Networks, Boundaries and Social Capital: The Historical Geography of Toronto’s Anglo Elites and Italian Entrepreneurs, 1900-1935

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 examines how social inequalities are reinforced over time and in place by addressing a central question: How are power relations maintained and reproduced in space? I outline ways in which social networks contributed to the reproduction of social and economic power in early twentieth-century Toronto. I also pay particular attention to the ways in which particular spaces acted as a nexus for the reproduction of power and unequal social relations. My research captures the dynamism and complexity of social capital networks that stretched across space. These networks demonstrate that Toronto’s Anglo elite and Italian entrepreneurs lived in a world where persons interacted over a number of regions and scales.

This study contributes to the body of knowledge in social capital, network and social boundary research. Although this dissertation is largely concerned with early twentieth-century Toronto class and power relations, the results have implications beyond this case study. This research makes a significant contribution to historical geography by providing scholars interested in contemporary power relations and social networks with an empirically rich historical perspective. This study extends previous
examinations of social inequality by examining how power relations were reproduced over time and through space. I analyze how social capital can be conceptualized as set of processes that is 1) integral to the acquisition of economic capital, 2) significant in constraining the action of others by redrawing the social boundaries of class and ethnicity, and 3) critical for the building of alliances across space. This research offers a complementary method to the inequality studies of David Ward, Joe Darden, Nan Lin, Richard Harris, James Barrett, and David Harvey by historically situating questions about the reproduction of social inequality through the examination of social networks.
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Chapter 1
Introduction

Objectives of Study

Social inequality is reproduced as social groups and individuals conduct their lives. This dissertation examines how social inequalities are reinforced over time and in place by addressing a central question: How are power relations maintained and reproduced in space? I analyze the issues of power, social reproduction, and boundary maintenance to show how intraclass networks operated and evolved over time, and how this contributed to social inequality.

Case studies of early twentieth-century Toronto’s Anglo elite\(^1\) and Italian entrepreneurs allow me to explore some important questions: How was the social geography of power reproduced? How socially bounded were the elite and Italian entrepreneurs? How did institutions facilitate the reproduction of social inequalities? Two major objectives of this study follow from these questions. The first is to outline ways in which social networks contributed to the production and reproduction of social and economic power in early twentieth-century Toronto. Social networks, according to sociologist Bonnie Erickson, “are a major part of how overall social divisions and forms of inequality are reproduced over time.”\(^2\) A close examination of Anglo elite and Italian

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\(^1\) I define *elite* as a status group that exerts an enormous amount of power and influence in their communal milieu. They hold the top positions in their chosen professions. This group legitimated their claim to respectable status. Throughout the dissertation I utilize the term *elite* and *upper class* interchangeably to designate those who exercised hegemony over others within Toronto’s socio-economic makeup. The terms indicate both social and occupational position. Of course, there are members of the elite who are not part of the upper class.

entrepreneur networks allows us to speculate on Toronto’s power relations. Social networks provided individuals with material outcomes enabling them to wield social power (social status) and economic power (profits and wages). The second objective is to assess ways in which particular spaces acted as a nexus for the production and reproduction of power and unequal social relations. These spaces included retail shops, churches, offices, boardrooms, universities, and exclusive clubs. Social boundaries were erected and maintained around these places by social groups throughout their daily lives in order to protect their social, economic and political interests. Therefore, it is important and useful to study the different locales of power and examine how inequality was reproduced within these spaces.

**Research Contribution**

My research examines the social capital of two social groups – Anglo elites and Italian entrepreneurs. I focus on these groups for three reasons. First, my familiarity with the Italian language, culture, and customs provides an excellent opportunity to examine the in-depth relationships of Italian small business owners. Second, there are practical reasons. Centring the analysis solely on Italian entrepreneurs and Anglo elites allows for a detailed examination of the two groups. Although the emphasis on Toronto’s elite and Italian entrepreneurs limits the consideration of other social groups (such as other parts of the middle class and the working class), it is necessary in order to keep the scope of the study reasonable. Third, and more importantly, the vast
disparities between Italian business owners and Anglo elites allow me to explore the ‘friction’ between social classes and social groups. By investigating the activities of these groups one can make generalizations about early twentieth-century power relations, ethnic conflicts, and spatial inequality.

From 1900 to 1935, Toronto was a growing metropolis with competing groups; ethnic relations were altered as large numbers of Southern and Eastern European immigrants changed the face of Toronto. From a mere 8.3% of Toronto's population in 1901, non-Anglos grew to 21.6% by World War Two. These ethnic groups were fragmented by class, status, creed, and gender. Italian immigrants, for example, were heterogeneous: they were homemakers, labourers, skilled tradesmen, professionals, and small business owners. Although Italians were socially, economically and spatially constrained, they also actively utilized their power in different ways, times and places than the Anglo elite. This is not to argue that the power of Italian businessmen and Anglo elites were equal or symmetrical. It is simply to make clear that Italians, while at the bottom of Toronto's socio-ethnic hierarchy, were not powerless – they were actively

1) claiming, creating and recreating urban space with immigrant banks, churches, shops, and other institutions; 2) controlling access to goods and services within their own community; and 3) excluding others from entering their space.

Italian entrepreneurs were embedded in the business world at various geographic scales. Although the ethnic economy of Toronto’s Italian immigrants was

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local in nature, it was also part of a larger North American Italian immigrant economy. For Zucchi, developing an Italian ethnic consciousness was inherent in the very nature of the networks they established.\(^4\) Zucchi focuses on the establishment of an Italian community that operated in a number of spatial scales. He describes the emergence of an Italian identity as immigrants built networks and loyalties with others like themselves. However, social networks are not solely a sign of ethnic solidarity (a la Zucchi); they are also an indication that social inequality was being reproduced at the level of social interaction. One way is to explore the processes behind the social and economic power exercised by Italian small business owners. As I will show, social capital played an important role in generating a discursive and material foundation of ethnicity and class that produced and reproduced inequality through the creation and maintenance of social boundaries among Toronto’s Italian population. Building on the work by Zucchi and Robert F. Harney I will explore the historical contours of Italian networks.\(^5\) Although networks were instrumental in creating migration streams into the neighbourhood and in providing financial, emotional, and social support that eased the process of immigrant adaptation and integration into the host society, the literature has not documented extensively the ways in which ethnic ties have been used to produce and reproduce power and class. What is of interest is how relationships consistently evolved and operated over time and in place to reproduce inequalities.


Toronto’s Anglo elite were for the most part very wealthy. Although they were not homogeneous, the upper class owned and controlled the means of production. By 1935, the city’s economic elite included manufacturers, investment and commercial bankers, insurance and utility company executives, corporate lawyers, railroad magnates, and speculative investors. These same elites were elected to many corporate and philanthropic boardrooms. These assembly rooms were important social, economic and cultural spaces in which flows of important information could occur. They provided Toronto’s elite with spaces for interaction with other prominent figures. As elites occupied and used these spaces (for the acquisition of social, economic and cultural capital), social inequalities and power relations continued to be reproduced on a daily basis by controlling entry. Toronto’s elite tended to control access to information by maintaining a relative monopoly over admission to cultural and social institutions, political societies, and economic associations. Anglo elites exercised power and authority upon others through manipulation and pressure to control space because they saw their own economic, political, religious and cultural interests as part of the city’s interests. They had influence over the actual structure of space as they acquired the social, political and economic power to shape the city.

Because we know very little about power relationships and inequalities operating in Toronto at the turn of the twentieth century, my research pays particular attention to social networks and their role in the reproduction of power relations. Historical research on social networks is typically highly aggregated data with little regard for the micro-scale. For instance, Zucchi does not draw out the complex and dynamic networks
within Toronto’s Italian community.\textsuperscript{6} Although he illustrates the extent to which relationships crossed spatial scales, we do not get a complete understanding about the link between the play of power and the development of social networks. And others, like Robert Putnam, are too often content to list memberships in organizations to outline relationships without fully explaining the complex, dynamic and wide-flung interactions that constitute the relationships.\textsuperscript{7} We cannot assume that face-to-face contact is solely responsible for the establishment of important social relationships. It makes sense to build on previous work if we want to achieve deeper geographical and sociological insights into the practices and processes through which people create and reproduce class and ethnic power relations. An analysis of social capital can provide a better understanding of social inequality. Social capital can be conceptualized as a set of network processes that emphasizes people’s social position within unequal social relationships. By studying social networks, glimpses of the relationship between the individual, the community, and larger structures can be better understood.

My research captures the dynamism and complexity of social networks that stretched across space. These networks demonstrate that Toronto’s Anglo elite and Italian entrepreneurs lived in a world where persons interacted over a number of regions and scales. This research builds upon previous work on Toronto history and enables me to explore the geographies of power, to unveil the ways in which early-twentieth century social networks operated and evolved, and to contribute to the scholarly literature on social reproduction. It extends previous work by historically situating

\textsuperscript{6} Zucchi, \textit{Italians in Toronto}.

questions about the reproduction of social inequalities and by mining a new lode of evidence (personal and business correspondence, bankruptcy files, and marriage and baptismal records). Further, my research will make significant contributions to social geography and urban studies by providing scholars who examine contemporary power relations and social networks with an empirically rich historical perspective. Blending the literature on Toronto with that of social capital, social inequality, power, and social reproduction, my dissertation investigates the social and geographic dynamics of power relations within social groups in early twentieth-century Toronto in order to understand how inequality was reproduced and transmuted.

Methodology and Sources

I chose Toronto for the setting of this study project for three reasons. First, my familiarity with Toronto provides an excellent basis from which to undertake this research. Second, there is a gap in the literature on how Toronto’s elite and immigrant populations reproduced their power relations. Third, Toronto is representative of other North American cities. Because of its social, political, and economic similarities to other North American cities, Toronto has general relevance to geographers, historians and others interested in social inequality. An analysis of the city’s geography of power will build on existing studies that centre on early twentieth-century Toronto’s social, political and economic world. By analyzing the relationships held by specific individuals of the city’s Anglo elite and Italian small business owners, important questions (refer to page one) can be answered regarding the reproduction of inequality in early twentieth-century Toronto. Because Toronto was structurally similar to other North American cities we can generalize on our understanding of class and ethnic power relations.
The Toronto case study examines how social inequalities were reproduced over time and place. Case studies are powerful descriptive and analytical tools. Although they have disadvantages, the emphasis on capturing the in-depth relationships of individuals far outweighs the problems. The case studies of Toronto’s Anglo elite and Italian entrepreneurs provide a wealth of information on the specific dynamics and processes of social networks, yielding detailed knowledge of the two groups. Because of the richness of the material covered, one can focus on specific questions regarding an individual’s differential access to social capital; yet the same broad questions concerning social inequality that scholars like Zucchi, John Bodnar, David Ward, and Olivier Zunz have asked, can also be resolved. The suggestion that persons operated in networks is nothing new; however, identifying networks of Toronto’s Anglo elites and Italian businessmen will show linkages of Toronto’s society that spanned the entire globe.

For my study I chose individuals from the Anglo elite and Italian entrepreneurial population and traced their networks with emphasis on how power and inequality was reproduced. Three elites were analyzed in detail: Sir Edmund Walker (President, Canadian Bank of Commerce), Sir Joseph Flavelle (President, William Davies Company), and Dr. Charles Hastings (Toronto’s Medical Officer of Health) (Figure 1.1, 8


Information on their business, political, and social activities were collected. Letters, financial records, photographs, and journals were analyzed to show their business, cultural, political and philanthropic relationships. By studying these ties, links and connections, I explore how the Anglo elite acquired, manipulated and reproduced power both within and outside Toronto.

These personal sources are used in conjunction with other primary evidence. Among the most important are city directories, the *Toronto Blue Book*, and *The Book of its Board of Trade* (which contains biographical sketches of specific elites). For instance, club membership from 1900 to 1935 was collected from the *Toronto Blue Book* – a social register of elite Torontonian families which provides information on various Toronto clubs and summer residences. Together with secondary literature, these sources allow me to 1) identify the social and business networks of Toronto's elite; 2) trace how these networks were played out across different scales; and 3) to explore how power and social inequalities were reproduced in local clubs, business places, and residential neighbourhoods. Elites had access to important information and built strategic alliances that helped establish local hospitals, charities, and educational institutions, as well as temperance and religious societies. This research provides answers to the following questions: How did elites attain and maintain themselves as a

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10 Important here are the personal records of Sir Edmund Walker (Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, MS COLL 1), Sir Joseph Flavelle (Queen’s University, Fonds 2127), and Dr. Charles Hastings (Ontario Archives, RG 8-5).
Figure 1.1, Sir Edmund Walker, 1925, University of Toronto Archives, Sir Edmund Walker Accession A73 0026 490 (75)
Figure 1.2, Sir Joseph Wesley Flavelle, ca. 1914, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 666
Figure 1.3, Dr. Charles Hastings Photo, In his Office, 1925, City of Toronto Archives, Series 372, Subseries 32, Item 749
distinct entity within the Toronto community? Was there an overlapping elite in which a small number of people participated in a high number of social, political and economic leadership roles within the community? What were the functions of elite clubs in terms of social reproduction? In what ways were certain upper class contacts and experiences connected to one another in the early twentieth century?

The second part of my research involves an intensive examination of Italian entrepreneurs. In order to provide a contrasting view of Toronto society writ large, the reproduction of power and inequality were examined by focusing on Italian social networks. Most archival sources provide evidence about Italians as autonomous entities, as divorced from or outside social interaction. There are few extant documents which provide insights into the range of social and business contacts that Italians created in early twentieth-century Toronto. Therefore, it was necessary to devise a method that effectively illustrates how Italians were linked to one another. The method I constructed was to trace the business networks of four Italian entrepreneurs (Frank Glionna, Giovanni Ciceri, Francesco Tomaiuolo, and Giuseppe Gatto). Information on these four Italians was derived from the bankruptcy files (from 1928 to 1933) held at the Ontario Archives.\textsuperscript{11} Bankruptcy records may well be the best source for getting at a wide range of Italian social networks. The bankruptcy files provide ample evidence for exploring the different scales (local, regional, national and international) in which Italians interacted. Bankruptcy files yield a picture of contacts operating from a host of other businesses and institutions. The case files make it possible to document the spatial

\textsuperscript{11} Important here are the bankruptcy files of Frank Glionna (Ontario Archives RG 22-5822, File No. 690-28), Giovanni Ciceri (Ontario Archives RG 22-5822, File No. 50-28), Francesco Tomaiuolo (Ontario Archives RG 22-5822, File No. 585-31), and Giuseppe Gatto (Ontario Archives RG 22-5822, File No. 503-33).
extent and the business interactions of Italians in the first third of the twentieth century. The analysis reveals two aspects of Toronto’s business world. First, it brings out the type of business relationship (depositor, employee, wholesaler, manufacturer, financial intermediary, and/or service industry) Italian entrepreneurs had with others. Second, it documents how Toronto’s Italian businessmen were embedded in an extensive set of linkages with other enterprises and individuals operating at a variety of spatial scales.

The bankruptcy records provide a wealth of information on the dynamics of social networks, and yields detailed knowledge of Italian entrepreneurs. Bankruptcy files contain a list of creditors and accounts receivable (their social capital) and their street address. Files also have bankruptcy court hearings, statement of affairs, and meeting minutes between the creditors and the debtor, giving the researcher a greater understanding of the debtor’s line of work and business habits. In nearly all cases, the creditor’s name and address were provided, although there were problems with the latter as only the city and not the street address were typically given. The lack of a street address did not present a problem with creditors living outside of Toronto because Toronto is the focus of research. However, it did cause a problem for locating the street address of firms within the metropolitan district. The street address was obtained by linking the creditor listings with sources providing information about the creditors’ addresses – Might’s Directory was chosen because it provided a comprehensive source of information of Toronto addresses from 1928 to 1935.

There are concerns that bankruptcy files do not provide a reliable understanding of the urban ethnic economy. This occurs because of the belief that bankrupt individuals are not representative of the whole population of Italian small business owners. In his study of Chicago’s industrial development, Robert Lewis notes the value
of bankruptcy files for identifying and tracing firm interactions.\footnote{12} He concludes that insolvency was a common phenomenon at the turn of the twentieth century, and that bankruptcy files do provide a reasonably representative sample of firms. Lewis goes on to argue that “the bankruptcy records, while not presenting the gamut of firms at any one time, especially the large firms, do provide a workable cross section of the urban economy.”\footnote{13}

By themselves, however, bankruptcy files cannot yield a broad and systematic picture of Italian networks. Utilizing marriage and baptismal records, in conjunction with the bankruptcy files allows me to trace how social networks were played out spatially, and how power and social inequalities were reproduced in residential neighbourhoods. By linking the bankruptcy files to the marriage and baptismal records, networks were traced for 32 percent (222 out of 684) of the creditors. The marriage and baptismal registries are held at the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto. The registries include the name of each marriage partner, their hometown region, their godparents (for baptisms) and witnesses (for marriages). As one would expect, Italians tended to choose relatives and close friends who lived in the same neighbourhoods, attended the same Catholic Church, and came from the same hometown to be participants in these religious ceremonies. Bankrupt individuals and creditors had their networks traced by utilizing marriage and baptismal records of three particular churches – Our Lady of Mount Carmel (from 1908 to 1935), St. Agnes (from 1915 to 1935), and

\footnote{13} Ibid, p. 290.
St. Mary of the Angels (from 1917 to 1935). These churches stood at the very ‘centre’ of the city’s three Italian neighbourhoods – the Ward, the College-Grace district, and the Dufferin-Davenport area, respectively.

Toronto English newspapers were invaluable for capturing the events shaping the city from 1901 to 1935. By examining newspapers alongside the bankruptcy, marriage and baptismal records, I was able to answer specific questions about Italian community life: How did Italians wield power in their daily lives through their social interactions? Did Italians build social networks that operated at various spatial levels? How did a reliance on social capital affect the spatial distribution of Italian entrepreneurs? What common characteristics did Italian entrepreneurs share? Did they, for example, recognize themselves as a social entity distinct from the larger Italian community?

Limitations of the Study

All scholarly works have shortcomings, and this research study is not without its drawbacks. The weakness of this research is primarily methodological, and the most serious involves the small sample that was collected of male Anglo elites and Italian entrepreneurs. This sample does not necessarily represent accurately the population of upper-class individuals and Italian small business owners. For instance, absent from the sample are the women who were part of the privileged class and the Italian business community. However, this was purposely done as part of the research design

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14 When utilizing the baptismal records for Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St. Agnes, data was collected in five year intervals (1910, 1915, 1920, etc). Data for marriage registers, in contrast, were collected for all years. This was done because the baptismal records were overwhelming and time, of course, was a factor.
is to maintain its focus and scope. As a result, the demographic aspects of this sample may restrict its general relevance. Because the gender makeup of the sample consists of males, this study does not contribute to engendering the literature on immigration and elites. In so doing, women are somewhat neglected in this study. Unfortunately we do not get a sense of women’s strategies, spatial mobility, and/or options. These shortcomings suggest areas of future research.

**Concluding Remarks**

I close this chapter with a summary of the organization of succeeding chapters. The rest of the dissertation is arranged into seven chapters. Chapter Two addresses the historical scholarship that speaks to social inequality. I discuss the existing literature on social inequality in relation to the concepts of power, social boundaries, and social capital. Chapter Three discusses the unequal living conditions of early twentieth-century Toronto and the class and ethnic conflict that was present. This chapter gives the reader a picture of Toronto’s social, class and ethnic structure. In Chapter Four and Five I explore how Anglo elites reproduced class and ethnic power relations through the spaces they occupied and through their access to social capital. Toronto’s elite built economic, social, and political alliances that strengthened and legitimized their power. Chapters Six and Seven involve an analysis of Italian social capital networks. In these two chapters I examine how Italian entrepreneurs reproduced their power within the Italian community. Italian business owners, however, were not privileged persons in Toronto society, even though they exercised power within their community. They had networks that spanned across a number of cities, including Montreal, New York City, Chicago and Montreal. Finally, in Chapter Eight, I summarize the major findings of the
research. This concluding chapter outlines how social networks were organized and operated through specific spaces and times. These networks both performed an exclusionary function and allowed individuals and social groups to have access to pertinent information.

In sum, by examining how social inequalities were reproduced in early twentieth-century Toronto, a dynamic understanding of the city's class and ethnic structure emerges. The following chapters capture the dynamic and complexity of interactive power relationships that existed in Toronto society. As Toronto became increasingly diverse, its Anglo elite and immigrant entrepreneurs exercised power through their social and business relationships. Different social groups channelled and accumulated social capital through different spaces as a form of power. A geography of power emerged and was maintained in a number of social, economic, cultural and political institutions that existed throughout the city.
Chapter 2
Historical Research on Social Inequality

Introduction
Social inequality is a topic that has garnered the attention of many scholars. The study of social inequality has revolved around a number of themes including the differential access to power, the erection of social boundaries, and the unequal acquisition of social capital. This chapter pays particular attention to the scholarly literature regarding social inequality at the turn of the twentieth century. In the first half of this chapter, I focus on how urban historians and historical geographers have explored the reproduction of power relations and social boundaries. Decades of research have accumulated a wealth of information about the inequality between social groups, neighbourhoods and communities in early twentieth-century North American cities. These studies have focused on the autonomy and constraints that affected people’s housing choices, job opportunities, health, and leisure activities. Building on recent theoretical work, in the second half of this chapter, I suggest that the social capital concept provides a process-oriented perspective which increases our understanding of social inequality and the production and reproduction of power. I agree with sociologist John Field that social capital is “both an asset in its own right that is unequally distributed, and as a mechanism that can promote further inequality.”¹⁵

Social Inequality Research on Early Twentieth-Century North American Cities

The analysis of social inequality has been the preoccupation of many social geographers. Much of the scholarly literature centres on how inequalities are created, reproduced, and resisted. These studies document the unequal and differential access to resources across groups defined by class, race, ethnicity, gender, religion and nationality. The vast literature on social inequality focuses on the disparities in the resources (income, power and health) available to groups and individuals. Some scholars, such as geographer Joe Darden concludes that inequality is maintained when powerful “decision-makers establish policies, rules, and regulations in organizations and institutions that systematically produce differential treatment” of the less powerful. These studies focus on the fact that 1) there exists in society relationships that are binding and unequal; 2) the processes that reproduce inequality occur on a daily basis and across generations; and 3) individuals and social groups are often spatially constrained due to their limited social, economic and political power.

The social inequality present in North American cities is a dynamic process. The social inequalities present at work, home, and leisure are largely the result of the existing North American capitalist system. For instance, inequalities arise from the division of labour based on the control or ownership of the means of production. Those


who control the means of production are capable of gaining more status, wealth, and power than others. As such, this is tied to the capitalist system where the differential access to resources and services shape inter-group and intra-group relations, conflict, and tensions.

Social inequality is created across time and space as individuals and groups gain access to resources and services that many others have a difficult time attaining. This unequal distribution is reflected in the social geography of early twentieth-century North American cities. Social inequality was reproduced in the city’s geography as individuals and social groups enacted their daily lives by: 1) erecting social boundaries, and 2) influencing laws and policies to promote their ideas. These, of course, are not mutually exclusive; they are interrelated. Because powerful individuals control the cities’ social, economic and political spheres, they command access to information, opportunities and benefits that help them sustain their social position, status, and power. They reproduced power relations by erecting and maintaining social boundaries to protect themselves from outside groups. As entry to particular institutions, associations, and neighbourhoods was constrained, conformity to one’s group was strengthened. Within these social boundaries, a group’s lifestyle and culture creates a sense of belonging and identity for members. As such, boundaries were a part of everyday life as they were constantly being drawn and re-drawn.

Powerful individuals and social groups promote their ideas by shaping, establishing, and implementing a number of policies, programs, and laws. To maintain and reproduce social inequality, powerful members of society shaped policies in business, politics, philanthropy, and religious organizations to either restrict or limit access to opportunities to outsiders. These policies included immigration guidelines,
free trade strategies, bank-guiding principles, zoning bylaws, land development policies, and criminal justice practices, among others. Powerful individuals devised and coordinated these policies to 1) articulate, rationalize, and legitimize their objectives, power, and social position, and 2) to control and constrain the action of others. As such, economic elites protect their own business and class-wide interests by controlling many “key policy-form institutions,” and restricting the less privileged from participating in important decision-making processes.\textsuperscript{18} The opportunity for social and economic mobility, the command over space, and the control over resources was limited because these policies restricted one’s ability to accumulate various forms of capital.

Urban historians and historical geographers have focused on racial/ethnic, gender, and class antagonism. In these works, themes include labour market segmentation, residential segregation, crime, public health and housing reform. Much of this research focuses on the processes of industrialization, modernization, immigration and urbanization and their influence on North American neighbourhoods, communities and cities. What is important in these works is their focus on the dynamic nature of a city’s socio-economic structure. Illustrative of this is historian James Barrett’s work on racial and class divide in Chicago’s Packingtown between 1894 and 1922. Eschewing absolutes and binaries, Barrett pays particular attention to the fact that all social groups exercised power and agency at difference spaces and times. Although power was not exercised equally by all members of society, everyone had agency and some control over themselves and others. He focuses on the complex

nature of class and ethnic power relations at turn-of-the-twentieth-century Chicago. Barrett focuses on the dynamic relationship between the neighbourhood and the workplace. From this, he tackles three very important themes. First, Barrett pays particular attention to the worker’s experience at a time when mass production methods were being transformed. From 1894 to 1922, Chicago’s packinghouse workers experienced a number of changes in the structure of the economy that affected all social groups in the Packingtown neighbourhood including immigrants, union members, boarders, and children, among others. Mass production processes were introduced by the meat-packing industry to control the lives of the workers both within and outside of the workplace. Barrett argues that the “division of labor had allowed the packers to introduce a large number of unskilled workers, and this clearly undermined the butcher’s power.”

Second, the relationship between race/ethnic relations and power/agency is examined. Barrett treats packinghouse workers as active agents who constantly tried to advance their quality of living. Chicago’s meat-packing workers were organizing, strategizing, and protesting long hours, irregular employment, and harsh working conditions. These workers had their skills diminished through the mechanization of tasks. In the process, workers organized to protect themselves, their families, and communities. Barrett concludes that “most rationalization initiatives originated with workers’ discussing problems at union meetings and formulating resolutions aimed at solving them.” What is significant is not only the role of the employers in reproducing

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20 Ibid, p. 156.
the power structure, but the role of the workers in accepting and/or challenging it. Ultimately, these workers gained increases in real wages and improvements in shop floor conditions.

Third, Barrett discusses group tensions and conflicts, focusing on how management controlled and exploited the rank-and-file workers. He not only examines the interface between the exploitation of the packers and the action of many rank-and-file workers in creating and recreating better lives for themselves, but also explores the divergent conflicts of different working-class groups. Barrett deals with more than the obvious employer-employee relations. Although the class control of workers was a major priority in Barrett’s work, he also explores racial and ethnic tensions. The increasing racial and ethnic diversity among rank-and-file workers in the packinghouses produced and reproduced class antagonism. Management were very much involved at work and in the community trying to divide workers based on their race and ethnicity. According to Barrett, “whatever racial antagonism did exist between whites and blacks was accentuated by a conscious corporate strategy to keep the two groups divided and hostile to each other.”  

The owners of the means of production, however, were not always capable of exercising power easily.

Barrett provides the reader a window to explore the bigger questions of social inequality, power and agency. The subject matter is also popular in historical studies of Toronto. Considerable attention has been given to early twentieth-century Toronto’s industrial growth, and its affect on social reform and immigration history. These

21 Ibid, p. 224.
22 Thomas Adam, “Philanthropic Landmarks: The Toronto Trail from a Comparative Perspective, 1870s to the 1930s,” Urban History Review 30 (2001), pp. 3-21; Paul Adolphus Bator, “The Struggle to Raise the
studies have centred on Toronto’s growth and prosperity, the hardships faced by immigrants, and the rise of nativism and the development of new forms of discrimination and social inequality. Toronto’s working population suffered from poor housing, bad working conditions, and low wages. Workers shared little of the wealth generated by industrial expansion and their incomes were barely sufficient for subsistence living. At this time, new class formations appeared, ethnic diversity grew, specialized districts emerged, and labour and housing markets expanded. The city’s residents, reformers, and newspaper editors outlined many of the problems associated with unplanned urban industrialization, including deteriorating neighbourhoods, crime, overcrowding, disease, and waste disposal problems. This led many of the city’s most affluent residents to move as far away from the city’s factories and poorer residents. From the late nineteenth century, according to Jim Lemon, “the growth of inner-city slums led to the beginning of a large-scale social differentiation as the middle classes developed the


affluent suburban enclaves of Rosedale, Lawrence Park and Forest Hill." The result was a new geography of power where spatial segregation was equated with social separation, and which was tied to the city’s shifting ethnic structure.

Toronto’s social reform movement has been studied at great length. The reform movement reshaped Toronto society as reformers focused their attention on a wide variety of issues that enhanced societal efficiency and provided ‘aesthetic solutions for the problems of the modern city.’ Attempts to reform Toronto have focused on four distinct but interrelated concerns: the restructuring of municipal government, the desire for a planned urban environment, the need to improve housing, and the effort to make the city healthy, moral, and equitable. Reformers felt that it was important “to order and beautify the city, in the belief that positive social consequences accrued from environmental probity.” Concern intensified as planners, city engineers, humanitarians, businesspeople, and health officials became aware of the massive problems faced by their communities. According to historian John Weaver, many of


27 Mackintosh, “Imagination and the Modern City,” p. 2.
these professionals wanted to regulate the city for their self-interest. Because immigration was increasing from Southern and Eastern Europe, these newly arrived immigrants became the object of concern for many reform lobbyists. Reformers believed that immigrant neighbourhoods, like Toronto’s Ward, were pathological slum environments that were a breeding ground for disease that could be spread to other neighbourhoods. They were especially concerned about the rear cottages that housed multiple families. However, these ethnic enclaves were prime sites for the development of social capital. It was within these localities that ethnic businesses, social clubs, churches and other cultural institutions acted as centres of sociability and trust within the Jewish, Italian and other ethnic communities.

Studies on Toronto’s immigrant experience have revolved around a number of important themes, including settlement patterns, identity formation, resource pooling, and social mobility. These studies demonstrate the ethnic antagonism present within the city’s housing and labour markets. These works examine how immigrant communities were tightly knit and centred on the home, ethnic churches, and mutual aid societies. In developing strategies to gain control over their living conditions and their

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family and neighbourhood life, immigrants asserted their presence and their strength as an ethnic group. These immigrants promoted ethnic interests, and historical geographers, like Richard Harris, challenge the notion of newly arrived immigrants as being passive subjects.\textsuperscript{31} According to Harris, the hardships wrought by immigration, urbanization, industrialization, and modernization brought British immigrants together to seek solutions. These immigrants constructed their own homes because they were driven to attain the suburban dream: “the British were very strongly committed to home ownership, to the point of being imprudent.”\textsuperscript{32} They claimed a space and shaped the urban environment with shacks and homes scattered across the suburban landscape. British immigrants fostered strength through an extended social network. By operating within these social networks British immigrants worked together to build homes in Toronto’s suburbs.

What is missing from most of the Toronto work is an extensive examination of social networks at the micro scale. No sense is given to how networks evolved and operated over time. We have little idea about the positive outcomes and negative consequences that flowed from these relationships. It is not only important to recognize how social networks helped accomplish activities; we also need to understand how ties constrained people. The discussions of social networks should not ignore issues of power and conflict in Toronto society. More research needs to focus on the relationship between power and social capital; specifically the production and reproduction of social control. As a result, we need to have a clearer understanding of the basic patterns of power present in early twentieth-century social networks.

\textsuperscript{31} Harris, \textit{Unplanned Suburbs}.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid, p. 133.
I build upon studies of the immigrant experience and pay particular attention to the extent to which Italians wielded power within their business establishments by building relationships with customers, employees, and wholesalers. My focus goes beyond the study of unskilled immigrants; and instead, I explore the processes and mechanisms that enabled Italian entrepreneurs to reshape their neighbourhood landscape. My research offers an understanding of early twenty-century Toronto power relations by exploring how these entrepreneurs (through their social capital) influenced and changed the neighbourhoods they inhabited. These businessmen were not passive pawns, but active agents who constantly reacted to structural disadvantages in order to take an active role in their social and economic pursuits. Their business shaped city streets. They mediated between two worlds: business owners acted as intermediaries between Italian and non-Italian spheres by becoming money lenders, bankers, and steamship agents.

Toronto’s upper class has also been a major focus of investigation. Research on Toronto’s early twentieth-century bourgeoisie focuses mainly on their social, political, and business activities. Many of these works pay particular attention to economic elites and their interlocking directorates, philanthropic endeavours, and leisure time activities. Toronto’s elite occupied, controlled and monopolized powerful positions within the nation’s major corporations ensuring that their policies were carried out. They

had overlapping business ventures and partnerships among themselves, specifically in finance, commerce, transportation and utilities. Toronto’s bourgeoisie also sought to foster art and music. Historian Thomas Adam claims that from the latter part of the nineteenth century Toronto’s elite “started to invest money in cultural and educational institutions to prove themselves as men of education and culture.” These elites shared a common Anglo-Saxon Protestant background, and they lived in common residential areas, attended the same exclusive clubs, and engaged in the same leisure activities. Although the upper class formed a close-knit group, they were not a socially cohesive group. They had different interests and did not always think alike, and thus, they did not always have a common objective.

Although studies on Toronto’s elite provide discussions about upper class relationships, institutions, and activities, researchers present an incomplete picture of networks. An in-depth analysis of how their networks operated and evolved is needed; macro-scale data regarding kinship connections, linked investments, corporate directorates, and philanthropic commonalities is not enough. Of course, elite business interests brought them together in boardrooms, exclusive clubs, wedding receptions, and banquet halls, but we need to understand upper class relationships in greater detail. What is missing is the structure of elite social networks. Therefore, relationships must be examined to trace how they spanned different spatial scales: from the boardroom and the church pew to the search for resources and markets overseas. These ties were complex and dynamic. It is important to understand how Toronto’s upper class exercised power through their web of networks. These networks gave them

34 Adam, “Philanthropic Landmarks,” p. 10.
the opportunity not only to access and mobilize pertinent information toward a given end, but also to be used as a source of social control. By studying their ties, glimpses of the relationship between elites, their community, and larger structures are better understood. I want to build upon the research on Toronto’s elite to achieve deeper insights into the practices and processes through which the upper class created and reproduced class and ethnic power relations. I explore the political, business, social and living spaces occupied by this privileged class in order to gain a better comprehension of the operation of social, economic and cultural capital. It was within these locales that the upper class utilized social and spatial distance as a strategy for reinforcing social and economic inclusion and exclusion.

The Use of ‘Power’ in Social Inequality Research

The concept of ‘power’ is an ever-present and important topic in social inequality research. During the last two decades a growing number of studies have examined early twentieth-century power relations and its connection to the production and reproduction of social inequality. In these studies, a great deal of effort has gone into defining power and to understanding the play of power. As noted earlier, in his examination of early twentieth-century Chicago power relations, Barrett examines the power struggle and negotiations between social groups. He argues that even though

many unskilled packinghouse workers were divided by race and ethnicity, they were still active “agents of social change that makes their experiences historically significant.”

Barrett challenges the common notion of dominant/subordinate relationships, and instead, recognizes the complexities and dynamism of power relations. For Barrett, power is not exercised in binary terms. He identifies power as an asymmetrical phenomenon that is exercised by all individuals and social groups, including immigrants. Therefore, in order to get at the complexities of the spatial dimensions of social inequality, it is important to recognize that power relationships are multidimensional, complex and unstable.

A number of research studies on early-twentieth-century Toronto have centred on the power relations between social groups. These works demonstrate the extent to which the spatial and social isolation of social groups led to growing inequalities and perpetuated existing power structures in Toronto society. These studies focus on a number of social groups, including the economic elite, municipal administrators, immigrants, and social reformers, among others. Many of these groups were in strategic positions of power influencing actions that benefited their interests. These individuals were exercising power in complex ways, and they were constantly legitimating it. We all know that the rich were powerful, but we need to demonstrate the extent to which other groups were also actively making autonomous decisions. Individuals who were not part of the elite also exercised power (although limited)

through their ability to organize, maintain, and promote interests through their own organizations and communities. Of course, different social groups vary in the extent to which they wield power, but all individuals exercise some form of agency in their daily lives. Many works, unfortunately, fail to push their analysis of the complexity of the distribution of power far enough. Because the power exercised by individuals is dependent on their social networks, a study focusing on the empowering features of social capital is important.

For this dissertation, I define power as the potential to control, command or direct the action of others. Power is about domination, authority, and influence. Individuals employ a number of techniques in order to influence the action of others. Individuals do not own or possess power; instead, individuals exercise power by enacting social practices. Because power is always relational, power relationships are never static. My concept of power has three important characteristics: 1) there are unequal relationships of power, 2) power and agency are tied to one another, and 3) power is linked to space.

First, power is unevenly exercised by different social groups and individuals. Power relations consist of asymmetrical interactions in which one party exerts control and authority over another’s behaviours. Powerful individuals and social groups impose their will over others thereby shaping relationships, social positions, and space. All persons have the ability to circulate resources and information, and with the power of exclusion and independence present, they could control the behaviour of others. Those who exert power often monitor, exploit and reproduce society by 1) influencing the

decisions of the less powerful, 2) affecting the outcome of situations, 3) controlling resources that are valued by others, 4) legitimating their social positions, and/or 5) intimidating through threatening means. Powerful individuals maintain their dominant social status and controlling position on a daily basis. These individuals have power over others based on differences in material, cultural and social capital.

During the study period, Toronto’s upper class held important decision-making positions within the country’s salient institutions. Toronto’s bourgeoisie controlled key banks, insurance firms, and manufacturing companies. Sir Joseph Flavelle and Sir Edmund Walker, for example, were presidents of the William Davies Company and the Canadian Bank of Commerce, respectively. They were also part of the University of Toronto’s Royal Commission, which was responsible for the reorganization of the school. Flavelle and Walker not only ensured that their social and economic policies were carried out, but they also provided others with a set of values and norms. Due to their social and economic influence, they had the ability to influence outcomes as they controlled material and non-material resources. In 1911 they utilized their power to gain enough support throughout the country in assisting John Borden’s Conservatives to defeat Sir Wilfrid Laurier’s Liberal Party. Flavelle and Walker donated much of their time, energy and funds to the Conservative cause in order to banish any chance of free trade with the United States.

Second, power is intricately tied to agency. I conceive of power as operating from human agency because it is people, and not institutions, who exercise power. For
Michel Foucault, “individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application.”

Because people have access to social resources they are “capable of exerting some degree of control over the social relations in which one is enmeshed, which in turn implies the ability to transform those social relations to some degree.”

Individuals are not passive; they actively manoeuvre, manipulate, resist, and reproduce dominant ideologies and social structures. People are not only active agents in mobilizing resources; they are constantly questioning and challenging the status quo. These persons are acting in innovative ways. These individuals are “agents of social control and cultural production.”

Therefore, “agency entails an ability to coordinate one’s actions with others and against others, to form collective projects, to persuade, to coerce, and to monitor the simultaneous effects of one’s own and others’ activities.”

