

THE COMMUTING PATTERNS OF UNION PARK, HAMILTON,

FROM 1921 TO 1931

BY

PATTI HARRIS

A Research Paper

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ABSTRACT

There is little information on the relationship between industrial decentralization and the suburbanization of blue collar workers in North American cities during the early twentieth century. The purpose of this research paper is to address the question of whether or not blue collar suburbanization preceded industrial decentralization in Hamilton, Ontario. This is done by examining the commuting patterns of an early twentieth century blue collar suburb known as Union Park, located in Hamilton Ontario. The research concludes that blue collar suburbanization preceded industrial decentralization in Hamilton. These findings imply that the frequency of this relationship requires further consideration.

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I INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century marked the separation of work and home. (Vance 1966) This resulted in the need for commuting. Soon after, the twentieth century introduced the large scale decentralization of industry as well as the suburbanization of people.

Most writers have suggested that the early twentieth century suburbs were middle class or upper class, but have neglected the possibility of workers suburbs. Unfortunately there is little information about the suburbanization of the blue collar worker, when it began and how it occurred.

The purpose of this report is to examine an early twentieth century blue collar suburb and to investigate whether or not blue collar suburbanization proceeded the decentralization of industry. This will be done by examining the commuting patterns of an early twentieth century suburb of Hamilton Ontario known as Union Park. A comparison of the changes in occupations, employers, and distance travelled to work, from 1921 to 1931 will provide insights into this question.

II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

Commuting characteristics can help determine whether the decentralization of industry led, or followed the suburbanization of blue collar workers. By examining the commuting patterns of a certain group and their changes over time, observations can be made regarding the relationship between home and work. For the period since 1945 there has been a substantial amount of text on the commuting characteristics of workers. Unfortunately it appears that the characteristics of blue collar commuting during the early twentieth century have simply been ignored. For this reason little is known about the relationship between blue collar suburbanization and the location of industry in the early twentieth century. An examination of literature discussing issues such as the characteristics of blue collar commuting, the location of industry, and blue collar suburbanization, it is apparent that the interrelationship among these three subjects for the early twentieth century requires further research.

2.2 The Characteristics of Blue Collar Commuting

The necessity for workers to commute began in the 1800's where one saw the separation of home and the workplace. This development is described in a paper by Vance. In his paper Vance touches on many issues such as the complexity of the location of industry and the location of industrial

workers. Vance refers to the relation of work and industry as the "employment linkage." (Vance 1966, pg. 279) Although Vance mainly discusses the separation of work from the home, he also discusses factors which influenced the commuting patterns of blue collar workers in the early twentieth century. Vance's view is similar to that of other writers in that he stresses the influence of transportation in explaining the degree of distance of residents from work. (Vance 1966, pg. 278) Vance's discussion is more wide ranging in his description than other material on this topic in that he implies that there are various factors other than one's wage which determine the location of blue collar houses. These include factors such as the nature of the labour force and housing supply. (Vance 1966, pg. 319) Vance discussed that transportation allowed even blue collar workers to reside outside the inner city core. "Only when the trolley's came, offering the worker mobility that he might trade for some control over his housing condition, was the situation improved even for the sober and diligent labourer caught in the effuse urban growth of the late nineteenth century." (Vance 1966, pg. 321)

Other writers such as Duncan, Kain, and Carroll concentrate mainly on the relationship between one's wage and the distance travelled to work. Carroll uses the results of a 1942 Massachusetts State Planning Board survey to draw his conclusions. From the survey he concluded that there is a

relationship between wage and commuting distance in which low wage industries cannot attract workers for long distances. (Carroll 1949, pg 422) A later study by Carroll presented a more in-depth analysis of the relationship between wages and commuting distances. In his observations of existing data Carroll further concluded that the total urban area of the 1940's population was residentially distributed about the central business district, while off-centre work concentrations have residences grouped about them so that they seem to resemble nucleated sub-clusters within the larger whole. (Carroll 1952, pg. 278) The relationship between wage and commuting distance is also examined in Duncan's analysis of 1951 Occupational Mobility Survey data. Duncan concluded in her analysis that there is a substantial variation in the commuting distance among groups comprising the labour force, particularly that the degree of separation varies directly with the socioeconomic status level. (Duncan 1956, pg. 56) Duncan's conclusions support those of Carroll. Another study by Kain presents a model of residential location and an evaluation through an examination of residential distributions in Detroit. In his model Kain deals with the locational choice of a single household where transportation costs vary significantly with distance from the work place. (Kain 1962, pg. 137) Kain concluded that households locate at varying distances from their work places according to their transportation costs, space consumption, space preferences,

and incomes. (Kain 1962, pg. 159) The above literature is comprised mainly of a post war analyses of solely wage related factors which influence the commuting patterns of workers. Although the validity of the conclusions represent significant economic factors which influence commuting patterns, they are based on generalizations which fail to examine other factors which may affect such generalizations.

The literature of Greenberg, Pratt, and Harris discuss various factors which influence the commuting of blue collar workers beyond economic controls. Greenberg takes a historical look at the relationship between the location of job opportunities and the organization of residence in Philadelphia, 1880. Greenberg uses a unique approach in examining the commuting patterns by examining the relationship of commuting distances and the type of industry involved. In this approach, Greenberg stresses that the type of industry involved has an enormous effect on the distance travelled to work, "...the residential structure of cities would be likely to vary according to their industrial sector." (Greenberg 1980, pg. 162) Greenberg, therefore argues that the location of residents in a city depends on the location of different types of industry located within. The findings of Pratt also provide unique insight into the commuting patterns of blue collar workers. Although he mainly discusses the relationship between wage and the distance travelled to work, which is consistent with that of Carroll and Duncan, he also considered

various other factors which characterize the distance of home and work such as, work hours, sex, ethnicity, and houses available. (Pratt 1911, pg. 188) Harris also discusses unique factors which influence commuting such as the effect of dual income households in his examination of New York City in the early twentieth century. (Harris 1990, pg. 9) These three papers relate more closely to the early twentieth century and provide a multicausal overview of the factors which influence commuting patterns.

One strong underlying assumption of most of the literature is the idea that workers followed jobs especially among blue collar workers. Although job location sets limits on where workers can live, these constraints are likely to be so broad that many other factors can play a determining role. A paper by Harris which examines the early twentieth century blue collar suburb of Earlscourt provides an interesting commuting pattern. The pattern fails to fit the assumption that workers follow jobs. The commuting map of Earlscourt reveals that the majority of Earlscourt residents worked close to the central business district of Toronto. (Harris 1990, fig. 5) Although Harris does not go into great detail on reasons for this commuting situation, it is apparent that there are factors beyond economic goals which influence the commuting patterns of the working class. These factors may include goals such as escaping the over-crowding and congestion of the inner city in order to provide a better

environment for raising children.

2.3 The Location of Industry

In order to set the context for and analysis of commuting patterns it is necessary to consider the location of industry. In contrast to the assumptions made by Burgess, the location of industry in the early twentieth century was very complex. Burgess only considered the location of industry to be situated in the factory zone surrounding the central business district of the city failing to consider the concept of industrial decentralization. (Burgess 1925, pg. 50) Several geographers, such as Pred, criticize Burgess's model for failing to include such an important concept in his analysis. "...the concentric zone hypothesis is woefully inadequate because it completely omits any idea of manufacturing in other parts of the metropolis." (Pred 1964, pg. 171) Burgess's failure to discuss early decentralization of industry is also discussed in Harris's examination of New York City. Both papers by Pred and Harris discuss various factors which led to the decentralization of industry in the early twentieth century. These main factors include technological improvements in methods of transportation of materials as well as workers, an increase in the scale of production in factories, and the need for larger and therefore cheaper land space. (Harris 1990, pg. 3) (Pred 1964, pg. 168)

Both papers stress the fact that the location of industry is a complex issue involving numerous factors depending on the particular city and the industry in question. Pred illustrates this view through an analysis of the location of industry for ten American cities in the early twentieth century. Harris illustrates this view through a description of New York City characteristics which reflect its unique locations of industry. As well as discussing the complexity of industrial location, both papers provide insight into social and economic situations which Burgess failed to consider. Since industrial decentralization occurred during the early twentieth century, blue collar suburbanization was also likely to occur. The difficulty which arises is determining what phenomena occurred first.

