THE POLICE ORGANIZATION

IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY HAMILTON

THE POLICE ORGANIZATION AS A MECHANISM OF SOCIAL CONTROL IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY HAMILTON

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the police organization of the Hamilton community and the nature of its relationship with its urban environment during the nineteenth century. The central theme of this thesis states that with increasing urbanization there has been a corresponding increase in society's reliance upon formal mechanisms of control. For the purpose of the study the police organization has been defined as an example of such a mechanism of social control operating within the urban setting and it is argued that the development of this organization has paralleled the growth of the city. The examination of the Hamilton community during the nineteenth century, a period of increasing urbanization and industrialization, provides a means for analysis of the nature of the relationship between this particular police organization and an increasingly urbanizing environment.

Furthermore, it is suggested that since the development and growth of the police organization occurs over time, it must of necessity be studied as an historical process and consideration must be given to the concept of change and to the influence of social, political, and structural variables within the urban community environment.

This analysis of the police within the Hamilton setting is meant to outline one perspective that will aid in the further understanding of the development and use of this particular mechanism of formal control. It is hoped that from this point of departure possible alternatives for additional study will emerge for the further examination and analysis of the nature and process of social order and the utilization of both formal and informal mechanisms of social control in the twentieth century.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

> The anonymity and transience of urban life engenders a sophisticated and calculating self-centeredness. Tradition breaks down, and the removal of communal restraints on exploitative behavior leaves men to survive or perish in a ruthless, individuated struggle for existence. (Powell, 1970: 54)

Man in twentieth century society no longer feels a part of or protected by his community setting. There is no communal, homogeneous, "gemeinschaft" society where sentiments bind relationships and serve as controlling factors. Now the individual feels forced to think primarily of himself and the responsibility for the actions of others is shifted to more formal, external mechanisms of control.

The development of more formalized mechanisms of social control has run parallel to industrial growth. An industrialized society makes certain demands upon its members for by its very nature it is diverse, heterogeneous, and characterized by division of labour. Work situations mean more regularization and routinization of life-styles --- informal, primary controls are no longer sufficient in themselves. The urban way of life has developed and grown to facilitate an all-encompassing economic system that has left its mark on communal and [illegible]nship patterns, on norms and values, on culture, on the very functioning of society.

The growth and even institutionalization of formalized mechanisms of control is very apparent in today's society and characteristic of urban life. It is of importance to consider the way in which such mechanisms develop in order to gain a better understanding of the nature of social control. The police organization, an example of a formalized means of control, has grown with the city, developing in response to some so-called "need for protection", to establish order amidst the demise of traditional restraints. "Exploitative behavior", culminating

in a "ruthless, individuated struggle for existence" demands some sort of order and control. The police grew in response to this demand.

The growth of cities increased the anonymity of urban life. Parallel to this came the development of the police organization within the urban community. This concurrence of the growth of the urban way of life and the development of the police is of significance. Study of the police within this context provides a means of examining the relationship that exists between an organization (the police) and its environment (the urban community) and also for further examination of the nature and process of social control in such settings.

The police, as an organization, are part of the institutional structure of a community and, operating as social control agents, are a formalized mechanism of control regulated by society in order to enforce a particular normative order. There are similarities in the structural form of the various police organizations of society but each is in tune with the particular requirements of the community that it serves. As Quinney states:

> To a considerable degree, then, the differences in law enforcement can be attributed to the concrete social setting in which police operate.. ..All communities operate and survive through the resolution of internal tension and conflicts. The police serve as one of the agencies that assist in maintaining some community integration and order. (Quinney, 1970: 113-114)

Thus any attempt to analyse and understand the nature of the relationship that exists between a community and its police necessitates a consideration of the historical record, i.e. those events that have shaped the structural organization of the community and of the police organization and have been the cause of changes and adaptations.

The study of the police in today's society offers many possibilities to the researcher in terms of focus, perspective, and method. The police can be and are viewed as an occupation, an organization, even an institution[1]. They have been labelled in various ways: depending upon

your point of view they are "cops", "pigs", "civil servants", "boys in blue", "protectors of the night", etc. The police may be the enforcers of definitions of reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 119) or social control agents operating within a community as a formalized mechanism of control. They may be seen as the "buffers" between those who "have it" at the top and those who must "follow orders", and thus are viewed as an instrument of the powerful, operating to enforce the value system of the rich and mighty. Taking this perspective, Alex states that: "the police will be defined by dominant groups as agents who will control those perceived threats to the existent structure" (Alex, 1969: 5). He goes on to say that: "the policeman essentially operates as a buffer to protect the dominant groups in the community from potentially disruptive elements that may threaten or harm the quality of order, stability, and peace these groups require" (Alex, 1969: 6).

The study of the police offers many interesting alternatives. In recent times their position in society has been the focus of much attention, much debate, and their very reason for being seriously questioned. What is their role as social control agents? Do they really function in the public's best interests? Is violence necessary and why does it appear to play an increasing part in police practices? The questions are numerous but nevertheless there is a central theme --- that is, control, of whom and by whom. An understanding of the police (as an occupation, an organization and an institution) is necessary in order to provide the basis for further study of the nature and process of social control and the very functioning of society. As Dahrendorf states: "Human society always means that people's behavior is being removed from the randomness of chance and regulated by established and inescapable expectations" (Dahrendorf, 1968: 167). It is this that we need to understand.

The process of social control is a dynamic interweaving of mechanisms and means that focus upon the achievement of a particular end (i.e. social order). This end, this social order, depends upon the implementation of a prescribed set of rules and regulations (these are often

labelled as being the value system of the dominant and powerful in society). Certain values and beliefs, having achieved a recognized importance, are viewed by the members of society as legitimate and have become incorporated within tradition, custom, and socialization processes. It would be impossible to speak of "society" as such in any meaningful sense if conformity to general social norms did not occur (Schur, 1968: 58).

The following section will attempt to explain the relationship that exists between societal structure, order and control. An examination of the functioning of the police as an organization in society necessitates an understanding of the meaning of the concepts of social order and social control within the structural framework of society. The police function as social control agents to maintain a degree of social control and as such are a mechanism set up to protect the structures of society.

In summary then, this thesis will attempt to examine the nature of the development of the Hamilton police organization and its relationship to its urban environment during the nineteenth century. For the purpose of this analysis, the term "environment" will be used to refer to the urban setting; that is, the social, political, and structural elements of the community with which the police organization interacts.

However, since the consideration of growth and development implies the passage of time, it is initially necessary to outline the perspective from which this analysis will occur. A later section of this chapter will focus upon the concept of change and the consideration of historical events. The historical dimension and the element of change provide a means for examining the organization and its development during a certain period.

The concluding section of this chapter will outline the focus of the thesis, that is, the study of the police organization of the Hamilton community and the nature of its relationship to the urban environment during the nineteenth century. This relationship will be considered an

historically-occurring process that, of necessity, requires examination over time. Furthermore, this will involve the consideration of change during the period under study.

In short, the following will provide a perspective for the analysis of a particular police organization, as a formalized mechanism of social control, within the context of its community setting.

> Social order exists only as a product of human activity ....The inherent instability of the human organism makes it imperative that man himself provide a stable environment for his conduct. Man himself must specialize and direct his drives. These biological facts serve as a necessary presupposition for the production of social order.
> (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 52)

Habitualization, the development of patterns of action that are repeated over time, provides a framework of expectations for social interaction. There results from this the acquisition of shared meanings of social activities that constitutes the basis for typification and institutionalization. This occurs "whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:54).

Thus there is the formation of institutions[2] (that is, the institutionalization of human conduct), based upon a common past, the products of time, which "control human behavior by setting up predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction as against the many other directions that would theoretically be possible" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 55). The controlling nature of institutions is inherent in their very existence and other sanctioning mechanisms are only secondary means of social control set up to support the institutions. Thus: "To say that a segment of human activity has been institutionalized is already to say that this segment of human activity has been subsumed under social control" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 55). Man functions within a social order and this order is of his own creation.

An institutional world, a man-made product, is a constructed reality, created by human activity but then objectified and externalized as having an existence of its own (to be distinguished from the actions that produced it in the first place). A dialectical relationship exists between the human factor in society and the structural reality that has been created. As Berger and Luckmann state: "Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product." (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 61).

Society and its members constantly interact with one another. Man has an active role in shaping his environment, which in turn acts upon him, stimulating his behaviour. However, other factors are also involved in understanding the existing dialectical relationship. The fact that man externalizes and objectifies his institutional world, but through socialization also internalizes its various aspects, is of significance in the nature of the relationship between man and society.

In addition, the structural components of society which comprise the institutional order must have meaning for the individuals involved with them. They must be viewed as legitimate and necessary aspects of the social world, integrated with one another to form a total reality that encompasses both the subjective and objective factors of behaviour. Justification, by means of an all-encompassing theoretical conceptualization, occurs through the creation of what Berger and Luckmann refer to as a "symbolic universe" [3].

The symbolic universe establishes a particular definition of reality that is representative of the normative order of the society. Members of society are exposed to this, the definition becomes incorporated into their thinking, and their behaviour is accordingly regulated. However, individual motivation is also an important variable to be considered in the matter of conformity to societal standards.

> Deviance in motivation is viewed as a serious threat to the social order. If a person does not share with others the values of his society and/or rejects the means used to achieve them, he is untrustworthy and unpredictable as a fellow member of an established social group.
> (Brim and Wheeler, 1966: 42)

There is always the possibility, however, that societal values may change and that the theoretical conceptions contained within the symbolic universe may be challenged. Thus: "Because they are historical products of human activity, all socially constructed universes change, and the change is brought about by the concrete actions of human beings" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 116).

Definitions of reality, conceptualized within the symbolic universe, are constructed by those within society who have the "power" to do the defining and may involve the use of supportive structures to maintain the definitions and the established social order. According to Berger and Luckmann the police are one example of such supportive structures and may be regarded as the enforcers of the established "definitions of reality" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 119).

Such structures set up to support the institutions are none other than mechanisms of social control that exist within society to ensure conformity to legitimized norms and values to achieve order and regulate behaviour. Cohen defines those organizations and practices that are specifically designed and created by society to deal with control of deviance as the "manifest control structure" (Cohen, 1966: 39). This may include specialized roles and institutionalized structures that are involved solely with control (Cohen, 1966: 40). In addition to this "manifest control structure", there is also a "latent control structure" (Cohen, 1966: 40) which can become incorporated within the former, but as it exists, is concerned with curbing deviance but is not part of the structural organization of society and is thus not formally regulated by society. Concern with the extent and nature of control structures has led Skolnick and Woodworth to argue that "sharpening the capacity to discover crime, especially when employed in the enforcement of conventional morality, increases the totalitarian potential of a society, that is, the potential for a standard, rigid form of social control" (in Bordua, 1967: 104).

Thus, with the increasing complexity and heterogeneity of modern society, with urbanization and industrialization, more and more emphasis has been placed upon formal control structures. It seems that: "Under conditions of anonymity prevailing in urban life, order in public life can be maintained only by formal means of control" (Bittner, 1970: 120). Informal means of control are not in themselves considered completely reliable or effective and as a result greater dependence upon institutionalized mechanisms has ensued.

The product of these institutionalized structures has been the formation of specific roles and organizations to function as social control agents. However, these develop their own internal system of values and norms that govern the behaviour of those occupying the roles. Also, these organizations are actively concerned with protecting their own positions as they perceive them in relation to the public with whom they deal. Thus:

> Agencies of social control, not excluding those of law enforcement, when operating in areas of value conflict and in situations complicated by technological change, like other groups in action select from and implement values in variable ways. The norms that individual agents of social control within organizations are called upon to enforce or follow frequently become functional alternatives to ends. (Lemert, 1967: 22)

Within the realm of structural mechanisms, "the legal system is the most explicit form of social control"(Quinney, 1970: 36). Although it has been created by society to fulfil a regulative function, it has also become a determining factor, a force in its own right within the control process.

> Since legal formulations do not provide specific instructions for interpreting law, administration of law is largely a matter of discretion on the part of legal agents .... Though implementation of law is necessarily influenced by such matters as localized conditions and the occupational organization of legal agents, the interest structure of politically organized society is responsible for the general design of the administration of criminal justice. (Quinney, 1970: 40)

The legal system operates to ensure that the interests of certain groups are protected and thus has a direct influence in determining the social control process. However, there is general agreement that:

> a legal system must, at the very least, provide for the authorization and recognition of legitimate authority, provide means of resolving disputes, and provide mechanisms for facilitating interpersonal

relationships, including adaptation to change.
(Schur, 1968: 79-80)

It is the purpose of social control to provide the means by which conformity, solidarity and continuity are possible within a society (Roucek et al., 1956: 7). The members of society desire order for it establishes a pattern of expectations that allows interaction and interpersonal relationships. There is security in the known and deviations cause disruptions. Threatened by non-conformity, there is a tendency to retreat behind the mechanisms of social control, to rely on the agents and institutions appointed by society to counteract the efforts of the "deviants". The structural framework of society exists to reinforce the dominant system of values and norms. With the development of an increasingly complex and heterogeneous society with a great variation and diversity of groups and organizations, informal means of control are not adequate to ensure conformity to protect the normative order. Thus there is greater reliance upon formal mechanisms of control, those institutionalized structures created by society to regulate behaviour. However, mechanisms of formal control, of necessity, require the support of informal means and the normative order. It is also necessary that the dominant value system (i.e. the normative order) be seen as desirable and accepted as worthy of conformity.

There is great emphasis upon society and not the individual in discussions of social control. However, without rules and regulations, the individual would not belong to a "society" for it could not exist. Both society and its members need order because "nothing else can supply the multifarious opportunities by means of which all sorts of persons can work out a congenial development through the choice of influences" (Cooley, 1956: 428).

Because of its very nature, concern with social control is a necessary aspect in the study of human behaviour and the analysis of the functioning of society. Theories of society (the consensus and conflict models for example) are limited in the sense that they deal with the abstract, with constructed social systems divorced from reality. More emphasis should be placed upon the concrete and specific, those events that directly

affect society and its members.

> Generalization is beyond question what we seek from the empirical and concrete. But it is generalization from the empirical, the concrete, and the historical; not generalization achieved through their dismissal; not generalization drawn from metaphor and analogy. Whatever the demands of a social theory, the first demands to be served are those of the social reality we find alone in the historical record. All else is surely secondary.
> (Nisbet, 1969: 303-304)

In summary, then, social control refers to those means, whether informal or formal, by which a society is able to regulate its members in order that they conform to an expected pattern of behaviour, defined by the dominant system of norms and values. With the rise of industrialization and the development and growth of the urban life-style, informal mechanisms of control have proven inefficient and insufficient in maintaining the degree of order considered necessary in modern society.

Informal means remain in existence but they have been reinforced by more formal, external, structural mechanisms. The police, as an example of such formalized means of control, were initially created by society to regulate behaviour and maintain social order. However, an understanding of the police as social control agents cannot end here, for the organization has grown and developed and that which society created also exerts an influence on society. The police are involved with the community which they serve. It is not a simple one-sided relationship that exists; it is complex, multi-faceted, perhaps even dialectical in nature. There is a need to understand the police as a structure, as an organization in society. Reiss and Bordua state that:

> The police provide an unusual opportunity to develop and apply a transaction view of organizations, since, on the one hand, police departments have clearly defined boundaries, and yet, on the other, they must continually engage in the management of highly contingent relationships that arise outside them.
> (in Bordua, 1967: 54)

An examination of the relationship between a police organization and its community setting, its social environment, necessitates some consideration of the past, an examination of specific, empirical events over a period of time. This requires more, however, than a simple listing of events, for what is needed is an analysis of the relationship that existed between the police and the community. This study will focus upon the situation that existed during the nineteenth century. Any understanding of the police in modern society requires some understanding of the past, of the development of the organization over time. The following is meant to provide an outline of the analysis to be undertaken and to present a framework for consideration of the nature of this relationship.

The Nature of Change

This study is to focus upon the police organization of one particular community (Hamilton) during the nineteenth century. The position is taken that the police, as a mechanism of social control, operate as a supportive structure to the institutions of the community. However, rather than considering the police of the community in the limited sense of studying the organization alone, what is to be undertaken is an analysis of the relationship that existed between the police organization and its environment during this period.

It has been previously noted that a dialectical relationship exists between the human factor and society (Berger and Luckmann) but what has been neglected is consideration of whether a similar type of relationship exists between an organization and society. Research suggests that much organizational behaviour cannot be understood except through an analysis of the environment in which it exists (Haas and Drabek, 1973: 17). Studies of organizations have been done that have been concerned with the environment, but there has been a failure to connect the two or to attempt to understand whatever relationship there might be. There has been no consideration of a dialectical relationship and although the environment may be viewed as affecting the organization, no thought has been given to the effects an organization may have on its environment (Perrow, 1972: 199).

In the study of any organization it is important and necessary to consider the concepts of time and change for these have a direct influence on the very nature of the existence of the structure. One of the premises of social development theory is that change is "natural" in all forms of social behaviour (Nisbet, 1969: 270). However, as Nisbet argues:

> Change is ...not "natural", not normal, much less ubiquitous and constant. Fixity is. If ...we look at actual social behavior, in place and time, we find over and over that persistence in time is the far more common condition of things. (Nisbet, 1969: 270)

Change can, and does occur, but it is due to special circumstances

rather than as a normal course of events. Critical events[4], crises, disruptions of the usual pattern create strain and tension that must be dealt with. In attempting to return to a state of order, the adaptations introduce new elements that result in change in the structural realities of society. "Traditional definitions of reality inhibit social change" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 122), but the failure of such definitions to adequately respond to the needs of successive generations may lead to a questioning and gradual alteration of conceptualizations. Change is a response to particular circumstances and events and to specific human activities. It occurs over time and is connected with the dialectical relationship that exists between man and his society.