Social groups actively accomplish objectives and reproduced/transformed social systems. People compete to achieve social and economic power; women, immigrants, labourers, and business and political leaders all occupied several power positions that took shape in a variety of spaces and times. For instance, an Italian male entrepreneur was in a relative position of power at home and at his shop; however, his position was relatively weakened outside of these spheres. Italian male entrepreneurs exercised their power in the home and shops over their children and wives, and over their

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41 Ibid, p. 5.

employees and customers, respectively. In the early decades of the twentieth century, Giovanni Ciceri, Giuseppe Gatto, Frank Glionna and Francesco Tomaiuolo actively produced and reproduced power relations at home and at their place of business by controlling goods and services, job opportunities, wages, loans, and mortgages. They countered the constraints and disadvantages they faced in the labour market by creating their own businesses. In developing strategies to gain control over their living conditions and their family and neighbourhood life, they asserted their presence and their strength as a class and ethnic group. They helped build an ethnic economy that addressed the needs and demands of both a co-ethnic labour force and market. Even though Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo had agency, their agency operated in the context of Toronto’s social structure. In other words, there were limits to their autonomy.

Third, there is an all-important link between power and space. Because space is shaped by power, its use reflects structures of power within society. Steve Pile concludes that “in one sense, power is the power to have control over space, to occupy it and guarantee that hegemonic ideas about that space coincide with those which maintain power’s authority – and this can best be seen in the coincidence of the nation and national identity. In another sense, power can be mobilized through the reterritorialization – resymbolization – of space, and this can be as oppressive as it can be subversive.”

Therefore, space is a source for the exercise of power. Those who

have the power to access and exclude others from space are dominant and exercise social control.

At the turn of the twentieth century Sir Edmund Walker and Sir Joseph Flavelle had an active role in defining the city’s geography. Through their constant negotiations and alliances, they manipulated, defined, and shaped the urban landscape. Walker and Flavelle erected hospitals, art galleries, and museums, helped build roads, and supported churches. They indirectly influenced who entered a certain space and who had the liberty of movement in that space. They exerted social distance as a strategy of power. It is obvious that there was a geography of power present. The power relations of society were inscribed in the social and political landscape of the city. Toronto’s Anglo elites created and occupied this landscape to access social, economic and cultural capital. The upper class had substantial influence over the actual structure of space, as they had the social, economic and political power to shape the city’s physical structure.

Giovanni Ciceri, Giuseppe Gatto, Frank Glionna and Francesco Tomaiuolo also shaped the urban environment by establishing their own businesses. They reterritorialized their neighbourhood landscape in order to facilitate their needs. Immigrant neighbourhoods were spaces for political development, economic advancement, social empowerment, cultural preservation, and for bolstering ethnicity, power, and resistance. Not only did ethnic shops, restaurants, churches, parochial schools, mutual aid societies, and banks emerge within immigrant neighbourhoods; these same streets were also spaces where agendas were set and immigrant voices were heard and expressed. Within these locales immigrants created their own arenas of action and asserted their presence in Toronto society.
The Use of ‘Boundaries’ in Social Inequality Research

The concept of social boundary has also been central to the study of the structure and reproduction of social inequality. The scale of boundaries differs from study to study, with research primarily focusing on the household, neighbourhoods, cities, regions and nations. By examining social boundaries, one can capture the unequal and dynamic dimensions between social groups within space. The interest in social boundaries as a mechanism for understanding social inequality has been studied for many decades. Social boundaries have been at the centre of many scholarly works in geography, sociology, political science and anthropology. Interest in social boundaries increased after Fredrik Barth’s seminal work, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Scholarly interest on social boundaries has since grown, centring on the exclusionary effects of high culture, the implementation of restrictive covenants, workplace segmentation, and the role of democracy influencing inclusion and exclusion of national borders.

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Social boundaries are fluid, rarely static, and change depending on the political and economic climate of society. Broadly speaking, social boundaries are barriers that are strategically erected, modified and maintained by social groups and individuals in order to reinforce, increase, and challenge power relations. According to sociologist Peter G. Mewett, they “are constructed as part of the shared meanings of everyday behaviour and within the context of the social relationships of everyday life.”

Social groups construct boundaries at different times and places in order to define themselves against others. These barriers divide and segregate groups within social spaces. They are not constructed solely to control and constrain the activities of others, but they also unite groups spatially and symbolically. According to Michele Lamont and Virag Molnar, boundaries “are conditions not only for separation and exclusion, but also for communication, exchange, bridging, and inclusion.”

The barriers of separation are not always physical lines of division; they can also be abstract. This separation indirectly shapes inequality by creating distance towards those who do not share similar orientations. According to Herbert Gans, social boundaries “exist to protect inequalities and to make sure that the less than equal cannot enter or can do so only by paying proper deference.”

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47 Tilly, Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties, p. 133.
49 Lamont et al., “Cultural and Moral Boundaries.”
In my research, I explore how Toronto’s Anglo elite and Italian entrepreneurs erected both symbolic and/or material boundaries to separate themselves from others. Symbolic boundaries are abstract barriers constructed and maintained by groups on a daily basis. These boundaries are mental constructs of cultural differences that “contribute to the articulation of salient divisions among social groups.” For instance, symbolic boundaries can be constructed through language, nationality, and religion. Lamont and Molnar define symbolic boundaries as “conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space.” According to sociologist Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, symbolic boundaries are “infused in the culture, integrated in the social structure, and institutionalized in the patterns and practices of our lives.” Immigrants erected symbolic boundaries to protect their ethnic national identity as well as their interests. In his examination of Jewish identity, Leo Driedger suggests that minorities in Canada “maintain ethnic enclaves by means of residential segregation, institutional completeness, cultural identity, and social distance.” This generated feelings of similarity with co-ethnics, and therefore, strengthened conformity and enhanced trust within the group. Toronto’s Italian immigrants also established their own associations and institutions, including the Italian National Club, the Circolo Colombo, the Umberto Primo, the Vittorio Emanuele III, and

the Circolo Operai dell’Ontario. They built a number of relationships when they attended these clubs. Their networks performed an exclusionary function and allowed Italians to acquire economic and cultural capital.

Material boundaries, in contrast, are physical structures that are easily visible, such as borders, walls and fences. These boundaries are actively defended both in public and private space. Material boundaries separate ‘insiders’ from ‘outsiders’ signifying those who have access to specific locales. The establishment of these boundaries turn “spatial control into social domination.” These physical boundaries were used by Toronto’s Anglo elite and Italian entrepreneurs as a social control mechanism which excluded groups from certain spaces in order to secure access to knowledge, information and resources. Italian businessmen, for example, strengthened their social and economic power by erecting social boundaries within their retail shops during hours of operation. Individual agency, which frequently coalesced around Italian identity, played a significant role in the creation of new boundaries. Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo employed this strategy to gain control over their living conditions, and in the process, produced and reproduced social inequalities, emphasized social control, and reinforced values and ideas. They established a set of rules, norms and values which governed who could be excluded from their shops. They separated themselves from outsiders, including employees, customers, and wholesalers.

Toronto’s Anglo elite, in turn, restricted entry to privileged residential neighbourhoods, summer resorts, exclusive clubs, private schools and universities, corporate and philanthropic boardrooms, and invitation-only banquets. As they gathered around these places, members of the upper class recognized themselves as distinct from the rest of society. They maintained social and physical distance between themselves and the rest of the population. During his illustrious career as Toronto’s Medical Officer of Health, for example, Dr. Charles Hastings was invited to a number of receptions with distinguished guests. On one such occasion Hastings was honoured by the Toronto Local Council of Women on April 1926 for “his contribution to the advancement of public health and preventive medicine.”

This luncheon was held in the Crystal Ballroom at the King Edward Hotel. The 300 guests who attended were influential citizens from Toronto and outside of the city, including medical doctors, distinguished businessmen, university faculty members, and politicians. As they gathered together for a common cause, they created and reinforced group membership. As such, this provided the upper class with a forum where face-to-face contacts built resourceful relationships.

In sum, social boundaries were erected and maintained on a daily basis. These boundaries were regularly contested, challenged and resisted. Although there were barriers to entry, many spaces (including residential neighbourhoods) were never entirely occupied by a single social group. There were always ‘grey areas,’ and no enclave was ever completely homogenous. Even though this was the case, social

58 Ibid.
groups tended to build relationships with others like themselves. The following pages demonstrate the important link between social inequality, social boundaries and social capital.

**Linking Social Inequality to Social Capital**

Social capital is a useful conceptual tool for understanding the mechanisms and practices that reinforce social inequality at turn-of-the-century Toronto. I define social capital as *the resources embedded in social networks*. This concept is a valuable tool for addressing how resources are distributed across social groups. For instance, Lin argues that “social capital is rooted in social networks and social relations and is conceived as resources embedded in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions.”\(^5^9\) Social capital emerges as a direct product of embeddedness. Social capital is not held by individuals, but rather inheres in relationships between two or more persons.\(^6^0\) It directs attention to a person’s relationships, and it is through these ties that the differential access to power, information, and resources is reproduced. This is an important aspect of social differentiation. Bourdieu’s work on social capital provides an excellent basis to which one can explain the reproduction of inequality. Because social capital provides an understanding of an individual's place in the social structure, I can examine how intraclass networks operated and evolved. I do not claim that social capital alone can explain social inequality; however, we should not ignore its significance. According to


\(^{60}\) Coleman, “Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital.”
John Field, “social capital can promote inequality in large part because access to different types of networks is very unequally distributed. Everyone can use their connections as a way of advancing their interests, but some people’s connections are more valuable than others.”

I argue that it is important to view social capital as a network process when examining the lives of social groups and individuals. Social capital is a useful tool that refers to the resource potential of social networks. I want to explore and capture the dynamics and complexity of power relations in Toronto during the early decades of the twentieth century. We need to know more about the patterns and processes associated with the spatial dimensions of inequality in Toronto. It is important to understand the nature of the relationships among different social groups, such as the Anglo elites and Italian entrepreneurs, in order to probe the contours of the city’s power relations. Despite the existence of a few case studies, the literature on early twentieth-century Toronto fails to thoroughly explore the operation of networks in facilitating or constraining social and economic opportunities. Because Toronto’s elite and Italians were bound by ties, researchers need to examine how networks were used both as an inclusionary and exclusionary function. We need to examine how individuals and social groups (no matter their position in the social hierarchy) drive networks in order to exchange resources and influence actions.

The unequal distribution of resources is a feature of society. Through the development of social capital, social groups and individuals can actively acquire other forms of capital. From this standpoint, we can envision accessing social capital as a

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61 Field, Social Capital, p. 74.
way to empower, that is, to acquire cultural and economic capital. The task of the rest of this chapter is to consider what a social capital theoretical lens brings to considerations of inequality. Vicky Cattell and Mel Evans argue that “social capital can be viewed as a useful analytical tool in beginning to understand the contribution of social networks to issues such as poverty and inequality.”

Social capital can help explain social inequality by demonstrating how barriers to social relationships limits access to material and non-material resources through social exclusion.

Over the last two decades, interest in social capital has grown dramatically in a number of social science disciplines, including sociology, economics, anthropology and political science. The concept has become very popular, and scholars have focused on the acquisition of social capital and its relationship to health inequalities, economic development and income attainment. The concept has been studied at several levels, including that of the individual, social group, neighbourhood, community, region and nation. According to economists Partha Dasgupta and Ismail Serageldin social capital is so popular that “it is difficult to think of an academic notion that has entered the common vocabulary of social discourse more quickly than the idea of social capital.”

Despite the recent popularity of social capital there is a continuing conceptual vagueness. Many scholars have noted this uncertainty when discussing social capital as a methodological tool. For instance, Martin Lindstrom and his colleagues see social capital as “multifaceted and at present ill-defined concept with a number of competing


definitions.” Similarly, economist Steven Durlauf points out the “continuing ambiguity in what is meant by the term.”

With the publication of James Coleman’s article, “Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital” and Robert Putnam’s *Making Democracy Work*, social capital has been equated with trust and trustworthiness. In contrast, Pierre Bourdieu regards it as a form of social networks. For Putnam social capital is associated with norms and associations; for Coleman and Bourdieu social capital is related to embeddedness within and constitutive of social structures.

Bourdieu notes that:

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them.

Bourdieu pays particular attention to the ways in which social groups are reproduced through their social capital networks. Because social capital represents a network process whereby individuals and social groups maintain and reproduce inequalities, I want to build on Bourdieu’s work by emphasizing social capital as a mechanism of

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67 Ibid.
power within the context of early twentieth-century Toronto. It is Bourdieu’s conceptualization of the role played by social capital in reproducing or transforming power relations and social inequalities that forms the basis of my research. Bourdieu states the following:

…the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, i.e., at transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighbourhood, the workplace, or even kinship, into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.) or institutionally guaranteed (rights).\(^6^9\)

As John Harriss argues, social capital for Bourdieu is related to other forms of capital (economic and cultural capital) “that enter significantly into the formation and reproduction of class.”\(^7^0\) Like Bourdieu, I argue that social, economic and cultural capital are all resources that together give rise to and reproduce social inequality and power relations. Bourdieu pays particular attention to how these various forms of capital act together to reproduce social inequality. As geographer Katharine Rankin points out, Bourdieu calls attention to the differential access to resources and the social reproduction of class.\(^7^1\) In other words, Bourdieu sees social capital as a heuristic device for exploring the processes and practices that are related to maintaining social and class divisions. As Harriss notes, “in this view social capital is certainly not an

\(^6^9\) Ibid, pp. 249-50.


attribute of ‘society’ as a whole, but it is an aspect of the differentiation of classes."^{72}

Through the analysis of social capital, social inequality, and social boundaries, it is possible to gain insights about the production and reproduction of group solidarity and social position.

In this dissertation I pay particular attention to three critical elements of social capital. First, social capital inheres in the relationships between individuals. In other words, social networks are a central aspect in social capital. Social networks refer to the ties and relationships that link individuals and social groups. Social networks are not static, and “they have the potential to be powerful agents for change as well as for the reinforcement of existing patterns of social cohesion.”^{73} A substantial literature has emerged exploring the function of social networks in sharing information and knowledge. Mark Granovetter, Ronald Burt, and Barry Wellman, among others, have enriched our understanding of social networks, specifically the social advantages of having networks outside of one’s closed circle of family and close friends. For instance, Granovetter points out that people are embedded in relationships between groups/individuals.^{74} Granovetter makes the distinction between strong and weak ties: the former being family networks, and the latter being friendship networks. He argued that the strength of weak ties gave individuals the opportunity to gain information on employment opportunities. Burt, building on Granovetter’s work, introduces the concept of structural holes, arguing that people benefit from their social relationships by

^{72} John Harriss, Depoliticizing Development, p. 5.


acquiring resources.\textsuperscript{75} Wellman, on the other hand, has focused on the importance of network for community members who rely on social support and self-esteem.\textsuperscript{76}

I build upon the work of Bourdieu, Coleman, Bonnie Erickson, Alejandro Portes and Nan Lin. When social capital is conceptualized as a set of network processes for the study of social inequality and the reproduction of power relations the concept becomes a useful tool. According to sociologists Carl L. Bankston and Min Zhou, social capital consists “of processes of social interaction.”\textsuperscript{77} In other words, a process-oriented concept leads to a better understanding of inequality because the focus is on the ways in which individuals develop social capital as an inclusionary and exclusionary function. Social capital is not about the number of contacts; instead, it is about the network practices involved in promoting further inequality. People actively invest in their social relationships. They secured resources by virtue of their embeddedness in networks. Social capital, therefore, is about the resources embedded in social networks that can be mobilized towards a given end. It is the value of these resources that are available as a result of their relationships that are important to the study of social capital. One’s position in a social network is crucial in yielding an array of resources. By identifying and tracing the dynamics and processes of social networks, important insights into their ability to access resources is possible.


Second, social capital plays a major role in how overall social divisions and forms of inequality are reproduced over time. I argued earlier that the acquisition of social capital provides the opportunity for information to be transmitted, thus increasing the chances for upward mobility and opportunities for advancement. Social capital, however, is not only about the positive things that come out of networks; there are also negative attributes. In other words, social capital can constrain action by benefiting some at the expense of others. The access to pertinent information can restrict “individual freedoms and bars outsiders from gaining access to the same resources through particularistic preferences.” Social capital, in short, operates to exclude certain individuals and groups from obtaining information and gaining opportunities, allowing social groups to maintain and reproduce group solidarity.

Social capital is not a homogeneous resource equally available to all. It is clear that not all individuals or social groups uniformly acquire social capital. Lin points out that “social groups (gender, race) have different access to social capital because of their advantaged or disadvantaged structural positions and social networks.” Social groups and individuals are located in different positions within unequal social networks. For example, newly arrived immigrants have problems attaining social capital that could be

81 Ibid.
82 Lin, Social Capital, p. 122.
used to exercise power outside their groups; elites, on the other hand, have an easier time influencing those within and outside of their group, and constraining and restricting the social mobility of non-members. This occurs due to their positioning in relation to others as persons are embedded in social networks in varying degrees.\textsuperscript{83} Differentials in ability to access social capital are likely to reinforce existing social, political, and economic inequality. In short, “social capital is unevenly distributed and (dis)advantageously used by some at the expense of others.”\textsuperscript{84} Social groups, for instance, build their social capital to acquire benefits, while others lose that possibility. Connections that bring benefits to members of one group typically discriminate against others, sometimes unintentionally. When this is done, individual opportunities become constrained.

Third, social capital is both strongly conditioned by space, and is rooted in specific spaces/places. Space is an important part of social capital. This is a point rarely understood by many social capital researchers. Although social capital is simultaneously an economic, sociological and political concept, it is also a geographical one.\textsuperscript{85} Social capital helps us understand the spatial dimensions of inequality. I argue that social capital can be effective as a methodological tool for opening up new lines of inquiry into the mechanisms which maintain and transform the spaces of social and class divisions. According to geographers Giles Mohan and John Mohan, “it is a truism of contemporary geographical thought that place makes a difference to the outcome of

\begin{flushleft}
\end{flushleft}
social processes. Social capital might thus have much to contribute to contextual explanations of geographical phenomena.”

Exclusive clubs, prestigious schools, elite universities, social institutions, corporate and philanthropic boardrooms, churches, retail shops, and offices breed social capital because they are spaces of sociability. When the opportunity for contact is limited or restricted, social boundaries and inequalities are strengthened, and access to social capital is weakened. These places provide a space and time within which social capital networks circulate. They are forums where persons gather, meet, and talk. These spaces give individuals not only the opportunity to congregate in a specific locale where they can cooperate and coordinate their actions; but a place where they can build trust, mutuality, social control, and a reputation with one another. For sociologists Penelope Hawe and Alan Shiell, “trust between members of a network ‘oils the wheels’ of social and economic exchange, reducing transaction costs, allowing group members to draw on favours, circulate privileged information, and gain better access to opportunities.”

Over time, as personal contact increases within these spaces some form of trust and positive reputations grow with the strong likelihood of reciprocity and knowledge sharing.

The spatial dimension in the social capital literature is missing. Spaces are more than just settings where relationships are formed. Social capital is constituted in and

86 Ibid, p. 196.
through space. The relationships between individuals shape space, and at the same
time, space reproduces these same relationships. In other words, spaces shape
people’s interactions with one another, but it is also people’s relationships with one
another that constitute and reproduce space. The intersection of space and social
capital must be understood as an on-going network process that is related to social
reproduction. Toronto’s upper class, for instance, utilized the services of people they
knew intimately along the city’s financial district along King Street. They were within
walking distance of the city’s best and brightest business promoters, corporate lawyers,
stockbrokers, and financiers. Spatial proximity shaped and reinforced these
relationships and vice-a-versa. To build on the social capital literature and develop it
research must continue to focus on uncovering the ways in which people develop
relationships and explore the ways they react to structural forces, and thus reproducing
the social structure.

In sum, social capital is a useful tool in understanding the relationship between
inequality, space, and power. Social capital enables researchers to focus on an
individual’s activities. For Lin, social capital is an important conceptual tool for studying
inequality because the concept “evokes structural constraints and opportunities as well
as actions and choices on the part of the actors.”89 According to Portes, the social
capital concept, however, can lose its value if it continues to be “applied to so many
events and in so many different contexts.”90 If social capital is used as a heuristic tool
for addressing how capital is unequally distributed across space, time and groups, this
makes the concept very powerful. When social capital is conceptualized “not so much

89 Lin, Social Capital, p. 3.
as a measurable ‘thing’, rather as a set of processes and practices that are integral to
the acquisition of other forms of ‘capital’ such as human capital and cultural capital,” the
document can be used to address social inequality.\textsuperscript{91} Social capital is a useful instrument
that helps in understanding the relationship between the geography of power and the
social networks that are channelled through space. Because social capital is shaped by
the spaces where interaction occurs (exclusive clubs, corporate boardrooms,
philanthropic societies, cultural institutions, ethnic churches, and mutual aid societies),
the resources exchanged and information transmitted between individuals allows for the
examination of the reproduction and transformation of power relations.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Social structures of inequality were reproduced as individuals enacted their daily
lives in the early decades of the twentieth century. During this period, power relations
were complex, social boundaries were erected to exclude outsiders, and social,
economic and cultural capital was accessed to enhance one’s social position. In order
to understand the nature and dynamics of power relations, it is important to explore
social capital as a network process. Social capital is an important construct when used
in conjunction with social boundaries, power and space in understanding how social
inequality was reproduced through social networks. All social groups exerted some
form of power, and both Toronto’s Anglo elites and Italian entrepreneurs were actively
resisting structural forces – although they were both influenced differently by such

\textsuperscript{91} Virginia Morrow, “Conceptualizing Social Capital in Relation to the Well-Being of Children and Young
forces. They built social and business relationships that were constituted by the spaces in which they lived, worked and leisured, and at the same time, these same spaces were reproduced by the relationships these individuals developed. The following chapters enrich our understanding of both the social inequality that was present in Toronto at the turn of the twentieth century, and the various facets of social boundaries that shaped the social fabric.
Chapter 3
Toronto 1900 to 1935: An Unequal City

Introduction

The geography of power is shaped by the class and ethnic politics of particular spaces. Those who were able to claim, shape, and participate in corporate and philanthropic boardrooms, company head offices, and retail shops (as well as other places) exerted an enormous amount of social and economic power. At the turn of the twentieth century, corporate directors, financiers, manufacturers, utility and railroad magnates, and immigrant entrepreneurs (among others), for the most part controlled the locales in which they lived, worked, and socialized. During this period of rapid industrialization, modernization, immigration and urbanization there was growing class, race, ethnic and gender conflict. In this chapter I focus on the social and economic environment of Toronto from 1900 to 1935. At this time, Toronto was not only a leading industrial centre in Canada but a city characterized by new forms of social and economic inequality. This chapter also pays particular attention to Toronto’s class and ethnic structure. Toronto was a city divided into distinct spaces of power that were protected through the enforcement of social boundaries. It was within these forums where social groups built social networks that allowed them to reproduce their class and ethnicity.

Social and Economic Background of Toronto, 1900 to 1935

From the latter half of the nineteenth century, the processes of industrialization, modernization, immigration and urbanization altered the geography of power of North
American cities. This was a period when new transportation systems were developed, professional police and fire departments emerged, ever-taller office buildings were constructed, banks and insurance companies grew in importance, and machine politics was a common phenomenon. Major cities including New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Boston, Montreal and Toronto experienced tremendous economic prosperity, population growth, physical expansion, and ethnic diversity. In the process the social, economic, and political geography of these cities changed.\textsuperscript{92} According to historical geographer Robert Lewis, “the growth of the city, thus, produced a more fragmented social space as new class formations appeared, the ethnic balance changed, and the spatial limits of the housing market grew.”\textsuperscript{93}

As these cities were transformed from a commercial city to an industrial one a number of districts became specialized.\textsuperscript{94} Retail trade, financial, commercial and industrial zones emerged, and social groups and activities became segregated by class, gender, race and ethnicity. As time went on, major North American cities were run by large corporations. According to David Gordon, these cities experienced a transition from industrial to corporate capitalism.\textsuperscript{95} Gordon suggests that economic decisions were guided by corporations that “now had sufficient size to permit a qualitatively new


level of rationalization of production and distribution.”

This meant that large corporations, banks, and insurance companies became important agents of social control, and that their offices and boardrooms became important spaces of power where relationships were formed, trust was established, and knowledge was exchanged. Corporate capitalism widened the gap between rich and poor and these persistent social and economic inequalities became the basis of the division of urban spaces.

By 1900, Toronto was an important Canadian industrial metropolis. The city had a diverse industrial base, which contributed to its rapid growth. The adoption of the National Policy strengthened Toronto’s economic development and “stimulated industry in the city, especially after 1896, when the opening of western Canada and the development of mineral resources on the Canadian Shield coincided with a general recovery in world economic conditions.” As manufacturing became a very significant part of Toronto’s economy, the city became more important in producing products for the nation. The gross value of manufacturing increased by 500 percent between 1900 and 1921 as manufacturing became the largest employer in the city. In the process, Toronto’s economy continued to grow, and financial and commercial interests expanded beyond the city (and Ontario) to other Canadian areas.

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96 Ibid.
99 Sean Purdy, “‘This is Not a Company; It is a Cause’: Class, Gender and the Toronto Housing Company, 1912-1920,” Urban History Review 21 (1993), p. 76.
new corporate elite emerged. Men like Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Joseph Flavelle, George A. Cox, William Mackenzie, Frederic Nicholls, and Sir Henry Mill Pellatt were on the board of many companies playing a large role in Toronto’s rise as a financial metropolis in the years before the First World War.¹⁰¹ These men lived on established streets near the University of Toronto along St. George Street or Queen’s Park, and in the east end on Jarvis Street or Sherbourne Avenue.¹⁰² They were innovative businessmen and industrial leaders who frequently met with one another in corporate, university and philanthropic boardrooms, and at banquets, wedding receptions and exclusive clubs, among other places (Figure 3.1). These men were well-connected persons establishing ties with influential bankers, manufacturers, financiers and lawyers. They held a large number of directorships, and they became part of an international network of elites.

Toronto’s upper class was not the only group that wielded social and economic power; other social groups also exerted some form of authority and influence. I am not suggesting that all individuals exerted the same amount of power. What I am suggesting is that all groups exercised some sort of power in different spaces and times, and over a range of geographic regions. All persons had agency because they did not always conform to structural forces. They were embedded in an extensive network of relationships with others across spatial scales so they could acquire social, economic and cultural capital. Of course, not all groups uniformly acquired these forms of capital, and one reason is due to the spaces they occupied. It was within these

¹⁰² James M. S. Careless, Toronto to 1918 (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1984); Careless, “The First Hurrah,” p. 144.
Figure 3.1: Toronto’s Upper-Class Neighbourhoods, 1920
spaces (as noted earlier) that they utilized social and spatial distance as a strategy for reinforcing social and economic power. These persons erected and maintained social boundaries to protect themselves from others: the upper class restricted entry to posh residential neighbourhoods through zoning bylaws, Italians restricted entry to social clubs due to ethnic affiliation, and professionals restricted entry to certain occupations through educational requirements.

As the city’s population increased, metropolitan Toronto was composed of a central business district, inner city, outer city, and suburbs. Toronto’s central business district was a symbol of progress, wealth and power, and it was the focus of political and economic decision-making. Within the offices of the city’s corporations, major banks and insurance companies, the development and operations of new business ventures were planned with bankers, lawyers, financiers, and manufacturers. The corner of King Street West and Bay Street signified finance, like New York City’s Wall Street (Figure 3.2). Men like Walker, Flavelle, Pellatt and Mackenzie had easy access to a number of services. They could walk along King Street from their business offices to be serviced on a daily basis: if an investment was to be made Flavelle could take a walk to purchase stocks at Pellatt’s firm; or if a trust document needed to be handled Mackenzie could walk to Flavelle’s office at the National Trust Company; or if patent letters needed to be arranged Mackenzie went to see Zebulon Lash a couple of blocks away; if Pellatt needed a capital loan from the Canadian Bank of Commerce he could visit Walker; and if Flavelle and Walker wanted to relax at a social club they could take a stroll to the
Figure 3.2, Central Business District, Bay Street from King Street, 1907, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 7262
Toronto Club a few blocks away.\textsuperscript{103} Toronto’s upper class was intertwined in a web-like fashion along the streets of the central business district; Walker and Flavelle placed themselves into a network of insurers, bankers, brokers and lawyers that placed them in a position of influence.

King Street became synonymous with Toronto finance. The surrounding law firms, skyscrapers and modern office buildings of large companies soon defined Toronto’s skyline.\textsuperscript{104} The head offices of a number of banks, trust companies, brokerage houses, legal firms, and insurance companies were located on King Street West between Bay and Yonge Streets, including the Dominion Bank, Standard Bank, Quebec Bank, Bank of Nova Scotia, Union Bank, and Bank of Toronto.\textsuperscript{105} This area saw its fair share of Flavelle- and Walker-controlled companies, including the Central Canada Savings and Loan Company, the Canada Life Assurance Company (Figure 3.3), the National Trust Company, and the Canadian Bank of Commerce. These companies stood at the ‘centre’ of Toronto’s business district. According to Gunter Gad and Deryck Holdsworth, the transition from industrial capitalism to corporate capitalism not only left its “imprint on the morphology and business system of downtown Toronto, but also redefined the city’s position in the Canadian urban system.”\textsuperscript{106} Toronto was the hub of Ontario commerce and an important economic centre for Canada – retail and wholesale trade was flourishing, financial interests were expanding, manufacturing was increasing, and new railway connections of the Canadian Northern Railway were being

\textsuperscript{103} McDowall, \textit{The Light}, pp. 68-74.
\textsuperscript{104} Gad and Holdsworth, “Building for City, Region, and Nation,” p. 285.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid, p. 301.
Figure 3.3, The Canada Life Assurance Company, Northeast corner King and Bay Street, ca. 1926, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 7098
established. According to historian Duncan McDowall, “banking, manufacturing, and transportation facilities all prospered as the city came to fill a service not only for its own Ontario hinterland but also for the Canadian West.”

The inner city, on the other hand, was composed (among other things) of several types of residential neighbourhoods. Residential areas close to the city’s downtown were crowded and rundown. These were gathering places for the city’s newly arrived immigrants. One specific neighbourhood was the Ward, which was bounded on the south by Queen Street, north by College Street, east by Yonge Street, and west by University Avenue. Although this neighbourhood became Toronto’s primary immigrant reception area, it was not the only district where immigrants settled. Those of British and Irish origin settled in the east end in Cabbagetown working at the William Davies Company and at Gooderham and Worts Distillery (Figure 3.4). Many Italians settled along the College-Grace district and Dufferin-Davenport area, a large number of Poles settled along the Dundas-Roncesvalles neighbourhood, a fair share of Macedonians lived at Eastern Avenue and Parliament Street and at King and Bathurst streets, while the Jewish population settled along Spadina Avenue, near the city’s garment district (Figure 3.5). These neighbourhoods were never occupied by a single group and they were constantly changing. There were also a number of affluent neighbourhoods that were situated within the city limits, including the area near the University of Toronto and along Jarvis Street and Sherbourne Avenue.

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107 McDowall, The Light, p. 50.
109 Careless, Toronto to 1918; Careless, “The First Hurrah,” p. 144.
Figure 3.4, Gooderham and Worts Distillery, ca. 1917, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 3061
Figure 3.5: Toronto’s Working-Class Neighbourhoods, 1920
There were also a number of people who lived in the city’s outskirts. Toronto’s suburbs and the outer city were composed of working-, middle-, and upper-class residents. As living conditions in the downtown area deteriorated, people began making their home in Toronto’s suburbs fleeing the noise and congestion of the inner city. There were a number of annexations between 1905 and 1912; Toronto annexed North Rosedale, Deer Park, Russell Hill Road, Bracondale, Dovercourt, Earls court, Balmy Beach, Moore Park, East Toronto, West Toronto, and North Toronto.\(^{110}\) The upper-class lived outside the city in North Rosedale, Lawrence Park, and Forest Hill. In contrast, lower-class residents lived in places such as Earls court where families were building their own homes “because land developers and municipal governments made almost no attempt to stop or guide them” (Figure 3.6).\(^{111}\) Until the First World War most of the new development occurred within the inner city, and from the 1920s, new homes were being built in the suburbs.\(^{112}\) The Toronto Junction was another working-class neighbourhood in the city’s outskirts. Many Poles, Russians, and Germans settled in this west-end neighbourhood to work at the stockyards, or at the Canadian Pacific Railway, or at a number of nearby factories, including the Heinzmann Piano Factory.\(^{113}\) The Toronto Junction was primarily the site of the city’s meatpacking industry, and from 1903 to 1911 the Union Stock Yards Company Limited, Levack Company, Swift Company, Gunns Limited, and the Harris Abattoir Company all moved to the Toronto


\(^{111}\) Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs*, p. 4.


Figure 3.6, Slum, 131 Nairn Ave, 1916, City of Toronto Archives, Subseries 32 Health Department Photographs, Item 418
The city’s outskirts also attracted a number of other industries, including Goodyear, Ford, and Kodak (Figure 3.8). As industries moved to the suburbs, many workers followed, pursing both job opportunities and the suburban dream.

Toronto’s booming economy attracted people from all over Europe and many crossed the Atlantic seeking economic opportunities of the New World. This large-scale immigration changed the face of Toronto and influenced the social, economic, cultural and political geography of the city. From 1891 to 1941 the city’s population grew from 181,215 to 667,457 (Table 3.1). Over this period, the proportion of people who could trace their origin to Great Britain declined from 94.7 to 78.4 percent (Table 3.1). Although there was a decline, Toronto was first and foremost dominated by British immigrants from England, Scotland, and Ireland. Therefore, Toronto was very much English-speaking, Protestant, and Orange. Cecil Houston and William Smyth demonstrate that the Orange Order was very much present in Toronto. From the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Orange Order was a very dominant force in the city (especially from the 1850s) and many influential persons in civic affairs were members of this organization. They lived and socialized in areas with others like themselves. This gave them the opportunity to develop and operate social networks that could be used as an exclusionary function. The Order established social

115 Harris, Unplanned Suburbs, pp. 67-8.
Figure 3.7. Harris Abattoir Building, 1916, City of Toronto Archives, Subseries 1, Architect's Photographs, Item 224.
Figure 3.8, Aerial View of Kodak Plant, Eglinton Avenue West, Mount Dennis, ca. 1930, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 2431
boundaries and maintained earlier ones so they could exclude others from obtaining social, economic and cultural capital.\textsuperscript{117}

Table 3.1: Proportion of Toronto Population from British Isles, 1891 to 1941

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>British Population</th>
<th>City of Toronto Population</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>141,496\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>181,215</td>
<td>94.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>190,788</td>
<td>208,040</td>
<td>91.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>325,173</td>
<td>376,538</td>
<td>86.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>445,230</td>
<td>521,893</td>
<td>85.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>510,432</td>
<td>631,207</td>
<td>80.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>523,588</td>
<td>667,457</td>
<td>78.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{a} This includes Canadian born (93,162).

Although Toronto was very much a British city, its ethnic diversity was increasing. The growth of Toronto’s population was rapid, and its ethnic composition changed to include an increasing number of non-British immigrants. As foreigners increased in number, ethnic conflict between these immigrant groups and Toronto’s British population grew. The absolute number of Toronto’s non-British population provides a

\textsuperscript{117} Careless, “The First Hurrah,” p. 142.
telling indicator of change: it jumped from 17,252 to 143,869 persons between 1901 and 1941. Toronto’s six largest non-British groupings in 1941 included Jewish, French, Italians, Polish, Ukrainians, and Germans. Groups such as the Dutch, Finnish, and Scandinavians hovered between 2,700 and 7,000 people, while Russians, Hungarians, Chinese, and Czechoslovakians registered between 2,000 and 2,500 (Table 3.2).

Toronto’s non-British immigrants faced sharp criticism from English Toronto. Toronto’s Anglo society followed newspaper reports about the social risks immigrants posed such as the one *The Daily Mail and Empire* carried in 1909. Entitled “Foreigners Who Live in Toronto,” the author states: “The problem has gained its special significance inasmuch as a large percentage of the ‘foreigners’ have been anything but a desirable class, and have after their arrival in the country taken up residence in the poorer sections of the city, thereby aiding in the development, if not in the creation, of dangerous slum condition.”\(^ {118}\) In this article, as well as others, urban problems were often seen as synonymous with the foreign problem. In addition, members of Toronto’s elite, including Sir Edmund Walker, Sir William Mackenzie and Sir Henry Mill Pellatt encouraged the immigration of English, Irish and Scottish immigrants to Canada. Speaking to *The Globe*, Pellatt stated that he, Mackenzie and Walker will assist and “introduce into the west a class of immigrants from the British Isles more desirable and more compatible to British institutions than the mass of people that have been pouring in from southern and central Europe.”\(^ {119}\) It was widely believed that immigrants from Great Britain were of a better stock. When approached by reporters, Walker refused to discuss their plans for western settlement.

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Table 3.2:  
Population in the City of Toronto, 1901 to 1941

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origins of Population</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BRITISH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>94,021</td>
<td>181,315</td>
<td>260,860</td>
<td>282,759</td>
<td>291,852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>61,435</td>
<td>81,804</td>
<td>97,361</td>
<td>114,315</td>
<td>115,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>34,547</td>
<td>60,042</td>
<td>83,620</td>
<td>107,943</td>
<td>108,974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other British Isles</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>2,012</td>
<td>3,389</td>
<td>5,415</td>
<td>6,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTERN EUROPE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>3,015</td>
<td>4,886</td>
<td>8,350</td>
<td>10,869</td>
<td>15,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>6,028</td>
<td>9,775</td>
<td>4,689</td>
<td>9,343</td>
<td>8,528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>1,639</td>
<td>3,961</td>
<td>5,222</td>
<td>6,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>3,453</td>
<td>2,809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>1099d</td>
<td>2,133</td>
<td>2,754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. &amp; E. EUROPE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish (Hebrew)</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>18,237</td>
<td>34,619</td>
<td>45,305</td>
<td>49,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1,054</td>
<td>4,617</td>
<td>8,217</td>
<td>13,015</td>
<td>14,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>2,380</td>
<td>8,483</td>
<td>11,517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>1,149</td>
<td>4,434</td>
<td>10,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakian</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1,535</td>
<td>2,459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>60a</td>
<td>553c</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1,354</td>
<td>2,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>1341</td>
<td>1,332</td>
<td>1,694</td>
<td>2,014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASIAN / OTHER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>219b</td>
<td>1,099</td>
<td>2,134</td>
<td>2,735</td>
<td>2,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2,654</td>
<td>8,087</td>
<td>7,867</td>
<td>11,200</td>
<td>13,542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>208,040</td>
<td>376,538</td>
<td>521,893</td>
<td>631,207</td>
<td>667,457</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census Canada, Statistics Canada 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, and 1941 (Ottawa, Ontario).
a This figure includes the Austro-Hungarian immigrant population.
b This figure includes the Chinese and Japanese immigrant population.
c This figure includes the Austro-Hungarian immigrant population.
d This figure includes the Swedish (438), Danish (347), and Norwegian (314) immigrant population.

