ETHNIC SETTLEMENT IN THE BARTON STREET REGION OF HAMILTON, 1921 to 1961

by

Matthew James Foster, B.A.

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AUTHOR: Matthew James Foster, B.A. (The Queen's University of Belfast)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. R. L. Gentilcore

SCOPE AND CONTENT: The study begins with a general analysis of the ethnic composition of Hamilton's population and the changes which this composition has undergone since the beginning of the present century. The major part of the study then selects the most ethnically diverse sector of the city, namely the Barton Street region, and subjects it to a detailed examination over a forty year period, using cross-sections of the years 1921, 1941 and 1961. For each year an analysis is made of the residential distribution of individual ethnic groups there, and the number and kind of their associated services and institutions. The area is then divided into regions and sub-regions of ethnicity for each of these years. Finally the changes occurring in the areal extent and ethnic content of such regions over the period of study are discussed and some explanations offered for them.

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Dr. R. L. Gentilcore of the Department of Geography, McMaster University, for his patient supervision of the work and careful revision of the text; Dr. A. F. Burghardt, also of the Department of Geography, for his time consuming aid in analysing ethnic surname lists, and for stimulating discussion on the topic of ethnicity; Mr. Alexander Gregorovich and Mr. Louis Aaron for further help with surname analysis; Mr. Ranjit Hawl, Liaison Officer, Citizenship Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Hamilton, for initial discussion and leads; Miss M. Carberry for giving so freely of her time to type the text; and finally to all those New Canadians within the Barton Street region, and especially the Church leaders, who answered many questions with unfailing patience and courtesy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I	INTRODUCTION	
II	(i) The City of Hamilton	7
	(ii) Population Growth	8
	(iii) Ethnic Immigration in the pre-1941 and pre-1961 periods	16
	(iv) Ethnic Residential Patterns	22
III	THE STUDY AREA	31
IV	THE ITALIAN GROUP	
	(i) 1921	39
	(ii) 1941	44
	(iii) 1961	50
	(iv) Summary and Conclusions	62
V	THE POLISH GROUP	
	(i) 1921	67
	(ii) 1941	70
	(iii) 1961	75
	(iv) Summary and Conclusions	79
VI	THE UKRAINIAN GROUP	
	(i) 1921	83
	(ii) 1941	86
	(iii) 1961	90
	(iv) Summary and Conclusions	95

Chapter		Page
VII	THE JEWISH GROUP	
	(i) 1921	98
	(ii) 1941	102
	(iii) 1961	106
	(iv) Summary and Conclusions	107
VIII	THE GERMAN GROUP	
	(i) 1921	112
	(ii) 1941	115
	(iii) 1961	116
	(iv) Summary and Conclusions	121
IX	THE HUNGARIAN GROUP	
	(i) 1921	124
	(ii) 1941	125
	(iii) 1961	128
	(iv) Summary and Conclusions	133
X	THE MINOR ETHNIC GROUPS	
	(i) The French	135
	(ii) The Dutch	136
	(iii) The Scandinavians	137
	(iv) The Japanese	138
	(v) The Chinese	138
	(vi) The Armenians	140
	(vii) The Romanians	142
	(viii) The Czechs and Slovaks	144

Chapter		Page
	(ix) The Russians and Serbo Croatians	145
	(x) The Portuguese and Maltese	146
XI	ETHNIC REGIONS AND SUB-REGIONS OF THE STUDY AREA, 1921, 1941 and 1961	147
XII	CONCLUSION	201
	APPENDICES	212
	Bibliography	234

LIST OF MAPS AND DIAGRAMS

Figure		Following Page
1.	Site and Situation of Study Area	7
2.	Population Growth of the City of Hamilton, 1871 to 1961	9
3.	Percentage Size of Hamilton's non-British Ethnic Groups, 1901 to 1961	12
4.	Index Map of Census Tracts of City of Hamilton	24
5a.	Distribution Per Census Tract of Population of Non-Canadian Origin in the City of Hamilton, 1961	24
5b.	Distribution Per Census Tract of 1946-1961 Immigrant Population in the City of Hamilton, 1961	24
6a.	Distribution Per Census Tract of Population of British Origin in the City of Hamilton, 1961	25
6b.	Distribution Per Census Tract of Population of German Origin in the City of Hamilton, 1961	25
7a.	Distribution Per Census Tract of Catholic Population in the City of Hamilton, 1961	25
7b.	Distribution Per Census Tract of Population of Italian Origin in the City of Hamilton, 1961	25
8a.	Distribution Per Census Tract of Population of Polish Origin in the City of Hamilton, 1961	26
8b.	Distribution Per Census Tract of Population of Ukrainian Origin in the City of Hamilton, 1961	26
9.	Location of the Study Area Within the North End of Hamilton	31
10.	Characteristics of the Barton Street Study Area	31
	a. Street Names	
	b. Land Use	
	c. Census Tracts	