Persistence, the hold of past customs and traditions, habituation, all point to an overriding concern with maintaining what is known and secure. As Nisbet states:

> Change involves crisis .... The very tendency of social behavior to persist, to hold fast to values and convenience, makes a degree of crisis inevitable in all but the most minor of changes. A given way of behaving tends to persist as long as circumstances permit. (Nisbet, 1969: 282)

Empirical evidence as well as common sense imply that:

> it is not change but persistence that is the "natural" or "normal" condition of any given form of social behavior. Such fixity is combinable with all manner of internal conflicts and tensions, all degrees of misery and degradation, and, as the historical record makes very plain indeed, can prove stoutly resistant to even shattering impacts from the outside. (Nisbet, 1969: 274)

Any consideration of change a priori includes the dimension of time. Change implies time. In order to examine the nature of change, it is necessary to view the historical record, the progression of events that have taken place. Events (given Nisbet's definition) are essential in the understanding of social change. Nisbet suggests that:

> when we come down in our analysis from the abstract wholes such as mankind and civilization, within which, by definition, all change must be internally based, to the social behavior of human beings, considered in time and place, significant change is overwhelmingly the result of non-developmental factors; that is to say, factors inseparable from external events and intrusions. (Nisbet, 1969: 280)

In summary, it is suggested that a dialectical relationship exists between an organization and its environment. Involved in this relationship are the concepts of time (history) and change. It is to be argued that change is not the normal pattern of events but occurs as the result of crises, critical events (intrusions) that cause alterations. In seeking out the causes of change and the nature of the relationship, one must, of consequence, turn to history for an understanding of those events that have shaped the course of affairs.

Conclusions

This study will examine the police organization of the Hamilton community and the nature of its relationship with its urban environment during the nineteenth century. In particular, the analysis will focus upon the way in which the environment affects and influences the organization; changes in the environment constitute new conditions with which the organization must cope. The possibility, moreover, that the relationship between an organization and its environment is of a dialectical nature should not be ignored. In order to determine the existence of such a relationship it is first of all necessary to discern whether or not the organization does affect the environment and then, if this is the case, to discern whether this is related to the environment's impact on the organization.

The fact that this analysis will be of an organization and community in the nineteenth century, rather than in the present, should aid in our attempts to understand the situation as it exists today. It is to be argued that with increasing urbanization there has been a corresponding increase in reliance upon formal mechanisms of social control. Thus with the growth of the city, so developed the police organization. This occurred over time as an historical process and it is suggested that development and growth within the police organization were directly influenced by the social, political, and structural aspects of the community environment.

Furthermore, it should be considered that the nineteenth century, the particular historical period under study, was a time of rapid urbanization and increasing industrialization for Canada as a whole, and for Hamilton in particular. Given this fact, it is possible to consider the development of the Hamilton police organization during this time and thus examine the nature of the process of social control in an increasingly urbanizing environment.

Before turning to the actual consideration of the situation between the Hamilton police and the community during this period, it seems necessary to provide some relevant background information.

Studies that have been conducted on the police have for the most part neglected analyses from an organizational or historical perspective. As mentioned previously, there is a paucity of research concerning the nature of the relationship between an organization and its environment. The following chapter will outline relevant literature and various studies that have been conducted on the police from both an occupational and historical perspective and will also consider studies that have been done in the organization-environment area. This hopefully will provide the basis for a better understanding of the police and also of the organization-environment relationship and will serve to familiarize the reader with the work that has been done in these areas.

Chapter III will present a statement of the problem under study and an account of the methodology used for this analysis. The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the data and will be divided into three main sections and a conclusion. The first of these is meant to familiarize the reader with the historical development of the Hamilton community during the nineteenth century. In addition, it will present the major influential political events of this period and will also offer a discussion of the social patterns and structural characteristics of the community existent during this time of growth and increasing urbanization.

The second section will focus upon the development and growth of the Hamilton police organization during the nineteenth century and is meant to provide insight into the development of formalized mechanisms of social control within the urban setting. The third section will provide the main focus of the study, that is, a discussion of the relationship between the police organization and the Hamilton urban environment.

The remainder of the thesis, Chapter IV, will be a summation of the findings in the form of conclusions based on the data presented. It will be argued that there is a direct correspondence between the increasing development of formalized mechanisms of social control and city growth, that is, the process of urbanization.

Before proceeding with the presentation and analysis of findings, however, relevant literature and studies in the police and organization areas will be reviewed. This is meant to provide a point of departure for the understanding and analysis of the data.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

The following literature review will summarize the main trends in police studies and also in the organization-environment area. Since the majority of work on the police is from an occupational perspective, the first section of the review will be devoted to a consideration of these studies. Moreover, for the purpose of this study, it is also necessary to review those studies that concentrate upon an historical analysis of the police and, as will be shown, there is a definite need for further work in this area.

The main emphasis of this work, that is, the relationship between the police as an organization and their environment, requires some consideration of studies in the organization-environment area. This will constitute the second major section of this chapter. As will be indicated, much work has been done on organizations, but there has been a neglect of environmental factors in the research to date.

The present study will attempt to add to the information available in both the police and the organization-environment areas. The police, as an organization, will be viewed from an historical perspective that will incorporate a consideration of external, environmental factors in the community setting. The study will focus upon the relationship between these factors and the police organization.

I The Police

Prior to the mid 1960's, very little in the way of research into the police had been conducted but in the subsequent decade this situation changed greatly. There has been an upsurge of interest in the police on both the individual and occupational levels and this has led to a corresponding increase in the number of studies that have been undertaken. However, relatively few of these studies have been aimed at an historical understanding of the social conditions surrounding the development of the police as an organization. Some attempts have been made to place the police within a social and historical setting (for example, Blumberg and Niederhoffer, 1970) and provide some details of development and offer some analysis of the conditions, with regard to the community and political scene, faced by the police. The emphasis, however, of the majority of police studies has been upon the policeman and his occupational role ---- his "authoritarian personality", his discretion, his isolation, his cynicism ---- rather than upon the police organization.

Thus, although there have been many studies conducted that examine the interaction between the police and their public, the tendency has been to view the police from an occupational perspective. There is a definite neglect of research concerning the relationship between the police, as an organization, and their environment, that is, the community setting. As this review will demonstrate, research on the police tends to be of a contemporary rather than historical nature and tends to focus upon occupational role rather than upon the organization as a whole.

(i) Occupational Studies

One of the earliest sociological studies of the police (Westley, 1970) was completed in 1951 and was by definition a study of "how men handle their occupational lives" (Westley, 1970: xiv). He suggests that police definitions of situations and of different publics act as determining factors influencing police opinion and conduct. The police tend to view themselves as a group set apart (separate) from their "hostile"

public. They adopt strong in-group attitudes to control behaviour and above all, make use of the "secrecy" norm to protect themselves from outside criticism. The occupation becomes a major influence in the policeman's life, a twenty-four-hour job.

Banton's study in 1963 of English and American police departments was also a study of an occupation (Banton, 1964). He felt that differing police practices could be attributed to the fact that each department operated within its own particular local setting. He mentions that a bureaucratic organizational structure is required for adequate provision of services and that the uniform functions to minimize individual differences [1] (Banton, 1964: 121), thereby stabilizing the role while changing the actors.

Banton states that a policeman's effectiveness depends upon his participation within the community and that there is a direct correspondence between police performance and participation. This police-community relationship must be carried one step further in that the community must define the police role and then act on its definition. Banton also found that police practices necessarily entail the use of discretion but that the "exercise of discretion poses very serious moral, social, and administrative problems" (Banton, 1964: 127) for "the decision, though on a subordinate level, is of a judicial character" (Banton, 1964: 137). This authority, which the police have taken upon themselves may be more in line with popular opinion and not correspond totally with the written law, but nevertheless it can still be viewed as a means of social control.

LaFave (1965) has argued that the need for discretion stems from a number of causes. It has thus far been impossible to legislate all behaviour that is to be considered criminal activity while clearly excluding all other conduct. Also financial means greatly restrict the enforcement of all laws against all offenders (if indeed it were possible to be knowledgeable of these). In addition, LaFave suggests that individual circumstances are important and should be considered (LaFave, 1965: 69-70). The police, however, may decide to arrest in a particular case

where it would not be the usual practice if, for example, respect for the police or their public image was at stake.

Skolnick's study (1964) also deals with similar issues (Skolnick, 1966). He talks of the police hierarchical organization, the policeman's "working personality", his isolation, solidarity (the police culture), the use of discretion. The focus of this study, however, follows a different line in that it concentrates on those procedures designed to protect the democratic order, and how value conflicts within society create conditions such that the police are hindered in their capacity to respond to the rule of law (Skolnick, 1966: 6). The police themselves, therefore, deal with uncertainty and ambiguity within their own organization. There are no clear-cut, defined goals and there is no precise method of evaluating the work output of the individual officer other than relying upon a statistical control system (clearance rates, number of traffic warrants issued, for example). Skolnick offers the following as his chief conclusion:

> The police in democratic society are required to maintain order and to do so under the rule of law. As functionaries charged with maintaining order, they are part of the bureaucracy. The ideology of democratic bureaucracy emphasizes initiative rather than disciplined adherence to rules and regulations. By contrast, the rule of law emphasizes the rights of the individual citizens and constraints upon the initiative of legal officials. This tension between the operational consequences of law and order, efficiency, and initiative, on the one hand, and legality, on the other, constitutes the principle problem of police as a democratic legal organization.
> (Skolnick, 1966: 6)

Understanding this conflict is perhaps essential for further understanding of the operational procedures of a police department and also the behaviour of the individual police officer. The police at the present time are in the difficult position of having to interpret what by law is not for interpretation.

In his book, Behind the Shield (1969), Niederhoffer offers a description of the police as they exist in modern urban communities. His examination of the function of the police leads him to conclude that:

> Law enforcement policy is established by higher authority in the government and usually represents the interests of the power centers in the community. (Niederhoffer, 1969: 12)

He goes on to say that: "police systems can be understood only as institutions in interaction with the rest of the social structure. The power structure and the ideology of the community, which are supported by the police, at the same time direct and set boundaries to the sphere of police action" (Niederhoffer, 1969: 13).

Niederhoffer also concentrates upon the effects of this occupation upon the individual, and describes the training involved, the initiation into the police culture, and the rituals learned in "becoming a policeman". He found that the security of the job was a great attraction and especially so among those from the working class. Thus, "working-class background, high-school education or less, average intelligence, cautious personality --- these are the typical features of the modern police recruit. Only in his superior physical endowment does he stand above the crowd" (Niederhoffer, 1969: 41).

With regard to discretion and the decision-making practices of the individual policeman, Niederhoffer reaches a similar conclusion to that of Banton when he states that:

> Because the application of the law depends to a large degree on the definition of the situation and the decision reached by the patrolman, he, in effect, makes the law; it is his decision that establishes the boundary between legal and illegal. (Niederhoffer, 1969: 64)

How the patrolman "defines the situation" depends upon his socialization within the police occupation. Thus, in some sense, the police organization is laying the groundwork for the legal system and is the framework upon which the entire structure rests.

Niederhoffer's study focuses upon the questions of anomie

and cynicism, the latter being a typical adaptation to the former within the police system (Niederhoffer, 1969: 98). The very things that could provide a sense of solidarity and protection against feelings of anomie, ie. law and morality, have become tools for the police, to be manipulated as means to an end. As Niederhoffer states: "Paradoxically, society has granted him the licence to disregard the law in order to enforce it" (Niederhoffer, 1969: 97). Thus, it is not surprising that cynicism[2] is widely prevalent and that "in the police world, cynicism is discernible at all levels, in every branch of law enforcement" (Niederhoffer, 1969: 99). Niederhoffer was able to distinguish between two kinds of police cynicism: "One is directed against life, the world, and people in general; the other is aimed at the police system itself" (Niederhoffer, 1969: 100). He was also able to determine the pattern of growth of cynicism as the individual officer moved through his career.

Another feature of this study is Niederhoffer's discussion of the authoritarian personality and its relationship to the police occupation. He felt that it was possible to discern an authoritarian police personality which developed after appointment to the force as a result of the socialization experienced as a member of the police organization. Thus, "the police system transforms a man into the special type of authoritarian personality required by the police role" (Niederhoffer, 1969: 125). In a sense then, the police system perpetuates itself in this manner in an attempt to provide guidelines and structure for an occupation that faces ambiguities and uncertainties when dealing with its public.

As an occupation the police have defined for themselves, and others, a mandate to set out the guidelines for their work. Hughes suggests that they, as an occupation,

> also will seek to define and possibly succeed in defining, not merely proper conduct but even modes of thinking and belief for everyone individually and for the body social and politic with respect to some broad area of life which they believe to be in their occupational domain. (Hughes, 1971: 287)

An article by Peter K. Manning attempts to explore the nature of the police mandate. Manning contends that the police "have staked out a vast and unmanageable social domain. And what has happened as a result of their inability to accomplish their self-proclaimed mandate is that the police have resorted to the manipulation of appearances" (Manning in Douglas, 1971: 151). For Manning, this mandate is defined largely by the publics of the police. Thus:

> In an effort to gain the public's confidence in their ability, and to insure thereby the solidity of their mandate, the police have encouraged the public to continue thinking of them and their work in idealized terms, terms, that is, which grossly exaggerate the actual work done by the police ....Because their mandate automatically entails mutually contradictory ends --- protecting both public order and individual rights --- the police resort to managing their public image and the indexes of their accomplishment. (Manning in Douglas, 1971: 158-159)

Manning also discusses the police as a bureaucratic institution, claiming that they share the two primary aims of most bureaucracies --- "the maintenance of their organizational autonomy and the security of their members" (Manning in Douglas, 1971: 171). These aims require a certain pattern of action which Manning labels "professionalism" and considers the most important strategy the police use to protect their mandate. Professionalism promotes commitment to the organization and helps to define and control both the organization and its clients. The occupational culture that develops provides general assumptions and guidelines for thinking and behaviour that are really a reflection of organizational methods and goals.

In a second article (1972), Manning expands his discussion of the police as an occupation and organization and examines the problems involved in researching and studying police operations. He states that what has been created is:

> an organization constructed along the lines of a military base, with tight security and secrecy,

> a paranoid or suspicious style, a hierarchy of command with great arbitrary authority and characteristically a high degree of internal control of discretion.
> (Manning in Douglas, 1972: 233)

The police perceive themselves to be operating in a hostile environment that necessitates tight regulations that ensure commitment to the organization.

Buckner's study (1967) looks at the police in the role of social control agents and at how police culture has developed as a protective camouflage against public scrutiny. Buckner identifies two conceptions of proper police behaviour, i.e. the "legal" and the "interactive", both dependent upon public expectations concerning their (the police) conduct and the type of social controls to be applied. These two conceptions correspond to "middle class" and "lower class" views respectively (Buckner, 1967: 51).

Buckner feels that one of the most important social controls over police behaviour is police integration and relationships with people and institutions of the community (Buckner, 1967: 126-127). Mention is also made of "becoming a policeman" and Buckner states that: "the process of learning to see the world as a police officer is a process of secondary socialization to the occupational role of the police officer" (Buckner, 1967: 164), and that: "the policeman is socialized to a complete everyday reality which is markedly divergent from that of others in society" (Buckner, 1967: 166). It is because of this that "the police feel themselves to be a distinct 'race', or probably more accurately, a foreign culture" (Buckner, 1967: 190).

Technological advances have served to strengthen police culture in that they may separate the police even more from the community (e.g. patrol cars) but they also provide the means by which supervisors can exert more control over patrolmen (e.g. radio). Buckner also talks of how interpretation of the law by individual officers, i.e. discretion, is dependent upon the socialization process and the teaching of experienced officers. Police culture tends to perpetuate

certain activities and ways of thinking by linking the officers into a tightly-knit group. This culture also supports the police organization and through such strategies as secrecy and impression-management protects it from external threats and public evaluation.

In the last few years much work has been done in trying to understand various aspects of police behaviour. The studies conducted have differed in method and scope of analysis. James Q. Wilson, concerned with police morale and how it is affected by administrative change and citizen attitudes, wrote that: "Police morale may therefore suffer not only because citizen attitudes are thought to be hostile but in addition because other elements in the system by which society deals with crime are defective" (Wilson in Bordua, 1967: 159). He goes on to say that: "A professional force, in principle at least, devalues citizen opinion as manifested in personal relations; professionalism, in this sense, means impersonalization" (Wilson in Bordua, 1967: 160).

John McNamara discusses police recruit training, the uncertainties of police work, the need for structuring situations ("the appearance of decisiveness" (McNamara in Bordua, 1967: 176)), and the effects of emphasizing police professionalism. He states that:

> The semimilitary model, while attempting to generate confidence in the ability of the department to cope with the uncertainties of the police task, generates another set of uncertainties that are strongly experienced by the members of the field units. (McNamara in Bordua, 1967: 183)

For the patrolman, the uncertainties of the occupation, of the organization definitely exist as does the discrepancy he perceives between his desired professional status and that which he actually attains.

In her article, "From Constabulary to Police Society: Implications for Social Control", Evelyn Parks states that the central elements in the development of a professional police force are "the development of economic inequality" (Parks, 1970: 78), and "rioting, which is closely related to economic inequality" (Parks, 1970: 79). For

Parks the law is an instrument in class warfare and "the police became an agency of those with wealth and power, for suppressing the attempts by the have-nots to re-distribute the wealth and power" (Parks, 1970: 82).

Chevigny's Police Power follows a similar theme.