Immigrant neighbourhoods were important spaces for the social and business interaction of co-ethnics. Immigrants established churches, businesses, boardinghouses, social clubs, and mutual aid societies that reterritorialized the physical
ethnic landscape. These locales acted both as a resource and a constraint to ethnic social and economic power. Although business, living and leisure spaces were not entirely occupied by co-ethnics, they acted as a forum of resistance where power could be wielded on a daily basis to achieve agency. Immigrants were actively pursuing and defining their lives by reacting to structural forces. They made calculated decisions that addressed their own needs and the needs of their community. These forums were functional nodes for the development of social capital that connected them to others at the regional, national and international scale. It was within these spheres that co-ethnics built business relationships that provided them with the exchange of knowledge, ideas and information. This enabled individuals to convert their social capital into economic and cultural capital, allowing for the reproduction of class and ethnicity.

**Toronto’s Class Structure, 1900 to 1935**

The concept of class is key to understanding social inequality. Class is not a static category that people inhabit; instead it is a structured social process. Class never exists outside of race, gender and ethnicity, but is mediated by them and vice-versa. Class is defined in many ways, depending on the theoretical, methodological, and political orientation of the researcher. Although most researchers agree on the importance of class, numerous disputes and questions persist over the more precise meaning of the concept. I have adopted both Marxist and Weberian traditions of analysis. From the former I took the notion that class refers to a group of people who share a similar position in relation to the production process. The emphasis is on the ownership and control of the means of production. From Weber I take the notion that class is more than the stratification of individuals into groups with similar incomes, and
therefore, status is also important. Accordingly, I agree with historical geographer Daniel Hiebert’s assessment of class: “In part, class has to do with the actual process of economic stratification; thus class is closely related to the concept of power and how social dominance or hegemony is reproduced. Therefore, class relationships were (and are) more than the stratification of individuals into groups with similar incomes, even though this is one important element of class.”

At the turn of the twentieth century Toronto was an industrial city that was experiencing social inequalities. Although there was a tremendous amount of economic opportunity, unemployment and wage polarization still persisted. Because social groups had unequal access to social, economic and cultural capital, those individuals at the top of the social hierarchy accessed all forms of capital easier than others. Broadly speaking, Toronto consisted of an upper class of manufacturers, big merchants, and financiers, an upper middle class of high-level managers and business employees, a middle class of real estate agents, lawyers, brokers, and teachers, an entrepreneurial class of shopkeepers and contractors, and an industrial labour force of skilled and unskilled blue-collar and white-collar workers. My study adopts this five-class model in order to understand the complexity of class relations. Harris developed a slightly different model for his study that tells the story of a resourceful working-class population who built a suburban lifestyle in Toronto’s outskirts during the early twentieth century (see Table 3.3).

---


Table 3.3
Major Classes and Subgroups, City of Toronto, 1921

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Group</th>
<th>% of Classifiable Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owners and Managers</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents on Commission</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed Workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Building Trades</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue-collar Workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled and Semi-Skilled Workers</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Workers</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Trades</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-Collar</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total for Classifiable Occupations</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In my five-class model the upper class owned land and capital. They controlled and shaped the urban space “for the reproduction and enhancement of their own power.”¹²² Each member of the elite operated in a world where they erected boundaries on a daily basis, and utilized their social, economic and cultural capital in order to influence the political, economic, cultural and physical structure of Canada with the erection of new businesses, museums, art galleries, and hospitals. As Gad and Holdsworth have shown in a plate in the *Historical Atlas*, Toronto’s small upper class “created new companies to develop utilities, streetcar systems, railroad lines, real estate, and mines across the nation and beyond.”¹²³ William Kilbourn concludes that this group of men “seized strategic opportunities and spearheaded Toronto’s rise to rival


Montreal as the economic Metropolis of Canada.¹²⁴ By 1935, the city’s economic elite included manufacturers, investment and commercial bankers, insurance and utility company executives, lawyers, railroad magnates, and speculative investors. They formed interlocking networks with others like themselves. Their networks extended across different spatial scales, including the United States, Great Britain, and South America. These elites belonged to exclusive clubs like the National Club, Toronto Club, York Club, Albany Club and the Rosedale Golf Club. The privileged class did not spend their leisure time solely at exclusive clubs; they also attended shows at the city’s theatres, including the Royal Alexandra and Princess of Wales on King Street West, and the Grand Opera House on Adelaide Street.

Toronto’s upper middle class were mainly composed of professionals who worked in autonomous workplaces. They included high-level managers, business employees, and salaried personnel that filled the managerial positions of corporations. With the concentration of capital in large retailers, banks and insurance companies, business professionals were needed in order to run the day-to-day operations of these complex firms. These individuals lived in different parts of the metropolitan city, and many resided in the same neighbourhoods of Toronto’s upper class. They lived in the eastern section of the city at Sherbourne Avenue and Jarvis Street, near the city centre in the Annex, near the southern part of the city in Parkdale, and in the city’s outskirts in Rosedale, Lawrence Park and Forest Hill.¹²⁵ Careless notes that the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the Toronto Cricket Club, and the Toronto Golf Club were important leisure

places for Toronto’s upper-middle class.\textsuperscript{126} They ultimately chose these residences and leisure places to maintain social and spatial distance against others (through the use of zoning, expensive costs, and membership restrictions) and to be closer to those more like themselves.\textsuperscript{127}

Toronto’s middle class included a broad spectrum of professionals. As Toronto’s economy continued to grow, occupations such as supervisors, accountants, and low-level managers emerged in the office and service sectors. Others from the middle class worked as school teachers, engineers, architects, social workers, and civil servants. They were also very influential in the city’s reform movement. Many popular middle-class reformers were prominent in Toronto, including John J. Kelso and William H. Howland.\textsuperscript{128} As newly arrived immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe continued settling in Toronto’s poorest areas (usually in the central city), the middle-class moved to other neighbourhoods to escape the pollution and congestion of the city centre.\textsuperscript{129} Toronto’s middle class lived in a number of neighbourhoods, including the Dufferin-Bloor area, High Park, the Annex, and parts of Parkdale.\textsuperscript{130} Outlying neighbourhoods of new middle-class homes were also found in West Toronto to the eastern Beach section, and north beyond St. Clair Avenue.\textsuperscript{131} To protect their neighbourhoods from other non-

\textsuperscript{126} Careless, \textit{Toronto to 1918}, p. 128.
\textsuperscript{130} Careless, \textit{Toronto to 1918}.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid.
residential uses, many middle-class homeowners formed the Central Council of Ratepayers’ Association in 1917.\footnote{James T. Lemon, \textit{The Annex: A Brief Historical Geography} (Toronto: s.n., 1986), p. 15.}

The entrepreneurial class owned capital assets but operated on a much smaller scale than those in the upper class. They frequently employed others. Entrepreneurs did not sell their labour power to an employer for a wage; instead, they worked for themselves. They were always at risk of bankruptcy because their capital was limited. Because some immigrants faced language barriers and discrimination within the labour market, they actively countered these disadvantages by creating their own businesses. They turned to entrepreneurship as a passageway to economic mobility. These businessmen exerted power within their stores (during hours of operation) over their employees and customers by controlling neighbourhood goods and services. An ethnic division of labour was in place within the entrepreneurial class: Italian immigrants opened grocery stores, Asians started laundries, and Jews opened garment shops.\footnote{John E. Zucchi, \textit{Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935} (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), p. 101.}

By 1910 the first Italian wholesaler, Charles Ciceri, opened his shop at 38 Church Street (Table 3.4). During that same year, more than half of the fruit retailers in the city were
Table 3.4:  
Proportion of Italian Fruit Wholesalers, Selected Years, 1900 to 1935

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Italian Wholesalers</th>
<th>Total Wholesalers</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>6&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>8&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>10&lt;sup&gt;f&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Charles Ciceri (38 Church).
<sup>b</sup> Charles Ciceri (38-40 Church), Mr. Cuneo (67 Colborne).
<sup>c</sup> A.B. Caruso (921-921A Queen St. West), Giovanni B. Ciceri (38-40 Church), Mr. Cuneo (67 Colborne), and John Longo (36 Market).
<sup>d</sup> Giovanni B. Ciceri (38-40 Church), Peter Culotta (67 Colborne), Mr. Cuneo (34 Esplanade), Mr. Di Giorgio (105 King St. East), John Longo (252 Queen St. West), and Peter Montone (322 Adelaide St. West).
<sup>e</sup> Frank Chiarmonte (54 McGee), Charles Cira (28 Market), Peter Culotta (67 Colborne), William Pace (2727 Dundas), John Pitoscia (175 Palmerston Ave.), Samuel Sanci (42 Church), J. Ursino (81 Colborne), and James Vince (81 Colborne).
<sup>f</sup> Joseph Bovaconti (67 Pape Ave.), Ulysse Cerasani (596 Runnymede Rd.), Peter Culotta (67 Colborne), Michael Lapatriello (594 Dundas St. East), Frank Marlo (843-5 Queen St. West), John Pitoscia (175 Palmerston Ave.), Mr. Scorsone (24 Market), Michael Sparacino (1869 Gerrard St. East), J. Ursino (5 Scott), and James Vince (81 Colborne).

Italian-owned (Table 3.5). As the Great Depression hit Toronto, their share of the fruit trade declined.

Last, the working class sold its labour power as a commodity for a wage. There was great diversity among the working-class population. They worked in skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled occupations. This group worked as factory labourers in the clothing, iron and steel, and food and beverages industries, as general labourers in the construction industry, as carpenters in the building trades, or as clerks in offices. In general, they were faced with poor working conditions, including low wages,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Italian Retailers</th>
<th>Total Retailers</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>54.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>61.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>63.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>65.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>67.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>48.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


unemployment, and long hours. From 1900 to 1935, employers and managers across North American cities created larger profits in the workplace through mass-production methods and the deskilling of operations. As industrial labour was subdivided into low-skilled operations, Toronto’s labouring men and women performed monotonous tasks and were paid very low wages. These workers shared little of the wealth generated by industrial expansion and their incomes were barely sufficient for subsistence living. In the United States, geographer Yda Schreuder illustrates a similar occurrence where irregularity in employment was enhanced by the low skill requirement of the jobs which meant that workers could easily be replaced.

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137 Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto*.
Low-paid white-collar workers also faced a similar pattern of routinization and standardization that blue-collar workers experienced. As the transition from industrial to corporate capitalism occurred, white-collar jobs increased. According to Gad and Holdsworth, “services produced by office workers (for instance life insurance policies) became standardized, and many aspects of office work became first mechanized and then automated.” White-collar office work began to be polarized, especially when work options increasingly became available for women in offices, and thus forging a new gender division of labour. Many women became secretaries, and female clerical employment rose rapidly in Canada: in 1891 only 14.3 per cent of Canada’s clerical workers were women, by 1911 32.6 per cent and by 1931 45.1 per cent were women. Of course, the majority of women still stayed at home, where they performed an income-producing role as well as a reproductive role.

The working-class population was also faced with poor living conditions. This group found “themselves for the most part trapped in space.” They found it difficult to live in a decent neighbourhood because access was restricted for two main reasons: 1) affordability, and 2) discrimination in the housing market. Their neighbourhoods were the focus of intense concern because of their unsanitary conditions (Figure 3.9, 3.10, 3.11 and 3.12). Social reformers, city engineers, and journalists frequently highlighted the squalid living conditions in the poorer sections of the city, prompting a

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140 Ibid.
141 Ibid, p. 304.
142 Harvey, The Urban Experience, p. 265.
143 Xiaobei Chen, “Tending the Gardens of Citizenship: Child Protection in Toronto 1880s-1920s.” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 2001; Purdy, “This is Not a Company; It is a Cause.”
Figure 3.10, Slums (Rear), 21 Elizabeth St, 1913, City of Toronto Archives, Subseries 32 Health Department Photographs, Item 187
Figure 3.12, Slum House (Rear), 210 Chestnut St, 1914, City of Toronto Archives, Subseries 32 Health Department Photographs, Item 319
range of efforts to improve housing conditions and health care. According to historical geographer Phillip Mackintosh, there was a need for “sufficient pavements, sanitation, mass housing programmes, electricity, communications, building codes and zoning practices, efficient public transportation, competent firefighting and policing, and social welfare… all worsened by unmanageable population densities.”

Sanitary conditions were poor, particularly within the city’s primary immigrant reception area: The Ward (Figure 3.13). The Ward was monitored by social reformers, and by 1907 approximately 10,000 foreigners lived there. The Ward was home to the city’s Jewish, Italian and Asian communities. The Ward was not as crowded as the slums of New York, and living conditions in Toronto were far more tolerable. However, Toronto’s upper and middle classes feared areas like the Ward because they believed these spaces were “breeding grounds for disease and immorality.”

According to Robert Harney and Harold Troper, “absentee landlords made no effort to improve sanitary facilities, and drinking water often came from backyard wells.” This attracted condemnation in a major civic inquiry in 1911 by Dr. Charles Hastings. Hastings presented a report, “Recent Investigation of Slum Conditions in Toronto.”

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145 Careless, Toronto to 1918, p.157.
Figure 3.13, The Ward from T. Eaton Factory, 1910, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 596
The following conditions peculiar to great cities are found to be present to a lamentable extent: rear houses, dark rooms, tenement houses, houses unfit for habitation, inadequate water supply, unpaved and filthy yards and lanes, sanitary conveniences so-called which because of their position or condition, or for various other reasons, have become a public nuisance, a menace to public health, a danger to public morals, and, in fact, an offence against public decency.\textsuperscript{148}

In addition, in 1918 the Bureau of Municipal Research prepared their own report concluding with a call for action:

This congestion of buildings over too large a proportion of the available area gives no opportunity to the adult, much less to the children, for healthful play and recreation. It causes the streets to become their place of amusement with a consequent loss of health and decency, and it does not create an atmosphere which is likely to raise the already too low standard of living of the foreign resident or make for good and efficient citizenship.\textsuperscript{149}

The city's leaders were adamant on solving the urban congestion problem. These reports stressed the elimination of rear cottages, lower rents, improved water quality, and better sewerage. However, the Ward’s capacity to accommodate immigrants was severely strained by 1911. Already overcrowded, the stock of housing declined due to the encroachment of manufacturing, commercial, and civic land uses into the area.\textsuperscript{150}

For instance, the erection of the new Eaton’s store, the Toronto General Hospital, and Registry Office “drove immigrants farther west into the back alleys that later produced


\textsuperscript{149} City of Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research “What is the Ward Going to Do with Toronto? A Report on Undesirable Living Conditions in One Section of the City of Toronto – the Ward – Conditions which are Spreading Rapidly to Other Districts” (Ms, Metropolitan Toronto Archives, 1916).

\textsuperscript{150} Hiebert, “Jewish Immigrants and the Garment industry of Toronto,” p. 257.
Kensington Market and farther yet, in the case of the Italians, to the short, non-gridded streets around St. Agnes Church.”

Although the working class was controlled by a number of social groups, they still exerted some power at specific times and places. For instance, working-class males exerted an enormous amount of power within their homes over their wives and children. They also developed a number of strategies in order to secure their livelihood. Amid the discrimination, stereotypes, and exploitation they faced, the working class negotiated their own social and living spaces by reacting to bourgeoisie attitudes. Although Toronto’s working class was fragmented (by skill, trade, ethnicity, and religion), they were still actively organized, and they directed a number of associations to seek improvements in housing and living conditions. In developing strategies to gain control over their living conditions, family, and neighbourhood life, “working people also asserted their presence and their strength as a class.”

The working class consolidated their ideas by joining labour unions and contributing to pension and insurance funds. Similar to Toronto, Hiebert notes how Winnipeg “men and women intent on improving the collective situation of their ethnic group increasingly came to realize that this could best be achieved by pursuing their ethnic interests within the context of class-based organizations, such as unions and radical political parties.”

The working class also developed family strategies in order to survive the everyday struggles of early twentieth-century Toronto life. They pooled incomes and shared living spaces. Workers and their families were forced to rely on a number of income earners and multiple sources of sustenance, including boarding.\(^{156}\) In 1931, the census reported that 23.2 percent of Toronto households contained boarders.\(^{157}\) Boarding was popular in Toronto and elsewhere. For instance, in his discussion of Chicago’s Packingtown, James Barrett illustrates how social groups used boarding because it “represented the margin between economic survival and catastrophe.”\(^ {158}\) These cooperative roles were divided along gender lines. The female, according to Barrett, occupied the “crucial position of managing the family budget, collecting payments from the boarders and wages of all the family members, doling out each person’s share, and making do with what was available.”\(^ {159}\) This phenomenon, of course, was not unique to Toronto and Chicago, and occurred in many other North American neighbourhoods.

As Toronto’s economy diversified and modernized, and greater numbers of people immigrated to the city from all over Canada, Europe, and to a much lesser extent, Asia, there was an ever-increasing ethnic division of labour. In Toronto, as well as in other North American cities, there was an overrepresentation of certain ethnic groups in particular occupations. Discrimination, pre-migration skills, and network ties


\(^{157}\) Ibid, p. 332.


\(^{159}\) Ibid, p. 197.
caused people to gravitate toward certain labouring divisions. Social groups continued to concentrate in specific labouring sectors partly because discrimination and stereotypes ensured that many other occupations were closed to them. Toronto’s Anglo society developed its own distinct stereotype about the skills and occupations of immigrants. Typical across North America, Jews were expected to be garment workers, Italians street labourers, and Chinese laundrymen. In other sectors of the economy, opportunities were rarely open for these immigrants. This was true for the cotton mills of Lawrence, Massachusetts as the “ethnic division of labour at the mills can be seen on one hand as discriminatory and exploitative but on the other as opportunities for groups to gain entry and advances into the labour force.”

As Toronto immigrants clustered into certain sectors this gave them that all-important first step into Canadian labouring society.

In sum, social inequality was reproduced over time and in space as Toronto’s social and ethnic groups enacted their daily lives. Like other major North American cities, Toronto was a city divided into distinct spaces of power. At certain times and at specific spaces, individuals wielded power over others by controlling information and resources. Some individuals, of course, exercised more power and control over others, and they were able to do this across spatial scales. It was within their homes, exclusive clubs, prestigious schools, corporate and philanthropic boardrooms, ethnic institutions, churches, retail shops, and business offices that people had some form of command and authority over themselves and others. These spheres were not always entirely

homogeneous; they were occupied by more than one social and/or ethnic group. People lived their lives across different geographic regions and interacted across local, regional, national and international scales. They channelled and accumulated social capital from one sphere to another, excluding others from their networks.

**The Geography of Power**

The geography of power was very visible in early twentieth-century Toronto. Although power relations were uneven, all individuals exercised some form of power, no matter their social class, race, ethnicity, and gender. There was a complex interplay of power dynamics among people as each strived to enhance their influence through different spatial scales and times. They controlled the entry to social, economic, cultural and political infrastructures through the erection of social boundaries. Social inequality was reproduced in residential neighbourhoods, business offices, social clubs, churches, cultural institutions, mutual aid societies, and philanthropic and corporate boardrooms. These locales allowed individuals to build relationships with others like themselves. It was within these places that individuals utilized social and spatial distance as a strategy for reinforcing social inclusion and exclusion. However, no place was entirely homogeneous, even when zoning bylaws and expensive memberships were imposed.

Spatial asymmetries existed in the city of Toronto. The social, economic, cultural and political landscape of the city was shaped by members of Toronto's population. All persons had the power to shape, occupy, control and regulate urban space. As noted by Harvey, “those who have the power to command and produce space possess

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a vital instrumentality for the reproduction and enhancement of their own power.” For instance, newly arrived immigrants had power (although limited) over their co-ethnics. Immigrant male entrepreneurs exercised control within and outside of their homes: at home they wielded power over their wives and children, and at their place of business they exerted power over their employees and customers. They controlled the goods and services available to the Italian community, including loans, mortgages, job opportunities, and a host of ethnic products. They reterritorialized the ethnic landscape with retail shops, grocery stores, steamship agencies, boardinghouses, and ‘immigrant’ banks that were essential for social, economic, cultural and political opportunities. Although they were somewhat constrained to their neighbourhoods, immigrants still wielded power within their immediate communities.

Toronto’s upper class, in contrast, faced few disadvantages. They chose to live in the grand homes of Jarvis Street (Figure 3.14), Sherbourne Avenue (Figure 3.15), St. George Street (Figure 3.16), Queen’s Park Crescent (Figure 3.17), Rosedale (Figure 3.18), and Forest Hill (Figure 3.19). In 1912, Toronto began prohibiting the use and erection of apartment and tenement houses in most residential areas of the city. As a result, zoning bylaws shaped settlement patterns as certain groups were prevented from renting or buying homes in some parts of the city. These ordinances maintained high quality housing and, beginning in 1921 residence-only bylaws protected the class

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162 Harvey, *The Urban Experience*, p. 261.
Figure 3.14, Cawthra Residence, Jarvis and Isabella, 1919, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1231 James Salmon Collection, Item 585
Figure 3.15, Senator Cox Residence, Sherbourne Street, ca. 1910, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 3120
Figure 3.16, Bloor and St George St, 1924, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1231 James Salmon Collection, Item 2083
Figure 3.17, Sir Joseph Flavelle Residence, Queen's Park Crescent, n.d., City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 294b
Figure 3.19, R.J. Fleming Residence, St Clair Avenue and Bathurst Street, 1913, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1231 James Salmon Collection, Item 764
of these neighbourhoods. In 1921 and 1927 bylaws were passed in some districts permitting only single-family housing, and for certain affluent areas specifying detached houses only. The privileged classes wanted to keep their neighbourhoods increasingly exclusive. They did not want to be hindered by non-residential land uses like factories, butchers, and steam laundries. According to Peter Moore zoning in Toronto developed “to control nuisances or externalities, to protect and maintain the residential environment or ‘character’, and above all to protect property values.” By 1912 Toronto City Council came up with a list of streets where apartment houses were banned. Similar residential restrictions were in place in many other North American cities. Zoning ordinances were quickly established to control land use and to promote real estate development. For instance, New York City enacted the first comprehensive zoning law in the United States in 1916 largely in response to Fifth Avenue property owners’ concerns in protecting property values by excluding the intrusion of the lower segments of the population. In both Toronto and New York, zoning bylaws were enforced to both protect the residential environment and maintain the prestige of the neighbourhood.

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167 Moore, Zoning and Planning,” p. 324.
Although some members of Toronto’s elite moved to the city’s outskirts, their business activities remained centred along King Street West between Yonge Street and Bay Street. This is where Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Joseph Flavelle, Sir Henry Mill Pellatt, George A. Cox and Zebulon A. Lash exercised their power and influence over Canada’s social, economic, cultural and political society. They met frequently within their office headquarters, boardrooms, and exclusive clubs to exchange information with lawyers, economists, stockbrokers, politicians, and civic officials to introduce and/or shape free trade strategies, bank-guiding principles, production strategies, new markets, and land development policies. As power channeled through these locales, their activities remained segregated to exert social distance between themselves and others. They shaped the physical landscape to their liking so they could acquire more wealth and status: tall buildings were built downtown as a sign of power, transportation routes were based on preferences, industry moved to the city’s outskirts, and museums, art galleries and hospitals were constructed, including the Art Gallery of Toronto, the Royal Ontario Museum, and the Toronto General Hospital.

In sum, all social groups and individuals exercised power and social control to meet their social, economic, cultural and political needs. People were able to exercise power within particular spaces which caused social inequalities to be reproduced, social control to be emphasized, and values and ideas to be reinforced. It was within the city’s social, living, business and political spaces that social capital was developed and utilized. These locales acted as spheres of sociability; with the opportunity for contact, knowledge exchange, and business deals. For the most part Toronto’s population were

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171 Gad and Holdsworth, “Building for City, Region, and Nation.”
transnational; in the sense that they built social networks that spanned across Canada and North America. They developed a highly integrated network of local, regional, national and international ties.

**Conclusion**

From 1900 to 1935, the broad structure of Toronto's geography of power was linked to the uneven development of industrial capitalism. The spatial inequality of power was being reproduced as specific groups (stratified by ethnicity, race, class, and religion) were relegated to certain labouring sectors, activities, and neighbourhoods. This had occurred because social groups did not uniformly acquire social, economic and cultural capital. Although social groups lacked the power of the city's elite, many compensated for this lack of power by creating their own ethnic and class institutions, and exercising command and authority within their own communities. In the following chapters, it is necessary to explore how early twentieth-century people interacted with others within the same social group in order to better understand the relationship between social inequality and social interaction, specifically how individuals maintained power relations through the erection of existing, as well as new, social boundaries. Because people of different ethnic and class backgrounds tended to forge relationships with others like them, it is important to demonstrate the extent to which networks benefited group members and constrained non-members.
Chapter 4
Toronto’s Anglo Elite, Space and the Reproduction of Power

Introduction

The next two chapters focus on Toronto’s early twentieth-century Anglo elite. I explore the social, living, business and political spaces that were controlled by Toronto’s upper class as well as the mechanisms they utilized in order to maintain and reproduce their social and economic power. I pay particular attention to how the privileged class maintained their social position and provide answers to the following questions: Who was the upper class and what common characteristics did they share? How did elites maintain themselves as a distinct entity within the community? To what extent were Toronto’s privileged class able to dominate social, economic, and political life? How was the social geography of power reproduced?

I draw from archival research, newspapers, and secondary evidence to explore the lives of Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Joseph Flavelle, and Dr. Charles Hastings. Through this analysis we can understand Toronto’s complex power structure and the social boundaries that were erected by the elite. The upper class manipulated social policies, business regulations, and cultural standards to favour their interests and to preserve and enhance their dominance over others. They left their stamp on Toronto society by exerting an enormous amount of social and economic power. I pay particular attention to how the interests of Toronto’s privileged class brought them together in fashionable neighbourhoods, private schools, exclusive clubs, and corporate and philanthropic boardrooms. It was within these spaces that the upper class utilized social and spatial
distance as a strategy for reinforcing social and economic inclusion and exclusion. As these locales bound the elite together, they actively channeled and exerted their influence and power across a number of local, national and international businesses, institutions, and associations.

**Who are Toronto’s Anglo Elite?**

The study of elites has garnered the attention of many geographers, sociologists, political scientists, and urban historians. The study of the upper class is important to our understanding of class structure and power relations. Much of the research has focused on corporate elites and their ties to politicians, philanthropists and to other corporate directors. These works have been strongly influenced by C. Wright Mills’ *The Power Elite* and John Porter’s *The Vertical Mosaic*. Since the publications of these important studies in the 1950s and 1960s a number of prominent discourses have emerged. I build upon these studies to focus on the social, economic, cultural, and political forums that were controlled by Toronto’s Anglo elite at the turn of the twentieth century.

In the nineteenth century, Toronto’s skyline was dominated by church steeples. Old families of wealthy Torontonians such as the Gooderhams, Cawthras, and Worts controlled many of the city’s social, economic and cultural institutions. They frequently held overlapping business ventures, including partnerships in commerce and railway building. South of the border, prominent New Yorkers like the Rockefellers, Astors, Vanderbilts and Belmonts controlled similar institutions and executed similar

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ventures.\textsuperscript{173} This was a time when North American families (not a board of directors or a managerial class) owned and managed businesses “as an extension of themselves, when kinship ownership and control were synonymous, and where dynastic marriage was a means of corporate merger.”\textsuperscript{174} These families eventually gave way to new money elites of manufacturers, financiers, corporate lawyers, and executives. According to Michael Bliss, “almost none of the great wholesalers of the 1870s and 1880s had built up enough wealth to found a business dynasty or even ride out the hard times of the mid-1890s.”\textsuperscript{175}

At the turn of the twentieth century a new elite emerged as businesses took on a corporate character. They accumulated wealth through business mergers, large investments, and stock purchases. The members of the new elite were involved in a number of successful businesses that spanned the entire globe. Individuals such as Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Joseph Flavelle, Sir Henry Mill Pellatt, Sir George A. Cox, Sir William Mackenzie, and Frederic Nicholls were important executives (presidents, vice presidents, managing directors, and board chairmen) in banking, insurance, manufacturing, transportation, and utility companies.\textsuperscript{176} They usually sat as board directors in a number of these firms, and received capital loans from the banks that they


held executive positions. They created a social network that channeled the exchange of financial capital from Canada to the United Kingdom, the United States, Mexico, and South America. This was extremely important for the growth of utilities and expansion of railways. As members of Toronto’s elite became responsible for overseeing the transfer of financial capital, this helped Toronto rival Montreal as the centre of business. Walker- and Flavelle-controlled banks and trust companies were appointed as the lead banks, transfer agents, and trustee of bonds for many new business ventures both with and outside of Canada’s national boundaries. They were involved in a number of projects, and the expansion of electric utilities in Toronto, Montreal, Minneapolis, Mexico City, Sao Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro was one such example. The transfer of financial capital and electric technology from one side of the globe to another made utility expansion a growing business.

Toronto’s new Anglo elite were ambitious self-made men. According to Carlie Oreskovich, “this was the age of the robber barons, when individuals accumulated as much money as many countries did and displayed a willingness to display those riches.” Careless argues that this new group “differed more in degree than kind from their Victorian predecessors. They had more money; their scope and expectations were greater.” Although this new bourgeoisie did not inherit their wealth, they accumulated much more economic capital than the Old Family Compact because their ideas and

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178 Sir Edmund Walker Papers, Box 21 Out Correspondence (1910-1911), File 70, Letter from Walker to Lord Earl Grey, December 15, 1911.
business ventures were international in scope. Toronto’s elite shifted from a local and national perspective to an international one. They benefited from the rapidly industrializing nation as opportunities for economic growth were occurring. This gave self-made men the opportunity to achieve not only wealth and status, but social, economic and political control.

Toronto’s Anglo elite consisted of manufacturers, big merchants, real estate speculators, insurance and utility executives, railroad magnates, corporate lawyers, and financiers. They exerted political influence over public policies in order to protect their social and economic interests. Laura Anker, Peter Seybold and Michael Schwartz, in their study of business and government elites conclude that the upper class “is able to both influence the structure of government and obtain access to decision-making positions within government.”\footnote{Laura Anker, Peter Seybold and Michael Schwartz, “The Ties that Bind Business and Government,” in Michael Schwartz (ed.), The Structure of Power in America: The Corporate Elite as a Ruling Class (New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 1987), p. 120.} This was the case in Toronto. Toronto’s elite were aware of the privileges that were available to them by building networks with local and federal politicians. For instance, in 1911 eighteen prominent Torontonians got together to defeat Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party. When Sir Robert Borden’s Conservatives won the federal election the “Toronto Eighteen” got their way and free trade talks with the United States ended and debt control became a priority.\footnote{Walker Papers, Box 21 Out Correspondence (1910-1911), File 64. Letter from Walker to H.V.F. Jones (Canadian Bank of Commerce), October 17, 1911; Walker Papers, Box 21 Out Correspondence (1910-1911), File 67. Letter from Walker to J.H. Fulton (Commercial National Bank), November 13, 1911.} Sir William Thomas White, who was a member of the Toronto Eighteen, and a former director of the National Trust Company (with Flavelle) became the Minister of Finance in
Borden’s new government – a position promised to him by the new Prime Minister during the federal election.

The members of Toronto’s elite were not an entirely closed and cohesive social group. They were not homogeneous, and they often disagreed in matters of business and politics. Conflicting ideologies existed between members of the elite; they did not always think alike, and thus, they did not always share common objectives. Although they built a number of alliances to consolidate and exert power through space and time, this did not equate to cohesiveness. Toronto’s Anglo elite did form important relationships with others in banking, insurance, transportation, utilities, manufacturing, and politics across spatial scales. They did share a common social background, exclusive clubs, and residential neighbourhoods to promote a sense of social distinction. The existence of commonality, however, did not mean that social cohesion took place; instead, commonality showed an expression of group membership and identity – not group cohesiveness.

The acquisition of social, economic and cultural capital ensured opportunities that placed the elite apart from the rest of the population. Although they held different interests, the upper class communicated with each other to achieve common goals. Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Joseph Flavelle and Dr. Charles Hastings held close business, personal, and social relationships with others like themselves. They appealed to their friends to donate to their favourite causes: Walker solicited for the Royal Ontario Museum (Figure 4.1), the Art Gallery of Ontario, the Mendelssohn Choir, the Champlain Society, Appleby College, and the National Battlefields’ Commission; Flavelle for the Toronto General Hospital (Figure 4.2), Mendelssohn Choir, and the Methodist Church
Figure 4.2, Toronto General Hospital, ca. 1912, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 1205c
Figure 4.3, Sherbourne Street Methodist Church, n.d., City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1568 Alexander W. Galbraith Fonds, Item 195
It is misleading to analyze the elite under the assumption that they all had similar interests. There was always tension between competing elites, including the controversy over the public ownership of utilities. Flavelle was dissatisfied with the utility service provided by Pellatt, Mackenzie and Frederic Nicholls, who controlled the Toronto Railway Company, the Toronto Electric Light Company, and the Electrical Development Company of Ontario. The Railway Company, for instance, acquired a 30-year franchise to provide streetcar service to Toronto’s citizens. Businessmen needed efficient service so their employees could easily extend service to the suburbs, Flavelle pressed for the public ownership of utilities. Anticipating the need for improved transportation services, Flavelle wrote to Toronto Mayor Horatio C. Hocken: “The operation of a rapid, efficient, and well organized transportation service throughout a great city and its suburbs enters so intimately into the daily life of the community, and means so much, particularly to those who are poor or in moderate circumstances, that I can conceive of no act which will bring greater satisfaction to a large number of people than the securing and betterment of such service. Good water, playgrounds for children, and transportation for all are primary factors in the life of working people in all centres where the limitations and contingencies incident to an aggregation of people are present.”

Pellatt, Mackenzie and Nicholls were eventually ‘forced’ out of the private ownership of electric and streetcar operations in Toronto. Public ownership of utilities

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183 Sir Joseph Flavelle Papers, Box 2 Correspondence (General), 1913-1916, File 1914. Letter from Flavelle to Horatio C. Hocken, April 17, 1917.
gained massive approval from Toronto’s population.\textsuperscript{184} This led to the creation of Ontario Hydro in 1906 and the Toronto Transportation Commission in 1921.\textsuperscript{185}

Toronto’s new elite were made up of migrants from small-town southern Ontario.\textsuperscript{186} For instance, Walker was born on October 14, 1848 in the Township of Seneca, Ontario and migrated to Toronto as a young adult. Walker was a financier, and he was very influential in the maturity of Canada’s banking system where he was connected to revisions that were made to the Bank Act of 1900, 1913, and 1923.\textsuperscript{187} Walker also traveled to Washington to advise on the drafting of the Federal Reserve legislation.\textsuperscript{188} In 1907, Walker became president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. He held this position until 1924. As President, Walker formed an interlocking structure of banking, transportation, insurance and manufacturing relationships. Walker’s views about banking were increasingly sought by politicians and cabinet ministers across the continent. In 1911 Walker was asked to be part of Borden’s government. Walker politely declined:

The important reason, and the one which covers all others, however, is my devotion to the Canadian Bank of Commerce and to the University of Toronto, in the Board of Governors of which I am chairman. These along with many other reasons have guided me in my decision. Besides I am now over sixty, and rather far advanced in life to put my hand to the plough in politics.\textsuperscript{189}

\textsuperscript{184} McDowall, \textit{The Light}, p. 180.
\textsuperscript{188} Ibid, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{189} Walker Papers, Box 21 Out Correspondence (1910-1911), File 12-2. Letter from Walker to Robert Borden (Prime Minister).
Walker held many key national and international positions in such organizations as the Canadian Bankers’ Association, the American Bankers’ Association, and the Institute of Bankers of England. He also held key corporate directorships (Table 4.1). Walker was very much influential in the growth of Canadian business. His influence was so great that his words were often published in newspapers across North America. For instance, in January 13, 1917 Walker was quoted in *The New York Times* regarding his concern about Canada’s financial situation:

> It will be natural for a Britisher to invest his savings in our own securities, particularly at the rates of interest which are likely to prevail. We shall, therefore, watch this situation with increasing interest, as future development at home and abroad may depend upon the willingness of capitalists and others to accept a lower return from such investments than they can obtain under present conditions by simply investing their surplus funds in Government and similar securities.\(^{190}\)

Sir Walker was also responsible for promoting high culture and intellectual development in Toronto. He was a philanthropist and patron of the arts. He established a wide range of cultural and educational institutions. According to *The Globe*, Walker “was never too busy to take an active part in movements for the advancement of artistic culture and science. He was a connoisseur in art, but not a selfish one, his constant aim being to encourage artistic taste in the community, and to make objects of beauty serve the purpose of education.”\(^{191}\) Walker was very much involved in the affairs of the University of Toronto, insisting “You cannot make a great nation unless you have halls of learning where every intellectual faculty of man may be satisfied, and where the


Table 4.1:  
Company Board Memberships, Sir Edmund Walker and Sir Joseph Flavelle, Selected Years, 1900-1939

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Company</th>
<th>Walker</th>
<th>Flavelle</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albion Investments Ltd.</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bellas Hess &amp; Company</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brunner, Mond Canada, Ltd.</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada Cycle and Motor Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada Life Assurance Company</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canadian Bank of Commerce</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canadian Collieries</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canadian Marconi Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canadian Mining and Exploration Co.</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canadian National Railway</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carter-Crume Company</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Canada Savings and Loan Co.</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominion Realty Company</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grand Trunk Pacific Railway</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Great North Western Telegraph Co. of Canada</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harris Abattoir Company, Ltd.</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperial Life Assurance Company</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperial Varnish and Color Company</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>John A. Hambleton &amp; Company</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Murphy Company of Montreal</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>Massey-Harris Company Ltd.</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mexican Light and Power</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monterey Railway, Light and Power Co.</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Trust Company</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>Northeyp-Plummer Ltd.</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Penny Bank of Toronto</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Simpson Company</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Cable Company</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Company of Knights, Ltd.</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Home and Foreign Securities Co., Ltd.</td>
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<td>The Mond Nickel Company Ltd.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Noiseless Typewriter</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Quaker Oats Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Wallace Fisheries Ltd.</td>
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<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto General Trusts Corporation</td>
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<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Davies Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York Land Company</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

duties of citizenship and the ethical aspects of life are taught in the fullest manner.\(^{192}\)

Walker died at the age of 75 on March 27, 1924. At the time of his death, Sir Robert Falconer, president of the University of Toronto and an old friend, paid his respects and went on to say: “Banking was the chief concern of his life, and we have the testimony of those in this calling that he was the greatest banker of his day in Canada. His ability is confirmed for us who are outside this profession by comparing the Bank of Commerce of today as it was when he entered it as a young man. It had been peculiarly his creation. He made it a great banking corporation, but more than that… he humanized the bank; he turned his officials into a company of persons, each one interested in its welfare, gathering in the process of years a remarkable staff whose administration and affection he retained to the end.”\(^{193}\)

Walker’s funeral service was held at the University of Toronto’s Convocation Hall, and in attendance were prominent men, including Dr. Henry James Cody (former, Minister of Education), Gen. G.T. Fotheringham (representing the Governor-General), Dr. D. Bruce Macdonald (University of Toronto, Board of Governors), Chief Justice Sir William Mulock, and Premier G. Howard Ferguson, as well as others representing the who’s who of Canada (Figure 4.4). Walker utilized the resources embedded in these social relationships to transform social capital into economic and cultural capital. He utilized these forms of capital to maintain social boundaries between himself and others.