Figure		Following Page
11.	Major Social Regions of Hamilton	34
12.	Distribution of Italian Households and Ethnic Services	66
	a. 1921	
	b. 1941	
	c. 1961	
13.	Distribution of Polish Households and Ethnic Services	82
	a. 1921	
	b. 1941	
	c. 1961	
14.	Distribution of Ukrainian Households and Ethnic Services	97
	a. 1921	
	b. 1941	
	c. 1961	
15.	Distribution of Jewish Households and Ethnic Services	111
	a. 1921	
	b. 1941	
	c. 1961	
16.	Distribution of German Households and Ethnic Services	123
	a. 1921	
	b. 1941	
	c. 1961	
17.	Distribution of Hungarian Households and Ethnic Services	134
	a. 1921	
	b. 1941	
	c. 1961	

Figure		Following Page
18.	Distribution of Minor Ethnic Group Households and Services	145
	a. 1921	
	b. 1941	
	c. 1961	
19.	Ethnic Regions and Sub-Regions of the Study Area, 1921, 1941 and 1961	200

LIST OF TABLES

Number		Page
1.	Ethnic Composition of the total population of selected major Canadian cities, 1961.	13
2.	City of Hamilton, 1941. Immigrant population according to period of immigration and ethnic origin.	19
3.	City of Hamilton, 1961. Immigrant population according to period of immigration and ethnic origin.	21
4.	Housing characteristics of the study area, 1961.	36
5.	Population characteristics of the study area, 1961.	37
6.	Italian ethnic services and institutions.	
	A - 1921	41
	B - 1941	46
	C - 1961	55 & 56
7.	Polish ethnic services and institutions.	
	A - 1921	69
	B - 1941	73
	C - 1961	77
8.	Ukrainian ethnic services and institutions.	
	A - 1921	85
	B - 1941	88
	C - 1961	92
9.	Jewish ethnic services and institutions	
	A - 1921	99
	B - 1941	104
	C - 1961	108

Number		Page
10.	German ethnic services and institutions.	
	A - 1921	114
	B - 1941	117
	C - 1961	120
11.	Hungarian ethnic services and institutions.	
	A - 1921	126
	B - 1941	126
	C - 1961	130
12.	Estimated population totals for the ethnic regions and sub-regions of the study area, 1921, 1941 and 1961.	197-200

LIST OF PLATES

Number		Page
1	Holy Ghost Greek Catholic Church of St. Olga	213
2	St. Vladimir's Greek Orthodox Ukrainian Church	213
3	Holy Resurrection Greek Orthodox Romanian Church	214
4	St. Cyril and Methodius Roman Catholic Slovakian Church	214
5	The former St. Anthony of Padua Italian Church	215
6	The present St. Anthony of Padua Italian Church	215
7	Ukrainian Presbyterian Church	216
8	Polish National Catholic Church	216
9	Italian United Church of the Redeemer	217
10	John Calvin Hungarian Presbyterian Church	217
11	Former Cannon Street Synagogue	218
12	Former Polish Alliance Hall	218
13	The Polonia Club	219
14	The Polish Veterans Hall	219
15	The Venetian Club	220
16	The Hamilton Italian Recreation Club	220
17	The Armenian Community Centre	221
18	The Maltese Club	221
19	An Italian Cinema	222
20	An Italian Funeral Chapel	222
21	Polish and Ukrainian Doctors' Surgeries	223
22	Italian Doctors' Surgeries	223
23	Armenian Rug Dealer's Sign	224

Number		Page
24	An Italian Household Decoration	224
25	Small Ukrainian Speciality Shop	225
26	Chinese Laundry	225
27	Small Italian Corner Store	226
28	High Class Italian Supermarket	226
29	Ethnic Establishment on James North	227
30	Further Ethnic Establishment on James	227
31	Italian Stores on James	228
32	Further Italian Stores on James	228
33	Italian and Ukrainian Services on Barton near Sherman	229
34	New Italian Stores on Barton adjacent to Sherman	229

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to make a regional study of an urban area containing an ethnically diverse population. It is not intended to be a systematic study of ethnic groups as such but rather a study of the changing internal regionalization of an area in which the ethnic element has played a major role.