> For the legislators and judges the police are a godsend, because the acts of oppression that must be performed in this society to keep it running smoothly are pushed upon the police .. .. the police have become the repository of all illiberal impulses in this liberal society. (Chevigny, 1969: 280)

There is a "drive to legislate the lives of others and to force them to adhere to an accepted mode of life; that impulse cannot be enforced without abusing the rights of citizens" (Chevigny, 1969: 280). He argues that police abuse and acts of oppression will continue until the members of society overcome their fear and force a change in police rules.

Reiss (1971) conducted a study of how citizens mobilize the police and how the police decide to intervene in citizen affairs (the use of discretion). He found that many citizens feel that the function of the police extends to the performance of a variety of service functions beyond law enforcement and peace keeping. He also found that citizens make calls to the police usually because of the expectation of personal gain.

Cumming also has reported similar findings in that although the policeman represents a controlling force, he nevertheless finds himself involved in supportive service functions. She concludes that there are several reasons for this. The policeman is on twenty-four-hour duty, often at times when other agents are not readily available. He is put in the position of dealing with the problems of the poor and those ignorant of possible alternatives and lastly, he is called upon to cope with a variety of emergencies which often require supportive measures before control. (Cumming, 1968: 175). It appears to be a general conclusion that the amount and type of police activity and the nature of discretion depends to a great extent upon the community setting with which the police are involved.

Thus far, mention has been made only of those studies that have dealt with the police as an occupation, as an organization in the contemporary setting, looking at how the individual officer copes with his role as a policeman, how he fits in as a cog in the organization. However, it will be the purpose of this thesis to examine the police organization from an historical perspective and it thus seems necessary to shed some light upon the work that has been done in this area.

(ii) Historical Studies

Historical analyses of the municipal police forces of New York City, Boston and Chicago have been done by Costello, Lane, and Flinn, respectively. Costello has written the history of the police of New York City from the early 1600's and Dutch settlement to the year 1885. It was written in 1885 to help the floundering Police Pension Fund and also to record the historical achievements of the force (Costello, 1972: xviv). Costello has presented an historical description of the development of a municipal police force during this time and has outlined the changes that occurred. However, what is missing from his discussion is any mention of the social and political context in which these events took place. Thus, one criticism is that:

> Valuable though his account is, Costello was not able to place his description of the New York police in its larger perspective. He did not relate the flow of events in the metropolis to the development of his beloved police force, nor could he anticipate the significance of contemporary events for future generations of police. (Costello, 1972: v)

Lane (1967) has written the history of the police force of Boston from 1822 to 1885. He has presented a detailed analysis of the growth and development of the force and has made an attempt to understand the nature of this development by relating it to events in the more general history of the city. He feels that the police force developed in response to the immediate needs that presented themselves at the moment and that there was no overall comprehensive plan. He concludes that: "The police department was in fact what it was designed to be, simply a useful tool of government" (Lane, 1967: 224).

Flinn's account (1887) of the Chicago Police Department is similar in nature and scope to others written in this time period, i.e. Costello's discussion of the New York Police. It provides a detailed description of the departments's growth, manpower, salaries, leadership, involvements (strikes to mention but one), from its inception to the present day, i.e. 1887. Its functions are very much the same as those of Costello's work; the account provides a detailed history of the police during this period but also serves as a means of benefiting a floundering police fund, in this case, the Policeman's Benevolent Association.

Other historical analyses have included studies by Charles Reith (1956) and by Melville Lee (1971) of the police in England. These, however, have attempted to examine the development of the modern police system in its entirety rather than concentrating on one particular municipal force.

Another study worthy of note is that of Powell (1970) who has included some historical analysis of the Buffalo police force in his discussion of the city and the meaning of anomie. He talks of the beginnings of the force in the 1830's, a force concerned mainly with maintaining order. With the growth of the city came changes in the department for, as Powell states: "The rising threat of civil disorder in the 1840's and '50's stimulated demands for police protection in all the larger American cities" (Powell, 1970: 118). He goes on to say that as a result "police brutality became a hallowed tradition, an image deliberately projected for purposes of deterrence" (Powell, 1970: 119).

Powell's description of the character and function of urban police forces only a few decades after their beginnings provides insight into the nature of city life.

> By the 1870's American police forces had become paramilitary organizations, complete with uniforms, military ranks, and Prussian drills. The uniforms set the police off from the community but facilitated discipline and solidarity. The rationale of this new police-army was the sound oligarchical principle that an organized minority of ten can control an unorganized majority of a hundred. The police-army

> was designed for two main functions: riot control and guard duty, i.e. protecting business property. Later the police developed into a cordon for segregating and containing the "dangerous class". (Powell, 1970: 119)

He concludes that the development and growth of the municipal police force was in response to a fear of class war by those in positions of wealth and power. The police only served to maintain order so as to protect the interests of the upper class.

Summary

This review of available literature, of those studies that have been conducted on the police, is meant to provide a means for a better understanding of the police and their role in modern society. All of these studies on the police add to our knowledge of the police organization, whether it be an understanding of the adjustment of the individual officer to his role, the nature of the police occupation or the historical development of a particular force. It should be noted, however, that from the available studies, there is little evidence of research into the nature of the relationship between the police as an organization and its community, i.e. its environment.

From this discussion of the police, there emerge certain characteristics of the police in modern urban society. The police, as social control agents, function to enforce the law and keep the peace. They are organized in paramilitary fashion in a bureaucratic, hierarchical structure. The nature of their role in society has had a definite impact on the occupational lives of members of the force. Studies have shown that they feel very much isolated from the public with whom they deal. As a result, they have developed strong in-group attitudes and a unique occupational culture that provides guidelines for defining and evaluating situations and for appropriate behaviour. Embedded in this culture is the norm of secrecy which serves to protect the group from both internal and external complaints and encourages a degree of solidarity among its members.

Research has shown that initiation into the police occupation is accompanied by a socialization process that familiarizes the recruit with

the ways of the department. Niederhoffer (1969) concludes that it is this socialization process that produces the authoritarian police personality that, in his opinion, characterizes the behaviour of many on the force. Included in his work is a discussion of his findings of anomie and cynicism which he feels are a result of the very nature of the occupation and the situation in which the police find themselves.

The police occupation is also characterized by uncertainty and ambiguity in terms of its very goals. The function of the police has been found to extend beyond law enforcement and peace keeping (vague and difficult in themselves to define) to that of service roles. They are readily available to those who often are unaware of other alternatives. It has been found that the use of discretion is a common occurrence and often means an interpretation of the law that is dependent upon their definition of the situation.

In the last few years the number of studies that have been done of municipal police departments has signfficantly increased. However, the emphasis has still been on examining the department as it exists in its present form. Very little work of an historical nature has been done. Some documentation of the major events in the early development of metropolitan police forces occurred in the late 1880's. In addition there have been some recent studies that have attempted to analyse the way in which the historical growth of the city affected the police department (Lane, 1967). Powell's study (1970), however, was not an attempt to document the development of the department, although it does include some data on the Buffalo police force. He has merely used the police as an example, to show that they were but an instrument in class warfare, used by those who were fearful of losing their positions and wealth.

Before attempting an historical analysis of the nature of the relationship between a police organization and its environment, it is first necessary to outline some of the work that has been done in the organization-environment field. The following discussion will present the major theoretical perspectives and findings of some of the studies that have been conducted in this particular area.

II The Organization and its Environment

Much has been written to date on the subject of the "organization", yet despite the great wealth of literature and empirical data available there has been no widespread agreement on a theory of organizations. In one recent work on complex organizations, Haas and Drabek (1973) define an organization as "a relatively permanent and relatively complex discernible interaction system" (Haas and Drabek, 1973: 8).

The literature suggests that one of the limitations of previous attempts at understanding and explaining organizational behaviour has been the disregard of environmental factors. One inherent difficulty with respect to this involves the very definition of environment. The decision as to where to construct the boundary separating an organization from its environment is a matter of dispute. A frequent consequence of this is that the setting of boundaries is often arbitrary and / or vague. Moreover, there is an additional factor to be considered: that is, who is perceiving and defining the organizational boundaries. As a result, it has been easier to ignore the problem by concentrating upon internal factors within the organization itself rather than attempting to study external elements. Thus, little in the way of research has been aimed at examining the relationship that exists between an organization and its environment. However, that which has been done suggests that "much organizational behavior cannot be understood except through analysis of the environment" (Haas and Drabek, 1973: 17). In other words, Haas and Drabek are proposing that there is a high interdependence between an organization and its environment, a dialectical relationship that necessarily implies an open rather than a closed system.

In defining organizational environments, they suggest that: "Environmental characteristics specify the 'setting' within which the interaction system exists" (Haas and Drabek, 1973: 18). These can "be viewed as structures within which organizational action occurs" (Haas and Drabek, 1973: 22). As mentioned previously, difficulties arise with the defining of organizational boundaries: for example, what criteria are to be used to identify them, what are the boundaries perceived by those involved, who is doing the defining (Haas and Drabek, 1973: 20).

In their work, Haas and Drabek outline various perspectives in organizational theory and present a critical evaluation of each. For most, there is a definite disregard of any existing relationship between an organization and its environment or of the effects of environmental changes. Others that have included the environmental concept have failed to put it to proper use in that definitions are too vague and abstract or there has been unsuccessful integration of concepts (Haas and Drabek, 1973: chapter 2; 23-93).

Haas and Drabek present the following as a currently-held assumption in organizational literature, namely that:

> existing organizations are a reflection of the needs or requirements emanating from the environmental context or larger social systems of which they are a part. Any organization arises and continues to exist over time .... only when it provides a needed contribution to another system or systems. (Haas and Drabek, 1973: 205)

Environmental changes alter the conditions in which the organization exists and thus as a result the organization is forced to consider these changes and perhaps take action. There is no one-to-one correspondence and the organizational adaptation is dependent upon a number of factors such as the relevance of the environmental change, how it is defined, the strain that is created, and how responsive the organization is to its environment (Haas and Drabek, 1973: 284). Haas and Drabek state that: "Environmental change is filtered. And organizations respond by acting on their environment so as to try and expand their autonomy, prestige, and security" (Haas and Drabek, 1973: 285). The exact relationship between an organization and its environment is difficult to determine since the interdependence between the two fluctuates --- the process is a dynamic one, continually involving change.

Blau and Scott, in their work Formal Organizations, also offer a discussion of the existing state of organization-environment relationships. They too point out the need for research in this area. They outline the dimensions of the social environment with which they are concerned: namely the public served, the culture, the structure of the

community, and other organizations. Blau and Scott also see the relationship between an organization and its environment as a dialectical one, part of a dynamic, on-going process.

Organizations are involved in a set of role relations with other organizations and thus there exists the possibility of conflicting demands and expectations. Blau and Scott outline the various mechanisms that may help to define these demands:

> First, power is certainly important in determining to whose demands the organization will yield ....Second, mechanisms that insulate organizations from observation offer some protection against conflicting demands .... Third, business firms often go to great lengths to inform some segment of their set about pressures and demands made by other segments ....Finally, organizations, like individuals, combine together in mutual-benefit associations for the protection of their common interests. (Blau and Scott, 1962: 196)

Economic organizations have been found to exert a great influence on community structure and can affect such things as location of the community, its size and growth, functions, occupational composition, land-use, power and class structure, general character (Form and Miller in Blau and Scott, 1962: 199). Also, as Blau and Scott point out, influence can move in the other direction, it is not a one-way process.

Burns and Stalker (1961) conducted a study of twenty firms in which they focused on the relationship between the pattern of management practices and certain characteristics of the external environment, i.e. rates of change in scientific techniques and markets. They state that:

> In their most general form, the findings of this research can be put into two statements: Technical progress and organizational development are aspects of one and the same trend in human affairs; and the persons who work to make these processes actual are also their victims. (Burns and Stalker, 1961: 19)

They found that they could separate the organizations they studied into two groups, based upon their management practices. Thus, organizations operating under fairly stable conditions they labelled

"mechanistic". Here there was greater reliance on formal rules and procedures, decisions were made by those in the higher levels of command in the hierarchy of the organization, the spans of supervisory control were narrow, problems and tasks were broken down into distinct units. The second system, which they called "organic", seemed suited to unstable conditions, to conditions of change. There was less attention to formal procedures, jobs lost much of their formal definition, more decisions were made at middle-level positions rather than relying on the top ranks, spans of supervisory control were wider, individual tasks were performed with the wider knowledge of the concerns of the firm as a whole.

Thus, they found that the technical and economic conditions that existed in the external environment resulted in the formation of differing organizational patterns. Knowledge of environmental events was important in helping to understand organizational variables. Similar findings were reported by Lawrence and Lorsch (1967). They state that:

> effective organizational units operating in stable parts of the environment are more highly structured, while those in more dynamic parts of the environment are less formal. The convergence of the findings of the two studies is considerable and important, even though Burns and Stalker's was an exploratory study on which we drew to develop a more complex research model.
> (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967: 189)

Guest's study (1962) of a failing industrial plant that was aided by the subseuqent appointment of a new plant manager was an attempt to research the process of change over time in complex organizations. This author feels that the understanding of organizational dynamics by definition necessitates the examination of the time dimension (Guest, 1962: 2). He also states that:

> On his part the social scientist often makes the error of concentrating on human motivation and group behavior without fully accounting for the technical environment which circumscribes, even determines, the roles which the actors play. (Guest, 1962: 4)

From his research, Guest draws upon the concept of the organization as a sociotechnical system with the reciprocity of man and technology. He concludes that: "Organizations undergo change as a result of a number of internal and external forces acting upon them" (Guest, 1962: 154).

Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) conducted a study that attempted to discover the effectiveness of different types of organization under different economic and technical conditions. They feel that there is great confusion about organization theory and that: "Instead of seeking relationships between organizational states and processes and external environmental demands, as we are doing, most organizational research and theory has implicitly, if not explicitly, focused on the one best way to organize in all situations" (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967: 3).

Lawrence and Lorsch conducted a comparative study of competing organizations in each of several industries in order to consider the problem that "different external conditions might require different organizational characteristics and behavior patterns within the effective organization" (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967: 14). They also considered the organization to be an open system. In summarizing their results they state that:

> These findings suggest a contingency theory of organization which recognizes their systemic nature. The basic assumption underlying such a theory, which the findings of this study strongly support, is that organizational variables are in a complex inter-relationship with one another and with conditions in the environment ....the effective organization has integrating devices consistent with the diversity of the environment, and the more differentiated the organization, the more elaborate the integrating devices. (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967: 157)

Thus, they propose that the traditional theories, i.e. the classical and Human Relations schools of thought, can be linked together in a way that will produce a new theory that is wider in scope --- "a contingency theory of organizations".

A study by Woodward (1958) found that the pattern of management varied according to technical differences. Chandler (1962)

studied the thesis that organization structure is affected by strategic decisions (made necessary by environmental change). In their discussion of his work Lawrence and Lorsch state that:

> Chandler sees new strategic choices arising from environmental changes: "Strategic growth resulted from an awareness of the opportunities and needs --- created by changing population, income, and technology --- to employ existing or expanding resources more profitably". He traces these strategic growth phases and their organizational ramifications in each of the companies and shows them as responses to changing environmental conditions. (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967: 195)

Thus, Lawrence and Lorsch conclude that the results of their study support the findings of other researchers in this field, in that "different organizational forms are required to cope effectively with different task and environmental conditions" (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967: 203). The authors feel that the findings of these studies indicate the possibility of a new more inclusive theory of organizations that has as its starting point the interdependent relationship between an organization and its environment. It would incorporate the best of the more traditional theories, but also lend itself to expansion through further research, and provide a model for the understanding of complex organizations.

Charles Perrow begins his work on complex organizations (1972) with a discussion of the reason for bureaucracies --- their purpose, as well as the means by which they exist. He states that: "Bureaucracies are set up to deal with stable, routine tasks; that is the basis of organizational efficiency" (Perrow, 1972: 5). Problems arise with the occurrence of change and the adjustment of the organization to any type of alteration. Bureaucracy, in its "ideal" form, does not now exist nor is it likely that it ever will. However, as Perrow states, it is

> a remarkable product of gradual, halting, and often unwitting social engineering. Without this form of social technology, the industrialized countries of the West could not have reached the heights of extravagance, wealth, and pollution that they currently enjoy. (Perrow, 1972: 5-6)

Perrow goes on to outline the basic assumptions behind various organizational theories. The Human Relations Model is psychological in theory and orientation and has thus been limited to the study of the individual and small groups within the organizational setting. A great number of studies have been guided by this perspective and there is a great amount of available empirical data. However, studies of this nature have not proven to be sufficient from a theoretical point of view and as Perrow states:

> it may be, hopefully, that any theory that has the power to explain a good deal of organizational behavior will have to deal with more general variables than leadership and small-group behavior. It will have to deal with such variables as types of structure, group interrelationships, character of resources, technology, and environmental influences, where the more specific variables of leader behavior and small-group characteristics are held to be randomly distributed and thus have little effect when a large number of organizations are the object of study. (Perrow, 1972: 119)

Perrow argues that the theoretical framework of the human relations model has not been adequately supported by empirical studies and that the attempt to understand organizations per se through the psychological interpretation of attributes and behaviour will prove impossible.