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\(^{192}\) Walker Papers, Box 26A University of Toronto, 1891-1914.

Figure 4.4. Sir Edmund Walker's Funeral Service in Convocation Hall, 1924, University of Toronto Archives, Sir Edmund Walker Accession A73 0026 490 (75).
Sir Joseph Flavelle, like Walker, was also a prominent Canadian businessman. Flavelle was born in Peterborough, Ontario on February 14, 1858 and died 81 years later on March 7, 1939. He was a manufacturer, financier, newspaper publisher, and philanthropist. Flavelle was part of the Sir George A. Cox ‘family’ of businessmen, and by 1900, Cox was responsible for combined assets of 70 million dollars.\(^{194}\) This group also included Zebulon A. Lash (from the firm Blake, Lash, Anglin and Cassels), Sir William Mackenzie (Toronto Electric Light Company), Cox’s son-in-law Alfred E. Ames (A.E. Ames & Company), Sir William Thomas White (National Trust Company), and Edward R. Wood (National Trust Company).

Flavelle made his fortune in the meatpacking business as the president of the William Davies Company. He was also the president of the National Trust Company and vice president of the Robert Simpson Company (Table 4.1). His link to Toronto’s financial community (mainly Cox, Walker, White and Wood) allowed Flavelle not only to expand his business interests, but also to raise funds for various causes. He turned down many business opportunities, including a merger with the Hudson’s Bay Company, an offer to become the chief executive officer of the Canadian National Railway, as well as directorships in Massey-Harris and Canadian General Electric.\(^{195}\) During the First World War, Flavelle was also the head of the Imperial Munitions Board. The Board organized ammunition production in Canada. According to Michael Bliss, Flavelle “had more men working on his contracts than any Canadian businessman had

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\(^{194}\) Bliss, ““Better and Purer,”” pp. 16-17.

ever supervised.”  

White paid tribute to Flavelle at a luncheon to honour his retirement from the Canadian Bank of Commerce, stating “In the course of his enterprising and constructive business career extending over more than sixty years, Sir Joseph has played a most notable part in the development and upbuilding of Canadian industry, commerce and finance. Apart from his continuous activities in these various fields, he has devoted himself unsparingly to the duties of citizenship, of which he has always cherished the highest ideals.”

Flavelle was also a very important philanthropist. He was involved in education, hospitals, and church foundations. Flavelle invested a lot of time and energy in many important charities for the Methodist Church, the United Church of Canada, the University of Toronto, and the Ontario Research Foundation. He was also involved with the affairs of the British Red Cross Society, Toronto Working Boy’s Home, and the Victorian Order of Nurses. Flavelle also organized the construction of the new Toronto General Hospital. He was the chairman of the Board of Trustees, and was responsible for building the hospital in association with the University of Toronto. He collected donations from his wealthy friends, including Cox and Walker, among others. In a statement to the Board of Trustees, Flavelle argued that the “Toronto General Hospital has been the centre of medical education in the Province, and in its wards were trained the men who were to place Medicine in Upper Canada in the position worthy of a great profession. Close and intimate relationship between a Hospital and the Medical Faculty of a University of high standing is of great service, alike to the patients in the Hospital,


the students in attendance, and the greater community outside who will later to be served by the men who graduate from the University.”

Flavelle and Walker, along with others like Cox, dominated Canadian business at the turn of the twentieth century. They were all part of a multinational, overlapping elite with connections to politicians, corporate lawyers, intellectuals, businessmen, and artists across the world. Both Flavelle and Walker were involved with the affairs of the Canadian Bank of Commerce: Walker its president since 1907 and Flavelle elected as a director since 1896. There they were also joined by Cox, and all three were also involved in the operations of the Canada Life Assurance Company. The Bank of Commerce provided finance to the Canada Life, Flavelle’s William Davies Company, and Mackenzie’s Toronto Electric Light Company. The counsel and legal work was usually done by the firm of Blake, Lash, Anglin and Cassels. The interests of the Canadian Bank of Commerce stretched from Canada and London through the United States, Brazil and Mexico. The shared interests of Flavelle and Walker did not end there – they were also involved in the construction of the new Toronto General Hospital, the erection of the Royal Ontario Museum, the growth of the Mendelssohn Choir, and the re-organization of the University of Toronto. It was Walker who wanted Flavelle to join the Board of Governors of the University of Toronto. In a letter written to Edward Blake (chancellor of the University of Toronto), dated January 11, 1900, Walker wrote:

There are some University matters about which I omitted to speak to you to-day: 1. There is a vacancy in the Board of Trustees caused by Mr. Rutherford’s death. 2. On the agenda of the Senate meeting to be held on

198 Statement made by J.W. Flavelle, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Toronto General Hospital, Thursday, June 19th, 1913, On the Occasion of the Formal Opening of the New Hospital Buildings on College St. Toronto.
Friday of this week there is a notice of motion for the appointment of a successor to Mr. Rutherford. 3. Dr. Hoskin and I have entertained the hope that under happier circumstances we might have been able to appoint Mr. Flavelle to the vacancy, and it is just possible that his name may be proposed although not through any action of ours. It would be a misfortune if this took place and he was not elected. 4. Mr. Flavelle met at my house last night several of the Professors in connection with an offer he is making of a traveling scholarship in connection with Oxford University of $750 per annum. He is calling on President Loudon to-day to announce his intention. I know that this offer is made in the sincerest way for the good that it will do, and also with the hope that it may help a little to heal the differences. 199

Flavelle and Walker exercised considerable influence in the University. They had a strong presence on campus, building close friendships with a group of professors, including Ramsay Wright, Goldwin Smith, and Dean Alexander Primrose. Flavelle and Walker were also involved in the hiring of Sir Robert Falconer as the university’s new president in 1907 (Figure 4.5). The Royal Commission consisted of Walker, Flavelle, A.H. Colquhoun (editor of the News), Goldwin Smith (intellectual), Sir William Meredith (chancellor of the University of Toronto), Henry James Cody, and D. Bruce Macdonald (principal of St. Andrew’s College) (Figure 4.6). Flavelle was excited about this experience and wrote to Macdonald in December 1906, stating his appreciation: “You can but guess what it meant to the plain man of affairs, denied University training, to meet almost daily for months with a select body of men of wide culture and to share with them in their consideration and ultimate decisions.” 200 In short, Flavelle and Walker

199 Walker Papers, Box 19 Out Correspondence (1898-1904), File 23-147,148. Letter from Walker to Edward Blake (ex-chancellor, University of Toronto), January 11, 1900.

200 Flavelle Papers, Box 38 Correspondence 1900-1925. Letter from Flavelle to D. Bruce Macdonald (Board of Governors, University of Toronto), December 30, 1906.
Figure 4.6, University of Toronto Board of Governors, n.d., City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1568 Alexander W. Galbraith Fonds, Item 484
played an important role in the daily affairs of the University. They coordinated their ideas and were in constant contact with professors, university board members, and politicians seeking their advice and wisdom for a successful school.

The city of Toronto also had its fair share of upper-class individuals who were not part of the business elite. Dr. Charles Hastings was not an influential businessman; instead he was a health pioneer. Hastings was born in Markham Township on August 23, 1858.201 He died at the age of 73 on January 17, 1931. At the time of his death, The Globe acknowledged his role in stressing preventive measures stating: “His administration of the Heath Department attracted attention in other parts of the world, and brought high tributes from distinguished specialists who came to the city to inspect his methods and receive evidence of the results obtained. He did a great deal to purify the city’s supply of both water and milk, and devoted special attention to the ventilation of workshops and schools.”202

Hastings turned Toronto’s Public Health Department into a very respectable one. He was involved in public health in response to the death of his daughter who died from drinking infected milk.203 In 1908, he helped form a Milk Commission in Canada that focused upon the supply of safe milk.204 By 1915 all the milk sold in Toronto was pasteurized.205 Hastings was concerned with preventive measures stressing the

201 Charles John Oliver Hastings Accession, University of Toronto Archives (UTA) A73-0026 / 142 (77), “Resolution Adopted by the Senate of the University of Toronto on March 13th, 1931, on Motion of Dean Primrose Seconded by Prof. J.G. Fitzgerald.”
203 Hastings Accession, “Resolution Adopted by the Senate of the University of Toronto.”
204 Ibid.
205 Ibid.
importance of “sanitary instruction and not sanitary inspection.”  He was able to implement changes as Toronto’s Medical Officer of Health from 1910 to 1929. Hastings and Toronto’s Health Department accomplished a number of feats, including a pure water supply, the inspection of all meat and milk, free clinics for patients, the establishment of a district nursing staff, the incorporation of a medical, dental and nursing service in schools, and the formation of a hygiene division (Figure 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9).  He was honoured by the University of Toronto and Syracuse University with the honorary degrees of Doctor of Medicine and Doctor of Science, respectively. The University of Toronto also honoured Hastings by developing scholarships under his name to encourage the study of public health – Flavelle was part of this committee.

Hastings was well known across Canada, the United States, Great Britain, and other countries in Europe. He attended conferences and delivered lectures all over the world. Hastings became president of the Great Lakes International Pure Water Association in 1912, the Canadian Public Health Association in 1916, and the American Public Health Association in 1918. Hastings was also the president of the Ontario Medical Association, Canadian Medical Association, and the Toronto Academy of Medicine. Like Walker and Flavelle, Hastings was very much respected in Canadian

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207 Hastings Accession, “Ten Years in Office, Dr. Hastings as M.O.H.,” Star October 9, 1920.

208 Hastings Accession, “Resolution Adopted by the Senate of the University of Toronto.”

Figure 4.7, Inspecting Milk at Union Station, ca. 1913, City of Toronto Archives, Subseries 32 Health Department Photographs, Item 203
Figure 4.8, Milk Inspection, May 1913, City of Toronto Archives, Series 372, Subseries 32 Health Department Photographs, Item 212
Figure 4.9, Dental Clinic, Edith L Grove School, 1930, City of Toronto Archives, Subseries 32 Health Department Photographs, Item 835
society. They all held many important positions in civic, business, cultural, and philanthropic associations. These positions brought Walker, Flavelle and Hastings into exclusive circles where they had the opportunity to establish important ties with elites across the world. Because they were part of a transnational elite they exchanged information and built alliances with others in a number of different spatial scales. Their relationships spanned local, regional and international scales: from their Toronto corporate offices to the exclusive clubs of a number of different cities.

Walker, Flavelle and Hastings commanded a disproportionate share of power, wealth, and status in the country’s social, economic, cultural, and political spheres. These individuals occupied, controlled and monopolized high powerful positions within the nation’s major political and business organizations, including the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Toronto Board of Trade, the Toronto Department of Health, and the Canadian Manufacturers’ Association. Walker and Flavelle also benefited from the status associated with sitting on the board of the Royal Ontario Museum, the Art Gallery of Toronto, the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, the University of Toronto, and the Toronto General Hospital. Walker, Flavelle, and Hastings had their own idea of how they envisioned the city’s social, economic, cultural and political landscape, and they made sure they created relationships with other prominent leaders to gain approval. They saw themselves as distinct from the rest of society. Toronto’s elite were a class conscious and social exclusive group that erected new social boundaries and maintained old ones in order to limit the entry of outsiders. They barred non-members from prominent residential neighbourhoods, exclusive clubs, corporate and philanthropic boardrooms, and preparatory schools and universities in order to maintain social and
physical distance between themselves and the rest of the population as the following demonstrates.

**Toronto’s Anglo Elites: Erecting and Maintaining Social Boundaries**

In his study of America’s iron and steel-industry bourgeoisie, John Ingham examines the role of exclusive clubs, universities, private schools, and fashionable neighbourhoods in defining and perpetuating the American upper class.\(^{210}\) Ingham focuses on the extent to which these institutions played a role in reinforcing the iron baron families’ exclusiveness. While Ingham did not systematically examine the important relationship between particular spaces and power, he did demonstrate an understanding that institutions were important avenues for contact and channels of communication between diverse sections of the elite.

In the following pages I build upon the work of Ingham to explore the ways in which Toronto’s Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Joseph Flavelle, and Dr. Charles Hastings exerted social and economic power through space and time. They created, occupied and controlled privileged residential neighbourhoods, summer resorts, private schools, universities, exclusive clubs, business offices, and philanthropic and corporate boardrooms. These places acted as forums where the upper class built significant social networks and exchanged pertinent information and knowledge. It was within these locales that members of the elite functioned in familiar social circles expressing their social, economic and cultural hegemony over others. They preserved their social

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position by erecting social boundaries to separate themselves from the rest of society, and thus, limiting the opportunities of advancement for outsiders.

Toronto’s upper class maintained existing social boundaries and produced new ones on a daily basis. I agree with Michele Lamont when she argues that “boundaries not only create groups; they also potentially produce inequality because they are an essential medium through which individuals acquire status, monopolize resources, ward off threats, or legitimate their social advantages, often in reference to superior lifestyle, habits, character, or competences.”

Toronto’s Anglo elite did just this: they restricted entrance to social, living, business and political spaces. Walker, Flavelle and Hastings controlled and manipulated these forums of power by erecting boundaries which reproduced power relations. Robert Lewis describes a similar phenomenon that occurred in turn-of-the-twentieth-century Montreal when the local elite “built new and remodeled existing infrastructures to reproduce industrial class relations in space through the defense of existing capital...”

The residential neighbourhoods, summer cottages, private schools, exclusive clubs, and boardrooms of Toronto’s Anglo elite provided them with certain advantages and benefits, including a forum where face-to-face contacts provided individuals with open communication for the exchange of knowledge and information. These spaces shaped the interactions of the upper class, and at the same time, these relationships constituted and reproduced space. As groups of individuals congregated within a

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particular locale this provided opportunities for the transmission of ideas between persons. By acquiring information about local and foreign markets, production processes, distribution strategies, technology use, and product philosophies Toronto’s Anglo elite were capable of influencing outcomes and acquiring more wealth. According to Meric Gertler, people benefit from the transmission of information and communication by just being at the right place at the right time.213 Grabher goes a step further noting that “actors are not deliberately ‘scanning’ their environment in search of a specific piece of information but rather are surrounded by a concoction of rumours, impressions, recommendations, trade folklore and strategic information.”214 Because Toronto’s privileged class controlled the spaces in which they lived, socialized, leisured and worked, they were enveloped with opportunities. I am not suggesting that information was being gathered all the time; instead, I argue that the prospect was always there where elites could manage and implement their interests and share their ideas.

Privileged Residential Neighbourhoods

The upper class neighbourhood is a sign of power and social status. E. Digby Baltzell’s study of the American elite argues that the residential neighbourhood “is an indispensable factor in the development of an upper class style of life, system of

personal values, and distinct character structure.\textsuperscript{215} The members of North America’s elite had a number of choices when it came to selecting their residential neighbourhoods.\textsuperscript{216} The less privileged, in turn, were influenced by the decisions of the elite, and more often than not, were discriminated against within the housing market.\textsuperscript{217} The members of a city’s upper class lived in nearly homogeneous and socially exclusive neighbourhoods. According to Ingham’s study, these neighbourhoods “provided an environment for socialization of like peoples.”\textsuperscript{218} Socio-spatial segregation was encouraged by the elite. They separated themselves from the less privileged in order to protect and defend their neighbourhoods from the invasion of outsiders. This process of segregation was advanced through the use of zoning bylaws that provided social distinction from the rest of the population.\textsuperscript{219}

Toronto’s upper class lived in privileged neighbourhoods to maintain social distance between themselves and the rest of society. This group lived in elegant homes and mansions. They held lunches and parties at their homes where only those

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{217} Ibid, p. 9.
\bibitem{218} Ingham, \textit{The Iron Barons}, p. 227.
\end{thebibliography}
privileged enough were invited.\textsuperscript{220} Toronto’s elite were living in a number of different areas: some resided in or near the city-centre close to the University of Toronto; others lived in the eastern part of the city along Sherbourne Street, and; others moved to the suburban outskirts of Rosedale, Lawrence Park, and Forest Hill. For instance, in 1900 Walker, Flavelle, and Hastings made their home on St. George Street, Jarvis Street, and Wellesley Avenue, respectively (Table 4.2).

\textbf{Table 4.2:}
Residential Neighbourhoods, Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Joseph Flavelle, Dr. Charles Hastings, Selected Years, 1901 and 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Neighbourhood (1900)</th>
<th>Neighbourhood (1924-39)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sir Walker</td>
<td>City Centre-St. George St.</td>
<td>City Centre-St. George St.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Flavelle</td>
<td>East End-Jarvis St.</td>
<td>City Centre-Queen’s Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Hastings</td>
<td>East End-Wellesley Ave.</td>
<td>North End-Forest Hill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: \textit{Might City Directory, 1900, 1924, 1931, 1939}

The homeowners along these streets were socially prominent families. By 1920, the Sherbourne-Carlton area was declining – many homes were converted to multi-family use – and Toronto’s elite moved to other areas. At the time of their deaths Walker, Flavelle, and Hastings still resided in affluent neighbourhoods on St. George Street, Queen’s Park Crescent (Holwood) (Figure 4.10), and Russell Hill Road, respectively. Walker’s neighbours included distinguished businessmen like Albert Nordheimer (piano manufacturer) and George Gooderham (distiller). Toronto’s extravagant homes had special names: Wychwood (Marmaduke Matthews), Bracondale (Robert John Turner),

\textsuperscript{220} Walker Papers, Box 9 In Correspondence (September 1910-1911), File 18, Letter from Sir Henry Mill Pellatt (Pellatt and Pellatt) to Walker, January 10, 1911.
Casa Loma (Sir Henry Mill Pellatt) (Figure 4.11), Castle Frank (Sir Albert E. Kemp) (Figure 4.12), Ardwold (John C. Eaton) (Figure 4.13), The Grange (Goldwin Smith) (Figure 4.14), and Benvenuto (Sir William Mackenzie) (Figure 4.15).

In these upper class neighbourhoods, Toronto’s Anglo elite belonged to a number of congregations. For instance, Flavelle attended Sherbourne Street United Church (originally Sherbourne Street Methodist Church) at the corner of Sherbourne and Carlton streets, and Walker was part of St. Paul’s Anglican Church at the corner of Bloor Street East and Jarvis Street, and St. Andrew’s Anglican Church at the corner of King Street West and Simcoe Street. These congregations were strongholds of the elite where many interactions took place. Attendance at weekly masses and at church fundraisers was another opportunity for elites to ‘rub elbows’ with one another. Flavelle, for instance, worshipped together with Cox, Wood, and Ames.\textsuperscript{221} This allowed individuals of similar social backgrounds to build trusting relationships and prospective alliances. According to Bliss, these individuals “were held together by complex ties of family, home town, church, marriage, and business interest.”\textsuperscript{222}

The members of the elite also interacted within the halls of the Royal Ontario Museum and the Art Gallery of Ontario. These institutions opened their doors in 1914 and 1918, respectively. Walker was the chairman for both. As mentioned earlier, he was also involved in the affairs of the Mendelssohn Choir with Flavelle. These cultural

\textsuperscript{221} Bliss, “Better and Purer,” p. 17.

\textsuperscript{222} Ibid.
Figure 4.10, Sir Joseph Flavelle's Residence, Queen's Park Crescent, ca. 1912, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 294
Figure 4.11, Sir Henry Mill Pellatt Residence, Casa Loma, ca. 1915, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244
William James Family Fonds, Item 4089
Figure 4.12, Sir Albert E. Kemp Residence, Castle Frank, Castle Frank Road, 1912, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 1217
Figure 4.13, Sir John C. Eaton Residence, Ardwold, Spadina Road, ca. 1910, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 316
Figure 4.14, Goldwin Smith Residence, The Grange, 1907, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 325a
Figure 4.15, Sir William McKenzie Residence, Benvenuto, Avenue Road, ca. 1911, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 1043
institutions provided persons with important settings for socialization, and played decisive roles in constructing the proper values and codes for the elite. As described by Betty Farrell’s work on Boston, these sorts of institutions “existed for the manifest purpose of promoting the particular cultural products of education, art, and music, but their latent function was in shaping and reproducing the shared tastes and values that gave the upper class its strong sense of identity and solidarity.”\textsuperscript{223} Stephen Higley has a similar position, arguing that “the upper class has developed a series of supporting institutions to link individuals with a shared outlook and value system. By carefully molding young upper-class people into the established value system, the upper class assures its own community.”\textsuperscript{224}

Toronto’s Anglo elite escaped the city’s ills by settling in cottages in the warm summer months. Walker and Flavelle both resided in exclusive summer residences. Walker made his home at De Grassi Point (Lake Simcoe) and Flavelle at Sturgeon Point. By residing in these neighbourhoods and summer cottages, Toronto’s upper class reproduced both the physical and social distance between their social group and others. This social exclusiveness reinforced a particular elite ideology. As James Borchert and Susan Borchert argue in their discussion of upper-class residential areas in Buffalo, Pittsburgh and Cleveland, the elite “produced a symbolic space that differed greatly from the rest of the city as they were not fully bound by powerful economic or


\textsuperscript{224} Higley, \textit{Privilege, Power, and Place}, p. 23.
other forces.” Similar to the upper class of Toronto, they were able to not only choose their place of residence, but control entry to their neighbourhoods.

**Private Schools**

Private schools taught the children of the elite an important set of principles and standards, and thus, reinforced an upper class ideology. According to Farrell’s study of Boston’s Brahmins, the children of the upper class attended private schools to ensure “that they would continue to be trained for leadership roles in new and old professional specializations.” Similarly, Mills argues that these schools were integral “for transmitting the traditions of the upper social classes, and regulating the new admission of wealth and talent.” Steven Levine has a similar conclusion, pointing out that access was restricted to these schools in order to maintain a certain upper class lifestyle. Entrance to these schools was very exclusive; outsiders were incapable of passing the social screening process and the cost was extremely expensive. These schools, like exclusive residential neighbourhoods, isolated the children of the upper class from those of the city’s less privileged classes.

Private schools were important spaces for upper-class interaction. They provided children and their parents with the opportunity to interact with members of the

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same class. These schools were a highly distinguishing form of socialization.\textsuperscript{230} Because a privileged educational system became a requirement for entering the business world, it was essential that children made the right contacts early in life. The recruitment for a well-educated person was necessary for business management. According to Levine, financiers would “hire members of their own social group, often relying on educational credentials to determine whether an individual has been socialized into the proper status culture.”\textsuperscript{231} In Toronto, these schools included the University of Toronto (Figure 4.16), Upper Canada College (Figure 4.17), Bishop Strachan (Figure 4.18), and Havergal. According to Wallace Clement these schools were “designed to create upper class associations and maintain class values both by exclusion and socialization; that is, exclusion of the lower classes and socialization of the potential elite.”\textsuperscript{232} Clement also notes that universities provided meeting places for round table discussions about economic and political issues.\textsuperscript{233} This occurred several times at the University of Toronto’s Convocation Hall where prominent Canadians gathered to discuss imperialism, reciprocity with the United States, war finance, and a host of other issues (Figure 4.19 and 4.20).\textsuperscript{234}

\textsuperscript{230} Beckert, \textit{The Monied Metropolis}, p. 240.


\textsuperscript{232} Clement, \textit{The Canadian Corporate Elite}, p. 244.

\textsuperscript{233} Ibid, pp. 252-3.

\textsuperscript{234} Glazebrook, \textit{Sir Edmund Walker}, p. 130; \textit{Canada and its Relations to the Empire, An Address delivered by J.W. Flavelle, Chairman, Imperial Munitions Board}, Convocation Hall, University of Toronto, Friday April 27, 1917.
Figure 4.16. Trinity College, University of Toronto, 1929, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1231 James Salmon Collection, Item 2
Figure 4.17. Upper Canada College, Forest Hill, ca. 1905, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1568 Alexander W. Galbraith Fonds, Item 198.
Figure 4.19, Convocation Hall, University of Toronto, 1926, City of Toronto Archives, Series 71 Central Photography Series of the Toronto Transit Commission, Item 7250
Figure 4.20, Convocation Hall, University of Toronto, ca. 1912, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 3142
Exclusion Clubs

Toronto’s Anglo elite spent much of their leisure time at exclusive clubs. They gained memberships mainly to exclusive country, social and athletic clubs (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: The Organization of Toronto’s Exclusive Clubs, 1910 and 1929

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Club</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1929</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Country Clubs</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Clubs</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Clubs</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Clubs</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletic Clubs</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual Clubs</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting Clubs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yacht Clubs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse Racing Clubs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Clubs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Clubs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile Clubs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boating Clubs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>109</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Torontoan Society Blue Book, 1910 and 1929

These clubs were located within exclusive residential neighbourhoods and near the city’s central business district (Figure 3.1). The upper class belonged to a number of clubs as they were capable of bearing the costs. Exclusive clubs provided members of the elite with an easy way to identify themselves and exclude others. Membership in the York Club, for example, required that entrants be sponsored by two existing
members (Figure 4.21). In addition, prospective members needed the approval of the club’s general membership. If club membership did not need members’ approval, entrance fees were large enough that they excluded lower segments of the population. This restricted club membership to privileged individuals. In his study of New York City’s elite at the turn of the twentieth century, Gabriel A. Almond has a similar viewpoint:

Some associations restrict their memberships purely on the basis of birth and wealth, others on the basis of what they consider more solid achievement, others on the basis of interest in or skill in some type of sport or recreation. Wealth, birth, skill, and interest restrictions tend to include the same general group of individuals, since individuals of ‘good’ or wealthy birth acquire similar interests or skills through attendance at the same educational institutions, and through social pressures which legitimate certain types of pursuits for their class.

Toronto’s exclusive clubs provided a convenient gathering place for the city’s social, economic and political leaders. Politicians, industrialists, financiers and merchants congregated at these clubs where they forged an elite consensus. They built a sense of place. Unlike the organizations of the lower classes, these clubs were not legitimated by economic security and/or respectable burial. Rather, exclusive clubs were formed to provide the upper class both with pleasure and recreation. They also used these institutions to socialize, discuss business opportunities, and exchange ideas. As noted by Mark Brayshay and his co-authors, this was an example of “learning

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235 The Torontonian Society Blue Book 1921.

Figure 4.21, York Club, Bloor and St. George Streets, 1924, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1231 James Salmon Collection, Item 792
by dining;” members increased their business opportunities by gaining knowledge of new market opportunities and business trends.\textsuperscript{237} Because club memberships helped bind elites together, business deals were easily finalized. By being involved in a number of clubs, Toronto’s Anglo elite were able to socialize and coordinate their business activities and develop important business relationships.

Walker and Flavelle belonged to a number of clubs (Table 4.4). Walker belonged to fourteen and Flavelle to sixteen. Their affiliations overlapped and they were bound together in many clubs, including the Toronto Club – it was the social headquarters for affluent Liberals.\textsuperscript{238} The Toronto Club which was created in 1835, as well as the National Club founded in 1874, and the York Club established in 1909 were national clubs.\textsuperscript{239} They connected individuals from different cities building links with other members of Canada’s elite. For instance, in 1929 the Toronto Club included among its membership a total of 517 industrialists, financiers, real estate speculators, politicians, and executives – 114 of whom did not live in Toronto. In the process, Canada’s influential leaders were brought together within these clubs, and the spatial distance between them was not detrimental to joint interests. On that note, Flavelle and Walker did not limit themselves to memberships in Toronto; they were also members of clubs in Ottawa (Rideau Club), Montreal (Mount Royal Club and St. James Club), and London (Devonshire Club). Memberships in these institutions were a signal of social

\textsuperscript{238} Careless, “The First Hurrah,” p. 128.  
\textsuperscript{239} Clement, \textit{The Canadian Corporate Elite}, p. 248.
acceptance outside of Toronto. The socializing function was as important as the sharing of new ideas and strategies between leaders of the same city as well as other cities. Clement has a similar take:

...‘the club’ is a meeting place, a social circle, where businessmen can entertain and make deals. It serves as a badge of ‘social certification’ but is more, in that ‘the club’ is a place where friendships are established and old relationships nourished. A person’s ‘contacts’ are important in the corporate world because they affect the ability to have access to capital, to

Table 4.4: Club Memberships, Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Joseph Flavelle, Dr. Charles Hastings, Selected Years, 1906, 1910, 1921, and 1929

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Club</th>
<th>Walker</th>
<th>Flavelle</th>
<th>Hastings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albany Club</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpine Club of Canada</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argonaut Rowing Club</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts and Letters Club</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Club of Toronto</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Club of Toronto</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambton Golf and Country Club</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississauga Golf Club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Royal Club (Montreal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario Jockey Club</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario Motor Club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive Club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen City Curling &amp; Lawn Bowling Club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rideau Club (Ottawa)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosedale Golf Club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Canadian Institute</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Canadian Yacht Club</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. James Club (Montreal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Club</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Canoe Club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Hunt Club</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Club of Toronto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York Club</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *The Torontonian Society Blue Book, 1906, 1910, 1921 and 1929*
establish joint ventures and to enter into buyer and seller relationships with the men who control the nation’s largest corporations. To participate in the club life is to be known ‘by those who count’ and, moreover, to have their sons known.\textsuperscript{240}

Through their membership into exclusive clubs, Toronto’s upper class gained direct access to other elites. They invested time within these institutions as a means of gaining economic and political influence. Ingham also noted that “membership in these clubs was essential to the businessman who wished to rise above a certain point in the business hierarchy. So much business was done over lunch, or late in the afternoons in these clubs, that if a businessman did not belong he would miss out on many of the important transactions in his industry.”\textsuperscript{241} Exclusive clubs became important spheres for accessing social, economic and cultural capital. It was within these spaces where elites established a set of strategies to increase business opportunities.

Toronto’s Anglo elite also attended exceptional dinners that were held at many exclusive clubs and hotels.\textsuperscript{242} Anniversaries, birthdays, fundraisers, and distinguished careers were the focus. For instance, on July 24, 1918 the Directors of the Canadian Bank of Commerce gave a dinner in honour of Walker for his illustrious career. The dinner was held at the King Edward Hotel. During this dinner many of Toronto’s

\textsuperscript{240} Ibid, p. 247.
\textsuperscript{241} Ingham, \textit{The Iron Barons}, p. 226.
prominent individuals took the chair including Lash, Flavelle, Sir John Aird (General Manager, Canadian Bank of Commerce), Dr. Henry James Cody (Minister of Education), Colonel George T. Denison (Toronto Police Magistrate), and Dr. A. S. Vogt (Musical Director, Toronto Conservatory of Music). Many other distinguished people across Canada, the United States, and England were also present; those who were unable to attend sent telegrams and letters. Walker also travelled to other major North American cities to lecture about banking, monetary affairs, and/or art. For instance, he delivered speeches in January 1911 in Montreal at the annual dinner of The Canadian Manufacturers’ Association, in November 1912 in New York City at The Canadian Club of Canada, again in March 1917 in New York City at The Lawyer’s Club, in February 1918, this time before the Republican Club, and again in September 1918 before The International Convention of Life Underwriters. As such, Toronto’s upper class restricted entry to these invitation-only banquets. As they attended these dinners and luncheons for a common cause, the upper class recognized themselves as distinct from the rest of society. They maintained social and physical distance between themselves and the rest of the population. This provided the upper class with another forum where face-to-face contacts could build more social and business relationships.

Hastings also delivered many lectures and attended a number of conferences and fundraisers throughout his distinguished career. In attendance were those in his inner circle, including Sir Robert Falconer, the Hon. Dr. Forbes Godfrey (Ontario Minister of Health), Dean Alexander Primrose (Faculty of Medicine, University of

\[243\] *Jubilee of Sir Edmund Walker.*
Toronto), and Dr. T. Clarence Routley (Ontario Medical Association), among others.\textsuperscript{244} Hastings routinely delivered lectures all over the world. In a letter to Toronto Mayor, Thomas Foster, (published in the \textit{Star}), Hasting writes the following: “I was very glad to get away from London, as owing to their familiarity with our work in the department of health in Toronto there were numerous demands upon my time, and I had several public addresses to deliver and a very large number of functions to attend, such as banquets, garden parties, at homes, etc…”\textsuperscript{245} Hastings was also a special speaker at a number of Toronto charity luncheons and dinners. For instance, in April 1924 Hastings hosted a special gathering at the King Edward Hotel to raise money for a new wing for St. Michael’s Hospital.\textsuperscript{246} As these special events bound the upper class together, elites actively channeled and exerted their influence and power through their relationships with distinguished others. They left their mark not only in Canadian society, but also around the world.

\textbf{The Boardroom}

Social inequalities and power relations were also maintained and reinforced within the boardrooms of companies and non-profit institutions including universities, symphonies, museums, art galleries, and hospitals. Toronto’s Anglo elite were on the boards of many companies and non-profit institutions like the Royal Ontario Museum, the Art Gallery of Ontario, the University of Toronto, the Toronto General Hospital, and the Mendelssohn Choir, as well as others (Table 4.1 and 4.5). Company boardrooms

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{244} Hastings Accession.
\textsuperscript{246} Hastings Accession, “Need of Hospitals Urged by Dr. Hastings,” \textit{Daily Mail and Empire}, April 4, 1924.
\end{flushleft}
Table 4.5:  
Board Memberships, Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Joseph Flavelle, Dr. Charles Hastings, Selected Years, 1900-1939

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Non-Profit Boardroom</th>
<th>Walker</th>
<th>Flavelle</th>
<th>Hastings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advisory Arts Council</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Bankers’ Association</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Public Health Association</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appleby College for Boys</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Gallery of Ontario</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy Scouts Association</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Red Cross Appeal/Society</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Bankers’ Association</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian National Gallery</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Peace Centenary Association</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Public Health Association</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champlain Society</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geological Society of England</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperial Munitions Board</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Bankers of England</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mendelssohn Choir</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist Church, Board of Missions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missions of the Methodist Church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Gallery of Canada</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Battlefields’ Commission</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood Workers’ Association</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario Research Foundation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Ownership League</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockefeller Foundation</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Canadian Academy of Arts</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Commission, U of T</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Commission on Rways. and Trans.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Ontario Museum</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session of Sherbourne Street Church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Andrew’s College</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Board of Trade</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Board of License Commissioners</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Conservatory of Music</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto General Hospital</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Guild of Civic Art</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Housing Company, Ltd.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Working Boy’s Home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Toronto, Board of Governors</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victorian Order of Nurses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West China Union University</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

were located in the city’s central business district near Yonge Street and King Street West and King Street East (Figure 3.1). In Michael Schwartz’s examination of the American business elite, he points out that the corporate boardroom played a significant role where economic policies were decided.\(^\text{247}\) Schwartz points out that the corporate boardrooms of banks are “the hubs and centers of broad corporate coordination” where decisions are made about the path of the economy, and that they “serve as a forum in which the ‘corporate all-stars’ arrive at their collective interest and enact that interest through the direction of capital flows.”\(^\text{248}\) The boardroom was a setting where business leaders could meet with one another. Business boardrooms brought together top corporate executives to solve issues and make important decisions. The boardroom was not only another representation of an elite space; it was also a place where power was legitimized.

The boardrooms of companies and non-profit institutions were important spaces in which the flows of important information could occur. Flavelle participated in many boardroom decisions which allowed him to gain access to pertinent information. Flavelle met annually at the National Trust Company boardroom at 20 King Street East. It was here where a number of influential directors were elected to the board of the National Trust, including Sir George A. Cox, Sir William Mackenzie, George H. Watson, Chester D. Massey, Elias Rogers, Robert Kilgour, Markland Molson, Alex Bruce, E.W. Cox, Henry H. Fudger, H.B. Walker, Albert E. Kemp, Alexander Laird, J.H. Plummer,


F.H. Phippen, and William McMaster. Corporate boardrooms provided Toronto’s elite with forums for interaction with other prominent figures. As elites continued to occupy and use these spaces, social inequalities and power relations continued to be reproduced on a daily basis by controlling the access to information, the exchange of knowledge and ideas, the creation of wealth, and the distribution of capital.

Toronto’s Anglo elite did not wield social and economic power very easily. The ability of the privileged class to build valuable alliances was never certain. There was no guarantee that groups would act collectively. Even so, the upper class sustained their social, economic, cultural and political interests by reinforcing a certain elite ideology. By maintaining barriers to entry to certain places, they manipulated policies, tariffs, controlled business organizations, sustained their culture, maintained their status, and preserved their dominance over others. Social inequality was produced and reproduced as the privileged class created exclusive social, living, business and political spaces. They exercised power within and across these different locales. It was within these spaces that they created social capital, and transformed it into economic and cultural capital.

**Concluding Remarks**

Toronto’s Anglo elite migrated from small Ontario towns. They worked out strategies aimed at maintaining their social position, status and power by interacting and functioning in privileged social circles. The activities of Toronto’s upper class had a local, regional and national impact. They erected and maintained social boundaries to

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set their members apart from the rest of the population. Walker, Flavelle, and Hastings all created, occupied and controlled space. These spaces functioned as a vehicle for maintaining their power and authority. Toronto’s upper class secured their status by working together in a number of corporate boards and clubs. Men frequented these spaces to engage in the exchange of information and resources. This allowed the elite the capability of expanding their social capital beyond their daily business activities.

The next chapter blends archival material with previous studies that centre on the social, economic, cultural, and political relationships of Toronto’s Anglo elite. I investigate the upper class as members of a transnational group who built social networks that spanned the globe. The ability of the upper class to sustain social capital and influence others has left its mark in Canadian society. They were able to facilitate economic growth and assist in solving the city’s social problems by building social capital. In the process, a geography of power was reproduced. I pay particular attention to how social capital was built across space creating a highly integrated network of complex local, regional, national and international ties. Because Toronto’s Anglo elite created social capital networks across different spheres, it is important to understand how these networks operated.
Chapter 5

Toronto’s Anglo Elite, Social Capital and the Reproduction of Power

Introduction

The upper class built relationships among themselves that were international in scope. Financiers, manufacturers, corporate executives, merchants, utility and transportation magnates, politicians, and leading educationalists built social capital, and transformed this into cultural and economic capital. Like Pierre Bourdieu, I argue that the creation of social, economic and cultural capital was part of class formation. In this chapter I pay particular attention to how the upper class utilized and operated their social capital to maintain social boundaries between themselves and the rest of the population. The fact that this group was part of a transnational elite made it possible for them to exchange information and ideas, and consult others to advance their interests at different geographic scales.

This chapter focuses on two key elements of class-based social capital and network formation. First, the ability of Toronto’s Anglo elite to forge a global reach is explored. I trace how its social network spanned local, regional, national and global scales. They were international figures linking relationships, knowledge, technology, financial capital, and other resources from different parts of the world to projects within and outside of their city boundaries. As such, they carried out their dealings across large distances. Through their social capital, Toronto’s elite exchanged information and
knowledge about production strategies, interest rates, market opportunities, and preventive medicine across a number of different spatial scales.

Second, I examine how social capital was built and maintained. I focus on three specific events that shaped early twentieth-century social capital and spatial relations for Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Joseph Flavelle and Dr. Charles Hastings: the federal election of 1911, the construction of the new Toronto General Hospital in 1913, and the influenza epidemic of 1918, respectively. Through their social capital, Walker, Flavelle and Hastings influenced the way most Canadians worked, lived, and socialized. Their networks were intimately related to profits, influence, and authority. They were actively creating social capital to improve conditions, and in the process, they shaped the social, economic, cultural, and political landscape of the city and nation.

