth of experiences of Irish immigrants and their descendants in Toronto and Buffalo, even if one focuses only on the Roman Catholics. Buffalo and Toronto may only have been separated by a highly-porous international border and over one hundred miles of road, but the Irish communities in them had quite different stories to tell. Darroch and Ornstein’s (1984) insistence that ethnicity and ethnically-grounded actions be viewed "as social responses to specific exigencies of survival and to differential structures of opportunity" recalls Thomas D’Arcy McGee’s comments in the mid-nineteenth century that how the Irish experienced America depended mainly on the specific circumstances under which they were placed. These are useful conceptual beginnings with which to frame the results.

Protestants stood atop the social hierarchies in both cities. In Toronto, these were mainly of Irish, English, and Scottish background. In Buffalo, they were Americans of longer generation, mostly of New England origin. Their comparatively fewer numbers in Buffalo, however, meant that their capacity to shape the city’s political and social milieus could not hope to match that of the Orange/Tory machine in Toronto. With reference to the Irish Catholic in Britain, E.P. Thompson commented (1968: 480) that: "It would have
been difficult to have made a people who spoke the same language and were British citizens under the Act of Union into a subject minority." Such a hasty view has been aptly deconstructed by recent research on the Irish in Britain (MacRaild 1999). In Toronto, while the Irish, Catholic and Protestant, were present since the early days of the city, the transatlantic categorization of Catholics as 'Other' or 'the enemy within,' meant that during the nineteenth century, the Catholic Irish became an identified minority in a city peopled mostly by other Protestants from Great Britain with a political milieu that was rarely accommodating to Catholic interests. While Irish Catholics in Toronto represented the only significant minority in the city, in Buffalo they could count not only on larger overall numbers, but also the presence of other co-religionists, viz. German Catholics.

The adjustment of the Irish to urban life in Canada and the United States was partly a function of time of arrival. In contrast to their countrymen in Buffalo, the Toronto Irish contained a significant number of Pre-Famine arrivals to North America. Of the main religious denominations in 1880s Toronto that contained an Irish element, the Presbyterians had the highest proportion of Irish-born. While Catholic concentrations existed from the 1850s to the 1870s, by 1880 the Toronto Irish, Catholic and Protestant, were dispersed throughout the city.

The response of Irish immigrants to their environment in Toronto was also influenced by their religion. Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics in the city, residing cheek-by-jowl for the most part, were drawn into community-level structures and institutions which.
alongside marriage patterns, conspired to create a sense of apartness. Cultural and educational formations affirmed Irish Protestant and Catholic particularisms that split the ethnic group. Orange halls, public schools, and Protestant churches and meeting houses were present all over Toronto, arenas wherein complex variations of Protestant British and Canadian identities were produced and reproduced. In their midst stood Roman Catholic institutions: churches, separate schools, and the various locales where devotional, nationalist and other social organizations held their meetings. As a counter to these forces of apartness, however, groceries, saloons and workplaces undoubtedly offered opportunities for social intermixture between the denominations where the common problems of everyday working-class existence could be discussed. Although the public show of sectarianism in Toronto was to wane throughout the late nineteenth century, its occasional upsurge, combined with the persistent presence of Orangeism in the life of the city, kept Irish-Catholic identities sharpened. As Clarke (1993) and McGowan (1999) have recently demonstrated, these identities became less 'Irish' and more 'Catholic' as the new century dawned.

The residential geography of Irish Catholics in Buffalo, in addition to the American political climate, had consequences for the group's electoral power, which contrasted it with Toronto. With a larger proportion of post-Famine immigrants than Toronto in the Lake Erie port city, working-class Irish waterfront neighbourhoods, shaped since the 1840s and 1850s, still housed over fifty percent of Irish households of two generations in 1880. Irish Protestants in Buffalo were numerically insignificant and, having little in the way of an ethnic-based group life of their own, blended in to the American mainstream.
With a less sabbatarian atmosphere and more diverse ethnic structure than Toronto, Buffalo provided the Catholic Irish with a platform upon which their politically-astute leaders would stand and fight for their neighbourhoods and their right to work. Their residential patterns aligned nicely with ward-based electoral structures that ensured that their voice would become and remain powerful in city hall.