2.4 Blue Collar Suburbanization

There has been little recognition of blue collar suburbanization in the early twentieth century. The well-known Burgess concentric zone model fails to mention such a notion. Burgess implied that only the affluent middle and upper classes were able to reside in the outer zones of the city. These residential zones were located beyond the workingmen's zone which surrounded the transition zone which contained both businesses and manufacturing. (Burgess 1925, pg. 50) Burgess suggested that a constant influx of

immigrants into the city core created a filtering process. In this process the deteriorating older middle class areas of the inner city are taken over by the lower classes as the more affluent move outward. Burgess assumed that the lower classes were unable to afford new housing so were forced to reside in the deteriorating centre of the city surrounding the transition zone. Burgess made some valid arguments regarding the housing market structure of the early twentieth century city, but in his generalizations he failed to consider the concept of blue collar suburbs. Besides the filtering process there was also the possibility that blue collar workers could build their own modest home on cheap land in the outskirts of the city. In Burgess's description of the zone of working men's homes he alluded that the lower classes may desire to live in the suburbs but it didn't occur, "the inhabitant of this area in turn looks to the 'Promised Land' beyond, to its 'satellite loops,' and its 'bright light' areas." (Burgess 1925, pg. 56)

A paper by Harris challenges Burgess's statement that pre WWII suburbs were overwhelmingly middle class. Harris argues that early census data on some American cities reveals that industrial working class suburbs were quite common. (Harris 1988, pg. 7) Although many geographers using such data did not actually set out to determine actual residential patterns of blue collar workers Harris notes, evidence of such patterns was found. In his own results using tax assessment

records, Harris found similar patterns representing working class suburbs for the city of Toronto. A concentration of lower income workers was found in the central core of the city as well as an encircling suburban ring, with higher income groups located in a middle suburban ring. (Harris 1988, pg. 25) "Instead of relying upon the filtering down of housing units built for their betters, many lower income workers built their own homes on the suburban fringe." (Harris 1988, pg. 25) The results of Harris suggest that self building by blue collar workers was one alternative available to the lower classes to escape the inner city slums. Actual evidence of a blue collar suburb in the early twentieth century is that of Earlscourt described in Harris's examination of a Toronto suburb from 1900 to 1945. By describing various economic, physical, and social aspects of Earlscourt, Harris suggests not only the existence of a blue collar suburb but one which provided a much more pleasant atmosphere than the inner city slums. (Harris 1990, pg. 2)

2.5 Conclusions

The provided literature suggests many complex and sometimes contradictory issues regarding blue collar commuting, the location of industry, and the suburbanization of blue collar workers, in the early twentieth century. The literature reveals that industrial decentralization was

occurring and so, too, was working-class suburbanization. Unfortunately, the commonality of these occurrences and their relationship is unclear. None of the literature answers the question of whether decentralization of industry preceded or followed the suburbanization of blue collar workers. A case study of an early twentieth century blue collar suburb, Union Park located in Hamilton, Ontario shall provide insight into the commuting characteristics of blue collar workers in the early twentieth century as well as the relationship between the location of industry and blue collar suburbanization at that time.

III METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

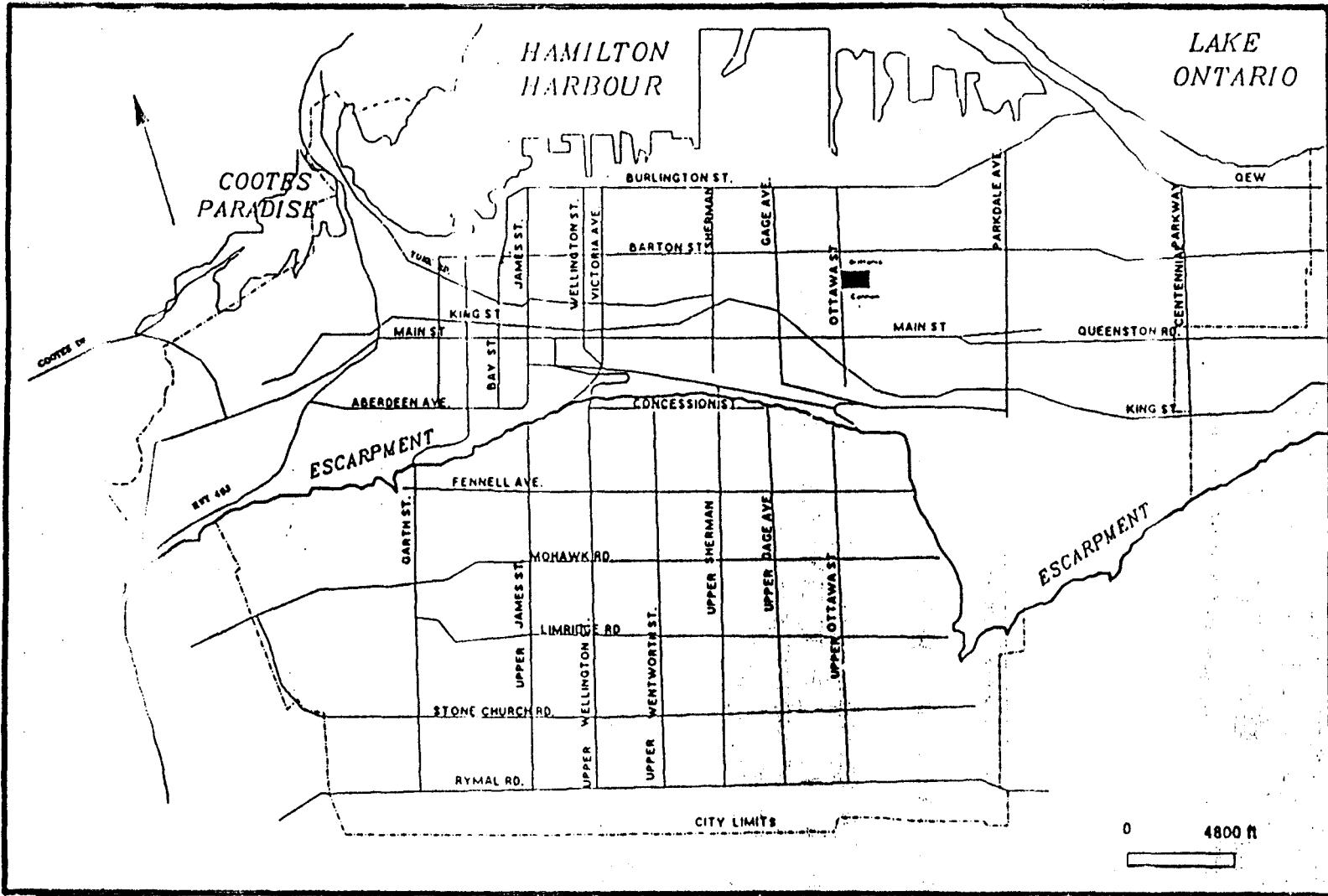
3.1 Study Area

The area to be examined was formerly named, Union Park and is located in Hamilton Ontario. This area originally belonged to the Barton Township but was annexed by the City of Hamilton in 1909. The neighbourhood is situated in the eastern suburbs of Hamilton and consists of approximately 300 lots. (Fig. 3.1) The data collected was from those residents living on the streets of Union Park which include, Edinburgh Ave. to the north, Cannon St. to the south, Province St. to the east, and London St. to the west, as well as Britannia Ave. and Park Row which are located within these boundaries.

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The Location of Union Park



3.2 Data Source and Characteristics

The source used to collect the data was the Hamilton City Directories for 1922 and 1932. Access to this source was gained by using the microfilm in the Urban Documentation Centre at McMaster University. The City Directories list all adults in the city, except for homemakers. They are alphabetically organized by street names and numbers, and surnames. Employment status is also provided. Furthermore the source contains a Classified Business section which provides the employer's address.

The City Directories are a valuable source of information. The source contains a wide range of information regarding commuting which is readily accessible. One can determine who lives where, in which house, where an individual is employed, and the occupation of the individual. For this reason, commuting patterns can be determined for residents of a specific neighbourhood.

Unfortunately, the City Directories had some limitations. The source contained many general mistakes such as spelling errors, and street number errors and changes, which made researching confusing. Apart from these minor limitations, there were two major limitations of the City Directories. Firstly, many employers had more than one location and the actual site of a resident's place employment

was not specified. For this reason the correct employment location of some residents could not be determined and the resident had to be excluded from the analysis. Secondly, there were many cases in which the employer's name was not listed with the resident's occupation. There were also cases where the opposite occurred, where the resident's occupation was not listed with the employer's name. In many of these cases the resident also had to be excluded from the analysis as a result of insufficient information.

3.3 Methodology

The initial data was collected by myself with the aid of nine fellow geography students.¹ One group of five collected the data for 1921, while the other group of five collected the data for 1931. The actual City Directories which were used were those dated 1922 and 1932 since it takes one year for the Directories to be published. The data collection consisted of three main steps.