In the following pages I address critical questions about the exercise of power in early twentieth-century Toronto: How was social inequality reproduced at the level of social interaction? How were ties within networks related to historical processes in North American social and economic development? What role did social capital networks and spatial relations play in generating a discourse of class that produced and reproduced inequality?

**Forging a Local and Global Reach**

A substantial amount of research on early twentieth-century Toronto’s elite has focused on the activities of the upper class within the local, regional and/or national
There has been very little published on the social relationships that Toronto’s bourgeoisie held across the globe. There have been attempts at estimating the number of directorships, and there have been a number of studies that focus on the linkages of early twentieth-century firms. Few, however, have focused on how individual networks operated across different geographic scales. It is my intention to build on these works and demonstrate the influence that Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Joseph Flavelle, and Dr. Charles Hastings had across the globe.

The social networks of Toronto’s Anglo elite spanned different spatial scales. The upper class communicated with social, economic and political leaders of other countries through letters, telegraph, and telephone. The British elite operated in a similar fashion. Mark Brayshay and his co-authors conclude that “although communications technologies were still relatively unsophisticated, by the 1930s, some (though not all) directors of Britain’s multinationals behaved in a manner similar to those running today’s transnational corporations.” Brayshay and his co-writers point out that the British elite “established international bridges between suppliers and markets, facilitating the intercontinental transference of business ideas and methods, and


promoting the sharing of expertise, privileged knowledge and information.\textsuperscript{252} They argue that the British elite created social networks with the upper class of other nations, which involved the passage of important information from one elite sphere to another. Through their travels, Toronto’s privileged class also established extended overlapping networks. Although they were not bound together within the same city and/or space, cooperation between elites still occurred. Flavelle, for example, toured the meatpacking plants of Chicago numerous times in order to gain expert knowledge about curing and slaughtering practices.\textsuperscript{253} Walker and Hastings also journeyed across the globe speaking at exclusive clubs, conferences, and business associations negotiating concessions. They all acted as nodes for the exchange of information using their channels of communication to link people, communities and businesses across the globe. In the process, knowledge was exchanged about markets, company expansion, interest rates, resignations, monetary affairs, financial matters, and preventive medicine.

Walker, Flavelle, and Hastings operated their social networks in a way that was not confined to city or national boundaries, but was boundless in the sense that they facilitated resources across different locales. Flavelle’s social capital, for example, stretched over a multitude of spaces from the local York Club, to the House of Commons, and to the international corporate boardroom. They all built their social capital in a multiplicity of geographical scales with strategic channels that operated in ways that allowed them to succeed in particular ventures. They actively built relationships with others across Canada, the United States, Great Britain, Japan,

\textsuperscript{252} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{253} Sir Joseph Flavelle Papers, Box 44 Correspondence 1904-1917, William Davies Company, Ltd.
Mexico, Brazil and other countries in Europe. From an assessment of their letters, business records, photographs and journals, I have identified how such relationships with distinguished businessmen, philanthropists, curators, intellectuals and statesmen provided channels for the exchange of information and knowledge. Walker, Flavelle and Hastings developed a total of 3,399 relationships with individuals: Walker had 2,201, Flavelle had 796, and Hastings had 402 contacts (Table 5.1). A majority of these relationships were with individuals in Toronto (44 percent), another 27 percent were from across Canada, 14 percent were from the United States, 9 percent were from the rest of the world, and 5 percent were unknown. They built relationships with

Table 5.1: Walker, Flavelle, and Hastings: Operating Social Capital at Different Spatial Scales, Selected Years 1900-1939

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spatial Scale</th>
<th>Walker</th>
<th>Flavelle</th>
<th>Hastings</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>44.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of Canada</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of the World</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,201</td>
<td>796</td>
<td>402</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from the Walker Papers, Walker Accession, Flavelle Papers, Flavelle Accession, and Hastings Accession.

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Canadian Prime Ministers like Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Robert Borden, they constructed contacts with American Presidents, including Theodore Roosevelt, and forged links with the presidents of universities across North America, such as Nicholas Walker’s social network forged a global reach. As the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Walker was linked to some of America’s most influential financial executives, including Chicago’s James Berwick Forgan of the First National Bank, New York’s John D. Rockefeller Jr. of the Equitable Trust Company, Lewis L. Clarke of the American Exchange National Bank, A. Barton Hepburn of the Chase National Bank, and Frank A. Vanderlip of the National City Bank, and Philadelphia’s Frank G. Rogers of the Fourth Street National Bank. Walker utilized his connections to draw some insights about the quantitative theory of money, international finance, exchange rates, and the history of coinage. His views about banking were always sought by Canadian cabinet ministers like G. Howard Ferguson (Premier of Ontario), George G. Foster (Minister of Trade and Commerce), G.H. Murray (Premier of Nova Scotia), Sir George H. Perley (High Commissioner for Canada), and Robert Rogers (Minister of Public Works). His relationship with these distinguished men usually called for amendments of the Bank Act.²⁵⁵

Walker also had access to an impressive range of local relationships to raise funds for the formation of the Art Gallery of Ontario and the Royal Ontario Museum. He was so influential that he convinced the University of Toronto into donating a portion of its property (at the corner of Bloor Street West and University Avenue) as a site for the Royal Ontario Museum. By 1909, the University of Toronto, the Ontario Government, ²⁵⁵ Walker Papers
and Walker agreed to establish the Museum. He also convinced the provincial government to pay for some of the building costs.\footnote{Walker Accession, “Banker’s Imagination was Fired to Help in Building our Museum,” Toronto Star, May 2, 1977.}

In 1900, Walker along with the Ontario Society of Artists formed a committee to discuss the opening of an art gallery. Walker had a great relationship with Mr. and Mrs. Goldwin Smith and they worked out an agreement to donate their home (The Grange) to an art museum.\footnote{Walker Accession.} As early as March 1900, Walker was considering the establishment of an art gallery, and wrote to F.T. Stewart:

> It is, however, quite clear, I think that the Art Museum association, if there is to be one, must be under the control of laymen with a minority of artists. The artists themselves understand that because of the personal differences which so often arise, they must put themselves in the hands of intelligent laymen. This is apparently in accordance with your own views.\footnote{Walker Papers, Box 19 Out Correspondence (1898-1904), File 25-260. Letter from Walker to F.T. Stewart, March 17, 1900.}

Walker built many relationships with prominent Torontonians that allowed him to collect funds for this cause. In 1901 Walker wrote to George Agnew Reid of the Ontario College of Art that he was able to convince Flavelle, Cox, Mackenzie, Frederic Nicholls, and Chester D. Massey to contribute $5000 each to the Toronto Art Gallery.\footnote{Walker Papers, Box 19 Out Correspondence (1898-1904), File 31-60. Letter from Walker to G.A. Reid, April 1901.} In another letter to Daniel R. Wilkie (Imperial Bank of Canada), dated May 27, 1901 Walker notes that he would be visiting a number of other distinguished individuals requesting their generosity, including Wilmot D. Matthews (Dominion Bank), William...
Rees Brock (Canadian Electric Company), William Mulock (Member of Parliament), and Timothy Eaton (T. Eaton Company). Walker also built relationships with Sir George Garneau (Mayor of Quebec City), Adelard Turgeon (Quebec Minister of Lands and Forests), Sir George Drummond (Member of the Senate), and Colonel George T. Denison (Toronto Police Magistrate) in order to form the National Battlefields Commission that was designed to preserve the land where the battles of the Plains of Abraham and Ste. Foy were fought.

Walker and Flavelle were important links to Toronto’s investment community. They were involved in a number of successful businesses that spanned the entire globe. They built a global network of contacts that channeled the exchange of financial capital from Canada to the United Kingdom, the United States, Mexico, and Brazil. In the process, this facilitated the exchange of knowledge and information which was extremely important for the growth of utilities and expansion of railways in both Canada and around the world. Walker- and Flavelle-controlled banks, trust companies and insurance firms (Canadian Bank of Commerce, National Trust Company, Central Canada Savings and Loan Company, and Canada Life Assurance Company) were appointed as the lead banks and transfer agents for many new business ventures, including the expansion of electric utilities in Toronto, Montreal, Minneapolis, Mexico City, Sao Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro. The transfer of financial capital and electric

260 Walker Papers, Box 19 Out Correspondence (1898-1904), File 38-60. Letter from Walker to Daniel R. Wilkie, May 27, 1901.
261 Walker Papers, Box 21 Out Correspondence (1910-1911), Letter from Walker to Lord Earl Grey, December 15, 1911.
technology from one side of the globe to another made utility expansion a profitable business.

Walker and Flavelle were central figures in the flow of capital across North America and Great Britain. They played key roles in Toronto’s business community acting as important financiers and business promoters. They played a major role in Toronto’s emergence as a financial centre in Canada.262 They provided financing to a number of international firms. Their relationship with Cox (Canadian Bank of Commerce), Edward R. Wood (National Trust Company), Sir William Thomas White (National Trust Company), Zebulon A. Lash (Blake, Lash, Anglin and Cassels), and Montreal’s J.H. Plummer (Canadian Bank of Commerce) was important to the success of the Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Company, Sao Paulo Tramway Light and Power Company, Rio de Janeiro Tramway, Light and Power Company, and Mexican Light and Power. Walker’s branch offices in Canada, New York, and London were part of a multinational financial network that made capital investment possible in the peripheral regions of Brazil and Mexico. In the process, equipment and supplies were purchased from the United States and Europe, and shipped to these countries. As mentioned earlier, while the National Trust Company was the trustee and/or transfer agent, Lash provided counsel for these companies by drafting company bylaws and advising executives in management direction.

During his time as Toronto’s Medical Officer of Health, Hastings also exchanged ideas and information with members of his social network. Hastings sought to improve the city’s public health by convincing Toronto mayors and aldermen, provincial

politicians, and the city’s business elite, including Flavelle and Mulock that spending money on healthcare had benefits. When he took office in 1910 he had a staff of approximately 70 people and a budget of $128,000. Nineteen years later, at the time of his retirement, Hastings had a staff of approximately 500 health professionals and a budget of $954,000. Hastings convinced Thomas L. Church (former Mayor of Toronto), Horatio C. Hocken (former Mayor of Toronto), R.C. Harris (Works Commissioner), George Wilson (Finance Commissioner), W.G. Farley (Assessment Commissioner), and George W. Dies (Street Commissioner), as well as others about the benefits of chlorinating the water from Lake Ontario and the advantages to modernizing the city’s sewer system. He consulted widely with health experts across Canada, the United States and Great Britain regarding milk inspection/pasteurization and safe drinking water. He built a tight network with distinguished health professionals like Dr. John W.S. McCullough (Ontario Medical Officer), Dr. Nathan Strauss (Director, Pasteurized Milk Laboratories), Dr. D. King-Smith (Academy of Medicine), and Dr. R.D. Defries (Acting Director, Connaught Laboratories). It was these individuals that Hastings turned to when the influenza epidemic caused havoc across the city.

In sum, Walker, Flavelle and Hastings utilized and operated their social networks through a number of spatial scales. They influenced decisions and outcomes over the Canadian public by building alliances and promoting policies. Their work and efforts had local, national and international significance. In the process they gained support for a federal election, raised funds for a new hospital, and increased awareness during a health crisis. In the following pages I pay particular attention to how they forged social

capital that constrained the actions of outsiders (who had limited access to information exchange) and broadened the opportunities of insiders (who exchanged ideas and created alliances). As Toronto’s elite built their social capital, it allowed for: 1) the ability to establish social boundaries against the less privileged classes, 2) the opportunity for elites to exchange pertinent information, and 3) the prospect for members of the elite to build alliances. They utilized their social capital in order to coordinate behaviour.

The Toronto Eighteen

That the present unexampled prosperity of Canada is the result of the policy which has been pursued in the development of her trade and of her natural resources, and that any policy which would hamper the development of Canada’s resources in her own way and by her own people, or which would check the development of trade, between the various parts of Canada with each other or between Canada and the various parts of the Empire, would be detrimental to the true interests of Canada and to Canadian nationality.264

In October 1910 United States’ President William Howard Taft proposed to Canada’s Sir Wilfrid Laurier an opportunity for a reciprocity agreement between both nations (Figure 5.1). Formal negotiations opened on November 4, 1910 in Ottawa between Washington’s C.M. Pepper, Henry M. Hoyt and J.G. Foster, and Ottawa’s W.S. Fielding (Finance Minister) and William Paterson (Minister of Customs).265 They negotiated an agreement where farm and forest products, minerals and fisheries would cross the border freely, and some manufactured products would have lower tariffs. Laurier argued that lowering tariffs would provide Canada with economic growth. On

Figure 5.1, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 581
January 26, 1911 Laurier and Fielding officially presented to Parliament their desire to enter a reciprocity agreement with the United States.\footnote{266}{Sweeping Trade Agreement with the United States; Detailed Terms Announced by Minister of Finance, \textit{The Globe}, January 27, 1911, p. 1.}

The Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement was debated in the Canadian House of Commons for several months.\footnote{267}{Eugene Beaulieu and J.C. Herbert Emery, “Pork Packers, Reciprocity, and Laurier’s Defeat in the 1911 Canadian General Election,” \textit{The Journal of Economic History} 62 (2001), p. 1083; L. Ethan Ellis, “The Northwest and the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911,” \textit{The Mississippi Valley Historical Review} 26 (1939), pp. 55-66.} The Agreement became the defining concern of the 1911 federal election. After learning that influential businessmen were hostile to the idea of a reciprocity agreement the Conservatives voiced opposition and forced a federal election. At an Ottawa Caucus, the Conservative Leader, Sir Robert Borden (Figure 5.2) stated the following: “The line of action in fighting the Reciprocal proposal was discussed. There was a unanimous resolve and conclusion to offer firm and determined resistance to the proposals to the bitter end. The Conservative Party will make no truce on this question which involves the national existence of the country and gravely affects its relations to the Empire.”\footnote{268}{The Reciprocity Agreement in the Canadian Parliament, \textit{The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1911} (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company, 1912), p. 88.} The Liberals erred in judgment believing the agreement would pass in Parliament. Instead, many prominent Torontonians got together to aggressively attack Laurier’s administration as being disloyal to Canada and Britain. They were known as the Toronto Eighteen, and they gathered a number of supporters who were instinctively hostile to the free trade agreement.\footnote{269}{Heath Macquarrie, “Robert Borden and the Election of 1911,” \textit{The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science} 25 (1959), p. 275.}
Figure 5.2, Sir Robert Borden, ca. 1912, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 8001
The Toronto Eighteen showed their strength through their ability to network and coordinate ideas. They developed an exclusive network. On February 20 they issued a manifesto and made public their protest against reciprocity (Figure 5.3). Walker and the other seventeen prominent individuals utilized their social capital to ensure certain policies were carried out and others eliminated. They controlled the nation’s most important banks, insurance firms, and manufacturing companies (Table 5.2). They held an enormous amount of wealth, exerted much social and economic power, and occupied high positions in the country’s social hierarchy. The Eighteen made substantial financial contributions to the Conservative Party, and they organized meetings, composed statistical data, and circulated pamphlets. They preached that a reciprocity deal would destroy the Canadian economy, and if the economy was left unprotected, the welfare of the nation was also endangered. They stressed that free trade would bring higher prices for finished products, workers would lose their jobs, and Canada would be annexed by the United States. Walker and others built their alliance because they were afraid that free trade would force Canada to be a supplier of raw materials for American manufacturing, and east-west trade would be non-existent. Through their skillful manipulation of public opinion, they argued that Canada would lose its influence in the Empire and be absorbed by the United States.

We oppose ratification of the proposed reciprocity agreement with the United States of America:

1. Because in the year 1897 the Parliament of Canada repealed the legislation then existing relating to reciprocity, and since such repeal neither the people of Canada nor their Parliament have entrusted the Government with any duty or authority to negotiate with respect to any agreement on the subject.

2. Because the present unexampled prosperity of Canada is the result of the policy which has been pursued in the development of her trade and of her natural resources. Because this has involved the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars upon railways, canals, steamships and other means of transportation between east and west and west and east, and the obligation to incur further great expenditures for the same purpose; and because further development along the same lines would be seriously checked by the proposal reciprocity agreement and the benefits of the expenditures referred to would be to a great extent lost.

3. Because it is essential to the continued national unity and development of Canada that no trade relations with any country should be agreed to by Canada on any basis which would check the growth and development of trade between the various parts of Canada with each other, or between Canada and the various parts of the Empire; and because the proposed reciprocity agreement between Canada and the United States of America would seriously check the growth and development of this trade.

4. Because any present benefit to any section of Canada or to any interests or individuals therein which might accrue from the proposed agreement would be more than offset by the loss and injury which would accrue to other sections and interests and individuals, and because the result to Canada as a whole would be greatly injurious.

5. Because as a result of the proposed agreement the freedom of action possessed by Canada with reference to her tariffs and channels of trade would be greatly curtailed, and she would be hampered in developing her own resources in her own way and by her own people.

6. Because after some years of reciprocity under the proposed agreement the channel of Canada’s trade would have become so changed that a termination of the agreement and a return by the United States to a protective tariff as against Canada would cause a disturbance of trade to an unparalleled extent, and because the risk of this should not be voluntarily undertaken by Canada.

7. Because to avoid such a disruption Canada would be forced to extend the scope of the agreement so as to include manufacturers and other things.

8. Because the agreement as proposed would weaken the ties which bind Canada to the Empire, and because the unrestricted reciprocity which would naturally follow would still further weaken those ties and make it more difficult to avert political union with the United States.

9. Because the disruption in the channels of Canada’s trade which was caused by the termination of the reciprocity treaty of 1854 and the subsequent establishment of a protective tariff by the United States gave rise to a decided leaning in many minds towards annexation with the United States, and this at a time when Canada was mainly peopled by native-born Canadians and other British subjects, to whom the prospect of annexation was most unwelcome, and because Canada in a comparatively few years will have millions of newcomers, a large percentage of whom will come from foreign countries, and because if Canada should then have to choose between disruption of her channels of trade with the United States or political union with them the preservation of Canadian autonomy and Canadian nationality would be enormously more difficult.

10. Believing as we do that Canadian nationality is now threatened with a more serious blow than any it has heretofore met with, and that all Canadians who place the interests of Canada before those of any party or section or individuals therein, should at this crisis state their views openly and fearlessly, we, who have hitherto supported the Liberal party in Canada, subscribe to this statement.

Table 5.2:
The Toronto Eighteen, 1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Person</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Type of Business</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sir Edmund Walker</td>
<td>Canadian Bank of Commerce</td>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John L. Blaikie</td>
<td>Canada Landed &amp; National Investment Co.</td>
<td>Investment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilmot D. Matthews</td>
<td>Dominion Bank</td>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William K. George</td>
<td>Sterling Bank of Canada</td>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zebulon A. Lash</td>
<td>Blake, Lash, Anglin &amp; Cassels</td>
<td>Law Firm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William T. White</td>
<td>National Trust Co.</td>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.T. Somers</td>
<td>Sterling Bank of Canada</td>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert S. Gourlay</td>
<td>C. Winter and Leeming</td>
<td>Piano Manuf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir William Mortimer Clark</td>
<td>Toronto Mortgage Co.</td>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.J. Christie</td>
<td>Christie, Brown Biscuit Co.</td>
<td>Manufacturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Blain</td>
<td>Eby, Blain &amp; Company, Ltd.</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry S. Strathy</td>
<td>Traders Bank of Canada</td>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Goldman</td>
<td>North American Life Assurance Co.</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George A. Somerville</td>
<td>Manufacturers’ Life Assurance Co.</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington Francis</td>
<td>Standard Bank</td>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.D. Allan</td>
<td>A.A. Allen</td>
<td>Hat Wholesale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward R. Wood</td>
<td>Central Canada Loan and Savings Co.</td>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John C. Eaton</td>
<td>T. Eaton Co. Ltd.</td>
<td>Retail</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sir Edmund Walker Papers, Box 32 Reciprocity, File 32-1.

Laurier received much support from western Canada. The West was a proponent of free trade because they sought an American market for their agricultural products. Canada’s National Council of Agriculture, for example, had insisted on free trade in natural products to boost their profits.\(^{271}\) Liberal supporters could not understand how Walker could engage in huge financial transactions with New York banks without harming Canada’s best interests, but a farmer selling wheat to the United States would threaten Canadian unity.\(^{272}\) No matter their differences, Walker found


\(^{272}\) Ibid, p. 123.
reciprocity as a threat to Canadian industry. Walker utilized his social capital at the expense of others. His ties brought benefits to members of one group and discriminated against others. In the process, he and Lash agreed to assist Borden under the auspices that Borden would consult them about cabinet appointments.273

The Conservatives ran under the campaign slogan: “No truck or trade with the Yankees.” The Party and the Toronto Eighteen were also supported by a number of business associations and non-profit organizations, including the Canadian Manufacturers’ Association, the Montreal Produce Merchants Association, the Toronto Livestock Exchange, the Dominion Millers’ Association, the Fruit-Growers of Eastern Canada, the Niagara Peninsula Fruit Growers’ Association, the Royal Black Knights of Ontario, and the Daughters of the Empire.274 Some members of the Liberal Party, including Front Bench Member of Parliament, Clifford Sifton were also actively involved with the Toronto Eighteen. On February 28 Sifton left the Liberal Party and campaigned against Laurier’s free trade proposal.275 Sifton understood Ontario politics very well and assisted the Conservatives.276 Walker recognized his influence stating: “I should have to write a very long letter to explain all my objections to the Reciprocity proposals, but I think they are very well set forth in the speech of the Hon. Clifford Sifton made in opposition to his party, which I send under separate cover. He is by far the ablest man


in politics in Canada to-day, and while it is the speech of a politician, it pretty well covers
the ground.” In short, Walker’s social network of bankers, insurers, manufacturers, and politicians became very organized, and set forth their ideas effectively. They had
protectionist sentiments, and effectively renounced the agreement by outlining its
economic disadvantages and threat to Canadian sovereignty.

On February 16, 1911, at the eve of Canada’s federal election, members of
Toronto’s Board of Trade assembled at Association Hall. They got together for an
important protest meeting to voice their concerns over reciprocity. A total of 302
influential Toronto businessmen were present at the two hour meeting. During this
meeting, members of the Toronto Board of Trade passed a resolution against
reciprocity: 289 voted against free trade and only 13 approved it. The resolution was
presented by Walker and seconded by Flavelle. Walker pointed out that free trade
would negatively impact the growth of Canada: “Be it resolved in the opinion of this
board the proposed reciprocity agreement with the United States of America is opposed
to the true interests of Canada; threatens Canadian nationality, and should not be
consummated.” At this same meeting, Flavelle also spoke out: “We fought it before
in the open, but I say it without the slightest bitterness that we fight it now with our
hands tied behind our backs. God forbid that it should go through – this agreement that
was made behind our backs. It is not a question of the east against the west, or the

277 Walker Papers, Box 21 Out Correspondence (1910-1911), File 61, Letter from Walker to J.H. Fulton,
March 16, 1911.
279 Ibid.
280 Ibid.
farmer against the manufacturer; it is one for the whole country.”

In short, Walker and Flavelle were concerned that the development of trade between eastern and western Canada would dwindle. They were worried that Canadian railways, canals, and steamships would no longer be profitable and transportation interests would be difficult to find.

Two days earlier, the president of the Toronto Board of Trade, Robert S. Gourlay had contacted Walker, and asked him to speak at Association Hall. Because Wilmot D. Matthews was feeling ill and was unable to speak effectively in a public forum, Gourlay asked Walker to perform this task. During that same week Walker also received letters and telegrams from a number of prominent citizens (who were also against free trade) from Ottawa, Hamilton, Montreal, St. John, Halifax, and of course, Toronto. They wrote to Walker because they knew he wielded tremendous power and authority. In one letter, Henry K.S. Hemming of the Hemming Manufacturing Company of Montreal wrote, “I have no doubt but that you have men under your influence in Toronto, who would be not only willing, but glad to take hold of a matter of this kind, and with your great influence, they would think it a pleasure to comply with your request.” Hemming was well aware that Walker was connected to a host of prominent citizens, and he wanted Walker to convince them to join in on the protest.

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281 Ibid, p. 4.
282 Walker Papers, Box 9 In Correspondence (September 1910-1911), File 24. Letter from Robert S. Gourlay to Walker, February 14, 1911.
283 Walker Papers, Box 9 In Correspondence (September 1910-1911), File 24. Telegram from H.K.S. Hemming to Walker, February 15, 1911; Box 9, File 24. Telegram from George H. Less to Walker, February 18, 1911; Box 9, File 32. Telegram from George H. Perley to Walker, April 13, 1911.
284 Walker Papers, Box 9 In Correspondence (September 1910-1911), File 25. Letter from Henry K.S. Hemming to Walker, February 23, 1911.
On February 17 Walker traveled to Ottawa where he met with Laurier and Fielding. The details of this meeting are unknown but a discussion about free trade was most certainly on the agenda. Three days later, Walker and the rest of the Toronto Eighteen issued a statement in which they contested the pact. In a letter to Professor William J. Ashley (Economic History at Harvard), Walker argued that “Conditions in Canada are so extremely different from those of twenty years ago that all early ideas regarding our relations with the United States should be swept out of one’s mind before the new proposals are considered. Nothing can be more insincere than the statements of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Fielding that Canada has always, during the past thirty or forty years, desired Reciprocity with the United States.” In the process, Walker made large financial contributions to the anti-free trade campaign. Walker and his close friend, Zebulon Lash, joined forces and founded the Canadian National League. The League’s purpose was “To oppose the adoption of the proposed Reciprocity Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, and to support such measures as will uphold Canadian Nationality and Canada’s position and influence as a unit in the British Empire, and as will continue to encourage and develop inter-provincial trade and trade between Canada and the Empire in accordance with the policy under which the Dominion has achieved its present prosperity.”

285 Walker Papers, Box 21 Out Correspondence (1910-1911), File 46. Letter from Walker to Clifford Sifton, February 18, 1911.
286 Walker Papers, Box 21 Out Correspondence (1910-191), File 49-361. Letter from Walker to Professor W.J. Ashley, March 16, 1911.
287 Walker Papers, Box 9 In Correspondence (September 1910-1911), File 24. Letter from H.K.S. Hemming to Walker, February 21, 1911.
288 Canadian National League, Reciprocity with the United States: Canadian Nationality, British Connection and Fiscal Independence (Toronto, 1911) in Walker Papers, Box 32 File 32-1.
Canadian National League entitled “Reciprocity with the United States: Canadian Nationality, British Connection and Fiscal Independence,” the writer alarmed Canadians that Americans were in favour of reciprocity for the sole purpose of annexation. This strategy was used by Walker and the rest of the Toronto Eighteen throughout the campaign.

As mentioned earlier, Flavelle was also against reciprocity. He was afraid that the agreement would adversely affect the pork-packing industry. He exclaimed in a meeting at Association Hall that “We want no treaties, and no reciprocal arrangement, nor the friendship, counsellor leading, of any man as to whether we can mind our own business in our own way.” He was fearful that the lower prices of hog in the western part of the United States would affect the pork industry in Canada. Canadian meatpackers believed they could not compete against the American Meat Trust and were worried that the irregularity of exports would hurt profits. They were under the firm belief that meatpackers from Chicago would have valuable freight rates which

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289 Ibid.
290 Two other anti-free trade organizations were the Canadian Home Market Association (a branch of the Canadian Manufacturers’ Association) and the Anti-Reciprocity League, established in Montreal with Charles Chaput as Chairman.
291 “Strong Resolutions against Reciprocity,” The Globe, February 17, 1911, p. 4.
292 Flavelle stated the following problems will arise in Canada’s meatpacking industry: “1) Under the proposed Reciprocity Agreement the trade of the Western Provinces now so important, and becoming increasingly so, will be lost to the Ontario and Quebec packer; 2) under Reciprocity packers in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec would be put in a position which must cripple and later on destroy export trade, as the minimum buying price of hogs in Ontario and Quebec would then always be determined by Buffalo and other nearby United States markets; 3) we believe that, forced into lower values by the United States feeders, farmers in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec would become discouraged and would ultimately largely go out of the business of hog raising.” This is found in “Manufacturers and the Reciprocity Agreement,” The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1911 (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company, 1912), p. 113.
293 “Meat Packers Fear for Trade,” The Globe, February 16, 1911, p. 9; Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times, p. 366.
would give them an advantage in western Canada. Flavelle wrote a letter to the Toronto Daily Star suggesting that the pork packing industry would suffer under a free trade agreement. He wanted to improve inter-provincial trade, instead of relying and depending on the markets of the United States. Flavelle was in regular contact with Walker, and in a letter he wrote to him that “we should not embarrass ourselves with treaties of any kind.”

Walker and Flavelle built an alliance that consisted of Canada’s upper class that spanned across business sectors and spatial scales. Although business rivalry took place, it did not exclude the fact that many were in cahoots. On August 23, four thousand persons gathered in Toronto’s Massey Hall. The auditorium was crowded with an audience comprising of local politicians, businessmen and Conservative supporters. Borden headlined the meeting and he was joined on stage by Sir James Whitney (Premier of Ontario), Arthur James Matheson (Provincial Treasurer), and Frank Cochrane (Conservative Candidate). Borden once again argued that reciprocity would hamper the nation’s development. He attacked Laurier’s free trade policy, and declared that the treaty was prepared behind closed doors without the opinion of bankers, manufacturers and farmers. Borden promised the crowded auditorium that if he were to be elected Prime Minister in September, he would serve the people by not signing the free trade agreement.

294 Flavelle Accession, Toronto Daily Star, January 27, 1911.
295 Walker Papers, Box 9 In Correspondence (September 1910-1911), File 22. Letter from Flavelle to Walker, February 2, 1911.
296 “Borden Cheered by Large Audience,” The Globe, August 24, 1911, pp. 1, 8.
297 Ibid.
Weeks before the September 1911 federal election, *The Daily Mail and Empire*, the *Toronto News*, and the *Montreal Star* published articles about the possible repercussions if the free trade agreement were approved. Walker and the Toronto Eighteen subsidized these newspapers in carrying on the fight against reciprocity. Walker was very well connected to the press. He contacted and networked with a host of distinguished individuals in order to get his ideas passed. He forged a coalition with a number of Canadians to defeat Laurier’s Liberals. Walker and his associates assumed that they spoke for all elements of Canadian society. The Toronto Eighteen exercised a great deal of power and authority through their relationships with many prominent people. Because the power exercised by the Eighteen was dependent on their social networks, they actively influenced the Canadian federal election by publicly and effectively voicing their concerns. They used their social capital as an inclusionary and exclusionary function by driving their networks in order to exchange resources and raise money. They facilitated and constrained action by benefiting some at the expense of others.

A day after the September 21 election, numerous congratulations were mailed and telegraphed to Walker from influential businessmen from all over Canada. On September 29, Walker wrote to Lionel Curtis (Institute of Pacific Relations) about the

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298 Walker Papers, Box 9 In Correspondence (September 1910-1911), File 43. Letter from M.B. McDonald (*The Daily Mail and Empire*) to Walker, August 16, 1911; Walker Papers, Box 21 Out Correspondence (1910-1911), File 67. Letter from Walker to Professor W.L. Grant (Queen’s University), November 13, 1911.

299 Walker Papers, Box 21 Out Correspondence (1910-1911), File 67. Letter from Walker to Professor W.L. Grant, November 13, 1911.


301 Walker Papers, Box 9 In Correspondence (September 1910-1911), File 46.
election results: “We have had a splendid victory and, I think, have put aside practically for good the question of reciprocal relations with the United States, while at the same time the future of imperial matters should be much brighter in view of the sentiment of the Canadian people developed in the Reciprocity campaign. Much as I regretted that the Reciprocity proposals were made, it is now clear that a great deal has been gained by having been forced to fight out the issue.”302 Through the resources embedded in Walker’s relationships, Laurier’s Liberals saw their majority in the House of Commons disappear.303 In Ontario, for example, there were 86 seats available: 73 went to the Conservatives and 13 to the Liberals. In the rest of Canada the Conservatives won another 61 seats and the Liberals gained 74 (Table 5.3). This marked the end to fifteen years of government led by Laurier. The Toronto Eighteen were very much pleased with the outcome, and William Thomas White was named the Minister of Finance in Borden’s government.304 During Borden’s term, Walker’s advice was often sought by the Prime Minister and Finance Minister regarding interest rates, the gold standard, taxation proposals, and loans.305 In sum, Walker used his social capital to build an

302 Walker Papers, Box 21 Out Correspondence (1910-1911), File 63-769. Letter from Walker to Lionel Curtis, September 29, 1911.
304 Macquarrie, “Robert Borden and the Election of 1911,” p. 276; Walker Papers, Box 21 Out Correspondence (1910-1911), File 64. Letter from Walker to H.V.F. Jones (Canadian Bank of Commerce), October 17, 1911.
305 Walker Papers, Box 24 Out Correspondence (1917-1919), File 26-31. Letter from Walker to A.K. MacLean, March 8, 1918.
Table 5.3:
Voting Results in 1911 Federal Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Liberal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Edward Island</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukon Territory</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>221</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


alliance against a policy he did not agree with. He exchanged information and shared ideas with insiders on how best to defeat Laurier’s Liberals. He brought people together so he could take action. In other words, he used his social capital to coordinate ideas. Those who did not agree were excluded.

The New Toronto General Hospital

From its inception the Toronto General Hospital has been the centre of medical education in the Province, and in its wards were trained the men who were to place Medicine in Upper Canada in the position worthy of a great profession. Close and intimate relationship between a Hospital and the Medical Faculty of a University of high standing is of great service, alike to the patients in the Hospital, the students in attendance, and the greater community outside who will later be served by the men who graduate from the University. The relationship between the Toronto
General Hospital and the University of Toronto is of this character, and is of equal value to both Institutions.\textsuperscript{306}

The members of Toronto’s Anglo elite took great pride in their philanthropic endeavours. Sir Joseph Flavelle was very prominent in the public life of Canada raising funds for the Methodist Church (later United Church), the University of Toronto, and the Mendelssohn Choir (Table 4.5). He built an impressive array of relationships with social, economic, intellectual, and political leaders. One of his main accomplishments was his role in constructing the new Toronto General Hospital. In 1902 Flavelle was asked by George Gooderham (Gooderham and Worts Distillery) to join the hospital’s Board of Trustees. In the same year John Blaikie (Canada Landed and National Investment Company) became the Chairman until he resigned two years later. The position was accepted by Flavelle and he was Chairman of the Toronto General Hospital from 1904 to 1921. As chairman he placed himself within a hub of social, economic and political influence. He actively built a social capital network that was comprised of distinguished individuals. Together they raised funds for a new hospital and began an important association with the University of Toronto.

Flavelle quickly realized the structural problems associated with the old Toronto General Hospital. He stressed redevelopment and the construction of a new hospital. The slum houses of the Ward were eventually replaced to accommodate restructuring. While workers, local politicians, and architects were essential to the success of the construction of the new hospital, the decisions were in the hands of the Board of

\textsuperscript{306} Statement Made by Mr. J.W. Flavelle, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Toronto General Hospital. Thursday June 19, 1913, \emph{On the Occasion of the Formal Opening of the New Hospital Buildings on College Street, Toronto}, p. 5.
Trustees, mainly Flavelle. Entry into the Board was practically closed to outsiders. Flavelle played a powerful role redrawing the social boundaries of class and ethnicity through his social capital. His social capital was characterized by exclusivism, and there were virtually no interclass links. He exercised command and authority upon others through his relationship with members of the Board. He viewed his interests as part of the city’s interests. He had influence over the actual structure of space as he exercised the social, economic and political power to shape the city’s landscape.

The Board of Trustees controlled the operations of the Toronto General Hospital. They had the power to enact bylaws and control new membership. Before Flavelle took over as Chairman, the Board was composed of five individuals: the mayor, three representatives from the province of Ontario, and one benefactor. By 1906 a decision was made to build a new hospital and the old Board of Trustees gave way to a new board of 25 members – the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council appointed eight, the University of Toronto appointed five, the City of Toronto appointed five, and the subscribers elected seven (Table 5.4). According to Flavelle “the small board ‘till now had managed the affairs of the hospital, conducted the business of the institution as a committee of the whole. With the new board of twenty-five members it will probably be found necessary to form standing committees for management; and the business of the Board will naturally divide itself into that belonging to the old hospital, and that belonging

to the new hospital which the Trustees are about to erect."\(^{308}\) In this same board meeting, Flavelle recommended an Executive Committee (under himself), House Committee (under P.C. Larkin), Finance Committee (under Henry H. Fudger), and Building Committee (under M.J. Haney).

Flavelle utilized his leadership skills to gain donations and attract a number of distinguished men to the Board of Trustees. In 1906 there were a total of 564 subscribers. They donated a total of $1,219,160.10.\(^{309}\) This money was collected for the construction of the new hospital. Flavelle felt that medical research was lagging behind other institutions across North America. As a result, the Board “decided that no further expenditure should be made in patching up the old buildings, except for immediate requirements; that a large plan of reorganization should be considered, providing buildings and equipment suitable for the modern and scientific treatment of the sick poor, and affording facilities of high excellence for the educational work of the now united schools of medicine in the University of Toronto."\(^{310}\) In 1908 an official relationship was started between the University of Toronto’s faculty of medicine and the Hospital. By 1910, Flavelle and Walker established the Joint Hospitals Relations Committee. In the process, the hospital attracted the country’s best physicians, surgeons and nurses.

\(^{308}\) Toronto General Hospital, Board of Trustees, Minutes, July 18, 1906, p. 369.


\(^{310}\) Ibid, pp. 64-5.
Table 5.4:  
The Board of Trustees, At the Opening of the Toronto General Hospital, June 1913

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Person</th>
<th>Appointment</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cawthra Mulock</td>
<td>Province of Ontario</td>
<td>National Trust Co.</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Mackenzie</td>
<td>Province of Ontario</td>
<td>Cdn Northern Rway</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene O'Keefe</td>
<td>Province of Ontario</td>
<td>O'Keefe Brewing Co.</td>
<td>Founder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel R. Wilkie</td>
<td>Province of Ontario</td>
<td>Imperial Bank</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.J. Douglas</td>
<td>Province of Ontario</td>
<td>Mail Print Co.</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark H. Irish</td>
<td>Province of Ontario</td>
<td>Irish &amp; Maulson Ltd.</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John C. Eaton</td>
<td>Province of Ontario</td>
<td>T. Eaton Co., Ltd.</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archibald B. Macallum</td>
<td>Province of Ontario</td>
<td>U of Toronto</td>
<td>Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. John Hoskin</td>
<td>U of Toronto</td>
<td>Bank of Commerce</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Robert Falconer</td>
<td>U of Toronto</td>
<td>U of Toronto</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Edmund Walker</td>
<td>U of Toronto</td>
<td>Bank of Commerce</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zebulon A. Lash</td>
<td>U of Toronto</td>
<td>Bank of Commerce</td>
<td>V-President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Edmund Osler</td>
<td>U of Toronto</td>
<td>Dominion Bank</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horatio C. Hocken</td>
<td>City of Toronto</td>
<td>City of Toronto</td>
<td>Mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.E. Burgess</td>
<td>City of Toronto</td>
<td>City of Toronto</td>
<td>Alderman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.M. Meredith</td>
<td>City of Toronto</td>
<td>City of Toronto</td>
<td>Alderman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wanless</td>
<td>City of Toronto</td>
<td>City of Toronto</td>
<td>Alderman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Morley Wickett</td>
<td>City of Toronto</td>
<td>City of Toronto</td>
<td>Alderman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris H. Fudger</td>
<td>Subscribers</td>
<td>Robert Simpson Co.</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.C. Larkin</td>
<td>Subscribers</td>
<td>P.C. Larkin and Co.</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Alexander Dunlap</td>
<td>Subscribers</td>
<td>Hollinger Gold Mines</td>
<td>Sec-Treasurer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William E. Rundle</td>
<td>Subscribers</td>
<td>National Trust Co.</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chester D. Massey</td>
<td>Subscribers</td>
<td>Massey-Harris Co.</td>
<td>Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert C. Cox</td>
<td>Subscribers</td>
<td>Canada Life Ass.</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph W. Flavelle</td>
<td>Subscribers</td>
<td>William Davies Co.</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Flavelle Papers, Box 41 TGH Correspondence 1906-1920 G-P.