Irish political resources in Buffalo then, served the Irish Catholic better there than in Toronto, where the only publicly-visible Irish ‘boss’ was the Archbishop! Coalition politics had not worked well for Irish Catholics in Canada; it had failed to mobilize them into one ethno-political block. D'Arcy McGee's courting of George Brown’s Reform Party in the late 1850s was modelled on Daniel O’Connell’s strategy of Catholic mobilization in Ireland earlier in the century. This alliance broke down, firstly because of McGee’s failure to secure clerical support, and secondly, due to the unwelcoming and pervasive ‘No Popery’ character that both of the main Canadian parties possessed. Irish Catholics in Toronto felt the impact of McGee’s failed project, and it was only in the last part of the century, Cottrell (1988) argues, that they were taken seriously as a political interest group at provincial and federal level. Due in no small part to their electoral successes, Catholic Irish politicians in Buffalo, Democratic and Republican, delivered public sector jobs to their constituents in a way that scarcely differed from Toronto’s Tory-Orange machine. These political machines were important resources for the Irish in both cities, even if in Toronto, the benefits accrued explicitly to only one section of the Irish population. That the Catholic Irish did not possess one in Canada is an important indicator of their integration with the Protestant host population.
Ethnic structures and the provision of education channeled the assimilation process of Irish Catholics in both cities along divergent paths. In Buffalo, the long-term impact of the large German population, both Protestant and Catholic, was to contribute to harmonious relations between Irish and German Catholics and Protestants in the city generally (Taylor 1998). As Gerber (1989: 412) has noted: “the divisive potentials of both class and ethnicity were mitigated by coalition politics (in Buffalo), which brought together diverse and competing groups in ways that contained or channeled conflict.” Crucially, the participation of the Irish in Buffalo’s public school system exposed their children to the forces of acculturation with their host population. In Toronto, it seems that the separate schools managed to absorb most Catholic pupils by the 1880s, while no Catholics taught in the city’s public schools. In addition, while the occasional ‘No Popery’ sentiment, voiced by temperance activists or other politicians in Toronto maintained the Protestant Canadian’s awareness of a popish Other in his or her midst, such voices were muted in Buffalo. Sectarianism in Buffalo, in contrast to Toronto, was a subtle affair; although present in the 1850s, nativist organizations had become marginalized in the city by the late nineteenth- and early twentieth century.

These residential differences and settlement histories of the Toronto and Buffalo Irish were reflected in their performances within each city’s labour market at the start of the 1880s. In Toronto as in Belfast, the Irish Catholics fared worse than their Irish Protestant counterparts. They were more likely to occupy unskilled work and inhabit low-value frame housing than Irish Protestants, and were proportionally under-represented in public
sector employment. But they had a more substantial middle-class, proportionately fewer unskilled, and were less likely to inhabit tenement housing than the mostly Catholic Buffalo Irish, who had a less substantial middle-class than the Toronto Irish. In Buffalo, Irish particularism was embedded not only in residential space but in the city’s labour market, where a cultural division of labour between the Irish, Germans, and Americans, moulded since the 1850s, was still present in 1880. While the employment and housing interests of the Buffalo Irish were the top priority of their public representatives, many of them still had to endure low-wage employment and disease-prone living conditions in the city’s waterfront district of the First Ward.

The organization of work on Buffalo’s waterfront also helped to maintain a sense of ethnic identity for the Buffalo Irish. By providing a ready channel for unskilled labour in grain scooping, saloonkeepers and politicians exerted control over the local labour and political milieus through an ethnically-ascriptive hiring system. Grain scooping, for example, became something of a ‘Hibernian closed shop.’ This lasted until the strike of 1899, suggesting that after fifty years’ settlement in the city, Irish class interests were beginning to transcend, or at least co-exist alongside, ethnic ones.

Beyond these broad 1880 patterns, this dissertation sought to explore mobility trajectories within the two cities and to assess the opportunities and performances of the Irish within them. The openness of each society to the upward mobility and success of immigrants and their descendants is indicated by such investigations. Analysis of Irish social mobility in Toronto and Buffalo was discussed under three broad headings: (1)
geographic; (2) occupational, and (3) intra-urban residential mobility. What Chudacoff (1972: 151) has termed “the pervasiveness of the mobility experience” can be applied to the Irish in Toronto and Buffalo. The residential impermanence of the majority of these households and individuals was their distinguishing characteristic, as indeed it was for non-Irish families and individuals in urban North America at the same period. However, not all groupings of Irish moved out of Toronto with similar frequency. Middle-class homeowners were the most likely to persist within city limits, many of whom moved within the city. The dispersion of the Irish in the Canadian city, Protestant and Catholic, continued a pattern of dispersal that began in the pre-1880 period. New housing on the edge of the city attracted Irish households of both working- and middle-class status. If anything, Irish intra-urban movements in Toronto contributed to the shaping of a class-based geography in the city.