In his formulation of the "Neo-Weberian" model, Perrow presents a discussion of decision-making, conflict and technology as alternative views of organizations that should be considered. The decision-making perspective (Simon and March) involves making certain assumptions regarding the nature of man and his relationship with the organization, namely that the organization is able to control the standards by which decisions are made and in this way has control over individual behaviour. The Simon model of organizations, as discussed by Perrow, states that within the organization there is stability, a routinization of activity, an impersonalization. Changes occur only when goals and objectives are not being fulfilled and other alternatives within the existing structure cannot be found. For the organization, greater contact with the environment may

result in a decline in consensus (as to the kind of services needed, techniques to be used, goals) and an increase in conflict within the organization. In summarizing the decision-making view, Perrow states that:

> The problem with humans in organizations is not just that they may go their own, selfish way, and thus need to be kept in line through such devices as hierarchical control, division of labor, job specifications, impartial and impersonal rules and standards, and so on; the problem is also that there are real limits to human rationality, and thus the premises of decisions and the flow of information upon which decisions are based must be controlled .... The organization is not static, by any means, but change is incremental, partial, hit-or-miss, and channelled in the well-worn groves of established adaptations. (Perrow, 1972: 157)

Conflict within organizations, although acknowledged as existing, has not in the past gained theoretical recognition in organizational models. This area has received little attention in the way of empirical research until fairly recently. Internal conflict within organizations can arise from various factors, as for example, conflict over goals, and if it is considered that multiple goals exist, then "we have to assume that goals should be viewed as emerging from a bargaining process among groups" (Perrow, 1972: 161).

The technological view stresses that organizational structure should depend upon the technology involved, and that the bureaucratic structure under certain conditions, is an efficient means of functioning.

In his discussion, Perrow is attempting to extend the scope and usefulness of an organizational model by incorporating and combining various features from differing views. However, as he states: "But in all this, while we have extended and complicated the simple bureaucratic model, we still have not addressed ourselves to the dominant preoccupation of organizational theory in the late 1960's --- the environment" (Perrow, 1972: 176).

In order to examine the way in which the environment has been incorporated into existing theories of organizations, Perrow discusses the institutional school, a theoretical perspective with a structural-functionalist framework. Analyses of this nature look at the whole organization, usually by means of a case study, in that: "Because the interchange of structure and function goes on over time, a 'natural history' of an organization is needed" (Perrow, 1972: 178). Moreover, "The idea of an organic, growing, declining, evolving whole, with a natural history, points up the importance (and danger) of unplanned adaptations and changes" (Perrow, 1972: 179). Thus, in considering the history and functioning of an organization, it seems feasible to examine the setting in which the organization exists and if and how they are related. It is to the credit of this school that one of its main contributions is its emphasis upon the environment.

Given the nature of the basic premises of the institutional school, it is possible to speak of organizational growth and change and it is within this context that Perrow, in discussing Selznick's view of organizations, states that: "Some organizations are merely organizations .. ..Others become institutionalized. The process of institutionalization is the process of organic growth, wherein the organization adapts to the strivings of internal groups and the values of the external society" (Perrow, 1972: 190). For the most part, however, organizations tend to maintain themselves in as stable a condition as possible, and as Perrow states:

> Their (March and Simon) notion of organizational vocabularies and the stabilizing force of custom, well-worn communication lines, and so on resembles the institutional view of basic identity, or character, and the "conservative" nature of institutions that resist fortuitous change. The exposé tradition has highlighted the dangers we can expect from even well-meaning organizations in their search for stability and growth and their resistance to character restructuring. It also highlights the "underlife" of the organization, the latent functions and unplanned aspects of complex systems. (Perrow, 1972: 202)

The institutional school of thought has a number of positive features that provide the basis for the examination and analysis of organizations. A descriptive, historical evaluation of an organization over time can lead to a better understanding of the nature of the dynamic processes involved within the organization and also between the organization and its environment. It is here, however, concerning the nature of the relationship between an organization and its environment that this conceptual framework falls short. Although this is one of the few models of organizations that considers the environment as an important variable to be examined, it has limited itself to a one-sided view. It gives full support to the idea that the environment affects the organization but it fails to consider the possibility that the reverse may also occur, i.e. that perhaps the organization may influence the environment to some extent, or even, that perhaps the relationship may be dialectical in nature.

Summary

A recurrent theme emerges that, in effect, there is no satisfactory theory of organizations. There seems to be general agreement that what is needed is some sort of piecing together of the existing theoretical perspectives, a combination of the best of what is currently available. This must also allow for the possibility of revision through further work and for additional development of the theoretical concepts involved. It has been suggested that what is needed is a new theory that is more encompassing, wider in scope.

Perhaps one of the most neglected aspects in the study of organizations has been the nature of the relationship between an organization and its environment. An organization, any organization, is involved in a dynamic process, receiving input from environmental factors and also exerting an influence of its own. It has been suggested that there is a high interdependence between an organization and its environment. However, as mentioned, environmental factors have been ignored or treated inadequately in most theoretical perspectives. There has been a tendency to focus upon the organization, either as a structure in and of itself, or else in terms of the behaviour and attitudes of its members.

Studies have been done that have attempted to look at the influence of the environment on an organization. It has been found, for example, that there is a relationship between management practices and environmental factors. In other words, differing organizational patterns emerge that seem to be dependent upon certain conditions in the external environment.

It seems that the focus in the past has been upon the best way to organize irregardless of the existing external conditions with which the organization must cope. Studies have shown, however, that differing organizational forms are required to cope with different environmental conditions.

Some of the limitations of the various theoretical perspectives have been discussed. It should be noted that the method of study of the institutional school, i.e. a descriptive, historical analysis, does suggest a means by which a more complete evaluation might be possible, a better understanding of the dynamic processes involved within the organization itself and in its relationship with the environment.

It has been implied by some authors that organizations tend to be conservative in nature, preferring to look for solutions within already existing structures. Only if these fail will alternatives be considered. This is consistent with the general theme of this study that change is not a normal, natural occurrence but only comes about as a consequence of crisis events.

Further study in this area of organizations is necessary and important. Some work has been done but it has not probed deep enough. In addition, there must be further analysis and examination of the nature of the relationship between an organization and its environment, an examination of the influence they have on one another and the direction of this influence. This study will attempt to proceed along these lines. A descriptive, historical analysis, focusing upon the nineteenth century, will be undertaken in order to examine the nature of the relationship that existed during this period between the police organization of one particular community and the social setting, those environmental factors with which the organization dealt at this time and which in addition played a part in influencing the organization.

III Conclusions

Thus it is suggested that there exists a need to understand the police as an organization, as a structural component of society. At the present time, the studies that have been conducted provide a very good description of the characteristics of modern police systems and of the occupational role of the police officer. Study of the police should, however, also involve analysis of the department, the force, i.e. the organization --- a perspective that includes but goes beyond the occupational dimension. It is this area, the study of the police as an organization, that is in need of further research.

The organization does not, however, exist in a vacuum and its relationship with its environmental setting is of significance and requires examination. Studies have shown that the environment does play a part in organizational behaviour and that it influences such things as organizational forms and patterns of management. Although it has been suggested in the literature that there is an interdependence between an organization and its environment, for the most part, environmental factors have been ignored in research.

The tendency has been to study either structural aspects of the organization, i.e. organizational form, pattern of management, decision-making, or the behaviour patterns of organization members. The focus has been upon the "best way to organize" in general, rather than studying the reasons for differences. Furthermore, the majority of the work that has been conducted has concentrated upon examining the organization in the present. The organization, however, functions on the basis of its past history. It is important to understand the nature of the relationship that existed between an organization and its environment in the past as this provides a frame of reference, a point of departure for further analysis of the existing situation.

The police were chosen as the subject of this study because firstly, they can and have been defined as an organization, and secondly, there does exist an organization-environment (community) relationship, the exact nature of which requires further analysis.

CHAPTER III

Statement of the Problem

Social control is a dynamic process that functions to regulate the behaviour of members of society according to an expected pattern defined by the dominant and accepted system of norms and values. With the growth of the urban way of life, informal means of control have been insufficient for maintaining the desired degree of order and have been reinforced by more formal, external mechanisms. For the purpose of this study the police organization is considered to be an example of a formal mechanism of social control developed as a supportive structure to the institutions of society. The police function to regulate behaviour and maintain the degree of social order required by those in positions of power.

Growth of the police organization in society has run parallel to the development of cities and the urban way of life. Thus it is necessary to consider the nature of the relationship that exists between the urban environment, i.e. the community setting, and the police.

The focus of this study is upon the police organization of the Hamilton community during the nineteenth century. It is suggested that the growth of the Hamilton Police Department occurred concurrently with the growth of the city and that changes in the police organization occurred as a consequence of crisis situations faced by the community. The police, as a supportive structure, function in the interests of those in power, who in turn, rely on this particular social control mechanism to cope with crises and threats to the existing social order.

As an organization, the police are in contact with their environment, i.e. the urban community, and it is necessary to consider the nature of their relationship and the factors affecting their influence on one another. It is to be argued here that change is not considered the normal pattern of events but that it occurs as a result of crises, i.e. critical events. Crisis situations constitute a threat to the existing structure of society and

as such present new conditions with which the urban environment and police organization must cope. In the following analysis, an attempt will be made to show that the police organization is used by those in power in the community to deal with threat situations.

This study, as has been mentioned, is an attempt to understand the situation that existed during the nineteenth century. It was during this period that Hamilton began to develop as a city and that the police department first came into existence. Thus it is possible to consider the interdependence between organization and community in its first stages and to show the progression of events that have shaped their relationship.

Such analysis, of necessity, involves using an historical method in order to consider those events that have had a determining effect on both the organization and community. Furthermore, it is to be argued that the nature of the relationship of the police of nineteenth-century Hamilton to their community is substantially similar to that of today. That is, that the police remain a formal mechanism of social control functioning to regulate behaviour and maintain a degree of social order.

The following section will examine the use of historical analysis in an attempt to provide an understanding of its characteristics, its advantages and limitations.

Methodology

> Historical analysis of social phenomena is .... not a luxury for those interested in the past for its own sake. A study of the present that neglects the process of change by which the present was created is necessarily superficial. (Thernstrom, 1973: 3)

Analysis that fails to consider the time dimension, the historical past, limits understanding of the present. The examination of past events can often provide a frame of reference, an alternative perspective on the present, and in turn, additional meaning.

The historical method involves both the description of specific events in the past and the investigation of events through time. The concept of time is of importance in historical analysis for it is the means by which different periods and events are related to one another. In addition, any consideration of change necessarily involves the time dimension since by its very nature change occurs in relation to the past. In explaining the nature of time, Berkhofer states that:

> Historians use physical time to date events ....Such time flows metrically and is irreversible. It is a conception of time derived from nature's supposed regularities. This concept of time embodies all events into one ordered dimension in which events may occur simultaneously, nor will they ever occur again. Time is portrayed as linear and non-repeating. (Berkhofer, 1969: 215)

Social development theory assumes that change is natural to social behaviour. Teggart (1925) states that:

> the social scientists of the eighteenth century made it their aim to get away from the "accidental" character of historical happenings, in order to discover the "normal" or "natural" course of change. (Teggart, 1972: 5)

However, it is argued here that change is not the "normal" but rather occurs as a result of particular circumstances, critical events that disrupt the usual pattern (Nisbet, 1969). In attempting to deal with the resultant strain, new elements are introduced that bring about change in the

structures of society. This occurs only when it is not possible to find solutions in the existing forms of social behaviour. In any consideration of change, it is required that there be some knowledge of past events, of the occurrences in past time, i.e. history. As Shafer states:

> The historical approach is characterized by a concern for change over a significant period of time, for the directions or trends that may appear in such a period, and for those unique qualities, persons, or events that may either sum up an age or stand out from it. (Shafer, 1969: 1)

Thus an understanding of change and the causes of change is dependent upon history. Historical analysis provides a point of reference from which to interpret social behaviour and the occurrence of events. In order to make generalizations concerning social actions it is necessary to examine concrete, empirical events in their proper historical context.

There are, however, certain problems inherent inthe historical approach. Historical interpretation is often based upon the existing record of the influential. The lives of the majority of those living in past societies have been ignored in historical analysis because there is a paucity of available accounts. This, moreover, imposes serious limitations on generalizability and also on the understanding of social actions and behaviour during a particular period in the past. A second limitation is that assumptions developed in contemporary analysis are applied to the past and thus interpretation of events and behaviours in past society is dependent upon experiences in the present. A third factor to be considered is that:

> The interpretation of history is selective, that within the vast mass of raw material emphasis is placed on those items that seem meaningful to the historian in terms of his conception of human society, in terms of his own ideas. (Shafer, 1969: 20)

Nevertheless, there is a need to look at the historical, at past events, concrete and empirical events that provide a basis from which to make generalizations about actions and behaviour during a particular period. The dimension of time provides a means by which to examine the

relationship between events and to consider the nature of change. Since change is assumed to occur only as a result of crises, it is possible to consider the existing societal structures and patterns of behaviour and in addition, the solutions and adaptations that are responses to the disruptions. This provides a means for comparison that would aid in the understanding of behaviour during a particular period of time.

The following analysis will depend upon the historical method in order to examine the nature of the relationship that existed between the Hamilton community and its police during the nineteenth century. Concrete events in the history of the development of the city will be studied in relation to the development of the police organization and in particular, focus will be upon crisis situations and critical events that caused disruptions, that threatened the existing structure and order of society during this period.

Sources of Data

The decision to study the Hamilton police organization from an historical perspective, that is, during the nineteenth century, immediately created problems as to where and how to collect data. Data collection through interviewing, participant observation, or questionnaires were, for obvious reasons, inapplicable. However, a review of sources available through library research suggested various alternatives for collecting data in the area of study.

As with any method of data collection, there are disadvantages and limitations in depending upon the library for resources: for example, the area or topic under study may be inadequately documented; there is the necessity of considering the biases of the authors whose works are used as sources of data; there may be inaccuracy in the reporting of facts; or there may be difficulty because of a lack of continuity in the events recorded in the available sources (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 180-183). However, careful examination of the information obtained and a substantiation of facts through the checking of several sources may alleviate some of these limitations.

The collection of data through the use of library resources can be profitable, especially for descriptive analyses or for testing the applicability of existing theoretical perspectives. As Glaser and Strauss point out:

> sociologists need to be as skilled and ingenious in using documentary materials as in doing field work. These materials are as potentially valuable for generating theory as our observations and interviews. We need to be as effective as historians in the library, but with inquiry directed to our own purposes. If need be, we should be as knowledgeable about literary materials as literary critics and other men of letters; but again without abandoning special sociological purposes. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 163)

For this consideration of the relationship between the Hamilton police and their urban environment, various library resources were utilized. The works of a number of contemporary local historians were examined for relevant information concerning the police and also for data regarding the political and social events affecting the Hamilton community during this period. The documentation of the history of the Hamilton police department by officers currently on the force provided a summary of events and changes within the organization. In addition, police department annual reports and police association yearbooks were used as sources of further data. In order to substantiate information from these resources, other historical works were considered for information relevant to this study - some dating back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Data Analysis

I History of Hamilton during the Nineteenth Century: A Description of Community Structure, and Social and Political Events

A) Community Structural Characteristics

The growth of formalized mechanisms of control has seemingly run parallel to urban development and city life. Urban society presents a heterogeneous, diversified environment characterized by mobility and stratification. This has rendered informal means of social control inadequate and thus formalized mechanisms have been developed in order to regulate behaviour and support the existing structures and institutions of society. It is of importance to examine the conditions which precipitate this in order to understand the factors determining the nature and development of formal mechanisms of social control.

There is a tendency, when considering the "ideal" of a communal, homogeneous, integrated society, to look to the past, the not so long ago past of the nineteenth-century, pre-industrial community. However, there has been very little historical research done concerning the conditions under which people lived during this period. The evidence to date, moreover, indicates that perhaps our assumptions and inferences have been somewhat inaccurate.

One important contribution in this area is a current study by Michael Katz which is an attempt "to analyse the impact of industrialization on urban social structure and social mobility, using Hamilton, Ontario as a case study" (Katz, 1972: 404). His work offers an alternative perspective. His examination of historical data from the early 1850's in Hamilton provides a basis to support the argument that the predominant themes existent in nineteenth-century city life were transiency and inequality.

Katz argues that transiency at this time was a mass phenomenon[1] and that the population of Hamilton in the early 1850's could be divided into two groups: relatively permanent residents (between one-third and two-fifths of the population) who had lived in the city for at least several years; and transients, whose stay in Hamilton was for an indefinite period of time that could range from a few months to a few years (Katz, 1972: 406). A

comparison between these two groups revealed a close approximation on variables such as age and occupation but differentiation in wealth. The permanents were wealthier within every occupational grouping. Katz concludes that:

> All of this points to the coexistence of two social structures within nineteenth-century society: one relatively fixed, consisting of people successful at their work, even if that work was labouring; the other a floating social structure composed of failures, people poorer and less successful at their work, even if that work was professional, drifting from place to place in search of success. (Katz, 1972: 406)

Support for this argument can also be found in the work of Stephan Thernstrom (1964). He states that: "The most common form of mobility experienced by the ordinary laborers of nineteenth-century Newburyport was mobility out of the city" (Thernstrom in Gutman and Popenoe (eds.), 1970: 349). Thernstrom argues elsewhere (1973) that a partial explanation for the previous inability to recognize just how widespread transiency was results from the fact that "the most convenient demographic measurements --- population growth rates and estimates of net migration flows --- are extremely crude and misleading indexes of the composition of a city's population" (Thernstrom, 1973: 15)[2].

Inclusion of these findings is meant to provide a basis for understanding the Hamilton community in the nineteenth century. There is no reason to think that transiency was predominant only during the 1850's. It is most likely that this was characteristic of the patterns of settlement during the nineteenth-century period since immigration and migration were the means of populating new areas. For Hamilton in particular, this was very significant; the city was the recipient of great numbers of immigrants. Being a port city, access by ship was possible and the construction of canals in the 1830's and the railway lines in the 1850's brought great numbers of workers to the area to settle for some period of time.

During the peak periods of immigration to Canada, i.e. the early 1830's and 1850's and the latter decades of the nineteenth century, Hamilton's population increased accordingly. (See Table 1). For example, in 1826 the population numbered 1,195 for the Township of Barton (including Hamilton) but by 1833 had jumped to 1400 for Hamilton alone. Also, in 1850 the population was 10,312 but by 1858 had reached 27,500. Similarly, the population increased from approximately 25,000 people[3] in 1870 to 70,221 in 1910 (Campbell, 1966).