Flavelle was a central figure in the matters of the Toronto General Hospital. He was a proponent in the erection of the hospital in its new location, the hospital’s ties with the University of Toronto’s medical school, and the reorganization of the hospital’s clinical departments. He also successfully recommended the widening of Elizabeth Street to the City of Toronto to provide effective access for patients. His business relationships with the rest of the board members helped to foster knowledge and ideas.

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311 Toronto General Hospital, Board of Trustees, Minutes, November 14, 1907, p. 551.
Flavelle worked with many of them during his tenure with the National Bank, Canadian Bank of Commerce, Robert Simpson Company, and Canada Life Assurance. In the boardrooms, he built relationships with Walker, Fudger, Lash, Mulock, Hoskin, Rundle, and Cox (the son of his mentor, George A. Cox). The Flavelle-controlled financial institutions provided capital to the firms controlled by the other members of the Board, including Mackenzie’s South American business ventures discussed earlier, the T. Eaton Company, and the Massey-Harris Company. As part of the University of Toronto, Board of Governors, Flavelle also built a lasting relationship with Sir Robert Falconer. Flavelle was a key figure bringing these people together for a common cause: 1) the excellent treatment of patients; 2) the efficient training of medical staff, and; 3) the development of clinical and scientific research.312

As early as 1904, Flavelle envisioned the hospital to be connected with the University of Toronto and the Connaught Laboratories. He utilized his social capital to build a hospital that would promote medical research. Flavelle wrote to the University’s Dean of Medicine, Dr. Richard A. Reeve: “These views may be visionary, impossible, and mistaken, but they will indicate to you, however, that I have at least been endeavoring to consider Hospital matters on broad lines, and that I have had particular thought for Toronto University Medical Faculty having a Hospital second to none on the Continent, in direct association with their work.”313 By December 1904 Flavelle formed

313 Flavelle Papers, Box 1 Correspondence (1902-1912), Letter from Flavelle to Dr. Richard A. Reeve, November 23, 1903.
an association with the University of Toronto to begin the blueprint of a new hospital. He wanted the hospital available for university medical students. He wanted the Toronto General to become “one of the greatest centres” in North America for medical research. Flavelle along with Walker, Falconer, White, Macallum, Mayor Emerson Coatsworth, Prof. John Joseph Mackenzie (Professor of Pathology), and D. Bruce Macdonald (University of Toronto) encouraged the medical staff to adopt an organizational model similar to Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore. Flavelle was urged by William Osler (Physician) to emulate the Hopkins model, especially in relation to clinical education, scientific research and patient care.

Flavelle worked tirelessly raising funds. By 1906 Flavelle was well on his way on campaigning to raise money from the municipal and provincial governments, the university, and private citizens for the erection of the new hospital. With Flavelle’s ability to develop new relationships and maintain existing ones, he convinced Cawthra Mulock, George A. Cox, and the Estate of Hart A. Massey to donate $100,000 each to the construction of the hospital. The subscription from Mulock was used for an out-patient department, and those of Cox and Massey were used for memorial buildings. As early as October 1904, Mulock was interested in the construction of an out-patient ward. In a letter addressed to Flavelle he wrote the following:

314 Walker Papers, Box 6 In Correspondence (1897-1904), Letter from Flavelle to Walker, December 2, 1904.

315 Toronto General Hospital, Board of Trustees, Minutes, February 2, 1914, p. 457.

316 Flavelle Papers, Box 43 Toronto General Hospital Correspondence (1930-1937) and Collateral Material, “Meeting of Toronto General Hospital Board on Staff Re-Organization with the Permanent Members of the Medical Faculty of the University of Toronto,” pp. 6, 67. This document notes that Flavelle, Coatsworth, Walker, Falconer, White, Macallum, Mackenzie and Macdonald met with the 38 permanent members of the medical faculty to discuss staff reorganization at the Hospital. This meeting took place on the evening of October 10, 1907 at the University of Toronto’s Medical Building.
With reference to the various conversations regarding the present position of the Toronto General Hospital, it has been made evident that while the present buildings have in the past served the purpose for which they were intended, they have now become entirely inadequate to perform the duties required of a great hospital in a growing city like Toronto.

To me it appears that the most urgent need at the moment, however, is an out-patient department in which those who are too poor to pay for hospital service can be properly treated; and in which the clinical teaching so necessary for the School of Medicine in connection with the University, can be carried on to the satisfaction of the Faculty of Medicine.317

Mulock was prepared to donate the funds without “any conditions” to construct and equip the building.318 This act of giving was the start of a new hospital.

The Board of Trustees employed the services of the National Trust Company (Flavelle was the president) to acquire the site of the new Toronto General Hospital.319 In 1907, the Board decided to abandon the old site of the hospital on Gerrard Street for a new one (Figure 5.4). Flavelle instituted the construction of the new hospital south of College Street between University Avenue and Elizabeth Street.320 The site was finalized on December 1910.321 Flavelle's influence garnered much enthusiasm that the destruction and displacement of hundreds of homes and persons had occurred (Figure 5.5). The purchase of the property totaled $550,000 and construction was started in

317 Toronto General Hospital, Board of Trustees, Minutes, October 3, 1904, p. 141.
318 Ibid, p. 142.
319 “Memoranda relating to the Reorganization of the Toronto General Hospital,” p. 15 (found in Flavelle Papers, Box 43 Correspondence 1930-1937 and Collateral Material); Annual Report of the Toronto General Hospital 1906, p. 65.
Figure 5.4, General Hospital, Gerrard Street East, ca. 1908, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 3056
Figure 5.5, Toronto General Hospital Under Construction, 1907, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 309
Frank Darling and John A. Pearson were the architects; the same people who designed Flavelle's residence. The total cost of the development was estimated at $1,580,000 (Table 5.5). In a letter to Walker, Flavelle stated: “There is an appeal to the imagination in the corner of the Avenue and College Street which perhaps has no counterpart anywhere else in the city.” On April 11, 1911 the Governor-General of

**Table 5.5:**
**Total Estimate Cost of the Toronto General Hospital**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Building</th>
<th>Cost ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administration Building</td>
<td>$232,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecting Corridors</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Wing</td>
<td>225,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgical Wing</td>
<td>245,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Patients</td>
<td>180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses' Homes</td>
<td>198,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants' Building</td>
<td>48,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstetrics</td>
<td>77,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergency</td>
<td>37,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out Patients</td>
<td>140,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiler House</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent’s House</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunnels</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecting Corridors</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balconies</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads and Fences</td>
<td>26,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,580,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Toronto General Hospital, Board of Trustees, Minutes, March 2, 1910, p. 343.

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322 Annual Report of the Toronto General Hospital 1906, p. 65.

323 Toronto General Hospital, Board of Trustees, Minutes, December 5, 1906, p. 415.

324 Walker Papers, Box 7 In Correspondence (1905-1908). Letter from Flavelle to Walker, November 8, 1905.
Canada, Earl Grey, laid the corner-stone of the Administration Building.\textsuperscript{325} Present at the ceremony were a number of prominent men, including Flavelle, Whitney, Falconer, Mulock, Larkin, and Rundle, as well as others.\textsuperscript{326}

The Toronto General Hospital officially opened its doors on June 19, 1913. The total cost was $3,500,000. The hospital had a total of 670 beds: 550 were public and 120 private. Those in attendance at the opening ceremony were prominent individuals in business, medicine, education, and politics (Figure 5.6).\textsuperscript{327} The Hospital was respected by doctors, politicians and businessmen from all around the world. It was the only hospital in Toronto that offered ambulance service.\textsuperscript{328} Sir John C. Eaton even presented the Toronto General Hospital with an ambulance (Figure 5.7). It was one of the finest hospitals in North America, and its group of doctors and nurses treated their patients with much care (Figure 5.8). During the war years, however, trouble followed the hospital causing a shortage of doctors.\textsuperscript{329} Rundle wrote to Flavelle on this matter: “I see that several more doctors are leaving the staff for the Front. I hope this will not interfere too much with the running of the Hospital, but here again this is a minor consideration to the great work which they are undertaking in looking after our wounded soldiers.”\textsuperscript{330}

\textsuperscript{325} Clarke, \textit{A History of the Toronto General Hospital}, p. 126.
\textsuperscript{326} “Many Distinguished Men Participate in Laying of Corner-Stone of the New Hospital,” \textit{The Globe}, April 12, 1911, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{327} Statement Made by J.W. Flavelle, Toronto General Hospital.
\textsuperscript{328} Toronto General Hospital, Board of Trustees, Minutes, May 2, 1917, p. 267.
\textsuperscript{329} Flavelle Papers, Box 2 Correspondence (1913-1916 R), Folder General Correspondence 1915: K-R, Letter from William E. Rundle to Flavelle, May 7, 1915.
\textsuperscript{330} Ibid.
Figure 5.6, Opening Ceremonies of Toronto General Hospital, 1913, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 1206
Figure 5.7: Presentation of Ambulance to Toronto General Hospital, ca. 1913, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, William James Family Fonds, Item 57a
Figure 5.8, Patients at the Toronto General Hospital, ca. 1914, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 478
In 1918 Sir Joseph Flavelle enlisted the help of his friends to wipe out the hospital’s debt of approximately $800,000.\textsuperscript{331} The hospital laboratory equipment, increased facilities for X-Ray work, added accommodation in the Nurses’ Home, and accumulating interest added to increased indebtedness.\textsuperscript{332} Flavelle, once again, deployed his extensive network to raise money. Setting a high standard, he pressed the city’s influential businessmen to contribute to defraying the hospital’s growing debt (Table 5.6).\textsuperscript{333} Flavelle alone contributed $250,000. There were others, including Sir Frank W. Baillie and P.C. Larkin who subscribed $50,000 and $30,000, respectively.\textsuperscript{334} In addition, several companies also contributed in decreasing the growing debt of the Toronto General Hospital.

On May 18, 1921, at the regular monthly board meeting for the Toronto General Hospital, Flavelle resigned from his position as Chairman of the Board of Trustees.\textsuperscript{335} At that same meeting Charles S. Blackwell accepted the position of Chairman and D. Bruce Macdonald the role of Vice-Chairman.\textsuperscript{336} The Board accepted Flavelle’s resignation noting: “The Trustees ungrudgingly acknowledge that the conception and completion of the present Hospital on College Street is almost wholly due to his untiring energies, clear foresight and indomitable perseverance, and while this magnificent

\textsuperscript{331} Flavelle Papers, Box 41 Correspondence (1906-1920), Folder TGH Correspondence, 1918.
\textsuperscript{332} Flavelle Papers, Box 41 Correspondence (1906-1920), Folder TGH Correspondence, 1920, Letter from Flavelle to E.C. Drury (Premier of Ontario), January 8, 1920.
\textsuperscript{333} Flavelle Papers, Box 41 Correspondence (1906-1920), Folder TGH Correspondence, 1918.
\textsuperscript{334} Flavelle Papers, Box 41 Correspondence (1906-1920), Folder TGH Correspondence, 1920 R-W.
\textsuperscript{335} Flavelle Papers, Box 42 Correspondence (1921-1929), Folder TGH Correspondence, 1921 E-W, Letter from Flavelle to Dr. B.P. Watson (Advisory Committee, TGH), May 18, 1921; Toronto General Hospital, Board of Trustees, Minutes, May 18, 1921, p. 145.
\textsuperscript{336} Ibid.
Table 5.6:
The Funds Collected for the Toronto General Hospital as of June 28, 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Person</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Amount ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sir Joseph Flavelle</td>
<td>William Davies Co. Ltd.</td>
<td>$250,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Frank W. Baillie</td>
<td>Baillie, Wood and Croft</td>
<td>50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.C. Larkin</td>
<td>P.C. Larkin &amp; Company</td>
<td>30,000.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Estate H.A. Massey</td>
<td>Massey-Harris Co. Ltd.</td>
<td>15,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark H. Irish</td>
<td>Irish &amp; Maulson Ltd.</td>
<td>10,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Edmund Osler</td>
<td>Osler and Hammond</td>
<td>5,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.B Greening</td>
<td>Pure Gold Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>5,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.C. Cox</td>
<td>Canada Life Assurance Co.</td>
<td>5,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedley Shaw</td>
<td>Hedley Shaw Milling Co., Ltd.</td>
<td>5,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.H. Fudger</td>
<td>Robert Simpson Co. Ltd.</td>
<td>4,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.A. Russell</td>
<td>Russell Motor Car Co. Ltd.</td>
<td>3,950.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.A. Morrow</td>
<td>Dominion Securities Corp.</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Watson</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Gundy</td>
<td>Wood, Gundy and Co.</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.H. Wood</td>
<td>Wood, Gundy and Co.</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.R.P. Parker</td>
<td>Parker and Clark</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph Connable</td>
<td>F.W. Woolworth &amp; Co.</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles S. Blackwell</td>
<td>Matthews-Blackwell &amp; Co.</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Matthews</td>
<td>Matthews-Blackwell &amp; Co.</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.S. Rogers</td>
<td>British American Oil Co.</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir James Woods</td>
<td>Gordon, Mackay &amp; Co.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A.T. Reid</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Ryrie</td>
<td>Ryrie Bros, Ltd.</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton D. Wills</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Garland</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Herbert H. Williams</td>
<td>International Realty Co.</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Herbert Hall</td>
<td>Conduits Co. Ltd.</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.J. Moore</td>
<td>Carter-Crume Company</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.W. Smart</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>250.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Total**               |                                     | **288,500.00**

Source: Flavelle Papers, Box 41 Correspondence (1906-1920), Folder TGH Correspondence, 1920 G-P.

group of Buildings stand as a monument to Sir Joseph’s public service, the Trustees, nevertheless, wish to place in his possession written testimony of their individual, and collective, appreciation for his guidance and courage. To the qualities he possesses,
and freely gives, is attributable the success, not only of the Toronto General Hospital, but of Hospital betterment throughout the Province of Ontario.”

Blackwell had been a member of the Board since 1920. He often wrote to Flavelle seeking his advice. Although Flavelle resigned he was still involved in the matters of the hospital. Flavelle, alongside Blackwell, Macdonald and T.A. Russell, for example, were responsible for establishing a Diabetic Clinic in the Toronto General Hospital. They worked alongside Dr. Frederick G. Banting. The Clinic was discontinued on May 31, 1923 as insulin would be available for general distribution by June 1, 1923. On June 20, 1923 Flavelle put forth a motion to offer Banting the post of Honorary Consultant in Medicine. This was seconded by Macdonald and the Board of Trustees approved. Flavelle died on March 7, 1939. Chester Decker, superintendent of the Toronto General Hospital, paid his respects saying: “Sir Joseph Flavelle may be truly called the father of the new College Street General Hospital. It was largely due to his conviction that the hospital board of 1907 and 1908 decided to abandon the site on Gerrard Street and to build closer to the University, here on College [Street].”

337 Toronto General Hospital, Board of Trustees, Minutes, May 18, 1921, p. 146.
338 Flavelle Papers, Box 42 Correspondence (1921-1929), Folder TGH Correspondence, 1921 E-W. Letter from Sir John Eaton to Flavelle, May 11, 1921.
339 Flavelle Papers, Box 42 Correspondence (1921-1929), Folder TGH Correspondence, 1922 A-D. Letter from C.J. Decker (Secretary, TGH) to Flavelle, June 22, 1922.
340 Toronto General Hospital, Board of Trustees, Minutes, October 7, 1922, p. 195.
341 Toronto General Hospital, Board of Trustees, Minutes, May 16, 1923, p. 231.
342 Toronto General Hospital, Board of Trustees, Minutes, June 20, 1923, p. 237.
343 Flavelle Accession, “Donated Two Houses and Chapel to St. Andrew’s College as One of First Governors – Deeply Mourned,” Telegram, March 7, 1939.
The Influenza Epidemic of 1918

No democracy existing today affords relief for these conditions except in a fragmentary way, but, thank God, there is evidence on all sides of an awakening of the social conscience to the appalling social conditions of our times, with poverty on the one hand and luxurious idleness on the other. What our nations require is a fitter race, and what every individual is entitled to is the development of the best, mental and physical, of which he is capable; and no government is worthy of being called a democracy that does not make this possible. In the democracies of today this is obtainable only for the few, while tens of millions are toiling for a wage which denies them this right.\(^{344}\)

Dr. Charles Hastings was a central figure during Toronto’s influenza epidemic. He relied on his social capital to access information and promote ideas. His network was exclusive to certain individuals/groups and closed to outsiders. Although the medical profession did not know the cause of the flu, Hastings exercised power as the city’s Medical Officer of Health by promoting preventive measures. His leadership during the influenza epidemic embodied his authority. Hastings relied on his formal and informal networks with Canadian, British and American public health officials to gather knowledge about clinical behaviour and standard practice. Hastings forged networks that had positive outcomes, but he also formed ties that limited the actions of others. His social capital gave him the opportunity not only to access and mobilize pertinent information, but the ability to form social control. In other words, Hastings redrew the social boundaries of class and ethnicity through his social capital. He utilized social capital as a strategy for reinforcing social inclusion and exclusion. Many social groups,

including the working class, were excluded from Hastings’ social network. They were
given no access or representation on how best to prevent the spread of the disease.
Their assistance was never sought and decisions were made without them. As they
were excluded from the decision-making process, many turned to co-ethnics, labour
unions, and mutual aid societies for assistance and support. This reproduced the
relational boundaries between social groups as interclass and interethnic networks were
virtually non-existent.

Social capital is not a homogeneous resource equally available to all. Individuals
and social groups were differently positioned within social networks. Because of their
disadvantaged structural positions many Torontonians were excluded from gaining
access to quality networks. Hastings, however, did not intentionally discriminate against
them. As Hastings built significant relationships with people in the medical profession
both within and outside of the city’s boundaries, “he personally kept in touch with every
new development throughout the world in the fields of public health, preventive
medicine, bacteriology, and epidemiology and kindred subjects pertinent to his task.”
If Hastings lacked political connections, he could not have been as influential as he was.
Hastings clearly used his network with medical personnel, city clerks, city solicitors,
finance commissioners, park commissioners, and businessmen for a remarkably wide
range of social- and policy-related purposes. With Hastings as the Medical Officer of
Health, it was his responsibility to control the spread of influenza.

345 Hastings Accession, “Dr. Hastings Retires after Nineteen Years Jackson Recommended,” Star, May
28, 1929.
346 Paul Adolphus Bator, “The Struggle to Raise the Lower Classes’: Public Health Reform and the
The influenza outbreak arrived in Toronto on September 1918. There were two waves of the disease: the first was from September to December, and the second, occurred between February and April 1919. The epidemic progressed rapidly, and provided a challenge for Hastings. There was no social group that was immune to the influenza epidemic. It spread across Toronto infecting both the rich and poor. Hastings and his colleagues debated on the best measures to prevent further spread of the disease. Hastings quickly educated the public on precautionary measures and restricted the ill from attending schools, assembly halls, work, and theatres. He relied on health authorities, academic colleagues, doctors, and nurses from all over North America for advice.347 His relationship with the local newspapers was also important – relaying a message of calmness to the population. He traveled to Boston, New York City and Washington to gain more awareness and a better understanding of the disease.348 However, co-operation was not always easy, and tensions did exist between him and others. For instance, Hastings’ relationship with Mayor Thomas L. Church was, at times, strained.349 Church was upset that the Board of Health did not have the crisis under control and attacked Hastings and Dr. John W.S. McCullough for their ‘incompetence.’350

Hastings was a central figure during the 1918 influenza epidemic. He held significant authority during this health crisis. He was structurally important during the

349 “Mayor Clashes with Two M.O.H,” The Globe, October 9, 1918, p. 8.
350 Ibid.
epidemic by both educating the public and preventing unnecessary overcrowding of public institutions. He expanded his powers in response to the outbreak by legitimizing forms of public behaviour. Hastings was powerfully connected through committees and his position as Toronto’s Medical Officer. He was very influential and communicated regularly about preventive measures with public health officials in Manitoba (Dr. Alexander J. Douglas, Dr. Gordon Bell, and Dr. M. Stuart Fraser), Saskatchewan (Dr. J.M. Ulrich), Alberta (Dr. T.H. Whitelaw), Pennsylvania (Dr. Wilmer Krusen and Dr. C. Lincoln Furbush), North Carolina (Dr. Watson Smith Rankin), Connecticut (Charles-Edward Amory Winslow and Dr. Frank Wright), and Kansas (Dr. Samuel J. Crumbine). Hastings was also well connected with New York State Governor Charles S. Whitman. They knew each other through their membership with the American Public Health Association where Hastings was president in 1918. During that same year Whitman created an Influenza Commission (Table 5.7). Although Hastings was not directly part of the commission he did hold active relationships with those involved. On October 8, for example, Hastings was in Washington to consult with American authorities about the influenza epidemic.\footnote{“Inquire into Flu Outbreak,” \textit{The Globe}, October 8, 1918, p. 6.} A number of health professionals across North America presented papers and ideas, including Dr. William R. Stokes (Baltimore), Dr. Milton J. Rosenau (Boston), Dr. George W. McCoy (Washington), Dr. Timothy Leary (Boston), Dr. Woods Hutchinson (New York City), and Dr. John Dill Robertson (Chicago). They stressed three important factors: 1) “break the channels of communication by which the infective agent passes from one person to another,” 2) “render persons exposed to infection immune or at least more resistant by the use of vaccines,” and 3) “increase
Table 5.7: Members of the Influenza Commission, Appointed by Governor Whitman

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Person</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Hermann M. Biggs</td>
<td>State Commissioner of Health</td>
<td>Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Walter B. James</td>
<td>New York Academy of Medicine</td>
<td>Vice-Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles-Edward Amory Winslow</td>
<td>Yale University, Public Health</td>
<td>Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Henry A. Christian</td>
<td>Harvard University, Medicine</td>
<td>Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Llewellys F. Barker</td>
<td>John Hopkins University, Medicine</td>
<td>Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. L. Emmet Holt</td>
<td>Columbia University, Diseases</td>
<td>Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. William H. Park</td>
<td>NYC, Department of Health</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Wickliffe Rose</td>
<td>General International Health Board</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Victor C. Heiser</td>
<td>International health Board</td>
<td>Regional Dir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. A.B. Wadsworth</td>
<td>NY State, Department of Health</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Rufus I. Cole</td>
<td>Rockefeller Institute</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. G.N. McCoy</td>
<td>U.S. Public Health Service</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Joseph Goldberger</td>
<td>U.S. Public Health Service</td>
<td>Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Matthias Nicoll Jr.</td>
<td>NY State, Department of Health</td>
<td>Deputy Comm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Milton J. Rosenau</td>
<td>Harvard University, Bacteriology</td>
<td>Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Paul Lewis</td>
<td>Phipps Institute</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


the natural resistance of persons exposed to the disease by augmented healthfulness.\(^{352}\)

Hastings made challenging decisions about controlling the spread of the disease. However, he ignored any type of grassroots participation. A number of social groups were very much absent from any talks about disease prevention, and were unable to make suggestions. The opportunity was there to develop interclass and interethnic channels of communication. The social boundaries of ethnicity and class that were clearly marked were once again reproduced in Toronto society. Hastings built a social capital network that excluded the working class and relied on the press to communicate with the public. The who’s who of Toronto constantly pondered over the best way to

deal with the epidemic because many were part of Hastings’ network. They worried about the threat of social instability if panic would spread throughout the city. This deepened class and ethnic conflict. I am not suggesting that there were violent clashes between social groups; instead, I am demonstrating how particular groups were excluded (not necessarily deliberate) from Hastings’ social capital and any appropriate response to the crisis. In other words, because the agency of many was at odds with Hastings their cooperation was never sought. They were largely in the dark when it came to the response of the health department.

Hastings made sure that the economic elites of the city were not affected by closures. He developed containment measures (closing schools and other public venues) and prepared a register of all healthcare professionals available. A number of schools, including Harbord, Parkdale, Humberside and Oakwood Collegiate reported that thousands of students fell ill.⁴⁵³ As a result, tens of thousands of people (young and old) felt the effects of a city under crisis. Hastings, for instance, suggested people walk instead of crowding into streetcars.⁴⁵⁴ He made it his mission to educate Toronto citizens about disease control. As time went on the flu was taking the life of citizens at an alarming rate.⁴⁵⁵ The influenza epidemic hit a number of Canadian cities, and approximately 50,000 people died in Canada.⁴⁵⁶ According to Dr. McCullough, there

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were approximately 40,000 to 50,000 cases of influenza in Ontario alone, with about 3,500 deaths.\textsuperscript{357} There were approximately 1,600 deaths in Toronto.\textsuperscript{358}

The economic stress was very significant. Workers fell ill and the production and distribution of goods and services suffered. Hastings and McCullough did not feel the need to quarantine patients.\textsuperscript{359} McCullough voiced his concern by stating: “The matter of placarding, and quarantining for this effection [sic] is regarded...as being impracticable...Many people with colds would be improperly quarantined, and in short the operation of the law would, as it has been in many of the States to the south of us, be a dead letter.”\textsuperscript{360} They created additional hospital space and trained volunteers and nurses (the Sisters of Service, the Victorian Order of Nurses, and the St. Elizabeth Visiting Nurses) to care for those who fell ill.\textsuperscript{361} In an address to the American Public Health Association, Hastings noted:

\begin{quote}
We require the centralization of authority. Whether that be a public health service, a local government board, a department of health, a ministry of health or a secretary of health, it matters little, but all authority should be centralized under one department, if we are going to have efficient results. Every human body may be a battlefield against these invisible foes. Consequently, every individual must be trained a fighter, and though we march apart, we must fight together under one command.\textsuperscript{362}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{358} Ibid, p. 1086.
\textsuperscript{359} Hastings Accession.
\textsuperscript{360} McCullough, “The Control of Influenza in Ontario,” p. 1084.
\textsuperscript{361} MacDougall, “Toronto’s Health Department in Action,” p. 65.
\textsuperscript{362} Hastings, “Democracy and Public Health Administration,” p. 83.
Hastings wanted the federal government to create a national health department because he felt that public health work was being hampered by “inadequate appropriations,” which ignored disease prevention. With Hastings’ recommendation, the government of Canada established its own department of health. Interestingly, this department mainly focused its efforts on the inspection of newly arrived immigrants.

On May 26, 1919 members of the Canadian Public Health Association, Ontario Health Officers Association, and the Ontario Medical Association met at the University of Toronto campus to discuss the influenza epidemic. In attendance were Hastings, McCullough, Dr. Michael Steele (Member of Parliament), Dr. Wade Hampton Frost (United States Public Health Service), and Dr. Augustus Wadsworth (New York State Laboratory). These meetings gave the health community the ability to articulate their ideas. Once again, individuals representing other social groups from Toronto’s population were absent. Hastings developed an approach through an intricate web of connections with distinguished people, and their philosophy of ideas reproduced Toronto’s geography of power. In sum, Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Joseph Flavelle and Dr. Charles Hastings did not lead their lives in constricted neighbourhoods, but in a world where they interacted across local, regional, national and international scales. Their social capital was critical in shaping the city’s physical landscape as well as their own interests. They bridged networks from one sphere to another which provided them with material and non-material resources. They also utilized their social capital to constrain


the action of outsiders. This created unequal relationships of power which reinforced their authority and social control over others. As social capital was converted into economic and cultural capital, social resources were unequally distributed across the geographic community. This contributed to continuing social inequality within and between social and ethnic groups, and enabled persons to exercise power while constraining or limiting the action of others.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has focused on the social capital networks that were developed by a small group of Anglo elites in early twentieth-century Toronto. Sir Edmund Walker, Sir Joseph Flavelle, and Dr. Charles Hastings built a number of relationships with distinguished businessmen, politicians, artists, and educationalists. Their social networks were international in scope because they had social, economic, cultural and political interests in Chicago, New York City, Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, and London. They generated a large number of interlocks and made important contacts with prominent figures. Their networks were not static and evolved as new connections were made and old ones lost. They created and maintained relational boundaries by controlling financial capital, technology, and information. They utilized their social capital to not only acquire economic and cultural capital, but to constrain the action of others, which reproduced power relations. In the following chapters, it is necessary to explore how early twentieth-century Italian entrepreneurs interacted with others within the same social group in order to better understand the reproduction of ethnicity and power.
Chapter 6

Toronto’s Italian Entrepreneurs, Space and the Reproduction of Power

Introduction

At the turn of the twentieth century industrialization, urbanization, modernization, and immigration further complicated Toronto’s power relationships. These complex relationships operated along class, racial, ethnic, religious, and gender lines. The purpose of the next two chapters is to explore this complexity by examining the processes and mechanisms involved in the reproduction of ethnicity and social power. In this chapter, I examine how the spatial boundedness of Italian entrepreneurs enabled and constrained their social and economic opportunities. I explore the business spaces created by Italian entrepreneurs as well as the social capital they developed in order to understand how specific power relations were reproduced over time. I pay particular attention to how power was exercised by Italian business owners at specific times and places. These immigrants responded to Toronto’s ethnic division of labour. They made calculated decisions in response to the advantages and limits imposed by Toronto’s capitalist economy. Working within the parameters of the capitalist system, they operated businesses by pooling resources, erecting social boundaries, building trust relationships, and widening their target market.

In this chapter, I first examine ways in which particular business spaces acted as a nexus for the production and reproduction of power and unequal social relations. Individual agency, which frequently coalesced around Italian identity, played a significant role in the creation of these business establishments. Italian retail shops,
grocery stores, steamship agencies, and ‘immigrant’ banks were settings of social and business interactions. Businesses were a central place where social and spatial distance was reinforced and networks were developed. In order to provide a greater understanding of Toronto’s Italian community, I provide answers to the following questions about Italian entrepreneurs: How was the social geography of power reproduced? To what extent did Italian entrepreneurs wield power in their daily lives? What common characteristics did they share? What businesses did they engage in? What were their sources of finance? What were their sources of labour?

Second, I draw from archival research and secondary evidence to explore the lives of four Italian entrepreneurs: Giovanni Ciceri, Giuseppe Gatto, Frank Glionna, and Francesco Tomaiuolo. Through the analysis of their activities and social capital we can understand Toronto’s complex power structure through the social boundaries that they operated within their everyday lives. These small business owners pursued a range of networks, from the local neighbourhood depositor to the international food wholesaler. They utilized a variety of means and strategies in order to maintain their social, economic and political dominance over other Italian immigrants. I pay particular attention to how the interests of Toronto’s Italian entrepreneurs brought them together in particular neighbourhoods, local shops, and church congregations. It was through their control over economic resources that Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo had the power of exclusion and inclusion utilizing social and spatial distance as a strategy for reinforcing social and economic power. These individuals were able to exercise power within these spaces by controlling the exchange of information and communication to reflect their interests. As Meghan Cope suggests, “no one is without power altogether, but each person’s power constellation consists of many different sets of relations that
take shape in a variety of spaces (and times), and which can occur simultaneously and even contradictorily. Thus, power is not just a dominant/subordinate relationship between individuals, groups, or institutions; it is also a set of mutually conditioning or contradicting relationships that enhances the complexity of our analyses. I build on this work to illustrate how small business owners wielded control and command over themselves and others within particular spaces at specific times. Not all pathways of power are necessarily equal, and to understand the nature of power relations within any society we must understand the strengths of and access to different sources of power, and the relationships among them.

The Social Geography of Italian Immigrants – A Brief History

The Italian immigrant experience in Toronto has been the subject of considerable research for several decades. The social, economic and political aspects of the immigrant experience have been examined by a number of scholars who have focused on settlement patterns, occupation trends, identity development, and the institutional growth of Toronto's Italian community. I build upon these works by paying particular attention to how Italians claimed their own business spaces, built social networks, and

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exercised power within their community. My research, ultimately, takes us beyond the focus of unskilled immigrants living in poor working-class neighbourhoods – the typical subject of most scholarship – and examines the processes that allowed Italian immigrants to shape the city’s landscape. Because there is little research that focuses on the business activities of Toronto’s Italian immigrants, I centre on a specific subset of the Italian immigrant population – Italian entrepreneurs – in order to understand how power was exercised by Toronto’s immigrants. Giovanni Ciceri, Giuseppe Gatto, Frank Glionna, and Francesco Tomaiuolo represented an extraordinary example of Italian adaptability in Toronto society. These individuals were well known within the Italian community and exercised power by controlling the goods and services offered in their respective neighbourhoods. They were valuable within the community because they offered Italian products and services, while native enterprises did not.

There has been scant attention paid to the power exercised by early twentieth-century Italian immigrants living in Toronto. At most, historians have recognized that immigrants were actively making important decisions with the potential for resistance. To better understand the relationship between space and power, we need to grasp the complex ways in which ethnicity intersected with class and gender to shape the spatiality of the lives of Italian entrepreneurs. Since Toronto’s Italian entrepreneurs have not received adequate attention in the academic literature, it is important to examine how they modified their lives by reacting to the prevailing order to create a better life for themselves. In other words, they replicated the larger social structures of

capitalist Toronto, but within a different framing of social capital. These small business owners resisted structural disadvantages in subtle and passive ways. They acted as intermediaries between Italians and the rest of the population. They were neighbourhood lenders, immigrant bankers, and steamship agents. If a co-ethnic wanted a loan/mortgage they did not enter the Canadian Bank of Commerce, or if they wanted their funds remitted to a financial institution in Italy they did not make an appointment at the Royal Bank, or if someone needed to book a steamship ticket they would not enter the offices of the Canadian Pacific; instead they would take a walk to either Ciceri’s, Gatto’s, Glionna’s or Tomaiuolo’s business. Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo created institutional landscapes that represented a sense of place, power and social control within and near Italian neighbourhoods.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century Italians migrated to North America to escape the social and economic hardships that were present in their hometown villages. The Italian South was poor and many left to escape famine, land fractionalization, industrial inefficiency, and crop failures. ‘Push’ and ‘pull’ factors (unemployment in Italy and economic opportunities in Canada) led many to settle in large urban centres across North America including Toronto, New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Montreal (Figure 6.1). It was the padrone system and migration chains that provided immigrants with residence and a job. As John Zucchi notes, from the latter half of the nineteenth century, this system flourished and pulled Italian workers
Figure 6.1, Italian Family, ca. 1913, City of Toronto Archives, Subseries 32, Health Department Photographs, Item 879
to a North American city. A majority of Italians worked as labourers across the city and province (Figure 6.2 and 6.3).

Giovanni Ciceri, Giuseppe Gatto and Francesco Tomaiuolo were part of this vast migratory movement. Gatto, for example, moved to Toronto in 1904; before that he was in the United States for 18 months to which he emigrated from Italy in 1902. When he first settled into Toronto, Gatto opened a bakery shop at 99 Elm Street, which he ran until 1919. After Gatto sold the bakery to a Jewish immigrant, he invested the funds in a new business: a grocery store at 84 Centre Avenue with a Francis Nicolleti. His partnership with Nicoletti dissolved after one year. Gatto began another partnership with Markam Missori as a steamship agent with their headquarters at 78 Centre Avenue. This partnership dissolved in 1928. Gatto also opened a bookstore at 14 Clinton Street and a soft drink bottling company at 55 Front Street East. He also had a one-tenth interest in the Northern Contracting Company, which focused on sewer work. Gatto found an Italian market where his goods and services were in high

368 Zucchi, Italians in Toronto, p. 102.
369 In the Matter of the Authorized Assignment of Giovanni Baptist Ciceri, Carrying on Business under the Firm Name and Style of G.B. Ciceri & Company, Debtor, Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver; In the Matter of the Bankruptcy of Giuseppe Gatto Trading as G. Gatto & Co. of the City of Toronto, in the Province of Ontario, Debtor, Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver; In the Matter of the Bankruptcy of Francesco Tomaiuolo Carrying on Business in the City of Toronto, County of York, Debtor, Supreme Court of Ontario Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver. In this section of the bankruptcy file the debtors answered some important questions about their migratory movements from Italy to Canada.
370 Bankruptcy of Gatto, Supreme Court of Ontario: Examination of Giuseppe Gatto.
371 Bankruptcy of Gatto, Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver.
372 Bankruptcy of Gatto Trading, Supreme Court of Ontario: Examination of Giuseppe Gatto.
373 Bankruptcy of Gatto, Examination of Giuseppe Gatto.
Figure 6.2, Italian Labourers Working on Toronto Street Railways (Dundas Street), 1912, Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Item ITA 200224
Figure 6.3, Italian Road Workers, Yonge Street and St. Clair Avenue, 1916, Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Item ITA 200125
demand by the growing Italian population. Responding to the structural forces of capitalism and discrimination, Gatto took an active role in his entrepreneurial pursuits. He escaped the disadvantages of the labour market and exercised power and control over the Italian immigrant population.

Gatto’s story is just one of the many to be found among Toronto’s growing Italian population. With the emergence of an Italian community business opportunities flourished. The small community of a few hundred Italians in 1891 increased to just over one thousand in 1901.³⁷⁴ By 1941 there were over 14,000 Italians in Toronto, making it the city’s second largest minority group behind the Jewish population.³⁷⁵ They were far from a homogeneous ethnic group. They were internally diversified and were themselves stratified along class lines. They became unskilled labourers, skilled tradesmen, white-collar professionals, musicians, peddlers and storeowners (Figure 6.4, 6.5, 6.6 and 6.7). They were differentiated by region, religion, political ideology, gender, recent and earlier arrivals, religious outlook, and by status. As a group, Italian immigrants were highly discriminated against and were near the bottom of Toronto’s social class structure. Because Italians encountered prejudice, discrimination and stereotypes they were excluded from the mainstream housing and labour markets. Before long, Italians found themselves both in conflict and competition with other social and ethnic groups (notably the Irish) for work, residence and leisure spaces. Although

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Figure 6.4, Knife Sharpener on Major Street, 1913, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, William James Family Fonds, Item 8146
Figure 6.5, Concertina Player on Major Street, ca. 1912, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, William James Family Fonds, Item 132A
Figure 6.7, Scagnetti’s General Store Interior, n.d., Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Item ITA 200103
the Italian immigrant population was not resented by all members of Toronto’s British population, discrimination was common and encouraged Italian immigrants to protect themselves by concentrating into similar occupations and residential neighbourhoods.