The first main step was the initial data collection. It involved acquiring the relevant information from the City Directories. Firstly, the names of the residents of Union Park were gathered from the street alphabetical section of the directory. Secondly, the surnames of the residents were looked up in the name alphabetical section to obtain the resident's occupation and employer's name. Finally, the

employer's address was then found by using the Classified Business Section or the alphabetical name section.

The second main step involved mapping. After the initial data was collected, two maps were constructed using the straight line distance approach. This approach is a method of illustrating commuting distances of individuals by drawing a straight line from their place of residence to their place of employment. The number of residents employed by a particular employer is represented by the line thickness. The lines representing the distance of each employer from Union Park were then measured and converted into miles using the scale of the map. The employer's actual location was plotted on the maps through the use of street maps of Hamilton as well as historical maps of Hamilton from the early 1900's which displayed many of the factories.

The occupations of the residents were then categorized into an occupational coding system. (Appendix A) For example, self-employed people were grouped in the 100's, professional in the 200's, clerical in the 300's, blue collar in the 400's, unskilled blue collar in the 500's, unclassified in the 700's, and blue collar builders in the 900's. The results for all residents where as occupation was specified were graphed for each year to determine the occupational make-up of the neighbourhood. For the residents in which the employer's location was determined, the average distance travelled by residents belonging to each occupational group

was then calculated to determine how far different residents belonging to different occupational groups would be willing to travel to work. These results were then graphed for each year.

3.4 Data Observations and Results

The results provide extensive information about the commuting characteristics and the relationship between home and work for the residents of Union Park. A thorough examination of the results of each year, 1921 and 1931, is required before the analysis can begin.

3.4.1 Results for 1921

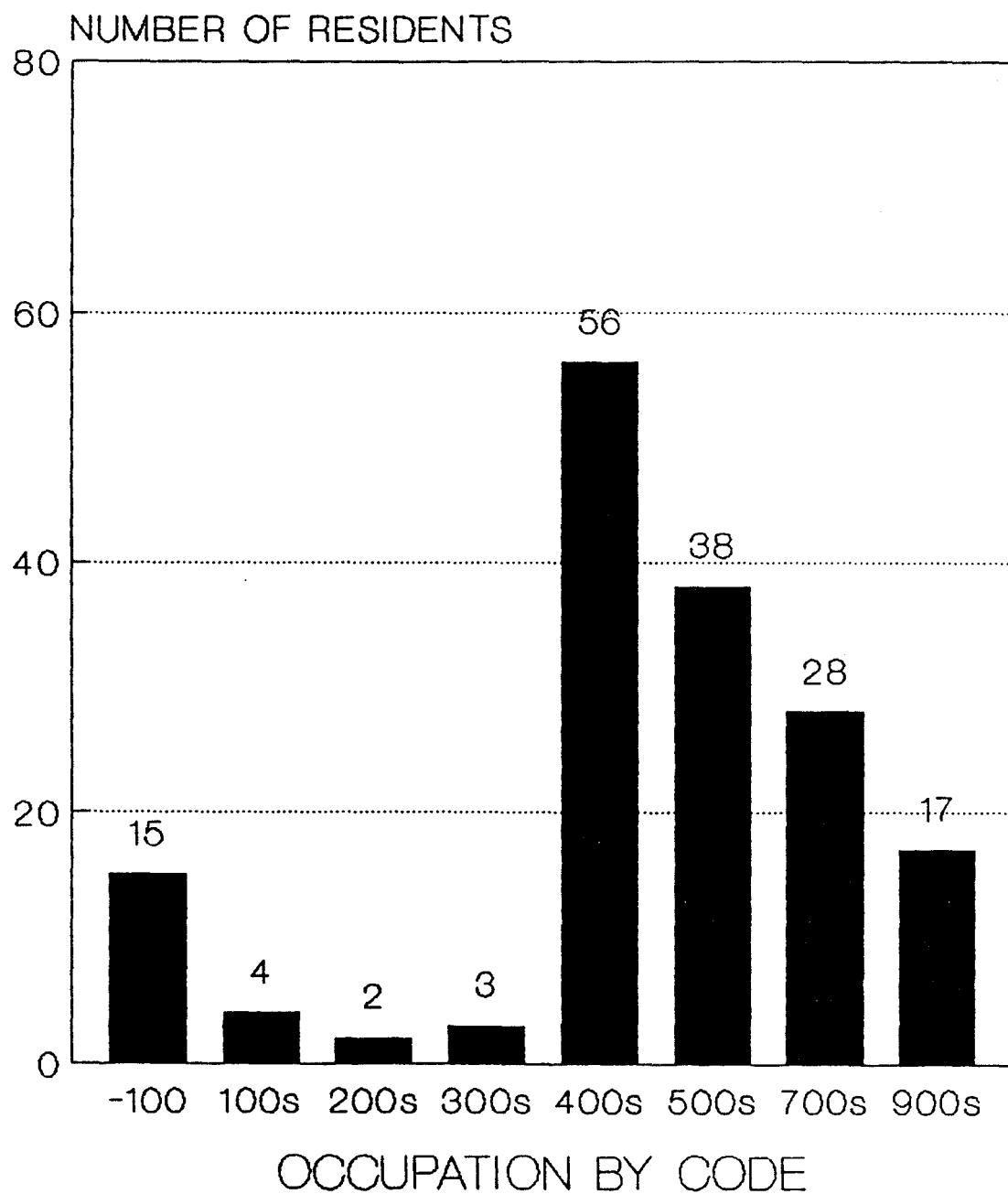
For the year 1921, 197 residents were listed in the City Directories. Occupations were listed for 163 residents which represents 83% of the neighbourhood. Proper employer's location was found for 51 residents which represents 26% of the neighbourhood.

i) Occupation Groups

The largest occupational group in Union Park in 1921 was skilled blue collar workers which made up 34% of the residents. (Fig. 3.2) The second largest occupational group

Figure 3.2

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN UNION PARK FOR 1921



TOTAL RESIDENTS=163

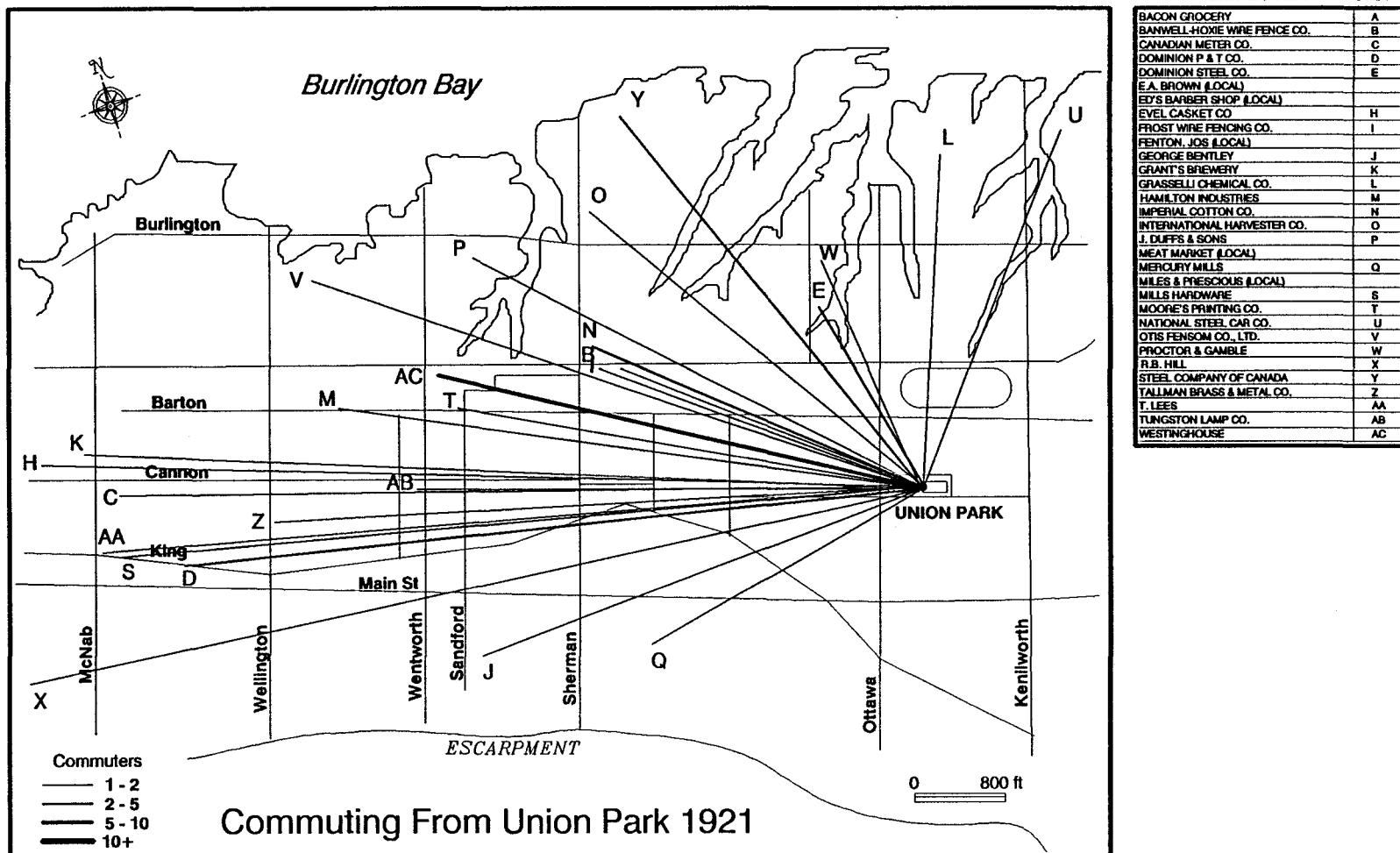
was unskilled blue collar workers, followed by unclassified workers, and then workers in the building trade. An unclassified occupation consisted mainly of the residents that were just listed as "worker" in the City Directories. Their occupation is considered unclassified because it is not clear what their occupation is. Altogether the blue collar occupational groups make up a total of 68% of the residents of Union Park whose occupation could be classified.