In Buffalo, the mostly Catholic Irish were in a greater state of flux than the Toronto Irish, judging by their low rate of persistence. Given that their First Ward neighbourhood, situated on the edge of the central business district, was what the Chicago social ecologists would have termed a ‘zone in transition’ with its boarding houses and working-class population, such high levels of mobility are unsurprising. The out-migration of Irish from Buffalo was differentiated by age and tenure. Unlike Toronto, however, occupation was not a significant factor. While one may argue that this last aspect may have served to slow the growth of an Irish middle-class of Buffalo, it can also be argued that these frequent departures created opportunities for enterprising Irish-Americans to rise out of the working-class.
Paradoxically, the high level of residential flux in Buffalo did not dampen the high degree of residential conservatism demonstrated by a section of the Irish community in the First Ward, many of whom were of the second-generation. Establishing themselves as long-term members of Buffalo’s Catholic working-class, they maintained the Irish Catholic character of that section of town, even though other non-Irish were present. Such territorial attachment accords well with Gamm’s (1999) arguments of Catholic ‘turf’ mentalities.’ Neither did such transiency weaken the Democratic political machine that was dominated by the Irish and led by William H. Fitzpatrick, the builder of many houses in South Buffalo in the early twentieth century. The First Ward continued to provide jobs, business, and political contacts, and an educational infrastructure that was Irish-centred in terms of students and staff. Today, the Old First Ward forms part of the South Buffalo district, and in the mind’s eye of many Buffalonians, the association between this area and the Irish-Catholic working-class Democrats of the city has not yet been eclipsed.

Generally, those working-class Irish who elected to remain in Toronto and Buffalo experienced only modest levels of advance into white-collar jobs. Upward mobility took place mainly within the working-class, and such occupational advances were more within the reach of Irish sons than their fathers. The son of the general labourer, long the stigmatizing and oft-mocked symbol of the Catholic Irishman abroad, was able to escape from the ranks of the unskilled, forming part of the skilled and semi-skilled working-class of both cities. Significantly, occupational mobility paths did not differ between the two cities; although the Buffalo Irish had a smaller middle-class in 1880, the rate of formation
of a Irish middle-class was similar between the two cities over the period. If anything, the rates of upward mobility were slightly higher in Buffalo than Toronto; downward mobility from the nonmanual sector was also slightly lower in the American city than in the Canadian city. These results do not support notions that urban Irish Catholics in Canada enjoyed more opportunity in Canada than in the United States in terms of occupation alone. Since Irish Protestants were included in the analysis for Toronto, higher rates of upward mobility would be expected there than among the mostly Catholic Buffalo Irish. But this is evidently not the case.

The socioeconomic and political structures of Toronto and Buffalo meant that the occupational niches of the Irish differed according to city and religious denomination. Saloonkeeping and public school teaching were avenues of upward mobility for males and females respectively in Buffalo. While Toronto adopted a hard line against the proliferation of saloons, its public school system, unlike Buffalo’s, was no place for a Catholic teacher. Municipal patronage also worked to the benefit of Irish Protestants in Toronto. Irish Protestants were more numerous as policemen in Toronto than Roman Catholic Irish; in contrast, the latter were well represented on the Buffalo force through a similar utilization of machine politics. In general, public sector employment was facilitated through the invaluable resources of machine politics and bossism in both cities; it benefited Irish Protestants in Toronto and Irish Catholics in Buffalo.

The propensity of the Irish to change the addresses and localities settled by their fathers and grandfathers within cities offers an important insight on their assimilation and
integration into those cities’ socioeconomic structures. Chapter 6 demonstrated that residential mobility acted as an integrating agent for the Irish in both cities. Catholics lived alongside Protestants in all but the wealthiest parts of Toronto in 1910, corroborating the pattern found by McGowan (1999). Wealthy Protestant enclaves were located on the city’s northern and western edges, where some descendants of middle-class Irish Protestants resided. Members of the Irish working-class, Catholic and Protestant, moved into other areas of the city such as the east end of Riverdale and the western area of Parkdale. The institutional matrices of Catholics and Protestants not only survived but were extended and strengthened by these movements also.