Italian immigrants settled in specific areas of the city. They settled in these neighbourhoods for a number of reasons: convenient location near work, discrimination within the housing market, migration chains, and to achieve cultural pursuits. These neighbourhoods were close to Italian job sites and streetcar routes. Within these enclaves, blocks were inhabited with Italians from the same hometown, sometimes boarding with each other. Sturino comments that “chain migration was translated into chain residence patterns. The clustering of immigrants from particular locales around pioneers or earlier settled kin and paesani was evidently more decisive as a factor of settlement than proximity to work, access to services, or even the market value of accommodation (though, obviously, all were interwoven).” As immigrants were settling permanently, Harney notes that Toronto’s growing Italian community were capable of supporting many businesses and occupations.

Italian entrepreneurs lived, worked and leisured in neighbourhoods they shared with their co-ethnics. Italian immigrants were restricted in terms of the type of housing that was available. However, at the same time, their neighbourhoods became centres of social, economic and political activity. The physical landscape consisted of ethnic churches, grocery stores, boardinghouses, social clubs and mutual aid societies, and

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they were essential for the development of social, economic, cultural and political empowerment. These institutional infrastructures acted as a nexus for the production and reproduction of power and ethnicity within the Italian community. The people who controlled these institutions had access to goods and services that were essential for community survival. They were in command of ethnic groceries, living spaces, jobs, money, and burial services, among other things.

Even though Italians were dispersed throughout the city, a significant number concentrated in three main neighbourhoods: the Ward, Dufferin-Davenport and College-Grace (Figure 3.5). Although the majority of Italians resided in these areas, the neighbourhoods were far from homogeneous. Other ethnic groups inhabited these areas, including the Jewish, Chinese and Polish population. By 1914 all three Little Italie had an Italian Catholic parish: Our Lady of Mount Carmel (established in 1908) in the Ward, St. Agnes (established in 1914) at College and Grace, and St. Mary of the Angels (established in 1914) at Dufferin and Davenport. It was within these parishes that a specific set of relationships were established, maintained, and strengthened. During Sunday masses, fundraisers, socials, funerals, weddings, and baptisms people formed new relationships and re-established existing ones.

The Ward was Toronto’s first Little Italy. It was bounded to the east by Yonge, to the south by Queen, to the west by University and to the north by College streets. As mentioned earlier, this neighbourhood contained poor housing conditions, inadequate

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380 Our Lady of Mount Carmel Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1, and Marriage Records, Roll No. 2 (Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto); St. Agnes Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1, and Marriage Records, Roll No. 2 (Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto); St. Mary of the Angels Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1, and Marriage Records, Roll No. 2 (Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto).
sewerage, and bad environmental conditions. In 1904, when Gatto moved from the United States, he settled into this neighbourhood. Italian male sojourners predominantly settled in this neighbourhood from the 1880s. They were mainly unskilled labourers with irregular income and/or low wages. Their social and spatial segregation made them a target of reform and police activity. They were pulled into the Ward by labour agents who promised newcomers work and a place to live. There were a number of agents in this area, including Francesco Glionna, Michael Basso, Albert Dini, Francesco Nicoletti and Giuseppe Izzo. The Ward had a number of ethnic businesses that catered to them, including Italian groceries, restaurants, and steamship agencies. As Harney notes, “these enterprises obviously served as conduits for money, goods and people from Toronto to Italy and to the work sites in the interior.” The Ward was also home to the Italian newspaper offices of Lo Stendardo and Tribuna Canadiana. In addition, two Italian social clubs and three mutual aid societies were found there: Italian National Club and the Circolo Colombo social clubs, and the Umberto Primo, the Vittorio Emanuele III, and the Circolo Operai dell’Ontario societies. It was within these institutions where Italians coped with structural prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination as they reinforced ethno-cultural identification.

383 Zucchi, Italians in Toronto, p. 47
384 Harney, “Toronto’s Little Italy,” p. 49.
386 Ibid, p. 27.
By the first decade of the twentieth century Italians began moving westward out of the Ward.\textsuperscript{387} During this period, construction of commercial and public institutions pushed Italian immigrants to other neighbourhoods.\textsuperscript{388} The Ward was experiencing changing land use with the construction of the new Eaton’s factory (Figure 6.8), Registry Office (Figure 6.9), Toronto General Hospital (Figure 6.10), and Sick Children’s Hospital.\textsuperscript{389} In addition, the completion of sewer work in the College-Grace and Dufferin-Davenport districts provided Italians with more housing opportunities. The College-Grace district was bordered by Dundas, Grace, Manning and College streets (Figure 3.5). According to Sturino, it was the College-Grace district that became a major settlement area and commercial centre for the Italian community in the 1920s.\textsuperscript{390} This neighbourhood supplanted the Ward as the centre of Italian culture and business. For instance, Gatto and Tomaiuolo both ran their businesses on Clinton Street, in the heart of the district.\textsuperscript{391} Gatto opened a bookstore at 14 Clinton Street (leased the property from Tomaiuolo), and Tomaiuolo ran his business from 10-12 Clinton Street from August 20, 1913.\textsuperscript{392} Tomaiuolo advertised in Italian noting his foreign reserve

\textsuperscript{387} Harney, ”Chiaroscuro,” p. 163.
\textsuperscript{388} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{390} Sturino, \textit{Forging the Chain}, p. 170.
\textsuperscript{391} Bankruptcy of Gatto, \textit{Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver}; Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, \textit{Supreme Court of Ontario Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver}.
\textsuperscript{392} Ibid.
Figure 6.8, T. Eaton Company Factory, Louisa Street, ca. 1920, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244 William James Family Fonds, Item 7034b
Figure 6.9, Start of New Registry Office, ca. 1911, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, William James Family Fonds, Item 3047
Figure 6.10, Toronto General Hospital, n.d., Queen’s University Archives, Fonds 99 Sir Joseph Flavelle
(Italian Lira) and his wide assortment of Italian calendars, music and stamps (Figure 6.11).

To the north the Dufferin-Davenport district, bounded by Dufferin Street, Davenport Avenue, the junction of the Canadian Northern Railway, and the Canadian Pacific Railway emerged as another important Italian enclave. Although this area was home to many Italian railroad and construction workers, it was still ethnically diverse. In 1905, more immigrants moved into this area when the Canadian General Electric opened a new Canada Foundry plant near Lansdowne and Davenport avenues. Italian social and religious activities centred around St. Mary of the Angels Catholic Church on Dufferin Street. Italians who attended this parish lived within blocks of the Church. For instance, the overwhelming majority of baptisms and marriages performed at St. Mary were for neighbourhood residents (Table 6.1). These residents spoke the same language as the local priest, Father Berardo, and they entrusted him with special services.

394 Ibid.
395 St. Mary of the Angels Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1, and Marriage Records, Roll No. 2.
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Figure 6.11, Advertisement in Italian City Directory for Francesco Tomaiuolo’s Steamships Agency, Private Bank and General Store, n.d.
Table 6.1: The Number of Baptisms and Marriages Performed at St. Mary of the Angels for Couples Living in the Dufferin-Davenport District, Selected Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Ceremony</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th># of Individuals Living in the Boundaries</th>
<th># of Individuals Living Outside the Boundaries</th>
<th>Un-Known</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baptism</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: St. Mary of the Angels Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1, and Marriage Records, Roll No. 2.

The stratification of Toronto’s population was reproduced by a number of processes and mechanisms, including residential segregation, occupational segmentation, and the disparities in achieving social, economic and cultural capital. These processes contributed to the perpetuation of social inequality and the production of the geography of power. Toronto’s Anglo elite used various means to protect their status in society, such as social and spatial segregation and the enclosure of their social capital networks. Segregation limited the opportunity for contact between social groups, thereby strengthening upper class barriers and cross-group differences. As such, Italian immigrants were constrained and isolated from social, economic and political opportunities because they were trapped in their ethnic neighbourhoods. This forced immigrants to consider other options, and as a result, Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo responded by turning to entrepreneurship.

396 The baptismal data for St. Mary of the Angels were collected from 1929 to 1935. The data for marriage registers were collected from 1915 to 1936.
The Entrepreneurship of Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo

The social structures of early twentieth-century Toronto shaped the actions of Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo. At the same time, however, these individuals also actively shaped the landscape because of their reaction against these same social structures. The interaction between agency and structure is very important. Italian entrepreneurs shaped the landscape by building businesses that acted as both spaces of exclusion and inclusion. They also selectively chose the people and firms they interacted with across spatial scales. They erected social boundaries to protect themselves against the rest of the population. They exercised power over themselves and over their employees and customers because they controlled job opportunities, wages, goods and services, loans, and mortgages. As noted in earlier chapters, everyone exercised power, and scholars like Cope argue that “people we traditionally perceive as powerless really do have some level of control, if not over others than over themselves and their own fates.”

This was definitely the case with Toronto’s Italian small business owners.

Italian entrepreneurs were more spatially mobile than their labouring counterparts. They were able to control spaces of business, and to develop social interactions outside of the immigrant neighbourhood. They wielded power, over their co-ethnics, but at the same time, they had limited authority and legitimacy over others. Their authority could be quickly challenged by those living both within and outside of Toronto’s Italian community. Their businesses were not randomly scattered along the

city of Toronto. Instead, Toronto’s Little Italies became associated with many of their stores. Businessmen were capable of converting their social capital into cultural and economic capital – thus reinforcing spatial inequalities and accentuating social exclusion. Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo, however, were not immune to economic downturns and business mismanagement. There was little room for business miscalculations. Eventually they all went bankrupt; Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo had deficits of $12,275.32, $2,876.43 and $3,277.70, respectively. Gatto, for instance, had unsecured liabilities and creditors that totaled $33,621. When Ciceri, Gatto and Tomaiuolo went bankrupt hundreds of depositors lost their savings.

Francesco Tomaiuolo declared bankruptcy in 1931 at the age of 48. Like the others, he sold groceries, steamship tickets, cashed cheques and translated documents. Although Tomaiuolo had “a large proportion of the savings of the Italian population”, he went out of business due to business mismanagement. Tomaiuolo operated his banking services in conjunction with his grocery and steamship business for eighteen years – from 1913 to 1931. Those outside of Toronto’s non-Anglo

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398 The causes of their bankruptcies are not discussed in great detail; it is outside the scope of this project.
399 Bankruptcy of Gatto, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs; Bankruptcy of Frank Joseph Glionna Trading under the Name of General Import Corporation, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs; Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.
400 Bankruptcy of Gatto, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.
401 Bankruptcy of Gatto, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs; Bankruptcy of Glionna, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs; Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.
402 Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver.
403 Zucchi, Italians in Toronto, p. 111.
404 Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver.
immigrant population had little idea that this was going on. At the time of his bankruptcy hearing, the judge was astonished to hear about Tomaiuolo's banking business: “…I want to ask a question or two; Mr. Tomaiuolo, are you allowed to carry on a banking business without any license, or any deposit being made?” Tomaiuolo responded: “I don’t know; for over 18 years I have been in this business and nobody stopped me or said a word to me.”\textsuperscript{405} Clearly the judge and many outside of Toronto’s Italian community were not aware of this. At the time of his bankruptcy, Tomaiuolo had approximately three hundred depositors who entrusted their savings with him.\textsuperscript{406} Understandably, many of these depositors were angry with Tomaiuolo. The community was so outraged when his business folded that Norman L. Martin, the Custodian of the Estate, called a meeting at St. Agnes where he asked the local priest for assistance. According to the affidavit of David Goldstick (the trustee):

\begin{quote}
...from the date of the bankruptcy both Mr. Martin’s office and my office were visited by a continuous stream of these creditors who came to make enquiries about their savings and about monies that they had left for transmission to their relatives in the Old Country. Some of these people had their life savings tied up in the estate and could not be dismissed with a gesture. On one occasion, to avoid what might have become a riot, Mr. Martin found it necessary to engage the services of the local Italian priest and called a meeting of the creditors in a Catholic church hall.\textsuperscript{407}
\end{quote}

Tomaiuolo was in constant communication with Goldstick and Martin. Although Tomaiuolo lived and worked in an Italian neighbourhood, he did not operate his networks and/or activities in a self-contained area. His social network stretched across

\textsuperscript{405} Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, \textit{Supreme Court of Ontario: Examination of Francesco Tomaiuolo}.
\textsuperscript{406} Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, \textit{Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs}.
\textsuperscript{407} Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, \textit{Supreme Court of Ontario: Affidavit of David Goldstick}.
Canada, the United States and Italy. The relationships he developed with co-ethnics constrained his social and economic opportunities. He risked marginalization by developing a majority of his relationships with co-ethnics. These relationships lacked the resources he could obtain with others from different ethnic groups and social classes.

Glionna, in contrast, began his business in 1928 with start-up capital of $2000. Glionna imported macaroni, olives, olive oil, nuts, meats, and other perishable goods from Toronto, Chicago, and Lebanon, Pennsylvania. Glionna carried on his business at 58 Colborne Street, outside of Toronto’s three major Italian neighbourhoods. Glionna saved his earnings while working for others until he accumulated enough funds to go into business for himself. His business dissolved months later blaming insolvency on “heavy opposition.” He gave no explanation at what he meant by this.

Ciceri, on the other hand, began his latest business in 1923 with start-up capital of $26,000. He borrowed $13,000 from friends and family. Ciceri went bankrupt in 1928, and at the time of his insolvency he was 71 years old. Because he was very ill, his son, John B. Ciceri, Jr. attended the bankruptcy meetings at Osgoode Hall. Ciceri’s other son, Paul L. Ciceri, offered to purchase the assets of the business. This offer was

406 Bankruptcy of Glionna, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver.*
408 Bankruptcy of Glionna, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver.*
409 Ibid.
410 Ibid.
411 Bankruptcy of Ciceri, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver.*
accepted by the creditors. The amount paid “was considerably more than the creditors could have realized under a forced sale, and the Inspectors accordingly accepted the said offer on the aforesaid understanding.” The Report continued to outline that Ciceri’s “failure was undoubtedly due to assistance he had given to a Company conducted by his son in Montreal, Charles Ciceri & Company, Limited, by way of cash advances, bank guarantee, and shipment of goods.”

One year later, on March 21, 1929, Giovanni Ciceri died. A day after his death, The Globe recognized Ciceri’s influence in the Italian community: “A pioneer Italian merchant in Canada, he founded an importing business, specializing in the importation of Italian goods. King Victor Emmanuel knighted him in 1918, awarding the Order of the Crown of Italy in recognition of his work in promoting good relations and fostering commerce between Canada and Italy, and for his generous interest in the Italian Red Cross work during the Great War.”

In sum, Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo were important individuals in Toronto’s Italian community. They were not part of the Italian elite, but nevertheless, they had a high social standing. They actively reproduced Italian social structure by controlling ethnic products and services. The Italian community went to them and had their documents translated, money deposited, cheques cashed, or funds remitted to Italy. These entrepreneurs had agency over their lives as they tried to improve their quality of living. They countered structural disadvantages by creating their own businesses. They helped build an ethnic economy that addressed the needs and

414 Bankruptcy of Ciceri, Report of Trustee.
415 Bankruptcy of Ciceri, Order, dated Tuesday of the 6th day of May 1930.
demands of both a co-ethnic labour force and market. Even though Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo had agency, their agency operated in the context of Toronto’s social structure.

**Toronto’s Italian Entrepreneurs – Strategies They Utilized in Order to Control Living Conditions**

The work on ethnic entrepreneurs has been dominated by sociologists, political scientists, cultural anthropologists, and economists. A great deal of attention has centred on the role of rotating credit associations, the tasks behind choosing a business location and market, and the use of a co-ethnic labour force as a source of cheap labour.\(^{417}\) Ivan Light and his co-authors have demonstrated that entrepreneurship was pursued by immigrants due to the disadvantages they faced in the labour market.\(^{418}\) Others have argued that ethnic groups moved into self-employment because they were able to gain ethnic and class resources.\(^{419}\) These two factors also contributed to Italian entrepreneurship in Toronto. The combination of structural disadvantages and individual factors allowed Italians to open their shops. Unfortunately, there has been very little research on the Italian entrepreneurial experience in early twentieth-century

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\(^{418}\) Light et al., “Immigrant Incorporation in the Garment Industry of Los Angeles.”

Toronto. Although Zucchi and Harney have paid some attention to immigrant entrepreneurship, both have failed to explore the processes behind the social and economic power exercised by these small business owners.\textsuperscript{420} Zucchi, for instance, does not examine how Italian entrepreneurs erected social boundaries and reproduced power relations over space and time.\textsuperscript{421} Because his research focused mainly on the social, economic and political leaders of the Italian community, we are left wondering about the role of small business owners exercising authority within the Italian community.

Entrepreneurship was a perfect avenue for gaining a foothold in the Toronto economy. It was a desirable option for those who could escape the pressures of blue-collar work. Italian immigrants reacted and countered the discrimination, hostility and racial barriers they faced in the labour market by going into business for themselves. A number of factories, including the Essex Canning and Preserving Company, wanted nothing to do with Italians (Figure 6.12). In the process, some Italians actively pursued the role of a storeowner and helped build an Italian ethnic economy that addressed the needs and demands of both a co-ethnic labour force and market. Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo confronted barriers in the labour market by establishing grocery stores, book shops, steamship agencies, immigrant banks, and other retail shops that provided


\textsuperscript{421} Zucchi, Italians in Toronto, p. 101.
The recent report of a Government factory inspector is a severe criticism of many canning establishments, and warrants the most emphatic statements as regards the conditions under which all Essex goods are packed and preserved. The trade will be interested in knowing that

- We do not employ Polish labor
- We do not employ Indian labor
- We do not employ Italian labor

but confine all our employees to resident families of Essex, with their old-fashioned ideas of cleanliness in the preparation of any food-product. The factory itself is modern and up-to-date, fitted throughout with every facility for doing things right, and supplied with every convenience for keeping everything clean. We could say more, but anything more ought not to be necessary. It is enough that we guarantee all Essex products to be of highest possible quality, conforming rigidly with all Pure Food laws, and absolutely clean and wholesome in every possible detail.

If you want the best be sure of your factory. Our kitchens are open for public inspection at all times.

THE ESSEX CANNING & PRESERVING CO., LTD.
28 Wellington Street East, Toronto, Canada

FACTORY at Essex, Ont.
(The Most Southerly County in Canada.)
Figure 6.13, Three Commercial Advertisings of Italians in New York: 1) Transatlantica Italiana, 2) Del Gaizo, Santarsiero & Co., and 3) Direct Service to Italy, n.d., Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Item ITA 200233
menial goods and services. In other words, they met the needs of the community. South of the border, in New York City similar institutions were created and catered to the Italian immigrant population. Advertisements focused on the unique services available to the Italian population (Figure 6.13).

Although they went bankrupt, Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo wielded power within the Italian community when their businesses were operational. At that time they established and implemented a number of store policies. They built upon pre-existing notions of power and place, and established a set of rules. They dictated the type of business, their choice of ownership, their hours of operation, their business location, the hiring process, and their target market. They devised and coordinated these policies to rationalize their business objectives and to control and constrain the action of others. As such, they were not passive pawns, but creative agents who constantly reacted to structural disadvantages in order to take an active role in their social and economic pursuits. In short, these entrepreneurs actively exhibited control over their own lives as well as the lives of others from the Italian community. They were always strategizing in order to increase their material wealth. I am not suggesting that Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo were always capable of exercising power easily; instead, I demonstrate that they were able to wield power at different spaces and times.

Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo created and shaped their business places to their liking. These businesses became symbols of progress, wealth and power within

422 Bankruptcy of Ciceri, Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver; Bankruptcy of Gatto, Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver; Bankruptcy of Glionna, Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver; Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver.
the Italian community. These establishments were forums and settings for political and economic decision-making. These small business owners were able to exercise power within these spaces by controlling the exchange of information and communication to reflect their interests. They developed and employed a number of interrelated strategies to gain control over their living conditions, including resource pooling, erecting social boundaries, creating relationships based on trust, and widening their target market. By applying these strategies, Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo were able to produce and reproduce social inequalities, emphasize social control, and reinforce values and ideas.

The Pooling of Resources

In order to run their businesses effectively, Italian entrepreneurs required capital to pay employees, purchase goods, and settle overhead costs. The financing structures of Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo were heavily dependent on their own savings or that of a close-knit network, or a combination of the two. It was not uncommon for immigrants to borrow money from co-ethnics to start their businesses. Because they were not well established, entrepreneurs could not obtain credit from Canadian banks. And when immigrants could not borrow from financial institutions they turned to family and friends for assistance. According to scholars who study immigrant entrepreneurship “loans from relatives and friends, coupled with unpaid and cheap family and co-ethnic labor, were of central importance for the establishment and successful operation of such small businesses.”

Italian entrepreneurs responded to the challenges of the labour market by establishing their own businesses. Although they adhered to the capitalist system, they were aware that this same system afforded them both constraints and opportunities. While they were restricted from entry into certain jobs, entrepreneurs also had the opportunity to succeed by becoming small business owners. Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo found creative ways to weave for themselves an opportunity for success. These immigrants made calculated decisions regarding resource pooling and their business location. For instance, in 1923 Ciceri borrowed funds to start his merchant business. His start up capital consisted of $26,000 and half of that was borrowed from friends and family. He borrowed $7,000 from his son, Paul Ciceri, $4,000 from Paul Catalano, and $2,000 from Silvio Merlino. Through the pooling of financial resources Ciceri, as well as Gatto and Tomaiuolo, were capable of building businesses that provided them with opportunity structures.

Italian entrepreneurs minimized their expenses by integrating their stores with their living spaces. Two of the four entrepreneurs (Gatto and Tomaiuolo) operated their businesses as an extension of their home. Gatto lived at 78-84 Centre Avenue; the same place where he carried on his business under the name G. Gatto and Company. Similarly, Tomaiuolo carried on his business at home on 10-12 Clinton

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424 Bankruptcy of Ciceri, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver.*

425 Bankruptcy of Gatto, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver; Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver.*

426 Bankruptcy of Gatto, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver.*
By utilizing this strategy, they saved money on start-up costs. In addition, because Gatto and Tomaiuolo did not have to travel to operate their businesses, they also saved money on transportation. Their businesses were family-operated. The recruitment of family labour was a common practice among Italian entrepreneurs. According to Steven Gold, immigrant and refugee entrepreneurs chose to utilize family labour in order to save money. Toronto’s Italian businessmen were also in favour of employing family labour because they could be trusted. The core workforce for Tomaiuolo was his son, Matteo Tomaiuolo who assisted in running the business. Giovanni Ciceri also utilized his sons (John B. Jr. and Paul) in assisting in the conduct of the business. In addition, Gatto also utilized the help of his son (Guy Gatto) in running the day-to-day operations. Unfortunately, when the business of G. Gatto and Company went bankrupt they were both charged for theft. On November 29, 1933 Guy Gatto plead “not guilty.” According to The Globe, Guy’s defense was that he did not profit, “and the money was paid into the general account of the firm, which was controlled by his father.” Although family members were trusted and costs were cheaper, they lacked business experience. This would prove detrimental in the success of the business.

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427 Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver.*


429 Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver.*


432 Ibid.
The Erection of Social Boundaries – Protecting Businesses and Building Relationships of Trust

Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo participated in the ethnic economy. They strengthened their social and economic power by constantly erecting, shaping and maintaining social boundaries within a specific space (their stores) and time (during hours of operation). They established a set of rules, norms and values which governed their shops to either include or exclude people from entering their establishments. These entrepreneurs protected their businesses through social and spatial segregation. Social boundaries functioned as barriers between themselves and outsiders (employees, customers, and wholesalers) which gave business owners a sense of control. They negotiated power relationships by creating a closed and exclusive space that came to represent the juxtaposition of ‘us’ and ‘them’.

The business establishments provided Italian entrepreneurs with certain advantages and benefits, including 1) a forum where face-to-face contacts built relationships of trust, and 2) a place where open communication provided individuals with the exchange of knowledge and information. When interactions occurred in person the physical boundaries (desks, counters, and offices) within the retail shop enhanced power relationships. For instance, the customers performed their transactions on one side of the counter while the storeowner was on the other side. It was obvious that these entrepreneurs exercised power over customers. Although these boundaries were in place, the shop was still a forum where social and economic relationships developed. These ties served the vital purpose of building trust and facilitating business transactions. According to Jared Day’s examination of American immigrant bankers,
both customers and business owners shared trusting relationships with each other, and this was an important factor in the success of the business.\textsuperscript{433}

As I show on pages 285 to 286, Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna, and Tomaiuolo established 684 relationships at different spatial scales. Their social capital was not confined to their neighbourhoods or national boundaries. They built significant reputations with these businesses and individuals across North America and Italy, including Toronto, Montreal, New York, Chicago and Milan. They developed and maintained social capital that linked people across the world. They also actively built and developed a number of essential relationships with steamship lines, newspaper companies, food wholesalers, and book distributors in order to maximize profits.\textsuperscript{434} In other words, they utilized their social capital to acquire economic and cultural capital. These small business owners relied on their family, friends, kin, employees, customers and suppliers to acquire information about permits, laws, loans, reliable suppliers, creditors, capital, and other useful information.

Besides selling ethnic goods in their stores, these small business owners also performed services as immigrant bankers, steamship agents, and/or labour contractors. They held an important position within the Italian community because they influenced the economic development of Italian neighbourhoods by controlling property purchases, loans, mortgages, the transfer of funds overseas, and job opportunities.\textsuperscript{435} For


example, Gatto’s ‘bank’ was based within his grocery business. He consistently sent money to Italy, received money from Italy, sold steamship tickets from the Cunard Line and Italian Line, cashed cheques, prepared mortgages, and received deposits from customers. Gatto relied on Italian immigrants as customers, and provided credit to them. His relationship with his customers was based on trust. Italian immigrants felt comfortable banking within these establishments as opposed to regular Canadian banks. Gatto not only spoke the same language as his customers, he offered services that other financial institutions could not, including his flexible hours of operation. As Day notes, American immigrant bankers “were crucial financial intermediaries, who helped eastern and southern European immigrants and, over time, became important investors and instigators in the economic development of urban ethnic enclaves.” It was within these ethnic shops that the Italian community shared a common language, customs, and expectations. In short, the business relied upon face-to-face trusting relationships between owner and patron. There was a mutual understanding that these individuals developed. This building of trust facilitated the flow of communication at a time when businesses acted as conduits of knowledge and information sharing.

**Widening the Target Market**

The inability of a number of Italian consumers to speak English was a major determinant in choosing to shop at co-ethnic stores for goods and services. Such

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436 Bankruptcy of Gatto, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver*.
437 Bankruptcy of Gatto, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Examination of Giuseppe Gatto*.
barriers became an asset for Italian entrepreneurs who targeted this group. At the same time, the inability of Italian entrepreneurs to speak fluent English constituted another reason why they targeted co-ethnics. In the process, those who did not feel comfortable speaking English geared their business towards other Italians. Because Italian entrepreneurs spoke a common language with their co-ethnic consumers they were able to pull them into their stores through their advertisements (Figure 6.11 and 6.14).

Ciceri, Gatto, and Tomaiuolo turned their differences with other social and ethnic groups to their advantage, and profited by creating and shaping their businesses as ‘Italian’. They targeted co-ethnics and created an Italian market, rather than a regional one. This, as well as, the benefits of geographic proximity, increased their access to potential customers. Business owners provided ethnic products and services because the demand was present. They made sure to promote their ethnicity and that is why their stores were situated in or just outside of Italian neighbourhoods. These entrepreneurs achieved a wide and profitable market through their store names and targeted the whole Italian population; not just individuals from their hometowns. Ciceri, Gatto and Tomaiuolo operated their businesses under ethnic names: G.B. Ciceri and Company, G. Gatto and Company, and Francesco Tomaiuolo, respectively. It was only Frank Glionna who did not add an ‘Italian flavour’ to his store name.
Avete notato il Gusto dell’Olio Unico?
Raccomandatelo ai vostri amici

Per le sue eccellenti qualità e gusto
“L’Olio Unico” è uguale al migliore olio d’oliva importato
Il suo prezzo molto economico lo rende preferito su tutto il mercato
Chiedetelo al vostro grossista o direttamente a:
Pasquale Bros. Ltd.
111 King St. E.
Toronto, Ont.

Figure 6.14, Pasquale Bros. Limited, n.d., Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Item ITA 200148
The business establishments of Toronto’s Italian entrepreneurs provided a supply of goods and services that was essential to the daily existence of the Italian community. As Zucchi notes, small business owners targeted co-ethnics that settled permanently in the city’s three Little Italies. Francesco Tomaiuolo was one such entrepreneur. He took advantage of the fact that he shared a common language and culture with his customers. He ran his business in the College-Grace district since August 20, 1913. His customers resided in the same neighbourhood. Tomaiuolo received deposits, sold steamship tickets, and issued bank books to his patrons. According to Goldstick’s affidavit, Tomaiuolo “carried on a variety of businesses which may be categorized in four distinct classes. Firstly he carried on the business of a private bank; secondly he had a steamship agency and was an issuer of money orders and received payment on gas and electric bills; thirdly he was a printer and published an Italian weekly newspaper; fourthly he carried on a retail business which included among many other things Italian books, musical instruments, Italian periodicals, stationery and certain types of what may be called ‘drygoods’.”

The retail shop symbolized a space of culture and ethnicity. Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo attached a symbolic meaning to their place of business. These business spaces were forums where Italian immigrants felt understood, accepted, and comfortable while speaking their own language. These businesses assisted in

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443 Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver*.

444 Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs*.

445 Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Examination of Francesco Tomaiuolo*.

446 Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Affidavit of David Goldstick*. 
establishing an Italian sense of place; a space that allowed Italians to easily adapt to early twentieth-century Toronto society. Italians from different regions in Italy communicated and expressed their commonality on a daily basis. The business establishment also became a public sphere where immigrants came together to share similar values and codes. These businesses acted as centres of urban social, cultural and economic life where power relations and social inequalities were constituted and reproduced. It was here that Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo exercised power over their employees and customers by controlling jobs, wages, employee hours, goods and services, prices, property purchases, and loans. They strengthened their social and economic power within the Italian community within a specific space (in their stores) and time (during hours of operation). At the time of their bankruptcies, Ciceri wielded power over two employees (Paul and John Ciceri Jr.), Gatto over one (Louis Nicoletti), Glionna over one (Peter Ciccocelli), and Tomaiuolo over four (Matteo Tomaiuolo, Charles Bartello, Lambert Cardinali, and A.G. Grimaldi). Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo wielded power over their customers as they conducted a number of non-contractual operations. The storeowners obtained deposits from customers, and in return, clients received “passbooks”; a contract was never signed and everything was based on trust.

Conclusion

Power is exercised by individuals through specific spaces and times, no matter their race, ethnicity, gender, age, or class. All individuals and groups have some form

\[447\] Bankruptcy of Ciceri, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs; Bankruptcy of Gatto, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs; Bankruptcy of Glionna, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs; Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.
of command and authority over themselves and others. However, power is not exercised equally, and is much more complex than a binary relationship of dominant/subordinate social groups and/or individuals. Italian entrepreneurs, for instance, were autonomous and empowered within their community but not outside of it. They resisted discrimination by creating their own businesses. These business establishments not only assisted with the creation of wealth but with the reproduction of social and economic power within the Italian population. These spaces functioned as a vehicle for maintaining the power and authority of Italian immigrants. In other words, these shops produced intra-ethnic power relations by facilitating daily interactions with co-ethnics.

In sum, social inequality involves the complex and problematic negotiation of social groups. A review of Italian business spaces encourages further exploration of the motivating force behind the exercise of power by investigating the development of social capital. By examining the extent to which small business owners used social capital allows us to centre on immigrants as active agents taking charge of their lives. The next chapter builds on previous studies that centre on the social, political, and economic relationships of Italian immigrants, and investigates Italian entrepreneurs as members of a transnational ethnic group who created social networks that spanned across the globe. They actively built relationships with lawyers for legal advice, forged ties with wholesalers for finished products, and maintained their networks with family and friends for loans. I pay particular attention to how social capital was built across space creating a highly integrated network of complex local, regional, national and international ties. Because Toronto’s immigrants forged social capital across different scales, it is important to understand how these networks operated.
Chapter 7
Toronto’s Italian Entrepreneurs, Social Capital and the Reproduction of Power

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the social capital built by Toronto’s Italian entrepreneurs during the early decades of the twentieth century. Italian businessmen actively constructed their lives by utilizing their networks in strategic ways. They not only demonstrated considerable agency in their attempts to reshape their neighbourhoods, they also formed an intermediary role between co-ethnics and the goods and services they offered. They forged relationships with a set of firms and individuals that spanned across North America and Italy. By examining the dynamics of their social capital I provide valuable insight into their ability to pool resources to increase material wealth. In order to provide a greater understanding of the unequal distribution of social capital, I provide answers to the subsequent questions: How did social capital influence Italian immigrant businesses? To what extent did social capital constrain the social mobility of Italian entrepreneurs?

In this chapter, I first pay particular attention to the fact that Italian entrepreneurs lived in a world where social interaction took place across a number of spatial scales. They forged relationships with depositors, employees, wholesalers, manufacturers, financial intermediaries, and service industries. Giovanni Ciceri, Giuseppe Gatto, Frank

Glionna and Francesco Tomaiuolo operated at a transnational scale by exchanging capital, goods and services across geographic regions. Their relationships stretched across Canada, the United States, and Italy. It was within these networks that social inequality was expressed and reproduced at the level of social interaction. These small business owners exercised power and social control by mobilizing their social capital both within and outside of the local community to meet their social, economic and cultural needs.

Second, I centre on how the social capital networks of Italian entrepreneurs operated over time to maintain social boundaries between themselves and the rest of the population. Italian small business owners developed and utilized their social capital in order to create social and spatial distance from other groups. Because the historical geography of social capital has not been adequately explored, I examine the spatial dimensions of embeddedness (the role of space in shaping social networks). It is important to note that social capital both facilitated and restricted Italian businessmen through benefits and disadvantages that came from being embedded in social networks. As such, I will highlight both the constraining aspects and the opportunities that social capital afforded entrepreneurs. These networks were significant for two reasons: 1) they were important sources of information that assisted Italians in acquiring economic

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and cultural capital, and 2) they imposed effective constraints on group actions through unequal returns on capital.

**Building Relationships at the Neighbourhood Scale**

A significant number of studies that centre on the immigrant experience have focused on ethnic social networks. The literature emphasizes the role of social networks in alleviating some of the pressures of living in a new environment. These works have noted extensively the importance of networks in exchanging information for jobs, boarding, lodging and entrepreneurship. They have shown that the composition of immigrant social networks tend to be concentrated around family, kin, friends, customers, money lenders, and suppliers. Most scholars, however, have shown little interest in the networks of Italian businessmen. There are exceptions, including Zucchi’s study of Toronto’s Italian settlement at the turn of the twentieth century. He provides rich evidence of the intermediary role of Italian entrepreneurs. What he chooses not to address, however, is a detailed account of the link between business relationships, social boundaries, and space. I build upon this work to concentrate on how the unequal distribution of social capital created and reproduced social and spatial

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inequality. I pay particular attention to the historical geography of Italian social capital. I highlight not only the positive aspects of social capital, but also its constraining features.

Social capital was strongly conditioned by space. The social capital of Toronto’s Italian entrepreneurs was rooted in Toronto’s three Little Italies. The Ward, College-Grace and Dufferin-Davenport neighbourhoods provided Italian businessmen with an Italian-speaking labour force, a set of customers, institutional structures, financial services, knowledge channels, and specialized wholesalers and suppliers. Spatial proximity was essential to many of these relationships. Italian businesses acted as prime sites and functional nodes for the creation and development of social capital. These infrastructures operated as centres of sociability within the Italian community. Italians built trust, mutuality, social control, and a reputation with one another. Trust was important in order to sustain existing business relationships between all parties. Trust was established, according to Zucchi, between businessmen (especially immigrant bankers) and clients. Zucchi notes that the customers placed “blind trust” in these business owners “based on his self-assured mannerisms, advertisements, steamship posters, the word Banca on the large storefront windows, and the unostentatious yet correct professionalism of his furnishings – a number of wooden chairs, a plain counter, [and] an impressive wicket.”

The church was another important institution within Toronto’s three Little Italies. Our Lady of Mount Carmel, St. Agnes, and St. Mary of the Angels Catholic parishes provided settings where people gathered and socialized. Within the church community, relationships were developed between parishioners, choir members, prayer groups, and

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charity organizers. The churches stood at the ‘centre’ of Toronto’s Italian
neighbourhoods. Before 1914, it was only Our Lady that organized weekly masses,
weddings, baptisms, funerals, fundraisers, and religious processions for the Italian
Catholic population. On January 19, 1913 Archbishop McNeil announced, during a
sermon at Our Lady, that there were plans to include two more churches for the Italian
community: St. Agnes and St. Mary of the Angels.\textsuperscript{452}

A significant number of Toronto’s Italian population attended Our Lady of Mount
Carmel, St. Agnes and St. Mary of the Angels. These churches allowed for a social
inclusiveness of co-ethnics and social exclusiveness from the rest of the population.
When examining a sample of 507 weddings and baptisms performed at these parishes,
93\% of the ceremonies included Italian brides, grooms, godparents and witnesses
(Table 7.1). Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo developed a number of important
relationships by attending these parishes.\textsuperscript{453} In 1909 Ciceri was a godparent for the
baptism of his friend’s child at Our Lady of Mount Carmel.\textsuperscript{454} Three years later, Ciceri’s
son got married at the same church.\textsuperscript{455} In 1908 and 1914 Gatto and his wife, Francesca
baptized their sons (Gaetano Gatto and Agostino Graziano Gatto) at Our Lady of Mount

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{452} “Reception to Archbishop,” \textit{The Globe}, January 22, 1913, p. 9.
  \item \textsuperscript{453} Our Lady of Mount Carmel Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1, and Marriage Records, Roll No. 2; St. Agnes Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1, and Marriage Records, Roll No. 2; St. Mary of the Angels Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1, and Marriage Records, Roll No. 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{454} Our Lady of Mount Carmel Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{455} Our Lady of Mount Carmel Parish, Toronto, Marriage Records, Roll No. 2.
\end{itemize}
Table 7.1:  
Ethnicity of Baptisms and Marriages from Our Lady of Mount Carmel, St. Agnes, and St. Mary of the Angels, Selected Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catholic Parish</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th># of Ceremonies With Persons of Italian Descent</th>
<th>% of Ceremonies With Persons of Italian Descent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Our Lady of Mount Carmel</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>92.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Agnes</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary’s of the Angels</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>91.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>93.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Our Lady of Mount Carmel Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1, and Marriage Records, Roll No. 2 (Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto); St. Agnes Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1, and Marriage Records, Roll No. 2 (Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto); St. Mary of the Angels Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1, and Marriage Records, Roll No. 2 (Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto).

Two different sets of close friends were godparents. In 1913 the Gattos also had a daughter named Rosa Carmela who was also baptized at the same parish with the same godparents as Gaetano. In 1920, Giuseppe Gatto also became a godparent for another close friend. This baptism was

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456 When utilizing the baptismal records for Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St. Agnes, data was collected in five year intervals (1910, 1915, 1920, etc). Data for marriage registers, in contrast, were collected for all years. This was done because the baptismal records were overwhelming and time, of course, was a factor. When utilizing the baptismal records for St. Mary of the Angels, data was collected from 1929 to 1935. The data for marriage registers were collected from 1915 to 1936.