ii) Employers

The total number of employers recorded for 1921 was 31. The map of 1921 displays where the residents worked. (Fig. 3.3) The map reveals that the general direction of the resident's place of employment was toward the central core of the city, with a much lesser concentration towards the harbour north of Union Park. The main employer of the residents was Westinghouse, which employed 18% of the residents. Westinghouse was located to the west of Union Park close to Wentworth Street and the Railway Line. The second largest employer was the Steel Company of Canada, presently known as Stelco, which employed 8% of the residents. It is located north of Union Park near the Hamilton Harbour. It is also important to note that 20% of the residents of Union Park worked in their home or within the local neighbourhood. In general, however, the industrial employers were not located

Figure 3.3

19



in, or immediately adjacent to Union Park.

iii) Commuting Distances

The distances travelled to work by the residents varied from 0 miles to 2.01 miles. The linear commuting distance of each resident is displayed in table 3.1. It is important to note that the straight line distance approach will be less than the actual distance travelled by the residents. The average linear distance that the non-local residents travelled to work was 1.15 miles. The average distance of an employer's location was 1.02 miles. The furthest employer's were R.B. Hill and the Evel Casket Company, which were approximately 2 miles from Union Park. The largest employer, Westinghouse was very close to the average commuting distance with a distance of 1.08 miles from Union Park. The Steel Company of Canada, the second largest employer, had a similar distance of 1.10 miles.

iv) Occupation vs. Distance Travelled to Work

Although there are variations in the distances the residents were willing to travel to work, their skill level did not seem to have much effect. (Fig. 3.4) The occupational group which travelled the farthest distance to work were those considered unclassified which travelled and

Table 3.1

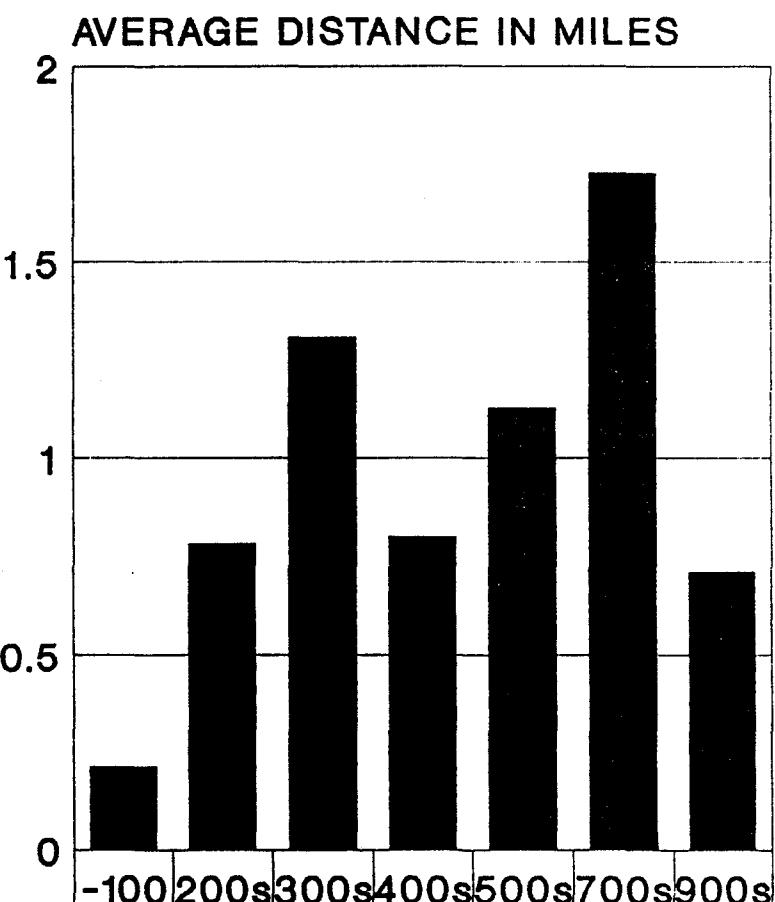
UNION PARK LINEAR COMMUTER DISTANCES: 1921

CODE	EMPLOYER NAME	NUMBER EMPLOYED	OCCUPATION	DIST. (miles)
A	BACON GROCERY (LOCAL)	1	GROCER	0.00
B	BANWELL HOXIE WIRE FENCE CO.	2	SHIPPER	0.72
C	CANADIAN METER CO. LTD	1	LABOURER	1.88
D	DOMINION P & T COMPANY	3	LABOURERS	1.65
E	DOMINION STEEL	3	SECURITY	0.47
F	E. A. BROWN	1	BARBER	0.00
G	ED'S BARBER SHOP (LOCAL)	1	BARBER	0.00
H	EVEL CASKET COMPANY	1	WORKER	1.93
I	FROST WIRE FENCING	1	WIREWORKER	0.78
I1	FENTON VOS (LOCAL)	1	PAINTER	0.00
J	GEORGE BENTLEY	1	CLERK	1.04
K	GRANTS BREWERY	1	WORKER	1.86
L	GRASSELLI CHEMICAL CO.	2	FOREMAN	0.78
M	HAMILTON INDUSTRIES	1	WORKER	1.31
N	IMPERIAL COTTON	3	MACHINIST	0.80
O	INTERNATIONAL HARVESTOR	1	LABOURER	0.97
P	J. DUFF AND SONS	1	SHIPPER	1.12
P1	MEAT MARKET (LOCAL)	1	BUTCHER	0.00
Q	MERCURY MILLS	1	WORKER	1.84
R	MILES & PRECIOUS (LOCAL)	1	LABOURER	0.00
S	MILLS HARDWARE	1	CLERK	1.78
T	MOORES PACKAGING CO.	1	SALESMAN	1.04
U	NATIONAL STEEL CAR	2	WATCHMAN	1.04
V	OTIS FENSON CO.	1	PAINTER	1.42
W	PROCTER & GAMBLE	1	FITTER	0.57
X	R. B. HILL	1	WORKER	2.01
Y	STEEL CO. OF CANADA	4	LABOURERS	1.10
Z	TALLMAN BRASS & METAL CO.	1	WORKER	1.42
AA	T. LEES	1	WATCHMAN	1.82
AB	TUNGESTON LAMP CO.	1	CLERK	1.10
AC	WESTINGHOUSE	9	VARIOUS	1.08

*TOTAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYERS	31
*TOTAL NUMBER OF RESIDENTS	51
*TOTAL NUMBER OF LOCAL WORKING RESIDENTS	6 (19% OF TOTAL)
*AVERAGE LINEAR COMMUTING DISTANCE	1.15 miles

Figure 3.4

OCCUPATION VS. DISTANCE TRAVELED TO WORK IN 1921



AVERAGE DISTANCE	0.21	0.78	1.31	0.8	1.13	1.73	0.71
NO. OF RESIDENTS	5	2	3	8	25	6	2

OCCUPATION BY CODE

■ AVERAGE DISTANCE

TOTAL RESIDENTS=51

average distance of 1.73 miles. The occupational group which travelled the least distance to work was the self-employed which travelled an average distance of 0.2 miles. The self-employed were mainly local workers such as barbers, butchers, and grocers. Although it is important to note that the number of residents classified into these two groups is minimal, the distances still reflect the distance a resident of a certain occupational group would be willing to travel to work.