In Buffalo, the class and ethnic divisions within the city, shaped since the early nineteenth-century, mediated the residential mobility of many of the mainly Catholic Irish there. For many Irish, the ‘place utility’ of the destination location was shaped by the decision of others to have located west of Main Street, the spine that divided middle-class and working-class Buffalo. The West Side of Buffalo, initially an area inhabited by Protestant Americans of many generations, was the destination of many Irish families who had achieved stability of occupation and ownership of residence. In terms of urban ecological process, they succeeded the Protestant Americans, but only partially. Buffalo’s West Side was less an ethnic neighbourhood than a ‘zone of emergence,’ out of which a third-generation of Irish would later move, leaving it to an expanding Italian immigrant population in the 1920s.
The spatial mobility of the Irish in the two cities had little to do with status shifts in occupation. Those who chose to remain in either city availed themselves of opportunities to purchase homes. Ownership of a home, however, was rarely linked to any gains in occupational mobility. For many Irish Roman Catholics in each city, however, the church and its parish were at the centre of community life. The Irish view of "making it" then, at least in Buffalo, may have had as much to do with where one was living as with one's occupation. Where one was placed, occupation- and residence-wise in Buffalo's social geography was a key indicator of his or her class position within the Irish community, stratified along a "shanty/lace-curtain" continuum. Such a mentality accords well with the Irish Catholic sense of territoriality.

This story of Irish ethnic settlement in Toronto and Buffalo enables further reflection on the effects of industrialization on immigrants, their neighbourhoods, and on the social geography of nineteenth-century cities in general. Firstly, the study shows that the relationship between ethnicity and class as seen in urban space was more complicated than authors such as Zunz (1982) have portrayed it to be. His theory about the effects of industrialization producing a city geographically stratified by class rather than ethnicity seems applicable to Toronto throughout the study period.\(^1\) The presence of some Irish Catholic street blocks were noted in the fourth chapter, but these formed only parts of larger working-class locales characterized by an overall Catholic-Protestant mix.

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\(^1\) As Hiebert (1995) has argued, however, application of Zunz' theory to Toronto in 1931 is far more problematic than 1910.
In contrast to Toronto, industrialization in Buffalo did not wholly result in a re-sifting of the city’s population along class lines as Zunz predicted. On the contrary, sector-based ethnic neighbourhoods were persistent features of the city’s history from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth century. Class divisions were imposed upon these ethnic patterns and produced a complicated social geography. Despite the endurance of South Buffalo’s character as an Irish Catholic working-class neighbourhood into the twentieth century, class antagonisms, pitting Irish scoopers against co-ethnic contractors and saloonkeepers in 1899, revealed other cleavages. While such class-based movements were developing in the First Ward, its residential geography demonstrated that its ethnoreligious character was far from being discarded.

These class-related actions exposed fissures and diverse opinions within these Irish communities then, demonstrating Katzenelson’s (1981) point that ethnic and class affiliations co-existed in such urban neighbourhoods by the twentieth century. The Irish streetcar workers strike of 1886 in Toronto and the grain scoopers’ strike of 1899 in Buffalo, represent important moments of mainly ethclass-based coalition. The political success of the Irish in Buffalo, shaped by a common working-class experience and networks forged within neighbourhoods, echoes also the findings of Marston (1988) for Lowell, Massachusetts, where ethnicity was a powerful mobilizing force for social change. In the end, it is fair to say that ethnicity, class, politics, and religion all intermeshed to structure the experiences of the Irish in the two cities in a variety of ways.
The dissertation also has relevance to late nineteenth-century historiography on the role of the urban immigrant neighbourhood, immigrant social networks, and the immigrant family economy. Neighbourhood leaders occasionally reinforced a sense of territory among their co-ethnic constituents, as noted by Gamm (1999). For example, a central figure in the 1899 strike by Irish grain scoopers and freight handlers on the city’s waterfront, the Catholic Bishop James Quigley, defended the workers’ against the Irish contracting interests, exclaiming in the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser (May 18, 1899) that “I intend to adopt the docks as my parish, and the dockmen as my parishioners.” In addition, Bodnar’s immigrant ‘culture of everyday life’ (1985) is helpful in understanding the immigrants’ institutional loyalties at neighbourhood level. In Toronto, residential intermixture was mitigated by the development of separate institutional matrices that defined the social worlds and interaction geographies of many Irish Protestants and Roman Catholics. Community was not negated by spatial dispersal. In Buffalo, such Irish territories were observable more easily than in the Ontario city.