This migratory tendency during this period of Hamilton's growth is of significance for the understanding of the nature of social control and order at this time and the development of mechanisms of control. As Katz states: "The continual circulation of population prevented the formation of stable and closely integrated communities within nineteenth-century cities" (Katz, 1972: 409). This lack of cohesion and integration are contrary to the very nature of a communal, homogeneous society and thus, in turn, to the expectation of community self-regulation through informal controls and sanctions.

Before further discussion of social control and order in the early development of the Hamilton community, it is necessary to consider the other major characteristic of nineteenth-century life: inequality. Katz reached the conclusion that:

> the division of people on most social measures corresponded to the economic differences between them. Social, political, and economic power overlapped and interlocked, creating a sharply divided society in which a small percentage of the people retained a near monopoly on all the resources necessary to the well-being of the rest.[4] (Katz, 1972: 410)

Katz was also able to conclude from his findings that the wealthy in Hamilton "solidified their economic control with political power" (Katz, 1972: 413). Franchisement was dependent upon property qualifications (either through ownership or rental) and Katz found that 53% of all adult men at this time could not meet the requirements. The vote fell to the more

affluent of the community who also, it was found, filled the local political offices. Thus the wealthy were able to protect their economic interests by dominating the positions of power in the community. Katz states that: "The unmistakable overlap between elites underlines the interconnections between economic, political, and social power within this nineteenth-century city" (Katz, 1972: 414).

Thus it seems that lack of wealth, especially property, also meant lack of power and the transients (migrants) only served to swell the ranks of those who had no say in local politics. In support of this, Thernstrom states that: "The extreme transiency of the urban masses must have severely limited the possibilities of mobilizing them politically and socially, and have facilitated control by more stable and prosperous elements of the population" (Thernstrom, 1973: 231-232). Moreover, those with "power" were able to construct definitions of reality that pertain to members of the community. This may require the use of supportive structures to maintain the order established by such definitions. For this analysis, the police organization is to be regarded as such a supportive mechanism, as a mechanism of social control. It is to be argued that the police have always existed as a means of formal control that functions to maintain a degree of social order and regulate the members of society according to the definitions of the dominant group. In other words, the police control perceived threats to the existent structure of society.

In summary, with the growth of the urban way of life, informal control has proven inefficient and insufficient in maintaining the degree of order considered necessary by those in controlling positions. Thus formalized means of control developed. The police as an example of a formal mechanism of social control have grown with the cities and the urban way of life. There results from this a need to understand the police organization in relation to its urban environment (community) in order to understand the nature of the relationship that exists between them.

The previous discussion has focused upon community characteristics during the mid-nineteenth century in Hamilton and the fact that transiency and inequality fostered a situation whereby those in power

were able to determine the development and control the major decisions of the community. To maintain their established order it is suggested that this political and economic elite turned to the police organization as a supportive structure.

In studying social structure in Hamilton in the 1850's, Katz attempted to organize the major occupational groupings into classes determined for the most part on the basis of economic interest. Katz identified four classes: Gentlemen, Entrepreneurs, Artisans, and Laborers (Katz, 1969: 231), described in terms of occupational functioning. Based on his findings, Katz states that: "The 'urban outlook' and perhaps most of Canadian political activity in the mid-nineteenth century were manifestations of class consciousness and class power by the Entrepreneurial group" (Katz, 1969: 236). The significant factor here, however, is that this group consisting of businessmen, professionals, and public employees, included those occupying local power positions but also included members of the police organization (as public employees) who helped to support and maintain these positions. Considering the method of discerning these groups, it is expected that there existed similarities of interest, in terms of both economic factors and social prestige. Thus it seems a reasonable premise that the police would share similar attitudes with others in the Entrepreneurial class and would accept the norms and values of this group as their own.

The following section will present a discussion of the social and political factors involved in the urbanization of the Hamilton community during the nineteenth century. The social and political events described in the history of Hamilton during this period were significant elements of the urban environment with which the community's police organization interacted at this time.

B) Social and Political Events

(i) Early Settlement and History

Late in the eighteenth century, following the American Revolution, families of United Empire Loyalists headed northward, leaving the United States for Canada and for them, a more suitable political climate. Many were attracted to the Head-of-the-Lake area (Hamilton region) in Upper Canada and settlement here began around 1785. The lack of any existing records has meant speculation and discrepancy regarding the identity of the first settler[5]. Offers of free, uncleared land encouraged immigration and settlers continued to arrive, especially from the United States.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 established the existence of Upper Canada and provided for a Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly as governing bodies of the province. However, the Assembly as a representative body had very little actual power. The Legislative Council could veto any measures passed by the lower chamber and seats in this upper chamber depended upon nominations approved by the lieutenant-governor. Thus actual control rested with the lieutenant-governor and his Executive Council (Wallace, 1915).

From 1800 to 1841, Upper Canada was governed by a group of public officials known as the "Family Compact", a clique "prone to administer the affairs of the province at its own pleasure, and sometimes in its own interest" (Wallace, 1915: 2). The year 1806 marked the beginning of the rivalries that were to cause such unrest on the political scene of Upper Canada. Francis Gore, appointed as Lieutenant-Governor in 1806, was determined to destroy the opposition that existed within the Jacobin or Reformer element of the government. The Reformers, most of whom were of Irish descent, were positioned against the Lieutenant-Governor and his Scottish faction. They were denied freedom of the press and those in office who supported the position were dismissed. Wallace states that: "There is even reason for believing that racial jealousy between the Scotch and the Irish was one of the roots of the trouble in Upper Canada in 1806" (Wallace, 1915: 25).

The War of 1812 between Britain and the United States involved many in the Hamilton area. There was great fear (especially by the Loyalists) that the United States would expand her control to include Upper Canada. The influence and threat posed by the great number of American immigrants presented a potential danger to the province of Upper Canada and Campbell states that:

> Even in the Legislative Assembly pro-American sentiment was sufficiently powerful to prevent passage of needed loyalty and alien laws. (Campbell, 1966: 34)

However, the United Empire Loyalists and their descendents, comprising the majority of the settlers in the Hamilton area, gave their support to the British forces, and through voluntary enlistment and their hostile attitudes towards the Americans helped to sway the outcome of the War.

After the fall of Fort George in 1813, the Americans, positioned on the Canadian side of the Niagara River (Niagara-on-the-Lake), advanced inland, meeting the defending forces of Canadians and British at Stoney Creek. The battle that followed and the naval skirmishes at Burlington Beach saw the defeat of the Americans.

The Americans had counted on little opposition from the recent immigrants but only a few actively engaged in supportive activities. Efforts were made to capture those who did, and they were taken to York (Toronto) and imprisoned on a charge of treason. The captured men were to set an example in order to discourage such actions and it was decided that the trial would be held in May, 1814 at Ancaster [6]. Nineteen were tried, of which one pleaded guilty, fourteen were convicted and four acquitted. The sentence passed, for the first and only time in Canadian history, stated that:

> The law demands, and the sentence is that you shall be drawn to the place of execution where you must be hanged by the neck but not until you are dead, for you must be cut down alive, and your bowels taken out and burned before your face (on your still being alive). Then your head must be severed from your body which must be divided into four parts, and your head and quarters to be at the King's disposal. And may God have mercy on your soul! (Campbell, 1966: 48)

In July, at the site of what is today Dundurn Street near its junction with York Street (Hamilton), sentence was carried out upon eight of the men, those unable to gain reprieves, but not exactly as stated for the men were dead upon being cut down. The whole proceeding, however, gives a clear indication of the political tempo at this time and reveals just how fearful the Canadian government (the Family Compact) was of American interference. They resorted to the most dramatic means at their disposal in order to counter the perceived threat to their security and to strengthen their sovereignty.

Following the War of 1812-1814, there was hardship and discontent, as families had to contend with the rebuilding of homes and farms razed by the Americans. The Head-of-the-Lake region (Hamilton area) had suffered less severely than other areas of the Niagara Peninsula but nevertheless there was a period of readjustment to the disruption.

In 1816 the District of Gore was created by an act of parliament and the Head-of-the-Lake, renamed at this time as the community of Hamilton, was chosen from the other neighbouring settlements of Dundas, Ancaster, and Brant's Block as the district town (Evans, 1970). The community was named for George Hamilton, son of the Honourable Robert Hamilton of Niagara, who bought land and settled in the area in 1815[7]. By 1816, the population of the Township of Barton, which included Hamilton, numbered 668 persons.

At this time, the administration of Crown Lands drew questions and complaints with regard to the granting of land and settlement, and there was also discontent because of the failure of the British government to compensate the Canadian militia for losses during the war of 1812. Wallace describes the situation as follows:

> In every township two-sevenths of the land had been set apart as crown and clergy reserves, and of the rest large blocks were held by speculators and by government officials. Only a fraction of each township, under these circumstances, had been settled; and the townships could not secure a population of sufficient density to maintain roads, schools, and

> churches. The vacant lands, moreover, were not taxed, and the whole burden of taxation fell on the resident settlers. (Wallace, 1915: 30-31)

In 1818 John Beverley Robinson proposed a bill in the Legislative Assembly to tax vacant lands but the bill was defeated by an overwhelming majority (Wallace, 1915). This is but one indication of how public officials used their position to protect their vested interests.

In the early months of 1818, Robert Gourlay organized a convention at York (Toronto) to discuss grievances. The meeting was well attended but as a result, in October 1818, the legislature passed a bill making such public meetings a misdemeanour, and this remained law for the following two years (Wallace, 1915: 32).

Also in this year, Peregrine Maitland was appointed as lieutenant-governor and "probably at no period was the influence of the Family Compact over the lieutenant-governor greater than under his regime" (Wallace, 1915: 43). Reactionary ideas prevailed and exerted a pressure of their own over the values and beliefs of the governing body ruling Upper Canada at this time.

The impact of this overall political climate was felt within the smaller communities which were then in the beginning stages of their development. The influence of Legislative decisions on such matters as road and canal building had a direct effect on where settlement would be encouraged and which communities would benefit.

It was during the 1820's that Hamilton experienced a period of rapid growth. The building of the Burlington Canal to connect Hamilton Bay with Lake Ontario, begun in 1823, was officially opened in 1826, and by 1834 was operating to maximum capacity. The canal construction had brought workers to the area and men with professional qualifications arrived ready to establish themselves in the town (Campbell, 1966: 62). The increase in population meant that the services that such men could offer could be supported by the community. Hamilton was gaining in stature. During the 1820's and 1830's the number of inns, hotels, and taverns in the region grew, an important fact considering that: "In Upper

Canada, inns served as a barometer of the community economy. A flourish of inns spelled prosperity; inns closing their doors warned of decline" (Campbell, 1966: 59).

In 1826, Allan Napier MacNab, Hamilton's first lawyer, came to the town. From then on, his life and activities were inextricably involved with community interests and development (Campbell, 1966: 80). MacNab, a Tory and member of the Family Compact, first took seat in the legislature of Upper Canada as the elected representative of Wentworth County in 1829. This was subsequent to the occurrence of an event involving MacNab that revealed the political atmosphere and the potential readiness for explosive action.

A year after his arrival in Hamilton (i.e. in 1827), MacNab, Colonel Titus Simons, Dr James Hamilton and other prominent Tories were brought to trial, charged with the tarring and feathering (in June, 1826) of George Rolph of Dundas (a lawyer, appointed Clerk of the Court and a Reformer) (Bailey, 1968: 13). The case was dismissed but the whole proceeding had very definite political overtones, emphasizing the division between Tories and Reformers. It was following this that in 1828 the electorate in the region elected Rolph as a Reform member of Parliament. Perhaps this sway of public opinion was a step towards undermining the domination of a minority group of landholders who managed to maintain their position as elected officials. Of this period, MacRae states that:

> The elected still tended to be drawn from a relatively small group of conscientious landholders ....However the basic agricultural population was being augmented daily by small groups from across the border and by waves of immigrants pouring into the colony by the exhausted boatload. (MacRae, 1971: 78-79)

It was these new arrivals to the Hamilton area who supported the Reformers rather than the property-conscious Tories.

On the political scene at this time, a dispute was raging as to the rights of the Church of England and the view that it was the established Church of Canada and as such had exclusive rights to the land reserves provided for support of the clergy. It seems that: "The cause of the Church

of England became identified with the Family Compact, and the political quarrel took on some of the bitterness and intensity of the religious quarrel" (Wallace, 1915: 63).

Also the existing controversy concerning the Naturalization Act served to deepen ill feelings. In 1824 the Chief Justice of England decreed that anyone residing in the United States after 1783 no longer possessed British citizenship and such persons were not the rightful heirs to real estate in the British Empire. A large portion of the population of Upper Canada were to feel the effects, i.e. disenfranchisement, denaturalization and invalidated land titles. A suggestion that civil and political rights be restored initiated a bill passed by the Legislative Council that, in its final form, was far removed from what was desired. The Assembly and a large number of American immigrants regarded this as a discriminatory act aimed in their direction. The Assembly was eventually able to effect the passage of a bill that restored rights to the parties in question but nevertheless many were swayed in their political opinion towards favouring the Reformers (Wallace, 1915: 63-65).

MacNab was involved in another political dispute in 1829 when he was brought before the Select Committee of the House of Assembly to be questioned about the burning in effigy of the new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colborne. MacNab refused to answer and was imprisoned at York[8]. Public sentiment mounted in his favour and aided in his subsequent election (Bailey, 1968: 13-14).

By the year 1831, MacNab's interest in the area of transportation was considerable. He had involved himself in the business of ship-building and was therefore concerned with improving conditions for their use. He petitioned the House on behalf of the Desjardins Canal Plan, a proposal to link Burlington Bay and the town of Dundas (MacRae, 1971). He was elected to the position of president and director of the Desjardins Canal Company[9]. The Canal was eventually completed and opened in 1837. Construction was again instrumental in drawing workers to the area, thus expanding the available labour force in the community.

In Hamilton, MacNab invested heavily in real estate, becoming

one of the community's most propertied members (Bailey, 1968). Although often in debt, MacNab maintained his influential position for it was not monetary wealth but property ownership that, at this time, determined status and prestige (and power). In 1832 he bought property on Burlington Heights (Bailey, 1968), the site upon which he built his Dundurn (a home of style and grandeur, purchased by the city in 1899 and restored in 1967 as a monument in his name). The tavern that he had built on the corner of King and James Streets burned down in a major fire during November, 1832 (Bailey, 1943).

Outbreaks of fire, common at this time, caused great problems for the combination of wooden buildings, stoves and fireplaces, and the lack of an adequate water supply meant such situations were quickly out of control. This, in addition to the cholera epidemic of 1832 that arrived with the boatloads of immigrants, presented a grave danger to the Hamilton population and the very existence of the community (Lister, 1913).

Hamilton, as a port linked by the Burlington Canal to the St. Lawrence waterway, was receiving great numbers of new arrivals (passage was now possible to inland areas) and the lack of suitable health services to deal with this situation caused fear and panic to spread throughout the populace. Death was rampant both among the immigrants and the community members. Thus, the explosive combination of fire and disease brought the realization that some system of streets and police patrol was necessary. In the following year, 1833, Hamilton officially became a town, there was a rapid increase in population, and discussion arose concerning the improvement of existing conditions by means of the implementation of more formalized controls over the citizenry.

(ii) Hamilton as a Town: 1833 to 1846

By an Act of Incorporation in 1833 that was "To define the limits of the Town of Hamilton, in the District of Gore, and to establish a Police and Public Market therein" (Campbell, 1966: 61), Hamilton officially became a town. From 1833 to 1846, Hamilton was governed by a Board of Police consisting of five representatives elected annually --- one from each of the four wards of the town and a fifth elected by the other four. Eligibility to

vote was dependent upon certain property qualifications, on the voter being a British subject, male, and a resident of the ward in which he voted. The Board of Police was a body of public officials responsible for the making of by-laws, appointment of town officials, issuing of licenses, fire protection, the health and welfare of citizens, the maintenance of streets and roads, the public market, and tax assessment (Evans, 1970: 101).

The application for incorporation as a town was made on the basis of the population increase that had occurred with the construction, and operation, of the Burlington Canal. In 1826, Barton Township, including Hamilton, had a population of approximately 1,195 but by 1833, Hamilton alone numbered about 1,400 persons (Campbell, 1966: 62).

With the Act of Incorporation, it was possible to consider changes, felt to be necessary and expedient, to cope with the crisis situation that faced the community. The increase in population, the fires and the cholera had resulted in strained conditions and the assumption that stricter controls were needed within the community. The Act provided for the establishment of a Board of Police, at this time synonomous with town government (Evans, 1970). This in itself was a more formalized means of social control than had previously existed for the Board was an attempt to achieve and maintain some semblance of public order and was to help outline conditions that, in the opinion of those in positions of power within the community, would be beneficial to the safety, health and morals of the citizens. The lack of control over the existing situation had resulted in fear and insecurity and this, in their view, was detrimental to the functioning of the town. The control institutionalized in the Board of Police was of a diversified nature covering a broad range of activities. Adequate means of enforcement were not present or possible and the emphasis was upon establishing guidelines rather than a strict system of rules and regulations. It was the first step in setting up some form of formal control and by-laws were passed in an attempt to halt the damage from fire and disease. Thus:

> From establishing the weight and cost of bread, rules governing slaughter houses, fines for speeding, for

> obstructing streets, and for domestic animals running at large, by-laws ranged to determining the width of sidewalks and prescribing licences. Possibly the two most vital issues the by-laws grappled with were property assessment for taxation purposes, and fire prevention. (Campbell, 1966: 69-70)

The establishment of regulations, even in the early stages of its organization, was a means used by the Board of Police to ensure the application of their definitions and was a way of supporting the very structure of the newly-created institution (The Board of Police) within the community.