3.4.2 Results for 1931

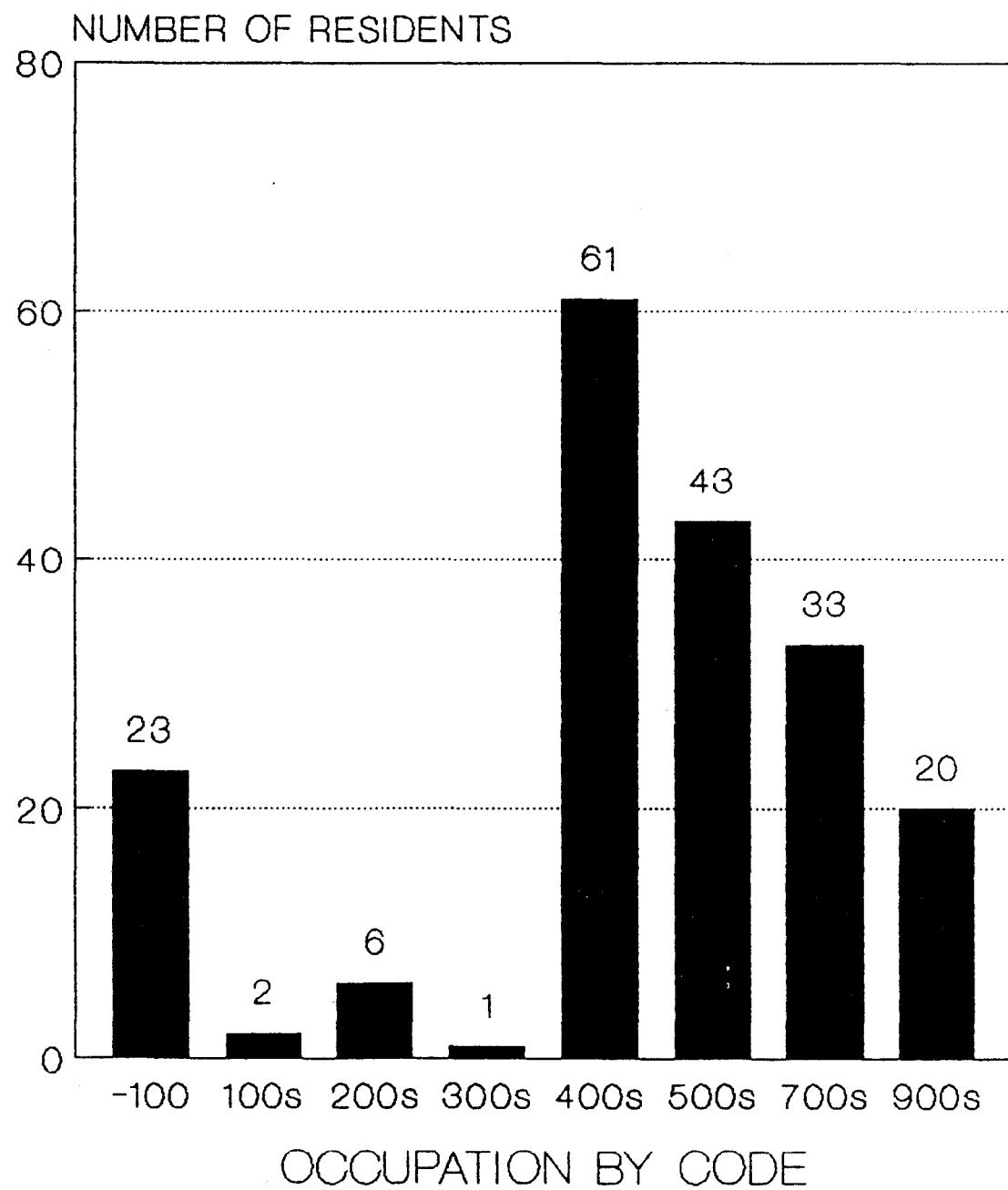
For the year 1931, 224 residents were listed in the City Directories. Occupations were listed for 189 residents which represents 84% of the neighbourhood. An employer's location was found for 96 residents which represents 43% of the neighbourhood.

i) Occupation Groups

The largest occupational group in Union Park in 1931 was skilled blue collar workers which made up 32% the residents. (Fig. 3.5) The second largest occupational group was unskilled blue collar workers, followed by unclassified workers, and then blue collar builders. Altogether the blue collar occupational groups make up 65% of the residents of

Figure 3.5

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN UNION PARK FOR 1931



TOTAL RESIDENTS=189

Union Park so there was not much of an occupational change from 1921.

ii) Employers

The total number of employers recorded in 1931 was 55. The map of 1931 displays where the residents of Union Park worked. (Fig. 3.6) The general direction of place of employment was quite diverse, but concentration tended to be north of Union Park towards the developing industrial area along the Hamilton Harbour. There was also some new concentration of employers to the south and south east of Union Park. The main employer continued to be Westinghouse, which employed 12% of the residents. The second major employer, the Steel Company of Canada (Stelco), also remained the same and accounted for 6% of employed residents. Although the main employers remained the same from 1921 to 1931, the percentage of residents at each plant decreased. Also, the amount of local workers decreased to 11% of the residents.

iii) Commuting Distances

The distance travelled to work by the residents varied from 0 miles to 1.96 miles. The linear commuting distance of each resident is displayed in a table representing 1931. (Tab. 3.2) The average linear distance that non-local