The thesis also demonstrates the importance of ethnic networks and the family economy on the lives of the Irish immigrants in the two cities. In Buffalo’s First Ward, networks were forged between the local working-class population of labourers and other skilled workers and their ethnic bosses and neighbourhood politicians. These networks were instrumental not only in creating migration streams into the neighbourhood, but also in facilitating social mobility for willing and able Irish males. In addition, the family economy was central to the lives of the Irish working-class in both cities, and especially in Buffalo. In the latter city, total family income was supplemented not only by working
children but also by the rent of single male lodgers (mostly also Irish) who worked on the
docks or in the mills. In this waterfront milieu, where heavy drinking, family desertion,
and high mortality rates were unfortunate features of everyday life, the security of
household income was rarely taken for granted.

The social mobility of the Irish in the two cities between 1880 and 1910 was influenced
by factors other than patronage and education. Industrialization in the two cities
combined with a slow-down in their numbers of Irish arrivals and increased numbers of
immigrants from other countries, to bring about a shift in the occupational profiles of the
Irish. While the unskilled Irish did not disappear in both cities, the in-migration of other
ethnic groups aided their move up the socially-constructed urban labour hierarchies or
‘labour queues,’ especially in Buffalo. Lieberson (1980) noted that the operation of
prejudice creates discriminatory systems in urban labour markets, where both jobs and
ethnicity are inherently hierarchical. The arrival of new immigrants from new source
regions, coupled with the decreasing ratio of Irish immigrants to non-immigrant members
of the Irish ethnic group in both cities, facilitated a reordering of these systems of
prejudice. Although the new ‘foreigners’ had less of a numerical impact in Toronto than
Buffalo, their downtown concentration increased their visibility, and there is also
evidence that migrants from England in the early decades of the twentieth century were
not necessarily welcomed with open arms in Canada (McCormack 1993).

Native-born children and grandchildren of the original Irish immigrants, who were
rapidly dying off, were increasingly dominating the Irish ethnic group in both cities, but
most did not have to worry about competition at the bottom end of these cities' labour markets. In this sense, the story of the Irish in these cities sets them apart from large American cities such as New York, Boston, and Chicago, whose Irish communities were replenished with new immigrants from the 'ould sod' into the twentieth century due to a sustained increase in labour demand. In such cities, the durability of the Irish immigration streams meant that demolition of the image of the unskilled Irish worker took longer to be realized than in Toronto and Buffalo.

By the first decades of the twentieth century, the image of poverty-stricken Irish labourers crowding their families into tenements was not a feature of these two cities. True, many Irish families continued to endure a precarious existence job-wise and struggled to make ends meet, but many more became the owners of property and enjoyed more stable, if still quite modest, standards of living than was enjoyed by their fathers and grandfathers. It was these new generations that experienced structural and spatial assimilation in the two cities in the twentieth century, becoming Americans and Canadians alike. By 1910, the 'minorities' in Buffalo, as identified by their Protestant hosts no longer included the Catholic Irish. The Poles and Italians, their foreign accents protruding across workplaces in the Queen City of the Lakes, now assumed such mantles. Despite the First Ward's enduring Irishness, the comparative spatial isolation of the Buffalo Irish was unravelling, while their spatial dispersal and structural assimilation was proceeding. In Toronto, while Jews and non-Irish Catholics took the place of the Irish as the visible minority group, the institutional separation of Catholics and Protestants meant that while formal acceptance was being engendered, a certain social distance still
prevailed between the two main religions. While the Irish enjoyed more comfortable existences in urban centres of Canada and the United States in the late nineteenth century than they have previously been given credit for, this dissertation has shown that, viewed in an urban setting, the narrative of a long path towards assimilation for the Irish in the United States, in contrast to that which stresses their easier incorporation into a former British colony such as Canada, is in need of careful and critical revision, particularly where Irish Catholics are concerned. For example, useful as Miller's (1985) "exile motif" is for describing the psychological adaptation of Catholic Irish immigrants in nineteenth-century America, any notion that the group may have been 'held back' by their cultural background is in need of some refinement when one views the Irish occupational and residential mobility experiences in these two cities. In addition, and allowing for exceptions such as Timothy Anglin and D'Arcy McGee, the image of the ward-heeling Irish Catholic politician does not travel well from the historiography of the American Irish into that of the Canadian. As the volume of work in Irish diaspora studies increases, so shall a more sophisticated understanding of not only the Irish ethnic group, but also the host societies who received the Irish take shape, and confirm the instability and problematic nature of earlier narratives.
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