During this period, the influence of Allan MacNab continued to be felt. In 1834 he began his active involvement in railway concerns with plans for a line between Hamilton and Port Dover. He became president and then director of the first railway company of Upper Canada (MacRae, 1971). He petitioned the Legislature of Upper Canada in 1834 and was granted a charter for a railroad to be built between Burlington Bay and London. In 1845, the charter to the Great Western Railway was renewed for the construction of lines from the Niagara River to Windsor. A year later he travelled to Britain to promote the sale of stock in the Great Western and to convince shareholders that the railway should run through Hamilton (Bailey, 1968). According to one author, it was "by his unwavering stand on this point, [that] MacNab assured Hamilton of her future growth and economic position" (Bailey, 1968: 21). The actual construction of these lines, however, occurred at a later date. This was a result of the ensuing economic depression that followed the Rebellion of 1837; the precarious position in which Canada found herself due to the imbalance of trade between Britain and the United States; and also the fact that at this time money was being diverted into canal building and road improvements.

MacNab was also involved in other commercial enterprises affording him influence and profit. These included the Gore Bank (founded by MacNab), the Bank of Upper Canada, the Burlington Bay Dock and Ship Building Company, and the Canada Life Assurance Company (Bailey, 1968).

Major companies and institutions of the area could list his name on their boards of directors. MacNab's personal advancement coincided very directly with the development of Hamilton. The construction of canals and railways was a response to his demands and his influence was felt over a wide domain. Campbell quotes William Lyon Mackenzie, a bitter adversary of MacNab, as stating that: "The Hamilton or Gore District Bank .... is a machine job got up by Allan Napier and a few of his cronies and will completely answer his purpose" (Campbell, 1966: 93).

In 1837, the political situation erupted with an armed rebellion when the radical Reformer William Lyon Mackenzie and his followers attempted to seize control of the government of Upper Canada (Bailey, 1968)[10]. MacNab and his group of sixty or more Hamilton men went to Toronto and aided in successfully routing the rebels, that is, in successfully maintaining the domination of the Tory government. Mackenzie escaped and set up provisional government on Navy Island (two miles above the falls on the Niagara River), receiving supplies from the Americans. MacNab went to command the British forces on the Niagara Frontier and under his orders the American supply ship Caroline was set adrift and went over the Canadian falls. The Americans charged that MacNab had violated their position of neutrality. Thus, it has been stated that:

> MacNab's typical impetuosity did four things: it broke the back of the rebellion; it angered the American authorities almost to the extent of retaliation; it earned the gratitude of the Canadian legislatures; and it caused the young Queen Victoria to knight the victor. (Bailey, 1968: 17)

In 1839, Lord Durham, a representative of the British government, voiced his opinion as to the state of affairs in the two Canadas (Upper and Lower). He proposed the union of the two provinces in the hope that this, along with his other suggestions[11], would be the first step in removing the monopoly of power that hid behind the facade of an elected legislature. Durham also hoped that this would lead to a system of responsible government that would align itself more closely to the needs of the people. The passage of the Union Act in 1850 served to unite Upper and

Lower Canada as Canada West and Canada East. MacNab was one of those opposing the union (MacRae, 1971), since the position and security, the very existence of the old regime (i.e. the Family Compact), was threatened. No longer could they rely on the old and trusted methods that had benefited them in the past.

The election of 1841 was a Reformer victory and MacNab became leader of the Opposition in the legislature of Canada West. The change-over was not simple, not easy. This was a period of transition, marked by the determination of the Family Compact to regain their control. Their impact, their influence, however, was waning, they were on their way out, but nevertheless their fight continued (Wallace 1915) and MacNab was Speaker of the Legislative Assembly from 1844 to 1848.

The political events only serve as a reflection of these times --- the frustrations of limited opportunities, the domination of power by the propertied and wealthy, the concern over the nature of social control and over the direction of the growth and development of communities. Community life was greatly affected by these happenings, as can be illustrated, for example, by the extent and significance of MacNab's influence on both the provincial and local levels and the nature of this impact on Hamilton.

Thus, by this time (the 1840's), Hamilton "was well advanced as an entrepôt and distribution centre of growing importance, with commercial interests far outstripping industry" (Campbell, 1966: 97). The surrounding areas provided much of the exports and the opening of the Welland Canal in the 1820's enhanced Hamilton's significance, for as a port on an important navigation network that extended further inland, the area would benefit from the expansion of trade. MacNab also made a contribution here for it was with his support that the bid for reconstruction and deepening of the waterway was accepted in 1845.

Reflecting the nature of Hamilton's growth, a Board of Trade was established in 1845 in order to promote the development of resources and the trade of the community (Hamilton, The Birmingham of Canada, 1892). Incorporation of the Hamilton Board of Trade occurred a few years later, in 1864 (Lister, 1913: 201). This was a time of expansion and there was much talk concerning the building of railways and canals.

(iii) Hamilton as a City: 1846 to the Early 1900's

By an Act of Incorporation passed in 1846, to take effect the January election of 1847, Hamilton achieved status as a city. Boundaries were widened and by a new City Charter, the city wards were increased to five, each of which elected two councillors who then in turn elected an eleventh member. One of these representatives was then elected as mayor, the decision being left to the council rather than the electorate at large. The Board of Police was thus replaced by a mayor (the first being Colin C. Ferrie) and his council who took over city government and the responsibilities of managing community affairs (Campbell, 1966: 96). This was a more defined and structured means of control than the Board of Police --- a combination of elected representatives [12] and more formalization.

By this time (mid-century), economic conditions indicating growth and development were paralle led by and suggested the changing nature of the political climate. Up to this time, Hamilton had been a city of Tory sentiments, headed by MacNab and the Family Compact. Conservative and class-conscious, it was "a city where birth and breeding were passports to position, and wealth while an asset, was less important than good connections" (Campbell, 1966: 98). A few men of prestige and influence were responsible for the path Hamilton was to follow. MacNab used his position in the Legislature to sway and determine the direction of Hamilton's development.

However, the tide was changing, the Tories were losing their influence. The policies of John A. Macdonald, favouring a broader conservatism with a program of reform and moderation, attracted members of the Tory party and stood in opposition to MacNab and his unremitting position (Campbell, 1966: 98). MacNab did favour some policies of the Reform Ministry, especially those enacted in the Railway Acts which directly benefited the Great Western Railway and MacNab (MacRae, 1971: 137-138).

MacNab's influence was felt in the goverment of Canada West until his death in 1862 (Bailey, 1968). From 1848 to 1854 he was once more Leader of the Opposition --- the Reformers were asked to form a Ministry following the election of 1848 in which the old establishment had

suffered a set-back. He was Prime Minister of the United Canadas from 1854 to 1856, at which time he resigned from public office because of ill health and the recommendations of his party. His stand was too unwavering and rigid and the Tories realized that without compromise their fight was all but lost. He made one final appearance in 1862 when he returned as the first elected Speaker of the Legislative Council but that year marked the end of his political career and of his life.

By 1852, Hamilton was in the midst of the railway boom and during this period of construction the city faced serious problems. A great influx of immigrants and men seeking jobs on the construction lines increased the population (Evans, 1970), but also, on the negative side, there were other more adverse effects. The occurrence of violence and disorderly behaviour jumped drastically, and

> As it had in 1832 the scourge of cholera arrived in all its fury with the immigrants of 1854. Immigrants were discharged from the ships at the Great Western Railway dock. They were not allowed into the city. Under the supervision of the health officer and the city police they were herded into sheds at the railway depot until they could be put aboard trains and sent from the area. (Evans, 1970: 136; underlinings added)[13]

The Great Western Railway hired a special force of four men to protect their property and equipment during the construction period and upon completion of the railway (1854) these men were absorbed by the city force (Campbell, 1966: 152).

The Great Western Railway line arrived in Hamilton in 1854. In 1858 MacNab sought aid for the Hamilton and Port Dover Railway but "the railway boom had reached a fiscal plateau. For its population and commercial needs, Canada West was temporarily overbuilt" (MacRae, 1971: 171). The following year, the Great Western located repair and equipment ships and a rolling mill in Hamilton. This was the beginning that served to propel the iron and steel industry into a large-scale operation. The railways had brought with them the potential for the development and expansion of Hamilton through industry and manufacturing. However, this

was only possible if the city was able to attract workers. The result was that the population jumped, aided by the immigrants and migrants who moved into the area.

City government was also undergoing changes at this time to keep pace with the expanding population (3,446 in 1841, the population had increased to 10,312 by 1850). A new act of 1849, revised in 1850 and 1851, provided for an alderman, in addition to the two councillors, to represent each ward. The mayor was then to be elected from the aldermen who were of higher standing[14] than the councillors. The act of 1851 stated that two aldermen, two councillors, an inspector of houses of public entertainment, and a school trustee were to be elected for each ward. Following the election of 1854, council members experienced difficulty in deciding who should hold the position of mayor and thus in 1859, the election of the mayor was determined at the polls (Campbell, 1966:101).

At this time (the late 1850's) the city was in a poor financial position, with mounting fiscal problems and a backlog of debt [15]. In 1860, foreseeing their impending situation, the city council reduced its own staffs of city employees. By 1862, the city was bankrupt (Campbell, 1966). The early 1860's were painful times for the community, there was great unemployment and limited opportunities and many sought alternatives in other areas. The population statistics reflect this downward swing: in 1858 the population was 27,500 but by 1860 this had dropped to 19,000 and by 1864 there was a further decrease to 17,000. By the mid 1860's, the economic conditions seemed somewhat more stable and the population began to increase (by 1867 there was a population of 21,485) (Campbell, 1966).

During the 1870's there were problems of a similar nature but this time more widespread. From 1873 to 1878 a depression once again greatly impeded the local economy (Campbell, 1966: 149). However, the city's fiscal situation made it possible to cope with this and the new Welland Canal of the 1880's meant that local manufacturers could ship their products to the west for sale.

Since the mid-1800's, immigrants had played a significant role in expanding the population and hence the available work force and potential of the city. The majority of the earlier newcomers settling in the area were from England, Scotland and Ireland. Emigration from Ireland during the potato famine of the 1840's and 1850's brought Irish settlers to Hamilton's Corktown, an area centered north of Young and east of Catharine Streets (Corcoran's Court). However, by the 1890's with the encroachment of freight yards and freight sheds into its territory, Corktown began to lose its identity (Campbell, 1966: 173).

By the latter part of the nineteenth century, hundreds of thousands if immigrants were coming to Canada from continental Europe. The ongoing construction and factory work in Hamilton attracted a great many to its labour force. The most sizeable influx occurred around the turn of the twentieth century. Thus, between 1870 and 1900 the population expanded from just under 25,000 to nearly 52,000 [16](Campbell, 1966).

The late 1890's were witness to a more concentrated and expanding manufacturing and factory economy. The wholesale grocery trade flourished and the Hamilton Cotton Company was one of the leading industries (Hamilton, The Birmingham of Canada, 1892). In 1888 the first Hamilton Trades and Labour Council was proposed (Proulx, 1971). A number of major manufacturing and industrial concerns located in Hamilton during the period just prior to the First World War: International Harvestor Company of Canada, Ltd. (1903); the Steel Company of Canada, Ltd. (1910) --- a merger of five Canadian companies, two of which had been Hamilton based; Westinghouse Manufacturing Company, the present-day Canadian Westinghouse Company, Ltd. (1896); Dominion Steel Castings, Ltd., now Dominion Foundaries and Steel Ltd. (1912); and in 1915, the Proctor and Gamble Company, Ltd. (Campbell, 1966).

In the 1850's the beginnings of a labour movement in the city was in evidence [17]and by the 1880's craft unions had developed to a more recognizable and accepted position [18]. The progress of the trade union movement in the city was substantial since its early beginnings in 1871 with the Nine Hour League (to establish a maximum nine-hour work-day). In

1872, Parliament recognized trade unions as legal bodies through the Trade Union Act, and also in that year the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada was established. Late in 1888, the Hamilton Trades and Labour Council was founded, with the first president being William Derby of the Knights of Labour (a secret society in the United States which entered Canada in the 1880's)[19](Campbell, 1966).

In November of 1906, Hamilton's first major strike caused disruption and mounting tension (Campbell, 1966). The Hamilton Street and Railway workers (180 employees) walked off the job in the hope of achieving better wages and union recognition. Company officials brought in strike-breakers. During the strike (nineteen days after the initial walkout), approximately 10,000 men assembled before City Hall (then located on James Street North) to force a confrontation between the city and the workers. The Riot Act was read by Wentworth County Sheriff J.T. Middleton. Mayor S.D. Biggar and Police Chief Alexander Smith stood by accompanied by the police and troops. In order to disperse the crowd, the police, cavalry and infantry men charged --- the troops with rifles and fixed bayonets and the police with batons. More than two hundred were injured and thirty-two arrests were made but the riot served to plant citizen support firmly behind the strikers. Later the Ontario Railway Board intervened and decided that wages would not be increased but that the company would agree to recognize the union.

In 1909, city council proposed a change in the form of city government to include a four-man board of control who would be salaried officials. From 1875 to 1902, three aldermen were elected in each of the city's seven wards. This was changed, however, in 1902 and the city was governed by a committee of seven aldermen who held significant responsibilities which included city finances and legislation, and assessment. In 1910, electors voted into office four controllers, three aldermen in each ward and a mayor for a two-year term. Following this there were additional changes: the city was divided into eight wards with two aldermen to be elected in each ward and provisions were made for a form of government (still in existence) which consists of the mayor, a board of control (four members with the mayor as chairman to make five), and a

council of sixteen aldermen. No money appropriation or Council expenditure was to be made without the approval of the Board of Control, except by a two-thirds vote of Council. Local power was distributed to a number of Commissioners who were usually appointed by the Council (Campbell, 1966).

The effects of World War I were felt both in the economy and the pace of life of the entire country. The year 1914 brought many immigrants to Canada and to Hamilton from both Europe and the United States. The city induced new industrial developments to the area with favourable settlement terms and new factories located in the north and east of the city. During this period soldiers were stationed on guard duty at Stelco and Dominion Foundaries to prevent sabotage (Campbell, 1966). The industrial expansion and subsequent increase in the labour population resulted in a need for more homes, which in turn, created employment opportunities.

With the end of the War, there seemed to be a new social atmosphere in Hamilton and the prestige attached to ownership of land declined in significance. Campbell states that:

> with the postwar era a new industrial element, largely American, began to infiltrate Hamilton's social scene, the first lazy ripple of the North American twentieth century "big company" cult. (Campbell, 1966: 209)

This study is concerned only with the historical development of the Hamilton community during the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth. Thus the discussion of relevant social and political events will conclude here just prior to the advent of large-scale industrialization. Consideration of the impact of this factor on the Hamilton scene is beyond the scope of this analysis.

The following section will discuss those factors involved in the growth of formal mechanisms of social control in Hamilton during this period and will also outline the historical development of the community's police organization. In addition, the relationship between local officials, social order and control within the community setting will be considered.

II The History and Development of the Hamilton Police Organization as a Formalized Mechanism of Social Control during the Nineteenth Century

Inequality in power and decision-making was not limited to the mid-nineteenth century period. A review of the historical development of the Hamilton community reveals its existence at a much earlier date[20]. In 1833, with Hamilton's incorporation as a town, town government came into being in the form of the Board of Police. This was the community's first institutionalized form of social control whereby authority over community affairs was handed over to public officials. The Board of Police consisted of elected representatives but voting was restricted to those with the necessary qualifications.

Thus, from the evidence available, it is suggested that a situation similar to that described for the 1850's existed also at this time, some twenty years earlier. Stability and wealth were required for eligibility to participate in community politics. The transients (as mentioned, this was a period of high immigration and a large number of migrants located in the area) and poor were unable to share in decision-making.

In 1832 two crisis situations (that is, a widespread outbreak of cholera and the occurrence of major fires) created a disruption that could not be adequately handled with the structural mechanisms of control then existent in the Hamilton community. As a result, in the following year, responsibility for control of disease and fire protection shifted from the populace at large to the Board of Police, a body of local town officials. Furthermore, these officials, in order to cope with the crisis at hand, created a more rigorous form of social control through the formation of a policing force. Prior to this, settlers in the area were dependent upon their own resources for maintaining order and protecting their property and the only recourse at their disposal was to appeal to the militia in times of crisis. However, the militia were not always readily available and were responsible to the government of the province rather than to the town.

The Act of Incorporation of 1833 declaring Hamilton's official status as a town also initiated the institution of the first of any actual formalized control, that is, policing, in the newly-created Board of Police.

To the Board of Police went the responsibility for the making, enforcing, and judging of laws.

Under the auspices of the Board of Police, a High Bailiff was appointed as the chief law enforcement officer in the town and in the performance of his duty he was "required to arrest persons who were guilty of any breach of the town by-laws drawn up by the Board of Police and to bring such persons before one of its own members" (Evans, 1970: 157). The first to hold this position was John J. Ryckman in 1833. Shortly thereafter, the policing force consisted of the High Bailiff, Assistant Bailiff, and two constables, and was concerned with street patrol, inspection of streets and sidewalks, and health matters (Campbell, 1966: 151).

Since money to support a paid police force was not available, these men were reimbursed for each duty they performed (Evans, 1970). It was the responsibility of citizens of the community to provide assistance if requested. However, Powell, in his study of urbanization in Buffalo, New York (1970) found that in the 1830's the watchman would raise a hue and cry to alert the citizens and to request aid but it was often "friends of the felon" who appeared on the scene. In 1838, the number of burglaries occurring in Hamilton was a source of concern for propertied citizens. In response to this, the Board of Police decided that a volunteer committee would be formed and its ten members, by rotating their services, would provide additional assistance to the High Bailiff and his force for nightly patrol of the community (Torrance, 1967).