Figure 3.6

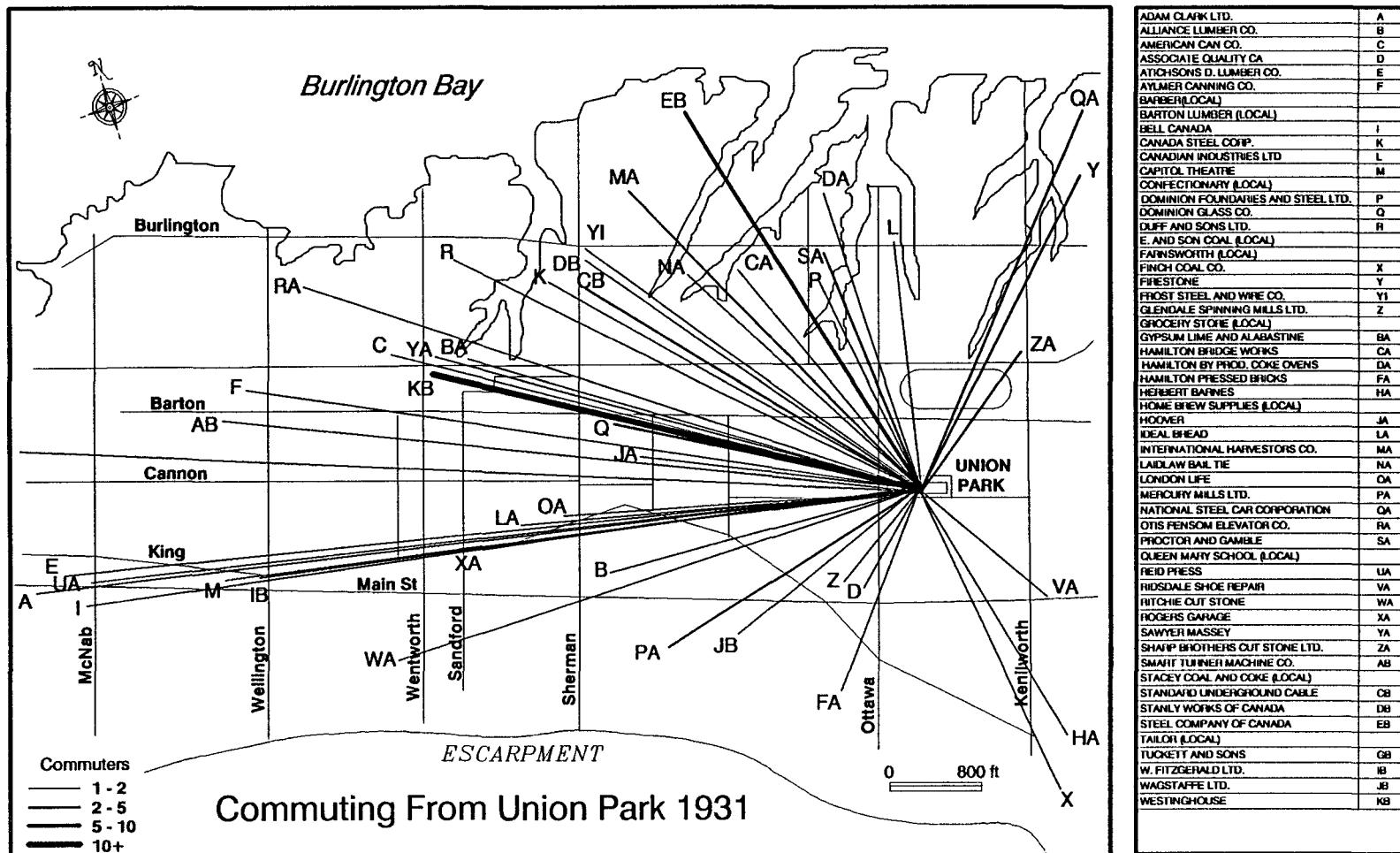


Table 3.2

UNION PARK LINEAR COMMUTER DISTANCES: 1931

CODE	EMPLOYER NAME	NUMBER EMPLOYED	OCCUPATION	DIST. (miles)
A	ADAM CLARK LTD.	1	PLUMBER	1.95
B	ALLIANCE LUMBER CO.	1	ASSEMBLER	0.68
C	AMERICAN CAN CO.	2	LABOURER	1.19
D	ASSOCIATE QUALITY CANNER	1	WORKER	0.25
E	ATICHSONS D. LUMBER CO.	1	WORKER	1.89
F	AYLMER CANNING CO.	1	WORKER	1.50
G	BARBER (LOCAL)	1	BARBER	0.00
H	BARTON LUMBER (LOCAL)	2	TRUCKER	0.00
I	BELL TELEPHONE	1	WORKER	1.91
K	CANADA STEEL CORP.	1	OPERATOR	0.95
L	CANADIAN INDUSTRIES LTD.	2	BLACKSMITH	0.59
M	CAPITOL THEATRE	1	USHER	1.53
N	CONFETIONARY (LOCAL)	1	CONFETIONER	0.00
P	DOMINION FOUNDRY & STEEL LTD.	1	WORKER	0.49
Q	DOMINION GLASS CO.	3	HANDLER	0.66
R	DUFF & SONS LTD.	1	TRUCKER	0.66
T	E. & SON COAL (LOCAL)	1	WORKER	0.00
W	FARNSWORTH (LOCAL)	1	WORKER	0.00
X	FINCH COAL CO.	1	LABOURER	0.70
Y	FIRESTONE	3	TIRE WORKERS	0.95
Y1	FROST STEEL & WIRE CO.	1	LABOURER	0.91
Z	GLENDALALE SPINNING MILLS LTD.	1	WORKER	0.27
AA	GROCERY STORE (LOCAL)	1	GROCER	0.00
BA	GYPSUM LIME & ALABASTINE	1	WORKER	1.00
CA	HAMILTON BRIDGE WORKS	2	LABOURERS	0.63
DA	HAMILTON BY PRODUCTS COKE OVENS	1	WORKER	0.70
FA	HAMILTON PRESSED BRICKS	1	FOREMAN	0.40
HA	HERBERT BARNES	1	PLUMBER	0.64
IA	HOME BREW SUPPLIES (LOCAL)	1	BEER MAKER	0.00
JA	HOOVER	2	ELEVATOR OPER	0.61
LA	IDEAL BREAD	1	BAKER	0.83
MA	INTERNATIONAL HARVESTERS CO.	4	SHIPPERS	0.97
NA	LAIDLAW BAIL TIE	2	WORKER	0.66
OA	LONDON LIFE	2	AGENTS	0.76
PA	MERCURY MILLS LTD.	3	LABOURERS	0.64
QA	NATIONAL STEEL CAR CORP.	4	RIGGERS	0.95
RA	OTIS FENSON ELEVATOR CO.	1	ELECTRICIAN	1.42
SA	PROCTOR & GAMBLE	3	WORKERS	0.57
TA	QUEEN MARY SCHOOL (LOCAL)	1	CARETAKER	0.00
UA	REID PRESS	1	OPERATOR	1.78
VA	RIDSDALE SHOE REPAIR	1	WORKER	0.38
WA	RITCHIE CUT STONE	1	ASSEMBLER	1.00
XA	RODGERS GARAGE	1	MECHANIC	1.02
YA	SAWYER MASSEY	1	LABOURER	1.08
ZA	SHARP BROTHERS CUT STONE LTD.	3	WORKERS	0.40
AB	SMART TURNER MACHINE CO.	1	MACHINIST	1.53
BB	STACEY COAL & COKE (LOCAL)	1	WORKER	0.00
CB	STANDARD UNDERGROUND CABLE	3	WIREWORKERS	0.85
DB	STANLEY WORKS OF CANADA	1	PACKER	0.87

1931 CONTINUED

CODE	EMPLOYER NAME	NUMBER EMPLOYED	OCCUPATION	DIST. (miles)
EB	STEEL CO. OF CANADA	6	LABOURERS	0.89
FB	TAILOR (LOCAL)	1	TAILOR	0.00
GB	TUCKET AND SONS	1	CLERK	1.96
IB	W. FITZGERALD LTD.	1	TILE WORKER	1.42
JB	WAGSTAFF LTD.	1	WORKER	0.49
KB	WESTINGHOUSE	12	VARIOUS	1.08

*TOTAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYERS	55
*TOTAL NUMBER OF RESIDENTS	96
*TOTAL NUMBER OF LOCAL WORKING RESIDENTS	11 (11.3% OF TOTAL)
*AVERAGE LINEAR COMMUTING DISTANCE	0.89 MILES

residents travelled to work was 0.89 miles. The average distance of an employers location was 0.78 miles. The furthest employers were Adam Clark Limited and Tuckett and Sons, which were approximately 2 miles from Union Park.

iv) Occupation vs. Distance Travelled to Work

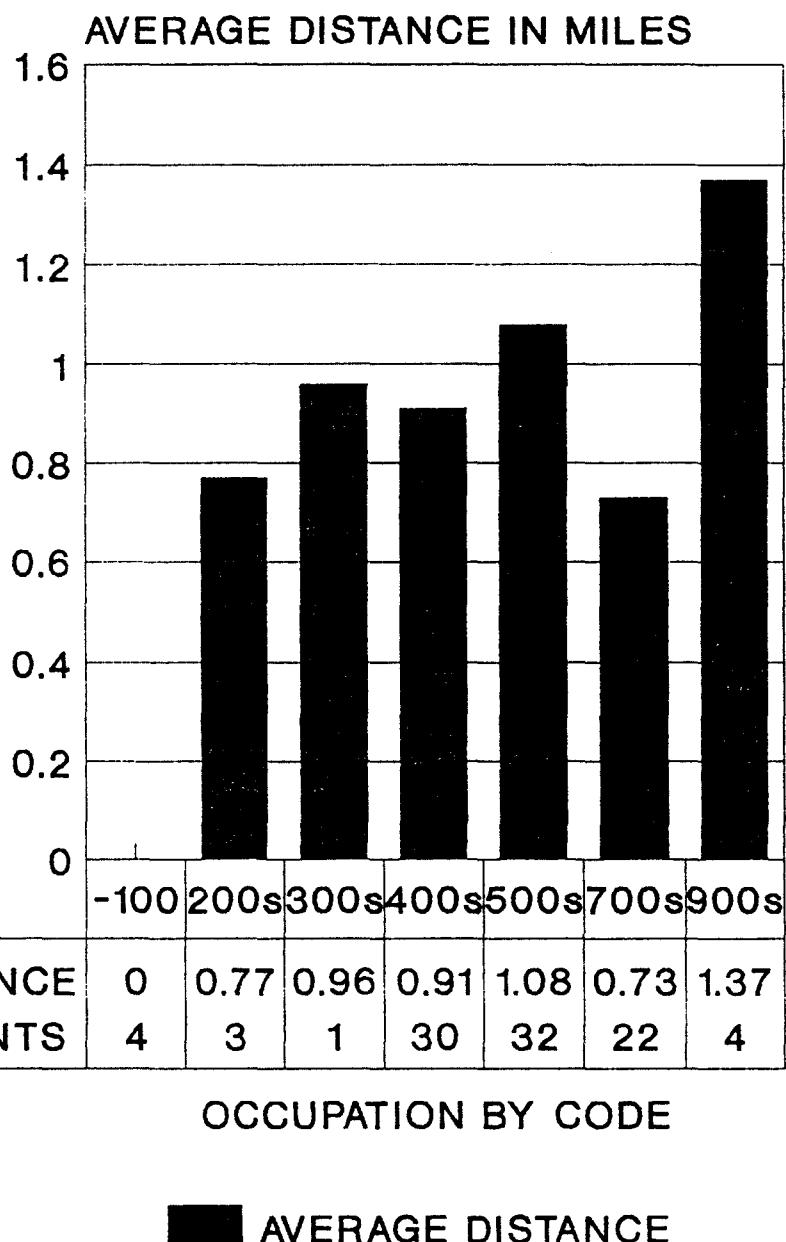
The occupational group which travelled the furthest distance to work in 1931 were the blue collar builders. (Fig. 3.7) This group travelled an average distance of 1.37 miles. The occupational group which travelled the least distance to work was the self-employed which travelled an average distance of 0 miles to work. Again, it is important to note the number of residents belonging to each group.