457 Our Lady of Mount Carmel Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1; St. Agnes Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1.

458 Ibid.

459 Our Lady of Mount Carmel Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1.

460 St. Agnes Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1.
held at St. Agnes.\textsuperscript{461} Frank Glionna was also a member of the Our Lady of Mount Carmel parish. In 1913 he and his wife, Rea baptized their son, Melville Glionna there.\textsuperscript{462} The godparents were immediate family members. In 1915 Glionna and his wife baptized their other son (Giorgio Andrea Glionna) at Our Lady of Mount Carmel.\textsuperscript{463} This time the godparents were close friends. In addition, in 1917, 1922 and 1924 Frank Glionna was a witness at three of his friend’s weddings at the same parish.\textsuperscript{464} Last, there was Francesco Tomaiuolo. In 1934, he attended his son’s wedding (Matteo Tomaiuolo) at Our Lady of Mount Carmel.\textsuperscript{465} Although the family regularly attended St. Mary of the Angels, the marriage took place at the bride’s church.\textsuperscript{466} In short, the parish was a central node where family, kin and friends built social relationships across the neighbourhood scale. These ties acted as social boundaries where insiders were included and outsiders excluded.

Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo actively built up their social capital by developing a number of business relationships at the neighbourhood scale.\textsuperscript{467} Business cooperation and economic opportunities expanded between co-ethnics that shared the same/nearby neighbourhood. Italian entrepreneurs provided customers with favourable credit terms. Trust was an essential part of running a business. No contractual

\textsuperscript{461} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{462} Our Lady of Mount Carmel Parish, Toronto, Baptismal Records, Roll No. 1.
\textsuperscript{463} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{464} Our Lady of Mount Carmel Parish, Toronto, Marriage Records, Roll No. 2.
\textsuperscript{465} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{466} Ibid.
arrangements were in place between Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo and their customers. According to Zucchi, “the banker’s persona, his conspicuous wealth, his versatility with either pure Italian or dialect, his ability to meet the needs of the immigrants, and play an intermediary role inspired trust.” Similar accounts have been noted in Montreal. Bruno Ramirez and Michael Del Balso note:

Most Italian customers were forced to buy on credit, and the grocer in turn was forced – whether he liked it or not – to sell on credit. The customer would present a small book on which the amount of each new purchase was entered and totalled to the amounts of the previous outstanding purchases. The payment of the account would occur on pay-day, and often the customer would bring the paycheck [sic] which the grocer himself would cash (thus saving his customer a trip to the bank).

In short, the businesses of Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo were based on trust. Tomaiuolo’s customer’s, for example, concentrated around the College and Grace neighbourhood near his business. At least 25 of his depositors entrusted him with over $300 in savings. For instance, from March 1920 to September 1931, Joseph and Angela Tanzola entrusted Francesco Tomaiuolo with their family savings. They signed no deposit agreement. They only received a ‘bank book’ for their records. On September 1931, they wanted to withdrawal their savings for the purchase of a home on Manning Avenue. When Tomaiuolo did not have the funds for the family, Joseph and Angela wanted answers. The word immediately spread throughout the neighbourhood.

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468 Ibid.
471 Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.
that Tomaiuolo lacked financial resources.\footnote{Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, Examination of Francesco Tomaiuolo.} The members of Toronto’s Italian community who had deposits with him immediately began worrying and lost trust of Tomaiuolo’s business practices. According to David Goldstick’s affidavit, this “created something in the nature of a communal upheaval in the Italian colony in the city.”\footnote{Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, Supreme Court of Ontario: Affidavit of David Goldstick.}

In sum, Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo shared a common language, culture and space with the Italian immigrant population. Increased interaction and face-to-face contact between them and their customers led to sustained economic exchanges. Both parties were engaged in cooperative economic activities. Italian entrepreneurs built a reputation with their patrons vital for social and economic transactions to take place. Over time, as personal contact increased positive reputations grew with the strong likelihood of reciprocity and knowledge sharing. As such, Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo actively invested in their networks. They developed a significant number of relationships with other Italians (many who were in disadvantaged social positions) that provided them with enough resources to lead a subsistence lifestyle; however, not enough to be very successful businessmen. As mentioned earlier, Italian immigrants forged relationships with co-ethnics from the same hometown, who lived in the same neighbourhood, and attended the same church. These congregations were symbolic arenas where many interactions took place. Attendance at weekly masses, religious ceremonies, church parties, and at fundraisers were opportunities for co-ethnics to network with one another. This allowed individuals...
of similar social backgrounds to build business relationships based on family, ethnicity, hometown loyalty and religion.

**Building Social Capital across Spatial Scales**

In this section I examine the historical geography of social capital at the individual level. The creditor/debtor relationships of Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo were a central aspect in acquiring social capital. Italian storeowners derived benefits embedded in their relationships with depositors, employees, food and book wholesalers, manufacturers, financial intermediaries, and service industries. Resources emerged from these business contacts which they accessed for purposive actions, including the exchange of information and the opportunity to acquire material wealth. As mentioned in Chapter Two, social capital consists of two very important elements: social networks and the resources available due to those ties. Their business relationships fit this profile and an array of resources was embedded within their creditor/debtor networks, which gave them an opportunity to acquire some form of advantage over the rest of the Italian immigrant population.

The Italian ethnic economy was part of a global immigrant economy that spanned from Toronto to Montreal, New York City, Chicago and Milan. Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo were embedded in a number of business relationships that provided goods and services to an Italian community that demanded them. They channelled flows of financial capital, information, and products from one part of the city, region and/or continent to another. They deposited the savings of the local Italian immigrant population, purchased goods from a number of wholesalers across North America, and remitted funds to post offices and/or financial institutions across Italy. In short, they
operated their social capital at various geographic scales. They developed and maintained social capital that linked people, communities, and businesses across the world.

Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo forged business relationships with firms and individuals that were not always dependent on geographic proximity. Although a majority of their networks operated at the neighbourhood scale, they developed social capital at the regional and international scale as well. At the time of their bankruptcy they had a total of 684 business relationships: Ciceri had 179, Gatto had 158, Glionna had 36, and Tomaiuolo had 311 contacts (Table 7.2). A majority of these relationships were with individuals and firms in Toronto (87 percent), another 9 percent were from across Canada, 3 percent were from the United States, and 1 percent was from Italy. An examination of these ties provides a glance into the world of Toronto’s Italian entrepreneurs.

Table 7.2: Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo: Operating Social Capital at Different Spatial Scales, Selected Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spatial Scale</th>
<th>Ciceri</th>
<th>Gatto</th>
<th>Glionna</th>
<th>Tomaiuolo</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>86.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International (US)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International (Italy)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bankruptcy of Ciceri, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs; Bankruptcy of Gatto, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs; Bankruptcy of Glionna, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs; Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.
Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo did not operate their businesses as autonomous entities. Instead, they were firmly embedded to a number of individuals and firms. Their spatial web of social capital was crucial to the functioning of their businesses. They built local social capital networks that differed from non-local ones. There was a distinct historical geography to their social capital. Their social capital was not randomly distributed. As the bankruptcy files show, almost 87 percent of their social capital was found in Toronto, mainly within the city’s three major Little Italies (Table 7.2). These neighbourhoods were the central focus of Italian social, economic and political functioning. This geographic proximity ensured that businesses were associated with other firms and individuals for co-ethnic goods and services. Non-local relationships were less likely than their local counterparts to be depositors. Spatial proximity was important for depositors because they required face-to-face contact. More than 40 percent of the non-local firms and individuals were wholesalers, while the corresponding share of local ties was less than 5 percent. When products and services were unavailable at the local level, entrepreneurs forged ongoing business relationships with suppliers outside of the city’s boundaries. More than 95 percent of the non-local networks tied to Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo were from Ontario, Quebec and New York. The most important metropolitan areas outside of Toronto were Montreal and New York City.

The social capital of Francesco Tomaiuolo, for instance, was not confined to his neighbourhood. He operated his business within the College and Grace district for over
18 years. His business networks were both formal and informal. His formal ties were, for the most part routine, and such cases included when wholesalers delivered products, customers deposited cheques during payday, and employees were asked to run errands. At the time of his bankruptcy he also forged a host of infrequent contacts that centred on ties with trustees, solicitors, the local priest, as well as others. He actively captured embedded resources within his relationships. The access and mobilization of embedded resources gave Tomaiuolo an opportunity to attain material wealth through his business transactions. Although most of his social capital was local in nature, Tomaiuolo also developed networks that were not dependent on spatial proximity and spanned across Canada, the United States and Italy (Table 7.3).

Tomaiuolo owed 311 firms and individuals $44,894. He held a debt of $343 to employees living in the College-Grace area, just over $32,452 to 279 Toronto firms and depositors, and the remainder of the $12,099 to 28 creditors outside of the city. Among the local creditors, Tomaiuolo was in debt to 4 employees, 13 wholesalers, and 266 depositors. A majority of his depositors were in close proximity from the business (77 percent) and lived within walking distance (Table 7.4). Tomaiuolo was firmly embedded within his social network which channelled financial capital, goods and services. Creditors from outside of Toronto included five wholesalers (Guttag Bros, Libreria Nuova Italia, Progresso Italo Americano, Casa Edtrice Nerbini, and Fratelli Treves), two steamship lines (Cosulich Lines and Italian American Shipping Corporation), one financial institution (Credito Italiano Naples), and 20 depositors.

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474 Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, Examination of Francesco Tomaiuolo.  
475 Ibid.
Table 7.3:
The Social Capital of Francesco Tomaiuolo that Operated Outside of the Local Scale, 1931

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (Individual/Firm)</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Relationship (Creditor)</th>
<th>Owing ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Pietrobon</td>
<td>Copper Cliff, ON</td>
<td>Remittance</td>
<td>5.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruno Muzzi</td>
<td>Emsdale, ON</td>
<td>Remittance</td>
<td>5.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesco Rotigliano</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>Deposit</td>
<td>1179.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Lasci</td>
<td>Huntsville, ON</td>
<td>Deposit</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Pagliaroli</td>
<td>Kishkauduk, ON</td>
<td>Remittance</td>
<td>53.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michele Pucacco</td>
<td>Mimico</td>
<td>Remittance</td>
<td>2.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Campagna</td>
<td>Ruel, ON</td>
<td>Remittance</td>
<td>212.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donato Marcucci</td>
<td>Scarboro</td>
<td>Remittance</td>
<td>5.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosario Cultrere</td>
<td>St. Catharines</td>
<td>Remittance</td>
<td>26.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabriele Ceci</td>
<td>St. Williams, ON</td>
<td>Deposit</td>
<td>82.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Sisto</td>
<td>Stratford</td>
<td>Deposit</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicola Scinto</td>
<td>Sudbury</td>
<td>Remittance</td>
<td>5.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luigi Scinto</td>
<td>Sudbury</td>
<td>Remittance</td>
<td>27.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Colucci</td>
<td>Via Abiwin, ON</td>
<td>Remittance</td>
<td>5.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giuseppe Di Domenico</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>Remittance</td>
<td>61.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giuseppa Di Domenico</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>Deposit</td>
<td>44.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonardo Giordano</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>Deposit</td>
<td>1454.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giuseppe Altieri</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Deposit</td>
<td>205.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex Martignoni</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Remittance</td>
<td>279.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosulich Line</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>93.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guttag Bros.</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>18.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credito Italiano Naples</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>10.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian American Shipping Corp.</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>285.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libreria Nuova Italia</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>535.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progresso Italo Americano</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>21.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casa Edtrice Nerbini</td>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>94.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fratelli Treves</td>
<td>Milan</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>29.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aldo Silvestrini</td>
<td>Mondolfo, Italy</td>
<td>Remittance</td>
<td>278.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs*.

There was a distinct historical geography: a majority of the local ties consisted of 93 percent of the total depositors, 72 percent of the wholesalers, and of course, all of the employees. And the majority of local wholesalers were from outside of the College-Grace neighbourhood (over 66 percent); while a majority of depositors resided within this district (77 percent). Depositors entrusted Tomaiuolo with thousands of dollars to
Table 7.4: The Geographic Distribution of Francesco Tomaiuolo’s Social Capital, 1931

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>College and Grace</th>
<th>Rest of Toronto</th>
<th>Outside of Toronto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remitter/Depositor</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesalers</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.*
either be deposited into their bank accounts (deposit creditors) or transmitted overseas (remittance creditors). Many Italian immigrants had an obligation to assist family and kin back home. Remittances played an important role for relatives back home in gaining access to capital. In short, Tomaiuolo took deposits, gave his clients bank books/statements, and let them issue cheques.\textsuperscript{476} While his clients deposited their weekly cheques, Tomaiuolo utilized the services of the National Trust Company, the Canadian Bank of Commerce, and the Royal Bank of Canada.\textsuperscript{477}

Tomaiuolo did not solely control the supply of goods and services available to the Italian community; he also influenced the economic development of the neighbourhood by controlling the sale of property, loans, mortgages, and job opportunities. His customers deposited their cheques, opened savings accounts, prepared funds to be transmitted overseas, and mortgaged their homes.\textsuperscript{478} Because he decided who would receive a loan and/or mortgage, Tomaiuolo was in command of their fate. They depended on him for these services. Italian immigrants felt uncomfortable walking into Canadian banks and their only source of any type of loan was with an immigrant banker. Tomaiuolo profited and social inequalities were reproduced because: 1) he exercised the power to withhold services to his customers, and 2) he decided on whom he should trust (a form of social control), therefore placing restrictions on certain individuals/customers.

\textsuperscript{476} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{477} Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, \textit{Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver}.
\textsuperscript{478} Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, \textit{Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs}. 
Ciceri also had a number of social and economic relationships that operated across spatial scales. He served as an immigrant banker outside the city’s three major Little Italies, near Toronto’s Sicilian settlement. He ran his business for approximately five years, and was connected to a number of firms and individuals from Ontario, New York, British Columbia, and Italy. At the time of his bankruptcy, he had business relationships with 168 depositors, eight wholesalers, two steamship lines, and one unknown company (Table 7.5). His assets were $93 cash at the Royal Bank, $800 in trade fixtures, $10,821 of stock-in-trade, and $11,571 in promissory notes. His liabilities totaled $57,189. More than 18 percent of his relationships were with individuals and businesses that operated outside of Toronto (Table 7.2). He dealt with trade creditors that supplied food products from New York and Hamilton, and steamship lines from San Remo and Cuneo. He owed these creditors a substantial amount of money, including over $14,000 to the A. Escoffier Figitis Guidi Company working out of Italy. He also owed more than $10,600 to New York City’s D. Antolini and Company (Table 7.5).

Like Tomaiuolo and Ciceri, Gatto also operated a grocery business in conjunction with his bank. Gatto’s business was located in the Ward. Gatto ran his grocery and banking business under the name G. Gatto and Company since 1928. He retailed

479 Bankruptcy of Ciceri, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.*

480 Bankruptcy of Ciceri, *Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver.*

481 Bankruptcy of Ciceri, *Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.*

482 Bankruptcy of Gatto, Debtor, *Examination of Giuseppe Gatto.*
Table 7.5: The Wholesalers and Steamship Companies of Giovanni Ciceri, 1928

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Business</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Type of Business</th>
<th>Owing ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Grocers Limited</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>Wholesaler</td>
<td>46.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunn, Roberts &amp; Co.</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>Wholesaler</td>
<td>95.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birks Crawford Ltd.</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3,103.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. &amp; C.H. Mitchell Ltd.</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>Wholesaler</td>
<td>160.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominion Macaroni Co. Ltd.</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>Wholesaler</td>
<td>634.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Makris &amp; Missouris Inc.</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Wholesaler</td>
<td>828.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Antolini &amp; Co.</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Wholesaler</td>
<td>10,600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian Importing Company</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Wholesaler</td>
<td>872.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Pipitone Inc.</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Wholesaler</td>
<td>1,078.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Escoffier Figitis Guidi Co.</td>
<td>San Remo, Italy</td>
<td>Steamship</td>
<td>14,015.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditta Ved Cesare Morini</td>
<td>Cuneo, Italy</td>
<td>Steamship</td>
<td>780.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bankruptcy of Ciceri, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.

ethnic goods, sold steamship tickets, remitted funds from/to Italy, received deposits, and cashed cheques for Italian immigrants.\(^{483}\) In 1932 Gatto also opened a bookstore (at 14 Clinton Street), and a year later he filed for bankruptcy.\(^{484}\) At the time of his bankruptcy he had relationships with businesses across Toronto, Montreal and New York. His social capital, however, did not span as far as that of Ciceri and Tomaiuolo. Gatto built 158 business relationships: 139 contacts originated in Toronto (88 percent), while only 19 (12 percent) were relationships with regional and international firms and individuals (Table 7.2). At the time of his bankruptcy, Gatto’s assets included a total of $30 cash at the Bank of Commerce (corner of Queen and Yonge streets) and Royal Bank (corner of Chestnut and Dundas streets), $4 cash in Banca Commerciale Italiana, $1,391 of stock-

\(^{483}\) Ibid.
\(^{484}\) Ibid.
in-trade, $1,110 of trade fixtures, $7,850 in real estate, and $3000 in book debts. His liabilities totaled $35,093, and the unsecured creditors were owed $33,621.\footnote{Bankruptcy of Gatto, \textit{Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.}}

Gatto forged his social capital with local and non-local firms and individuals. Gatto developed relationships with 137 depositors, one employee (Louis Nicoletti), sixteen wholesalers (Italian Book Company, New Italy Book Company, Martignoni Incorporated, Pastene Brothers, Dustbane Products Limited, Calarco & Son, James Lumbers Company, Karry Brothers, Ontario Macaroni Company, Pasquale Brothers, Salada Tea Company, Smith and Walsh, Superior Importing Company, Thomas Wilkins Company, Toronto Macaroni Company, and Warwick Brothers and Rutter), two steamship lines (Cunard Line and Italian Line), and two manufacturers (Pure Gold Manufacturing Company and Lake of the Woods Company).\footnote{Bankruptcy of Gatto, \textit{Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.}} Close to 95 percent of his debt was owed to his depositors (Table 7.6). His depositors made up 88 percent of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>All Social K</th>
<th>Toronto Social K</th>
<th>Non-Toronto Social K</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depositor (%)</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>89.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee (%)</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesaler (%)</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service (%)</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance (%)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing (%)</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (%)</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (No.)</strong></td>
<td>158</td>
<td>33,621</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bankruptcy of Gatto, \textit{Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.}
his total business relationships. The majority of his local and non-local creditors were depositors (89 percent and 79 percent, respectively). The wholesalers outside of Toronto were owed over 24 percent of the non-local debt. At the time of his bankruptcy, Gatto’s 122 Toronto depositors were located in all parts of the city, including the Ward, College and Grace, and Dufferin and Davenport (Table 7.7.). They were owed $30,526 (89 percent of the total debt), while wholesalers were due $1,142 (close to 9 percent of the total).

Table 7.7: 
The Toronto Social Capital of Giuseppe Gatto, 1933

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Social Capital</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>$ Owed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depositor</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>30,526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesaler</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (No.)</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>31,863</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bankruptcy of Gatto, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.

Gatto built a reputation with co-ethnics, especially those who entrusted him with their life savings. Their share of a common language, customs, and expectations was enough to build some sort of reciprocity, but not sufficient to survive the Great Depression of the 1930’s. Gatto’s connections to firms and individuals were vital to the maintenance of his business. Although his social capital gave him the opportunity to acquire some form of advantage in initiating and operating the business, bankruptcy
was always a possibility. The lack of social and business relationships with individuals in high social positions, bad economic conditions, severe competition from co-ethnics, and business mismanagement contributed to his insolvency. Gatto, for example, invested in a soft drink company that never materialized, lost a ten percent interest in a sewer construction company, made a bad real estate purchase of his 78-88 Centre Avenue property, and forged a large proportion of relationships with co-ethnics.\textsuperscript{487}

Glionna did not forge many business relationships. He developed only 36 ties with North American firms and individuals with debts at approximately $5,306 (Table 7.8).\textsuperscript{488} His total deficit totaled $2,876. Glionna, like Gatto, had no business relationships that spanned across the ocean to Italy. All but 10 of Glionna’s contacts originated in Toronto; the others resided in Welland, Sudbury, St. Catharines, Hamilton, and New York City. Glionna also developed ties with wholesale food traders from Chicago and Lebanon, Pennsylvanina. He owed his four non-local wholesalers $2,800.\textsuperscript{489} In total, he developed relationships with 22 depositors, one employee (Peter Ciccocelli), nine wholesalers (P. Cerrutti, Chicago Macaroni Company, Crickmore and Leroy, H. Harding and Son, Keystone Macaroni Company, Omaha Packing Company, M. Ratney, Toronto Food Byproducts, and George G. Yorke and Company), three services/steamship lines (D.A.G. Glionna, Ocean Accident and Guaranty Company, and St. Lawrence Transport Company), and one manufacturer

\textsuperscript{487} Bankruptcy of Gatto, \textit{Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver}.

\textsuperscript{488} Bankruptcy of Glionna, \textit{Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs}.

\textsuperscript{489} Ibid.
Table 7.8:
The Sectoral Distribution of Frank Glionna’s Social Capital, 1928

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>All Creditors</th>
<th>Toronto Creditors</th>
<th>Non-Toronto Creditors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depositor</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>385.05</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>430.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesaler</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3053.34</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service/Steamship</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1430.60</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.59</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (No.)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5306.58</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Glionna utilized his social capital in order to gain access to products and services (olive oil, macaroni, meats, newspapers, loans and mortgages) that were in demand by Toronto’s Italian immigrant population. By being able to convert his social capital into economic capital he maintained his power over other Italians.

In short, Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo all built, maintained and bridged their relationships across spatial scales. These business relationships allowed them to create, develop and strengthen their social capital. In the process, social capital was converted into economic and cultural capital which allowed them to improve their social position. As social, economic and cultural capital was built, power structures within the Italian community were reproduced. As Bourdieu notes, “although it is relatively irreducible to the economic and cultural capital possessed by a given agent, or even by

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490 Ibid.
the whole set of agents to whom he is connected, social capital is never completely independent of it because the exchanges instituting mutual acknowledgment presuppose the re-acknowledgment of a minimum of objective homogeneity, and because it exerts a multiplier effect on the capital he possesses in his own right."

Because social, economic and cultural capital was unequally distributed, those better positioned within social capital exercised social and economic power over others.

Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo actively identified, created and maintained social and economic relationships. Through their social capital, they gained direct access to economic resources (loans, revenues, and profits) and they increased their cultural capital through their contacts with co-ethnics. They relied on their family, friends, kin, employees, customers and suppliers to facilitate economic transactions in several geographic scales. Despite the fact that social capital operated at various levels, Italian entrepreneurs were still socially and spatially constrained. My findings reveal that relationships with co-ethnics limited social and economic opportunities, which in turn, had important implications for their business success. By developing social capital through their embeddedness with co-ethnics, business owners risked social, economic and cultural marginalization within Toronto society. Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo relied almost exclusively on social capital embedded in their family and ethnic structure. For instance, they depended upon their immediate family to borrow funds and run their businesses. Ciceri’s sons, Paul and John Jr., for example,

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superintended the business during his absence.\textsuperscript{492} It was Paul who lent his father $7000 to start the business.\textsuperscript{493} Francesco Tomaiuolo also utilized the assistance of his son, Matteo in running the business.\textsuperscript{494}

From the bankruptcy files, Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo had 684 relationships with clients and firms.\textsuperscript{495} A majority of these relationships (n=627 or 92\%) were with individuals or business owners of Italian descent (Table 7.9). Their role as Italian entrepreneurs was significant in shaping the ways in which they accessed and sustained their social capital. They built relationships with co-ethnics who were relatively disadvantaged. There was a general tendency for entrepreneurs to network and interact with others with similar social characteristics. My research reinforces Katharine Rankin’s point that “ethnic ties are a clear example of how actors who share common values and culture can band together for mutual benefit.”\textsuperscript{496} Because Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo shared similar spaces of sociability, leisure and work with other Italians, they had a greater opportunity to have contact with their co-ethnics. This exposed them to opportunities and restrictions by building a majority of their relationships with co-ethnics and excluding outsiders.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Bankruptcy of Ciceri, \textit{Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver}.
\item Ibid.
\item Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, \textit{Supreme Court of Ontario: Questions to be Put to the Debtor by the Official Receiver}.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Table 7.9: Ethnic Distribution of the Social Capital of Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business Owner</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th># of Persons of Italian Descent</th>
<th>% of Persons of Italian Descent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Ciceri</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>93.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giuseppe Gatto</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>93.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Glionna</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>69.4^497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesco Tomaiuolo</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>92.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>684</td>
<td>627</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bankruptcy of Ciceri, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs; Bankruptcy of Gatto, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs; Bankruptcy of Glionna, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs; Bankruptcy of Tomaiuolo, Supreme Court of Ontario: Statement of Affairs.

Italian entrepreneurs had a difficult time building relationships with other social and ethnic groups. They were often excluded from Anglo social networks. For instance, when examining the social capital of Toronto’s Anglo elite, Italian immigrants were not part of their networks. The upper class erected boundaries that excluded most people and built relationships mainly with privileged persons. As such, Italians had limited opportunities to establish and develop social capital beyond co-ethnics. Italians experienced a network closure that maintained relationships between individuals like themselves which reproduced social inequality and dominant structures in society; at the same time, this hurt the access of potential outsiders being involved in their social network. Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo did not have well-structured networks outside of their ethnic group. They utilized homogenous networks. Individuals in their

^497 The low proportion of co-ethnics in Glionna’s network could be explained by the small number of total contacts he held.
networks were not well-positioned in the social hierarchy. They were constrained due to their co-ethnic relationships. It is of no surprise that a majority of their neighbourhood, local, regional and international contacts were with co-ethnics who occupied disadvantaged positions. The Anglo upper class, instead, built a large number of contacts with prominent figures across North America, South America, Europe and Asia. Nan Lin notes that “members of a certain group, clustering around relatively inferior socio-economic standings and interacting with others in the similar social groupings, would be embedded in social networks poorer in resources as well – poorer social capital.”

Conclusion

It is apparent that Italian entrepreneurs developed and accessed social capital to shape their lives. Their social capital functioned in a number of spatial scales. Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna, and Tomaiuolo developed social and business relationships that spanned the numerous Italian enclaves of different cities – from the Toronto retail shop, to wholesale food traders in Chicago, Hamilton and Montreal, to steamship lines in New York City, and to financial institutions in Italy. Although Italian entrepreneurs operated at various spatial scales, local relationships were still very important, interacting with wider social structures to reproduce power relations. In other words, the unequal distribution of social, economic and cultural capital played a major role in reproducing social divisions.

In sum, there was an uneven distribution of social capital among Toronto’s population. The inequality of social capital offered less social and economic opportunities for some social groups than others. There were significant differences in the social networks of Toronto’s Anglo upper class and Italian entrepreneurs. These two groups were embedded in different social networks that generated differential outcomes. The social capital of Italian small business owners, when compared to that of the elites, consisted of more neighbourhood networks and fewer ties with individuals in privileged social positions. Italian storeowners had a high proportion of co-ethnic ties. This difference was due partly to the fact that the privileged class and Italian businessmen participated in different social, economic and political circles. The elite had greater access to and control of resources because they belonged to national clubs that were large and connected them to politicians, big merchants, financiers and manufacturers. Italians, on the other hand, were subscribed to ethnic institutions which were smaller and more focused on community affairs.
Chapter 8
Concluding Remarks

Introduction

The aim of this research project is to examine how social inequality was reproduced as Toronto's Anglo elite and Italian entrepreneurs conducted their lives over time and in space. These individuals created, occupied, defined and reorganized social, living, political, and business spaces that contributed to the production and reproduction of social and economic power. These places operated as forums of spatial empowerment where agency was achieved on a daily basis as individuals actively improved their opportunity structure. Because power was not exercised equally by all members of society, a geography of power emerged, and was reinforced in residential neighbourhoods, exclusive clubs, prestigious schools and universities, corporate and philanthropic boardrooms, churches, retail shops, and business offices. As social groups and individuals utilized social and spatial distance as a strategy for reproducing social and economic power within these places, social boundaries were erected and maintained to control entry.

Toronto’s Anglo Elites and Italian Entrepreneurs Revisited

Toronto’s Anglo elites and Italian entrepreneurs demonstrated one of the vastest disparities of early twentieth-century society. The upper class and Italian small business owners developed a majority of their relationships with others from advantaged and disadvantaged social positions, respectively. Italian businessmen, for instance, built a high proportion of their ties with co-ethnics. These networks were
homogeneous and a majority were neighbourhood ties. Italian entrepreneurs, like their Anglo elite counterparts, also developed a number of international ties that were critical in shaping economic activities. In addition, the social networks of these two groups had an inclusionary and exclusionary function. Toronto’s elite, for instance, excluded a number of social groups when they organized to win the federal election of 1911, when they arranged a comprehensive plan to build the Toronto General Hospital, and when they had to manage a health crisis. In other words, both groups were capable of reproducing relational boundaries and excluding particular individuals from their social networks. They were constantly redrawing the social boundaries of class and ethnicity through their social capital.

Toronto’s Anglo elite and Italian entrepreneurs accessed resources that were embedded in their social networks to generate some type of a return. This gave them the opportunity to acquire skills, qualifications, loans, revenues, material wealth, status, and profits. They bridged networks from one sphere to another. They exchanged knowledge, ideas, goods, services, financial capital and technology. Italian entrepreneurs, for instance, controlled the economic development of their neighbourhoods. Ciceri, Gatto, Glionna and Tomaiuolo utilized their network of depositors, employees, wholesalers, manufacturers, services industries, and financial intermediaries to acquire material wealth. Because social capital is the product of embeddedness, a majority of economic exchanges among co-ethnics restricted and excluded outsiders.

Anglo elites, similarly, utilized their social capital to influence the physical, political and cultural landscape of the nation. As such, Sir Edmund Walker used his social network to protect his economic interests when he organized a team of bankers,
insurers, and manufacturers to oppose a reciprocity agreement with the United States. Sir Joseph Flavelle also utilized his networks to build a hospital with trained staff that was tied to the University of Toronto. He made sure that he “profited” from the building of the Toronto General Hospital. Dr. Charles Hastings built a social network that allowed him to exchange information during the influenza crisis. He profited by exchanging valuable ideas and technology with medical professionals across Canada and the United States. As social capital was converted into economic and cultural capital, social inequality was reproduced between social groups. Social capital was not equally available to all members of a given population, and was shaped and constrained by factors such as race, ethnicity, gender, social group, and place.\textsuperscript{500}

The Anglo elite and Italian entrepreneurs both owned capital assets. Of course, Italian businessmen owned assets at a much smaller scale as the scope of their expectations was not international in scale. Although they were able to wield power over their wives, children and employees, Italian small business owners had limited authority. Italian entrepreneurs could not legitimate their authority over others. The upper class, instead, wielded authority and leadership that was difficult to challenge. The elite exercised social and economic power (although not always very easily) in a number of different scales, in a number of ways, and over a number of social groups.

Significance of the Dissertation

This research has general relevance and it makes important methodological contributions. First, Toronto had a similar social, ethnic and class structure to other North American cities. Second, this study contributes to the body of knowledge in social capital, network and social boundary research. Although this dissertation is largely concerned with early twentieth-century Toronto class and power relations, the results have implications beyond this case study.

Toronto is representative of North American urban society because it was structurally similar to other major cities. Toronto shared a similar social, economic and political geography as other major urban areas. These cities were characterized by increasing urbanization, immigration, industrialization, and modernization. They experienced economic prosperity, population growth, physical expansion, ethnic diversity, and urban reform. Like other major North American cities, Toronto was a city divided into distinct spaces of power. Toronto, similar to other cities, was faced with growing social inequalities. The wage gap was escalating, unemployment was rising, monotony in the workplace was increasing, and health and safety standards were a growing concern.\(^{501}\)

As social and ethnic groups faced continued residential segregation and labour segmentation, important intraclass social networks developed and operated on a daily basis across a number of cities. Newly arrived immigrants built relationships with a number of co-ethnics to cope with the challenges of living in a new

city, and other social groups usually built ties with persons like themselves for economic advancement. New York City Italians, for example, utilized their networks to find a home near Mulberry Street, Jews from Montreal developed relationships with co-ethnics to find work in the garment district, and elites from Boston operated within their interlocking networks to initiate banking, insurance, transportation, utilities, and manufacturing projects.\(^{502}\) This was not unique to Toronto, New York City, Boston, or Montreal.

This research makes a significant contribution to historical geography by providing scholars interested in contemporary power relations and social networks with an empirically rich historical perspective. I pay particular attention to introducing a spatial dimension to social capital. Social capital is constituted in and through space. Space was not just a setting for networks to be built. I illustrate how particular spaces shaped people’s interactions, and at the same time, these relationships constituted and reproduced space. The concept of social capital can be used by geographers to understand the spatial dimensions of social inequality. Because social capital was rooted in space, it is affected by the spatial configuration of Toronto’s population. The social geography of Toronto (the class and ethnic division of the city) contributed to the acquisition of social capital. Social and spatial divisions were arranged to separate people from one another in order to control the actions of others. As a result, individuals built relational boundaries and excluded others from entry in their social

network. In the process, some benefited at the expense of others, reinforcing a person’s social position.

This study extends previous examinations of social inequality by examining how power relations were reproduced over time and through space. I analyze how social capital can be conceptualized as set of network processes that is 1) integral to the acquisition of economic capital, 2) significant in constraining the action of others by redrawing the social boundaries of class and ethnicity, and 3) critical for the building of alliances across space. This research offers a complementary method to the inequality studies of David Ward, Joe Darden, Nan Lin, Richard Harris, James Barrett, and David Harvey by historically situating questions about the reproduction of social inequality through the examination of social networks. I go beyond examining tax assessment rolls, city directories and census data to focus on social networks. This study is significant because it pays particular attention to how networks evolved and operated over time and in different spaces.

Several scholars, such as Robert Putnam, build their argument about social capital by listing memberships in social clubs, organizations, and associations to outline social and economic relationships.\(^{503}\) Academics working on contemporary questions and issues are able to trace networks through ethnographic data, collected through participant observations, interviews, and questionnaires.\(^{504}\) Historical researchers,


however, do not have access to these types of sources and are forced to search for relationships by linking kinship, investments, corporate directorates, and philanthropic ties. The problem, of course, is that these sources do not provide the appropriate evidence necessary to explore the development, dynamism, and operation of social networks. In order to find out how early twentieth-century persons interacted, a unique method that effectively illustrated social capital as a resource that was unequally available to persons was devised. This research makes a unique methodological contribution because it outlines ways to determine social capital other than the normal methods of contemporary and historical studies. Because the archival sources used by most historical geographers provide evidence about early twentieth-century persons as autonomous entities, as divorced from or outside social interaction, it was important to explore to what extent social and ethnic groups were linked to each other within and outside of their neighbourhoods.

Accordingly, I trace and explore the historical geographies of social capital by mining a new lode of evidence. I utilized personal and business correspondence, marriage registers, baptismal records, financial records, photographs, journals, statement of affairs, and lists of debtors and creditors in order to draw a picture of relationships, centres of influence, and ethnic and class structure. An analysis of these documents reveals social, economic, cultural, and political ties, spatial links, and common memberships in social clubs, churches, and philanthropic and corporate

boardrooms. By utilizing these data I was able to demonstrate how power took different forms and was reproduced and transformed in different ways and in different places (places within Toronto and outside of the local scale). By focusing on Toronto’s Anglo elite and Italian entrepreneurs, I showed how these two groups reproduced social inequality and ethnic relations.

In sum, this thesis extends our understanding of Toronto’s historical geographies. This study places people, their networks, their activities, and their struggles at the centre of Toronto’s historical geographies. I argue that social and ethnic groups developed social capital that provided them with both opportunities and constraints. Bourdieu’s conceptualization of social capital is important here. Not all pathways of power are necessarily equal, and to understand the nature of power relations within any society we must understand the strengths of and access to different sources of power, and the relationships among them. In other words, social capital played a role in reproducing social inequality. Social reproduction must be understood as an ongoing process. Because social inequality is reproduced at the level of social interaction, unequal social networks were reinforced. It is important to understand social reproduction through the context of the relationships that were built by individuals.

When examining how social inequalities were reproduced, one must understand the complex dialectical relationship between structure and agency. They cannot be separated analytically. Agency is evolving constantly from structure, and structure is being reproduced through agency. I pay particular attention to the fact that structure is dynamic, and shapes people’s daily lives/opportunities/challenges/actions/relationships, while people reproduce structure. Agency operates in the context of social structure, working in conjunction to reproduce inequality. This dissertation illustrates the
continuing interplay between structure and agency. I argue that one cannot study structures without simultaneously considering the agents who have produced and reproduced these structures, nor can one study agents effectively without reference to the structures that influence their actions/relationships. Therefore, individuals are not passive objects who conform to structural forces. Although people are constrained by race, ethnicity, gender, class and space, they are shaped (in both constraining and enabling ways) by the very social structures that people’s actions serve to reproduce.

**Directions for Future Work: Studying Interclass Social Networks**

This dissertation creates a new vantage point from which to analyze the social inequality of early twentieth-century Toronto. This study concentrates on the intraclass networks of Toronto’s Anglo elite and Italian entrepreneurs. Focusing on their social capital, I compare the differences and similarities of their network characteristics, and the extent to which social capital shaped and reproduced social inequality. My research tells a story of elites and Italians who built distinct kinds of social and business relationships in a number of different spaces. While it is hoped that my examination of social capital has served to advance our understanding of social inequality, many other questions need to be answered.

A number of alternative routes can be used to build upon this study. Because there has been little research on early-twentieth-century social capital more work needs to be done. Future research directions should focus not only on women’s experiences, but how ideas about maleness and femaleness get constructed through networks and social capital. Important questions can be addressed in this line of research: To what extent do social networks reproduce patriarchy? How do women and men utilize their
social capital to shape space? Does social capital play a role in either overt and/or covert forms of resistance?

Another future area of study could focus on the extent to which the lives of different social groups intersected. As social groups interacted with others in shared and hybrid spaces, it is necessary to explore interclass networks. An analysis of these relationships is important because it gives greater cause for reflection on class and ethnic relations, tensions, and conflicts. Therefore, important questions need to be answered: To what extent did different social groups interact? To what extent were social groups negotiating the allocation and management of material and non-material resources? Where did different social groups and individuals rub elbows? This thesis says little if anything about the ties between Anglo elites and Italian entrepreneurs. Without research studies that examine interclass networks it will remain impossible to more fully assess the reproduction of social inequality.

Future studies could also focus on archival materials that could be useful in mapping out relationships between social groups. The importance of collecting information on interclass networks depends on the aim of the research. I used personal and business correspondence, bankruptcy files, marriage registers, and baptismal records in order to examine and analyze how networks crossed spatial scales. Other archival materials may be available that allows researchers to trace interclass networks, including employment records, funeral registers, and church membership logs, among other primary sources. This type of research allows one to explore some other important questions: What sorts of networks were constructed, and by whom? How did these networks (both cooperative and competitive) contribute to the building of Toronto communities? Such questions form an important direction for future work.
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