Subsequent changes to the organization and structure of the policing body did not occur until after Hamilton's change to city status. This marked the beginning stages of the urbanization process for Hamilton and the resultant development of the community, fostered by the urban environment, brought changes to the nature of social control and order and also to the growth and institutionalization of mechanisms of formal control, in particular the police organization.

Changes, however, were not immediate and following the Act of 1846 which defined Hamilton's status as a city and called for the disbandment of the Board of Police, the community continued to be policed by the High

Bailiff and his constables. A Police Committee was formed in 1848 and the Municipal Act of 1849 provided for an increase in the police force (Campbell, 1966: 151) although no changes were made until a few years later (1853). At this time, i.e. 1849, council did not deem it necessary to make changes and it was only when prodded by citizen complaints that any action was taken (Campbell, 1966: 152).

Up to this time the police were involved mainly in patrolling the streets and in regulating the crowds in attendance at meetings and shows. Whenever large crowds were expected in attendance at meetings and shows preventative measures were taken to ensure that there would be "peace and orderly conduct". Usually under these circumstances, special constables were added to the force, as for example: twenty-five constables were hired to police a large District meeting to be held in the town; in 1847, twenty were added to keep peace at the Provincial Agricultural Show at the Race Course; in August 1849, ten were hired to police a circus and in September of the same year, an additional twenty-nine men were to help at a special meeting at City Hall (Torrance, 1967). These men were not members of the regular police force of the community but were hired only as additional help when the local government officials felt it would be required.

In 1850 it was decided that duties and ranks should be more clearly specified and that there should be a distinction between the positions of High Bailiff and Chief Constable, a separation of roles (Torrance, 1967). Two years later, John Moore was appointed to the post of Chief Constable and under his direction the police force was reorganized. New by-laws were passed to regulate the force, uniforms were purchased and the police station (the engine house on King William Street) improved (Torrance, 1967).

It was during the service of High Bailiff James McCracken, from 1852 to 1877, that the police force became a more organized and institutionalized aspect of community life. Chief Constable John Moore resigned in 1853 and was replaced by John Carruthers who, during his twelve years of service acted as Chief Constable and then Police Chief (Campbell, 1966: 152).

The early 1850's saw a great influx of immigrants into the area, greatly increasing the population. The railway boom meant job opportunities and attracted men seeking work on the construction lines. At this time, there was a sharp upswing in the occurrence of violence and disorderly behaviour.

The Great Western Railway had hired a special force of four men to protect their property and equipment during the construction period and upon completion of the railroad in 1854, these men were added to the city force (Campbell, 1966: 152). In the previous year, disturbances and vandalism had brought a demand by citizens for night patrol and this special force had been "borrowed" by the city to help. Police were also stationed at the docks to supervise the arrival and departure of ships carrying immigrants (a cholera epidemic once again threatened lives as it had in 1832). The arrivals were herded into sheds and then taken by train to the outskirts of the city (Evans, 1970: 136).

In 1855 five more men were hired --- by this time the police were being paid a yearly salary (Evans, 1970). In January of 1856 the force numbered thirteen men, including the Chief, but by June had jumped to nineteen (Torrance, 1967). Two constables were assigned to patrol the north end and with the recommendation of the Police Committee a second police station was built at James and Stuart Streets (it was later demolished to construct a railway station) (Torrance, 1966).

There was an investigation by the government at this time (1856) into the possibility of updating the organization of the militia and police systems. A statute concerning policing was followed by legislation that provided for the formation of Boards of Commissioners of Police. These Boards were to consist of a recorder, police magistrate and the mayor (in office) and were to govern police activities within the municipality. The first Board of Commissioners of Police was established in Hamilton in 1858. The existing Police Committee and mayor resented this governmental interference into what they considered municipal affairs (Torrance, 1967:14).

The next few years saw drastic changes in the size of the force: at the beginning of 1857 there were twenty-nine men but by June there was a

cutback to twenty; in 1858 the force numbered twenty-six but the men suffered a decrease in salary; in 1860 the number of men on the force was reduced to eight (there were mounting fiscal problems and the city finally faced bankruptcy in 1862) (Campbell, 1966: 152-153).

In 1865 City Council dismissed Chief Constable John Carruthers because of his handling of a case involving the Parker gang. This "gang" had been responsible for a number of burglaries involving city merchants, especially two dry goods firms (one wholesale, one retail) who were on the verge of ruin. The gang was led by burglar Joe Parker and Hamilton gambler Jim Jeffrey. They became so successful that a detective with the government police (Armstrong) was called in to help. Armstrong located the gang and their hideout but capture did not take place. Chief Carruthers was criticized and fired for his decision in this matter --- he chose to send men working under High Bailiff McCracken rather than police officers to make the arrest (Campbell, 1966: 152).

Also in this year (1865), a detective department was formed. A year later the force numbered twenty-one men organized as follows: High Bailiff, Chief of Police, police magistrate, sergeant, detective, and sixteen constables (Campbell, 1966: 152- 153).

In 1868 Chief Nicolls suffered a fate similar to that of his predessessor, Carruthers --- he also was dismissed by council for malfeasance in office. Campbell states that "it becomes evident that public servants of the early corporation walked insecurely" (Campbell, 1966: 153).

During 1879 under Chief Constable Alexander David Stewart, the force was reorganized. More emphasis was placed on discipline and on improvement of methods of operation in police work. The detective branch was increased from two to four men. In 1884 the Hamilton department was the recipient of a horsedrawn patrol wagon (Black Maria) --- the first of its kind in Canada (Evans, 1970). A disagreement with Mayor Alexander McKay led to Stewart's dismissal by Council in 1886 (at the Mayor's insistance). Stewart later ran for the position of mayor and was elected in 1894 (Campbell, 1966).

By 1887, the department, then supervised by Hugh McKinnon (Chief Constable since 1886), numbered forty-five men organized as follows: one chief constable, three sergeants, three patrol sergeants, two detectives, two acting detectives, two patrol wagon drivers, and thirty-two constables. It was during McKinnon's service, in 1889 that the number of juvenile gangs and the offences involving juveniles were on the upswing. As a response to this, playgrounds were provided by the city as areas for activities and sports (Torrance, 1967).

The following year (1890), the Hamilton Police Benefit Fund (a compulsory pension fund, supported by deductions from the officers' salaries and controlled by an elected committee of police officers) was created. This fund was to provide pensions for retiring members of the force and later included disability benefits. The City of Hamilton was to contribute in the amount of five per cent of the yearly salaries of the members of the department, retroactive to 1848 (Torrance, 1967)[21].

One published account of the City of Hamilton at this time[22] offers the following description of the department:

> The Hamilton Police Force, at the head of which is Chief Hugh McKinnon, is few in number but thoroughly efficient and well disciplined. It consists of only fifty men, but this number has been found amply sufficient for the requirements of the City, where serious crime is practically unknown and misdemeanors of all kinds extremely limited. The Chief is one of the most experienced detective officers in the Dominion and is fortunate enough to possess the entire confidence of his men, by whom he is ably seconded.
> ....Generally speaking the Police Force of Hamilton is composed of a fine, athletic and intelligent body of men who know their duty thoroughly and do it every time. [23]
> (Hamilton, the Birmingham of Canada, 1892; underlinings added)

In 1895 Chief Constable Alexander Smith (1895 to 1915) created within the department the origins of a modern detective division.

In 1899, the Hamilton Police Amateur Athletic Association was formed for sports and athletics among members of the department (Torrance, 1967)[24].

The murder of Constable James Barron in 1903 (never solved) resulted in a re-evaluation of whether or not the police should be allowed to carry guns (Campbell, 1966: 196). This had been prohibited since the accidental shooting of a man by a police officer some twenty years previously. In 1904, however, it was decided that pistols could be carried and in 1905, revolvers were accepted as necessary equipment for night duty.

In November of 1906, the Hamilton Street and Railway workers walked off the job (Hamilton's first major strike). Police and troops were called in when approximately 10,000 men assembled before City Hall to force a confrontation between the city and the workers. The Riot Act was read and police, infantry and cavalry charged the crowd in order to disperse the assembly.

By 1910 the force numbered seventy-six men and in 1913, with the hiring of an additional nine men there were 103 men on the force. A new city by-law in 1914 gave the police responsibility for the control of vehicular traffic in the city. This added another dimension to police work. The first motor vehicle was introduced into the department just prior to World War I[25]. During the war years the department continued to expand and numbered 109 men in 1915. The Board of Commissioners, in 1918, granted all members of the force one day off per week --- only reporting for duty if required. Prior to this the police had been working a seven-day week. In 1921 a motorcycle squad was organized and by 1926 the force operated two patrol wagons, two ambulances, nine motorcycles and three passenger cars (Torrance, 1967).

In 1917 at London, Ontario the first association for police officers was created in an attempt to unionize the police of the province. However, the Hamilton force formed an association for its own members in 1921 and at this time, did not affiliate with any organization outside the city. The Police Association of Hamilton, with department-wide membership, was formed to promote morale and maintain standards but also was to providelegal assistance, hospital and death benefits for its members (Torrance, 1967)[26].

The Hamilton Police Department had, by the early years of the twentieth century, reached a degree of organization that was to remain for another fifty years. The major factors affecting the organization during this next period would be of a technological nature. The use of the radio to dispatch calls and the patrol car changed the nature of the job for the individual officers and affected the occupational lives of the men on the force. However, it is argued that the purpose of the organization, as a formal mechanism of social control to regulate behaviour and maintain the degree of social order established by those in power in the community, would remain.

III The Relationship of the Police Organization and the Urban Environment of Hamilton during the Nineteenth Century

This section will provide further analysis of the main thesis of this study - that the growth and development of the police organization as a formal mechanism of social control has been directly influenced by the process of urbanization within the community setting. Thus the focus here will be upon the urban community of Hamilton during the nineteenth century and the development and functioning of the police organization in this setting -that is, the relationship between this particular organization and its environment during a specified time period.

Part I of this analysis described the major social and political trends affecting Hamilton during this time and also examined the structural aspects of community life - the transiency and inequality, the relationship between those with wealth and property and the rest of the community. Moreover, as was indicated previously, the voting qualifications (restricted to those who owned or rented property of a certain value) and the transiency meant that a great proportion of the community had no say in local government matters. As a result, the nature of the established social order and the degree of social control desired depended upon the interests of those in power.

Part II outlines the growth and development of the police organization in the Hamilton community and in particular focuses upon changes that occurred in the department after the advent of urban growth in the late 1840's and early 1850's. The historical description of the police provided in this section examines the beginnings of the organization and proceeds with an account of the gradual growth of organizational structure and increasing formalization of divisions and ranks. The early 1850's marked the beginnings of more formal organization when new by-laws were passed by city council to regulate the force. The uniforms acquired for the police officers at this time distinguished these men from the rest of the community, symbolized their role and status, and represented their power to make demands on other citizens.

It is argued here that changes within the police organization were affected by environmental variables within the urban community such

as population increases, technological factors, and particular crises and disruptions. In the latter case, it is suggested that the available mechanisms of control were not adequate to handle the strain created by these alternative situations. As a result those in positions of power within the community turned to the police organization as a means of social control so as to maintain order and protect their own interests. Over time, the greater reliance upon the police to handle crisis situations has resulted in increased formalization of this particular mechanism of social control.

As discussed previously, the police as public employees were members of the Entrepreneurial class of the community (Katz, 1969) and it was businessmen and professionals from the Entrepreneurial group who played a major role in the political and economic life of Hamilton. These were the men who held the offices in city government and who were in a position to determine the nature and direction of Hamilton's growth. Membership in this class was determined on the basis of economic interests and occupational functioning and indicated similarity of interests and attitudes. It is suggested that the police functioned to maintain a system of norms and values which they themselves shared.

(i) Early Years of Urbanization: The 1850's

During the early 1850's immigration again brought great numbers to the area. Railway construction offered jobs and many arrived in Hamilton to work. City officials saw the railway as a means for expanding and developing Hamilton's potential --- they invested heavily in construction and a few years later were to pay a high price.

In 1854 with the arrival of the immigrants, cholera once again threatened lives in the community. On this occasion police officers were stationed with the health official at the docks to supervise entrance into the city. Immigrants were herded into sheds at the railway station until they could be shipped to the outskirts of the city. Also at this time, with the railway construction that attracted great numbers of migrants, there was a significant increase in vandalism, destruction of property, and public disturbances. A special force of four men were hired by the Great

Western Railway to protect its property and equipment. In 1853 the city requested the services of these men to assist in attempts to control the situation in the community. With the completion of the railway in 1854 the city hired these men as permanent members of the police force --- a force that was by this time being paid a yearly salary.

Thus, the evidence seems to indicate that during the early 1850's the nature and organization of the police force changed drastically in response to factors in the urban environment --- factors that constituted crisis situations for the maintenance of community order. From the unorganized force under the High Bailiff, council had directed several changes to develop an organization that would function as a mechanism for controlling threats to the system of order established in their interest. This period saw a great increase in population, there were innumerable migrants in the area due to the availability of employment (the completion of the railway made possible another means of access to the city), and the outbreak of cholera claimed almost 600 lives. In response to these factors, factors that created strain for those in controlling positions, the police organization developed --- the size of the force increased, ranks and duties were delineated, the position of Chief Constable (the top-ranking officer on the force) was established, uniforms were introduced and the officers were receiving a yearly salary.

Thus during this period external environmental factors resulted in changes in the police organization. The intervening variable here, however, is community officials who, fearful of losing their positions of power as a result of losing control, reacted to threatening crisis situations by developing the police organization. These crisis situations were, moreover, related to the growth of the city: population expansion, and the construction of transportation facilities to foster trade and the development of commercial enterprise.

In 1856, the provincial government investigated the possibility of reorganizing municipal police systems and the militia. Legislation was passed that provided for the formation of Boards of Commissioners of Police in the municipalities. These Boards were to act as the governing

body regulating the activities of municipal police forces. As mentioned previously, this investigation and legislation met with disapproval from the existing Police Committee and Mayor of Hamilton who were opposed to governmental interference in what they considered municipal affairs (Torrance, 1967).

(ii) The Mid-Nineteenth Century

Throughout the decade the population of Hamilton continued to expand and the size of the police force increased. However, further growth for both was curtailed in 1860 with the presence of fiscal problems, debts, and bankruptcy. This was partly a consequence of the spending and investment in railway construction and transportation facilities from which there were no immediate returns. The area offered limited opportunities and there was widespread unemployment. The population dropped from 27,500 in 1858, to 19,000 in 1860, and then to 17,000 in 1862 (Campbell, 1966). Public employees likewise suffered cutbacks and reductions in salary. The police were no exception --- from 26 men in 1858, the force was reduced to 8 in 1860. External, economic environmental factors had exerted an influence over the size and organization of the force.

In 1865, city council dismissed Chief Constable John Carruthers who had held the position since 1853 because of his handling of a case involving a gang of burglars (refer to Part II for further details) who were a great consternation to city merchants. Their complaints resulted in dismissal for Carruthers. This incident supports the previously stated assumption that those in the Entrepreneurial class exerted great influence in local city affairs and were concerned with maintaining and protecting their own interests through the functioning of formalized mechanisms of control. This concern with Entrepreneurial "interests" however, could work to the benefit of the community for as Powell concludes from his study of Buffalo:

> In the nineteenth century the local capitalist elite, while amassing wealth, still took pride in the city, and established organizations of enduring benefit to the community: a remarkable park system, a museum of natural history, art galleries,

libraries and the historical society.
(Powell in Halebsky (ed.), 1973: 331)

(iii)The Latter Decades: The 1880's to Early 1900's

During the latter decades of the nineteenth century the police organization continued to expand. This was also a period of high immigration and many settled in the Hamilton area because of the availability of construction and factory work. Hamilton was gradually changing from a commercial centre to a major industrial city. In 1879, the police force was reorganized, the detective branch was increased, and more emphasis was placed on discipline and on improvement of methods of operation in police work. The growth of the police department continued to parallel urban development and city expansion (both in area and in population).

In 1889, Chief Constable Hugh McKinnon investigated the increase in the number of juvenile gangs and the rise in juvenile crime. In response to his concern, city council accepted the proposal that playgrounds be developed in the city to provide areas for activities and sports. Thus as a result of this crisis situation, the police organization was able to exert influence over a decision relating to environmental factors, i.e. the use of certain areas of city land for recreational purposes.

During the 1890's, the police department developed associations within their own organization that were to benefit the officers. In 1890 a compulsory pension fund, the Hamilton Police Benefit Fund, was created and was to be supported by deductions from the officers' salaries and controlled by an elected committee of police officers. The purpose of such a fund was to provide pensions for retiring members of the force and later also included disability benefits. Contributions to this fund were made by the City of Hamilton in the amount of five per cent of the yearly salaries of members of the department, retroactive to 1848. City officials were willing to recognize their need of the police organization to function as a mechanism of control through the provision of added benefits.

In 1899, the department formed the Hamilton Police Amateur Athletic Association for sports and athletics among police officers. The creation of voluntary associations and benefit funds indicated that the police, aware of themselves as an organization, were attempting through internal

mechanisms, to exert an influence within their own organization in order to have some control over the effects of external factors.