3.5 Conclusions

The results for 1921 and 1931 provide a great deal of information concerning where the residents of Union Park worked and the distance they travelled to work. Furthermore, the results also allow one to observe the changes that took place during the ten year time span between 1921 and 1931. An analysis of these changes can provide insights into whether blue collar suburbanization occurred before or after industrial decentralization in Hamilton.

Figure 3.7

OCCUPATION VS. DISTANCE TRAVELED TO WORK IN 1931



IV DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

The results of this study provide insight into the characteristics of blue collar commuting in the early twentieth century. The commuting patterns reveal that Union Park was established before its surrounding industry. In other words, blue collar suburbanization occurred before industrial decentralization in Hamilton during the 1920's. The following chapter will provide a comparison and analysis of the changes in the commuting patterns of Union Park from 1921 to 1931, which reveal that industrial decentralization in Hamilton occurred after blue collar suburbanization, with further information to confirm the conclusions.

4.2 A Comparison and Analysis of Results for 1921 and 1931

An examination of the results for 1921 and 1931 reveal that some significant changes occurred for some factors but not for others. These are discussed by comparing and analyzing changes in occupational groups, employers, occupation vs. the distance travelled to work, and commuting distances.

4.2.1 Occupational Groups

There was little change in the occupational structure of Union Park from 1921 to 1931. The amount of blue collar residents in the neighbourhood decreased slightly by 3% from 1921 to 1931. This reveals that Union Park remained a blue collar suburb from 1921 to 1931. For this reason changes in commuting pattern are not likely to be a result of changes in the occupational structure of the neighbourhood.

4.2.2 Employers

Although there were many more employers recorded for 1931, Westinghouse and The Steel Company of Canada still remained the largest employers of the neighbourhood. The percentage of residents employed by both employers did decrease slightly from 1921 to 1931. Also, the number of local workers which were primarily self-employed, decreased significantly from 20% in 1921 to 11% in 1931. These results suggest that the residents of Union Park were starting to disperse in their place of work possibly because there were many more employers to choose from.

4.2.3 Occupation vs. Distance Travelled to Work

The results for occupation vs. distance travelled to work did change from 1921 to 1931. In 1921 the unclassified workers travelled the farthest distance, while in 1931 the

blue collar builders travelled the farthest distance to work. Although it is difficult to generalize about the unclassified workers, most of the residents placed in this category were described as "worker", and are therefore likely to be low-skilled. This suggests that the lower skilled worker had to travel further in 1921 because most of the low skilled jobs were located in the industrial area downtown. The blue collar builders may have had to travel further in 1931 because they were working on projects in the developing west end of the city. Overall, the average distance travelled to work by each occupational group decreased in 1931 from 1921. The distance changes will be discussed in the following section.

4.2.4 Commuting Distances

The changes in the commuting distances provide the strongest evidence that industrial decentralization occurred after Union Park was established. This evidence is presented visually and statistically.

Increased industrial development surrounding Union Park is seen visually by comparing the map of 1931 to 1921. (Fig. 3.3 and 3.6) Although there is a significant increase in the number of residents represented on the map of 1931, it is still obvious that the development surrounding Union Park had increased substantially after 1921. The maps display the concentration of the employer's location near the city core in

1921 had shifted in a northern direction toward Hamilton Harbour in 1931. The map of 1931, also displays a much more diverse location of employers, representing development to the south and east of Union Park, which was not evident in the map of 1921. Companies such as Firestone to the east and Mercury Mills to the south, were prominent employers in 1931 but were not recorded in 1921.

Evidence to the increase of industrial development surrounding Union Park following 1921 is also revealed statistically. The average linear distance which the residents of Union Park travelled from 1921 to 1931 decreased by 0.24 miles. (Table 3.1 and 3.2) The same decrease is found when comparing the average linear distance of the employer's location for each year. These figures reveal that on average, the distance the residents travelled to work decreased from 1921 to 1931.

The changes in the commuting distances which are displayed both visually and statistically suggest that the residents of Union Park began to work closer to their homes after 1921. Since there were no significant changes in the occupational structure of the neighbourhood, it is likely that the residents began working closer to their homes because the employment opportunities increased near their homes during the 1920's.

4.3 Further Evidence

The results provide significant evidence suggesting that industrial decentralization occurred after blue collar suburbanization in Hamilton. However, there are various factors which could have effected the commuting patterns of the residents. An examination of the transportation routes available to the residents, and some data regarding actual dates of some factory openings help to confirm the previous conclusions.

The availability of public transportation can tremendously effect one's ability to travel to a particular place of work. Although it was impossible to locate transportation maps for 1921 and 1931, transportation maps of Hamilton for the years 1915 and 1928 illustrate the changes which occurred on the Hamilton Street Railway during those years. (Fig. 4.1 and fig. 4.2) A comparison of these maps reveals that the provided transportation routes for the area of Union Park did not change significantly during this time period. The railway line that ran closest to Union Park was established in 1890. (Mills 1971, pg. 75) This line ran past Union Park as far as the Hamilton Jockey Club. The maps reveal that since 1890 there was little expansion in the east end near Union Park. Also, the price for taking a street car did not change during the 1920's. The cost remained five cents as a result of postwar inflation. (Mills 1971, pg. 92) The lack of transportation changes during the 1920's, in structure or price, suggest that it is unlikely that the

Figure 4.1

Transportation in Hamilton 1915

Source: The Atlas of Canada, pg. 76

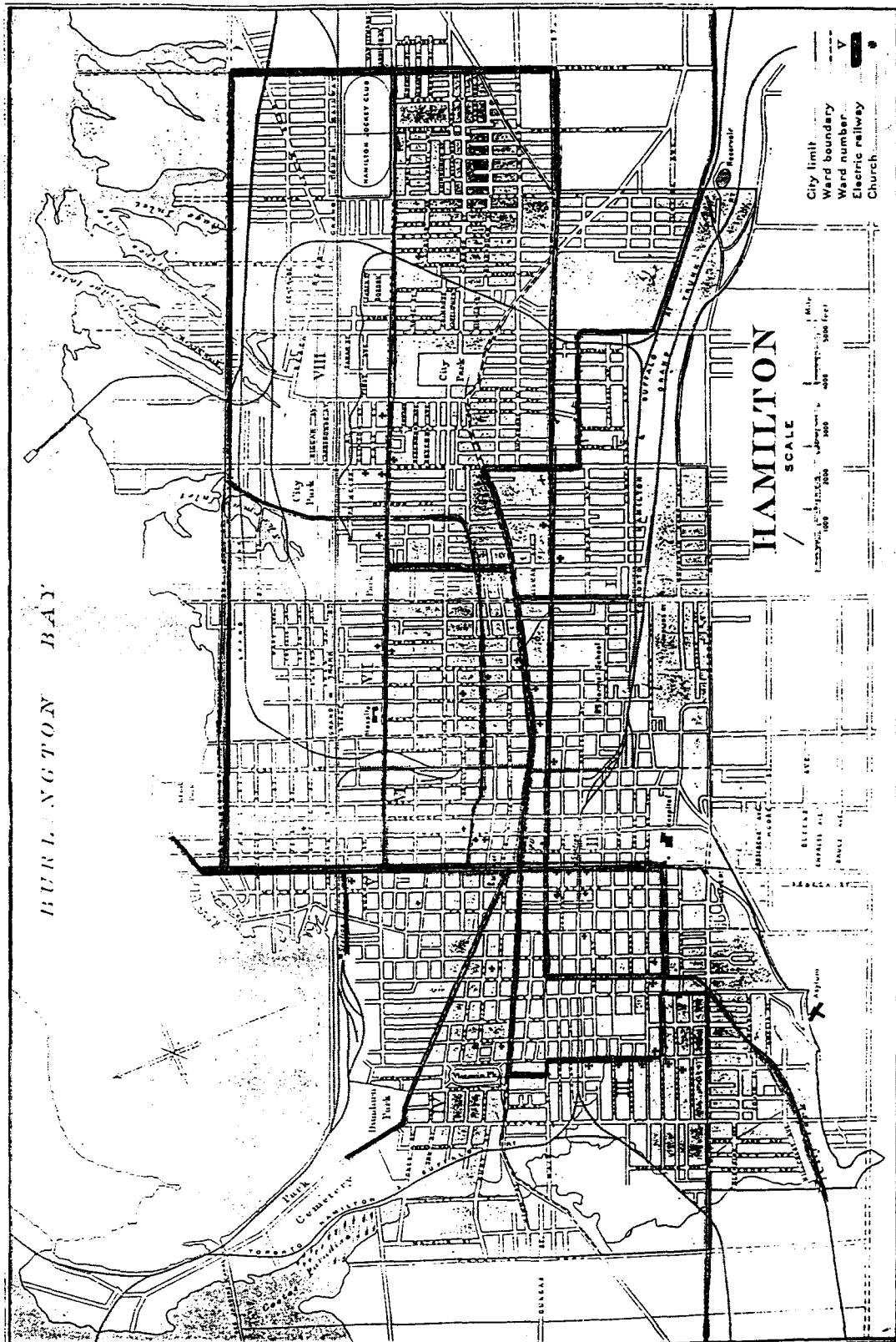
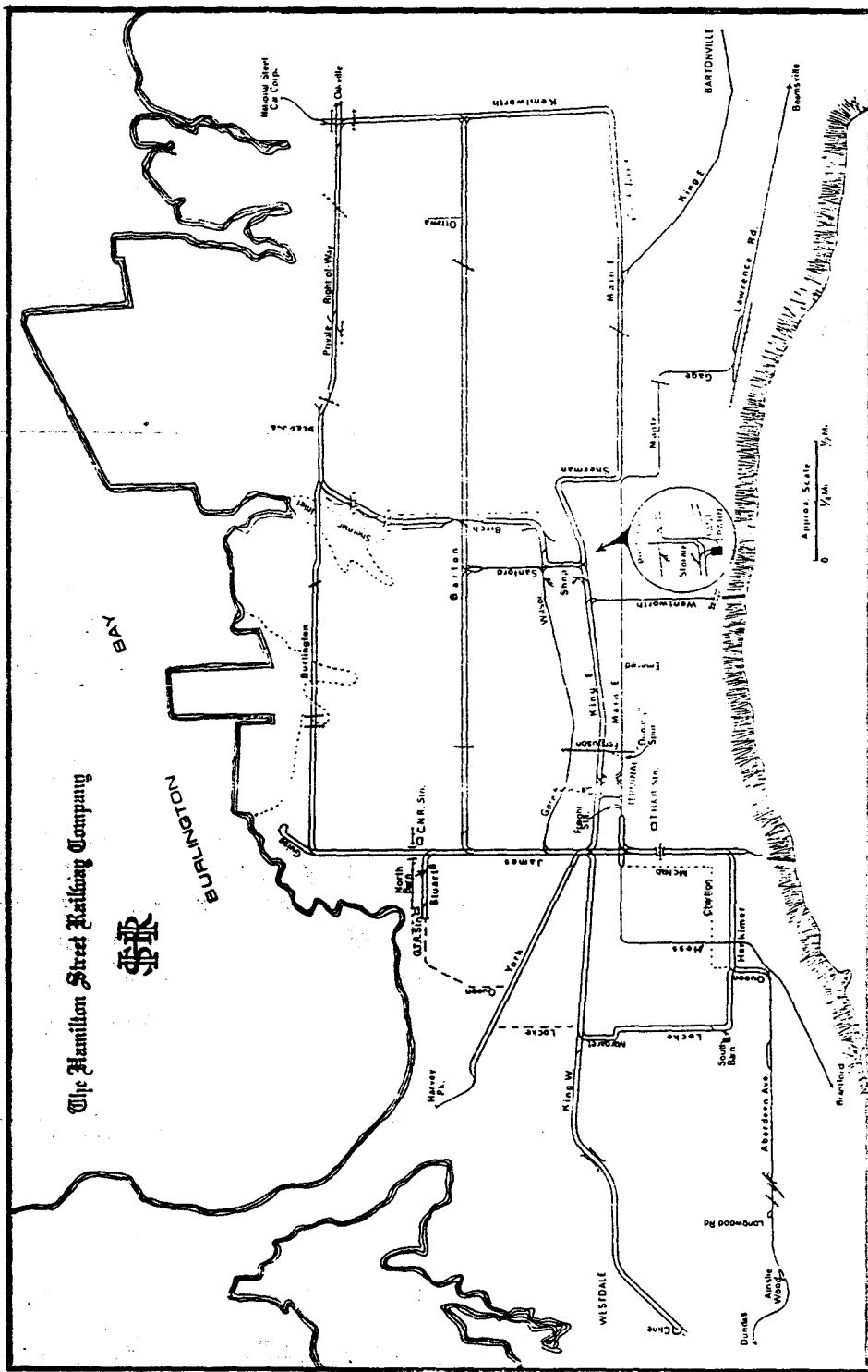


Figure 4.2

Transportation in Hamilton 1928

Source: Cataract Traction: The Railways of Hamilton, pg. 90-91



transportation services of Hamilton played a key role in altering the commuting pattern of the residents during this time period.

The observation that there was little industry surrounding Union Park in 1921 is confirmed by Bloomfield. Bloomfield provides an analysis of the approximate dates in which various industries were established near Union Park. "In 1915, Grasselli Chemical is the only major industry east of Ottawa Street. By 1933, Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. is located east of Kendilworth." (Bloomfield 1990, pg. 3) Bloomfield also confirms the southern location of companies discussed, "there are fewer employers to the south of Union Park, such as Wagstaffe, Mercury Mills, and Canadian Pressed Brick Co. Ltd." (Bloomfield 1990, pg. 3) The findings of Bloomfield support the interpretations based on the provided evidence.

An analysis of the transportation routes available to the residents and an examination of some dates which factories were established help to confirm that the residents of Union Park were established before its surrounding industry.

V CONCLUSION

The results of this report reveal that blue collar suburbanization preceded industrial decentralization in Hamilton during the early twentieth century. These results

imply that the relationship between industrial decentralization and blue collar suburbanization, during the early twentieth century, requires further consideration.

The commuting pattern data provides insight into the employment structure of Hamilton during the 1920's. The changes in the years 1921 to 1931, along with the supplementary findings, confirm that the suburbanization of blue collar workers preceded industrial decentralization. Whether or not the commuting patterns of other cities would be similar to those of Hamilton depend on how typical the characteristics of Hamilton are considered for that time period. One important factor of the commuting results is the size of the city. Most employment locations in Hamilton were within reasonable walking distance, which allowed for minimal limitations in terms of the distance from one's home to place of work. A city such as New York would have much stronger limitations. In general, there is little evidence that the characteristics of Hamilton were significantly different than those of other cities its size.

The results of the commuting patterns for Union Park conflict with the findings of some writers. The results reveal that there must be other significant motives that determine commuting distances besides the wage related motives discussed by Duncan, Kain, Carroll, and Pratt. The findings also contrast with the Burgess Concentric Zone Model, in which Burgess failed to consider the existence of industrial

decentralization and blue collar suburbanization.

The commuting results of Union Park are similar to the results discussed by Harris for the early twentieth century blue collar suburb of Earlscourt, located in Toronto, Ontario. The existence of Union Park and Earlscourt support Pred's and Harris's criticisms of the Burgess Concentric Zone Model. The findings imply that it was possible for industry and blue collar workers to locate beyond the inner city.

In order to determine the commonality of the conclusions of this Hamilton study, further research is required to determine the relationship between industrial decentralization and blue collar suburbanization for other cities, during the early twentieth century.

NOTES

1. The initial data was collected by myself and nine fellow geography students as part of a group project for a fourth year geography course on The Urban Landscape in the fall of 1990.

APPENDIX A

OCCUPATION CODES

Number	Occupation
0-99	self employed
100-199	economic elite
200-299	professional
300-399	clerical
400-499	blue collar
500-599	unskilled blue collar
600-699	self employed (builder)
700-799	unclassified (real occupation)
800-899	unclassified (no occupation)
900-999	blue collar (builder)

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