(iv) The Police as a Mechanism of Social Control

Hamilton's first major strike occurred in November of 1906 when the Hamilton Street and Railway workers, about 180 employees, walked off the job in the hope of achieving higher wages and recognition of their union. Police and troops were called in by city officials when approximately 10,000 men assembled before City Hall to force a confrontation between city and workers. The Riot Act was read by Wentworth County Sheriff J.T. Middleton. Mayor S.D. Biggar and Police Chief Alexander Smith stood by with police and troops ready to disperse the crowd. The police, infantry and cavalry charged the crowd and more than 200 were injured and 32 were arrested. Although the riot served to strengthen citizen support for the strikers, the Ontario Railway Board intervened and decided that wages would remain the same but that the company would recognize the union.

This serves as a "classic" example of the police organization functioning as a mechanism of social control during a crisis situation that threatened the order of the community. The very nature of a strike implies that the usual controlling mechanisms operant in the work situation are no longer in effect. Thus city officials turned to the police in order to cope with the existent threat to environmental conditions.

(v) Technological Factors Affecting the Police Organization

Technological advancements in the early part of the twentieth century also played a major role in the functioning of the police organization. In 1914 a new city by-law gave the police responsibility for controlling vehicular traffic in the community. City officials in dealing with a new situation determined that the police would function to maintain order by regulating the flow of traffic in the city. This exemplifies that the environmental influences affecting the police organization may be of a technological nature but nevertheless may still require the police to function as social control agents in the maintenance of order. In addition, technological factors such as bicycles and motor vehicles changed the very

nature of the functioning of the police and their effectiveness in controlling the urban environment.

Although technological advancements would alter factors within the department along the occupational dimension, as for example the type and closeness of supervision, involvement with community and citizens, it is argued that the function of the police organization as a formal mechanism of social control, protecting the interests of those in power, would remain unchanged.

(vi) Further Development of the Police Organization: Police Associations

The formation of the Police Association of Hamilton in 1921 was indicative of a sense of identity and solidarity among the members of the organization. At this time the Hamilton police did not affiliate with any outside organizations although an association for police officers in Ontario was created in 1917 in an attempt to unionize the police. The Hamilton Association, with department-wide membership, was to promote morale and maintain standards, but was also to provide legal assistance, hospital and death benefits for its members. In other words, this was an attempt to define behaviour appropriate for their occupational role both for themselves and for society. The police were becoming more aware of their position in society and were attempting as an organization to exert some influence over the nature of their occupational role.

Analysis of the police organization of Hamilton ends with this discussion of developments during the early years of the twentieth century. This examination of the relationship between the police organization and the urban environment of Hamilton was in addition a consideration of social order and the nature of social control and the functioning of the police organization as a formal mechanism of social control in the Hamilton community during the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER IV

Summary and Conclusions

Social control functions within society to regulate behaviour and maintain a degree of social order. With the development of the urban way of life, informal controls have been reinforced with formal, more structured mechanisms, as for example, the police organization which operates to support the institutions of the community.

This study has examined the nature of the relationship between the Hamilton police organization and its urban environment. It is suggested that the development of the police organization has run parallel to the urbanization of the community and that furthermore, understanding of the police in particular and of the organization-environment relationship in general would be aided by a consideration of the police and their interaction with the urban community.

Research on the police has focused upon their role in modern society. The emphasis to date has been upon the adjustment of the individual officer to his occupational role or upon the examination of police occupational culture and the influence this has on their dealings with the public. From a survey of recent literature there emerges a description of the characteristics of the modern police department - a bureaucratic, hierarchical organizational structure that operates in paramilitary fashion; uniforms that distinguish them from the community. Studies have shown that strong in-group attitudes have developed, fostered by a pervading occupational culture that sets the guidelines for defining and acting on situations. There is a strong degree of solidarity among members, and the norm of secrecy operates to protect individual officers. Initiation and socialization into the police occupation has definite consequences: for example, the development of the authoritarian personality; anomie and cynicism among members. The use of discretion is commonplace but has significant repercussions since in actual fact, the police are in a situation whereby they interpret the law according to their definition of a situation.

Furthermore, the literature review suggests that there is a definite need for further research and studies from alternative perspectives. For example, historical analysis would provide a means for understanding the organizational development and present-day structure of the police and also the conditions of police work in the past. In addition, there is a need to consider the organization as a whole and not simply attempt to examine the occupational lives of its members.

Consideration of the police as an organization in interaction with its environment highlights the very area in organizational research that deserves attention. The police are a structural component of society, an organization that by its nature functions in relation to an environment. Little work has been done that attempts to understand the organization-environment relationship beyond determining that there is interdependence. There is at present no satisfactory theory of organizations, and in particular, not one that would include an adequate incorporation of environmental factors. It has been found, however, that patterns of management are related to environmental factors and that different organizational forms are required to cope with different external conditions.

The focus of this study is upon the nature of the organization-environment relationship, i.e. of the police organization and the urban environment of Hamilton in the past century. There is a need to understand the function of the police organization, as a mechanism of control in relation to social order and environmental factors. The emphasis here is upon those critical events, crisis situations in the environment that have resulted in change in the police organization.

An historical method was used for analysis of the data since it provides a means of describing events in the past but also allows for movement through time and a consideration of change. It is argued that change only occurs as a result of a crisis situation and is not the "normal". Furthermore, historical analysis also provides a point of reference for the interpretation and explanation of events that have perhaps influenced the present-day situation.

This analysis, concentrating upon conditions and events in the Hamilton community during the nineteenth century, has attempted to show that the growth of the police organization has paralle led the growth and development of the city and that changes in the police organization were a consequence of crisis situations in the urban environment --- a result of adaptations to the crisis.

Moreover, the evidence indicates that the police organization functioned during this period as a supportive structure in the interests of the elite (economic, political, and social) of the Hamilton community. Thus in order to cope with crisis situations, disruptive factors in the environment, the elite, those in positions of power in Hamilton, relied on the police organization to act as a controlling mechanism to restore social order or to maintain it.

The previous discussion has focused upon characteristics of the Hamilton community during this time and as has been indicated, certain factors, in particular transiency and inequality, made possible and strengthened the position of a minority who controlled local political offices and economic positions in the community. The findings suggest that this dominant group was able to create and to continue to use the police organization in support of their power. Thus the nature of the relationship between the police organization and the urban environment of Hamilton during this period is dependent upon the intervention of this power group so as to maintain their positions and the degree of social order that they require.

In conclusion then, although there are limitations to the inferences that can be drawn from this data, there is, nevertheless, evidence to support the argument as presented. However, suggestions can be offered as to additional means of collecting data that would be of value for such a study.

Library research offers vast amounts of data to the researcher and also provides a means for comparative analysis. Furthermore, since there is a great need for studies in this area utilizing Canadian data, this method can be used as a convenient point of departure for further research. However, in order to provide a more complete analysis, it should be reinforced by other methods. For this particular study, personal documents

and/or interviews with those who were at some time in the past connected with the Hamilton police organization would have been a significant source of data. Additional information could have been gathered from a search of police records and statistics. Since in the past there was no standardized method of keeping records, the statistical reports of the various police departments throughout Canada were suited to their own purposes and requirements. Thus, of consequence, these records would offer insights into the particular structural characteristics and priorities of the police organization under study --- in this case, of the Hamilton Department.

Suggestions for Further Research

Environmental factors within the urban community have played a significant role in shaping the development and structure of the police organization. This study has considered the impact of such factors only during the nineteenth century, that is, during the initial stages of the urbanization of the Hamilton community. From the evidence available here, it is suggested that with the increase in the degree of urbanization of the community, there is an increase in the formalization of the structural form of the police organization. It is further suggested that this occurs as a consequence of the greater reliance placed upon the police by those in positions of power to handle crisis situations and disruptive events that threaten the social order of the community.

There is a need for additional work in order to further understand the impact of environmental factors. The consideration of technological advancement and the impact this may have on the police organization was kept to a minimum in this analysis. This was partly a consequence of the time period under study and the fact that Hamilton's industrialization was only in its beginning stages by the late nineteenth century. During the twentieth century, however, technological factors have played an increasingly important part in defining organizational form and there needs to be further examination of this with regard to the police.

Furthermore, there is a need for further research into the question of how the police have coped with their role as social control agents and with the responsibility placed on them for the maintenance of order. An additional factor that should be considered here is the possibility of a dialectical relationship between the police and their urban environment. Study is required in order to determine the influence that the police exert over community affairs. Such influence could very well redefine the impact of environmental factors on the police organization.

Moreover, the review of available literature in this area indicates a paucity of information on Canadian police organizations. Thus, it is suggested that additional research on the police is required and that studies of a comparative nature should be conducted in order to further examine the relationship between urbanization and formal mechanisms of social control in Canadian urban communities.

Table 1

Population of Hamilton During the Nineteenth Century

Year	Population		
1791	31	families	(settled in the area)
1816	668	persons	(Township of Barton, including Hamilton)
1826	1,195		(Township of Barton, including Hamilton)
1833	1,400		(Hamilton alone)*
1834	2,100		
1835	2,600		
1841	3,446		
1847	6,832		
1850	10,312		
1851	14,000	(approximate)	
1858	27,500		
1860	19,000		
1861	19,096		
1864	17,000		
1867	21,485		
1871	26,716		
1873	30,201		
1875	32,000		
1880	35,000		
1881	35,359		
1890	44,653		
1891	45,423		
1895	48,491		
1900	51,561		
1901	52,665		
1910	70,221		
1911	80,000		
1912	90,000		
1913	100,000		
1914	100,808		
1918	107,826		

* The population given for the years following 1833 refers to Hamilton

Table 2

Chief Law Enforcement Officers of Hamilton: 1833 to 1920's*

1833	John J. Ryckman	(High Bailiff)
1834	Thomas Gillesby	(High Constable)
1835	Charles Duffie	(High Bailiff)
1835	Samuel Ryckman	(High Bailiff)
1836-37	William Hale	(High Bailiff)
1837-38	Timothy Steele	(High Bailiff)
1839-42	George Chivers	(High Bailiff)
1845-50	Samuel Ryckman	(High Bailiff; Chief Constable)
1850-52	James McCracken	(Chief Constable; High Bailiff 1852-77)
1852	Thomas Bresnahan	(Chief Constable)
1852-53	John Moore	(Chief Constable)
1853-65	John Carruthers	(Chief Constable)
1865-68	W.H. Nicolls	(Chief Constable)
1868-70	Ralph Davis	(Chief Constable)
1871-75	Captain John Henery	(Chief Constable)
1875-76	Matthew Logan	(Chief Constable)
1876-79	Alexander McMenemy	(Chief Constable)
1879-86	Alexander David Stewart	(Chief Constable)
1886-95	Hugh McKinnon	(Chief Constable)
1895-1915	Alexander Smith	(Chief Constable)
1915-24	William R. Whatley	(Chief Constable)

* Source: Gordon V. Torrance, Hamilton Police Department, Past and Present: The History of Law Enforcement in Hamilton (Hamilton, 1967).

Table 3

Growth of Hamilton Police Department during the Nineteenth Century

Year	Number on Force	
1833-1849	4	(High Bailiff, Assistant Bailiff, and two constables)
1853	4	(Force was reorganized and under the direction of a Chief Constable. A distinction had been made between the ranks and duties of High Bailiff and Chief Constable)
1854	8	(Addition of four railway police)
1855	13	
1856	19	
1857	29	(Reduced to 20 during the year)
1858	26	
1860	8	(The cutbacks were due to the city's growing fiscal problems; Hamilton faced bankruptcy in 1862)
1865	(3 men hired; detective branch formed)	
1866	21	(High Bailiff, Chief of Police, Police Magistrate, sergeant, detective, 16 constables)
1887	45	(Chief Constable, 3 sergeants, 3 patrol sergeants, 2 detectives, 2 acting detectives, 2 patrol wagon drivers, 32 constables)
1892	50	
1895	55	
1910	76	
1913	103	(9 men hired)
1915	109	

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

1 Niederhoffer states that: "police systems can be understood only as institutions in interaction with the rest of the social structure". (Niederhoffer, 1969: 13)

2 Berger and Luckmann state that: "In actual experience institutions generally manifest themselves in collectivities containing considerable numbers of people. It is theoretically important, however, to emphasize that the institutionalizing process of reciprocal typification would occur even if two individuals began to interact de novo. Institutionalization is incipient in every social situation continuing in time" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 55-56).

3 see Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 96 for an explanation of this concept.

4 This is used in accordance with Nisbet's definition of "event" as "some impact or intrusion from outside the domain of the form of social behavior, or cultural area, that is under study" (Nisbet, 1969: 275).

Chapter II

1 Alex expands this idea further in his explanation of the function of the uniform.

> The police uniform is a symbol of the authority, power, and legal status of the police. To the population at large, it symbolizes the right of the policeman to exercise power including violence, if necessary. To the policeman it confirms his official authority, and affirms whatever motives he had for becoming a policeman. Beyond this it separates him from the civilian population. It places distance between him and that population, the distance being not only that of the official meaning of the uniform, but a crystallization of all the attitudes that both police and civilians have towards the police. (Alex, 1969: 171)

2 This term is used by Niederhoffer to refer to "a state of mind in which the anomie of the police organization as a whole is reflected in the individual policeman" (Niederhoffer, 1969: 99).

Chapter III

1 Katz bases his argument on the following facts: of 2552 people listed on the 1852 assessment roll, only 1955 could be linked to those listed on the census taken three months earlier. This suggests that a substantial number of people could not be found because they had only

recently moved into the city and in like manner, that many listed on the census were not on the assessment because they had moved away. Also, of the names on a city directory compiled a year and a half later, there were many that had not been listed previously and many that had been listed elsewhere could not be found. Additional data in the form of city death records were also used to support this argument for Katz found that: "Hamilton cemetery and church records for both 1851 and 1861 reveal that the number of people who actually died within the city far exceeded the number recorded on the census" (Katz, 1972: 405).

2 There exists the problem of how these statistics should be interpreted and the exact meaning of the terms used. He found that analysis using an estimation of the total migration flows into and out of Boston between 1880 and 1890 revealed that rather than 15% of the population in 1890 being migrants (based on the net migration figures), it was 33% (Thernstrom, 1973: 15-16).

3 The population had decreased significantly during the 1860's because the city was in a poor financial position. There was great unemployment and limited opportunities and many relocated in other areas.

4 Katz found that in 1852 about 25% of the population owned all real property within the city and that the most affluent 10% of the population held about 88% of the wealth dependent upon property ownership (Katz, 1972: 410). Using a scale designed to show economic rank it was found that "the wealthiest tenth of the people controlled about 60 percent of the wealth within the city and the poorest two-fifths about 6 percent" (Katz, 1972: 410). "Wealth" was used as an indicator of economic rank and did not directly correspond to total income or assessed property.

5 Once thought to have been Robert Land, the distinction is now given to John Depew (Campbell, 1966: 10-11).

6 This trial later became known as "The Ancaster Bloody Assize".

7 There is a discrepancy as to whether settlement occurred in 1813 or 1815 (see Campbell, 1966: 51).

8 It was George Rolph, as a MPP in 1829, who seconded the motion to arrest MacNab for refusing to answer questions. Later in the year (April, 1829), Rolph was dismissed from his position (in Dundas) as Clerk of the Peace, i.e. Clerk of the Court (Woodhouse, 1965).

9 Woodhouse states that MacNab served only as nominal President of the Company (Woodhouse, 1965).

10 The basic issues involved in their fight were greater equality of opportunity in the province and greater independence from Britain.

11 See Lord Durham's Report, edited by Gerald M. Craig. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1963.

12 Voting qualifications at this time were very selective --- depending upon the value of property owned or rented. This tended to disenfranchise a large proportion of the community.

13 In 1854, there were about 600 deaths from cholera (Watson (ed.), 1947).

14 This refers to the fact that eligibility for this position depended upon meeting greater property qualifications than were required for the councillors (Campbell, 1966: 101).

15 The city had borrowed heavily to pay for railway construction and the expansion of transportation facilities. Returns from the investments were not immediate and the English shareholders expected payments.

16 In 1880 the population numbered 35,000, in 1890 it was 44,653 and by 1900 it had reached 51,561. The population of Hamilton was 70,221 in 1910 and by 1914 was 100,808. This was a period of peak immigration into Canada, there were no restrictions on immigrants at this time (Campbell, 1966). See Table 1 for further population statistics.

17 In 1853, journeymen-carpenters formed the first union and went on strike (Watson (ed.), 1947).

18 The labour movement grew at a steady if slow pace until World War II and the organization of the steelworkers into a strong and powerful union. Hamilton was to become one of the key union centres in Canada (Campbell, 1966).

19 The Hamilton Labour Council was officially formed in 1941 and merged in 1956 with the Hamilton and District Trades and Labour Council (Campbell, 1966).

20 Consider, for example, the influence of Allan MacNab on the nature and direction of Hamilton's growth and urbanization. For an account of this, see Part I, History of Hamilton; section B) Social and Political Events.

21 In 1950 the Corporation of the City of Hamilton consolidated the Fund and the money available was used to purchase Canadian Government Annuities for members of the force. Seven years later, the Police Benefit Fund, the Hamilton Firemen's Benefit Fund and the Hamilton Civic Employees Pension Plan were incorporated into the Hamilton Municipal Retirement Fund. However, this was replaced in 1965 by the Ontario Municipal Employees Retirement System and then in 1966 the Canadian Pension Plan became effective (Torrance, 1967).

22 This refers to a souvenir booklet of Hamilton, printed in 1892.

23 This offers perhaps a good example of the preferred public image of the department during this period --- a time when the rise of juvenile crime and gangs was draining away public respect.

24 Late in the 1940's (1948), the Police Minor Athletic Association was established to provide hockey and baseball activities for boys in the community (Torrance, 1967).

25 Around the turn of the century, the department had a squad of "fly cops" who responded to calls on bicycles (Evans, 1970).

26 In 1932 the Police Association of Ontario came into existence and in 1945 received a Provincial Charter.

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