The area selected for study is a strip of urban land on either side of Barton Street in the city of Hamilton, Ontario. This is one of the most cosmopolitan sectors of Hamilton. For many years past the size, density, and diversity of its ethnic population has been unsurpassed by that of any other part of the city. Associated with the settlement there of these various ethnic groups have been a number of commercial and professional services, and religious and social institutions. The ethnic element in this area first began to become important in the early part of the present century and has continued to grow ever since.

This study traces the growth of ethnic settlement here in order to find out whether any distinctive ethnic regions have been produced during the process, and if so, to describe and explain their characteristics and compare them with one another. It does this by first of all revealing cartographically the distribution of households, services, and institutions produced by each individual ethnic group during the period 1921 to 1961 and discussing the general sequence of change exhibited by each of the

groups. It then synthesizes these findings by diving the area of study into social regions based on ethnic characteristics and analyses any changes in ethnic content and areal extent which these undergo during the period studied.

Geographical study is concerned with spatial distributions on the surface of the earth and the interrelationships existing among such distributions. The present study is a geographical one concerned with a number of social distributions found within a relatively small but complex urban area. Containing as it does so many social differences, the city is always an extremely complex focus of study, even when occupied by an ethnically homogeneous society.[1] Such differences become much more marked when ethnic variations are found within the urban population. Most of the studies concerning ethnic distributions in North American cities have come from Sociology, with very few from Geography.[2] Nevertheless, the Geographer must concern himself with topics of ethnicity if he is to present a complete picture of such cities where successive immigrations of foreign population have occurred in the past, and indeed are often continuing at present.

Hamilton has been thus affected by waves of foreign immigrant population moving into the city since approximately the beginning of the present century. The resulting admixture of ethnic groups has produced changing patterns of areal distribution which can be studied with profit from the geographical point of view.

As the term "ethnic" is often a very loosely applied one, and even considered offensive in some contexts, it needs a firm definition for the purpose of this study. Henceforth it will refer to those racial-cultural groups of non-English speaking origin who have taken up residence in Hamilton after arriving in Canada as immigrants from the countries of continental Europe. Usually they have left their homelands for economic reasons and have come to Canada in the hope of economic betterment. However, a small number may have come principally for political reasons.

Strictly speaking, of course, all of Hamilton's population belongs ultimately to some ethnic group or other. However, the British and French origin population can be considered as belonging to a non-ethnic category as these two groups form the dual parts of the Canadian core-culture. Even recent immigrants of these origins become assimilated in a much shorter time and in an easier manner than the European continental ethnic groups because their general cultural background is nearer the Canadian norm.

These European groups persist in retaining a sufficient number of their own cultural traits to distinguish and isolate them for varying lengths of time. Such variations depend upon the national origin of the people concerned, the nature of the culture of which they are a part, the cohesive factors which they possess, and the attitude towards them of the remainder of the city population.[3] These factors contribute to the definite ethnic distributional patterns existing within the city and help to set a number

of ethnic groups apart from the majority of citizens.

The study begins with a general analysis of the ethnic composition of Hamilton's population and the changes which it has undergone since the beginning of the present century. The major periods of population growth and immigration are discussed with reference to these changes, and some comparisons with the ethnic structures of the 1961 populations of other major Canadian cities are made. To complete this introductory background the present distribution of population according to ethnic origin within Hamilton is described.

The major part of the study then selects the most cosmopolitan sector of Hamilton, namely the Barton Street area, and examines the distribution of ethnic features there over a forty year period, using cross-sections of the years 1921, 1941, and 1961. For each year an analysis is made of the distribution of households, services, and institutions associated with each individual ethnic group, discussing the most significant changes in pattern which are revealed and noting the sequences which they follow. Finally a synthesis is made of the interrelated patterns produced by the groups over the whole period and a series of regions and subregions based on ethnicity is delimited for each of the three years studied. These regions are analysed and classified according to their ethnic content and reasons suggested for any changes observed in their composition or areal extent from year to year. The basic research tool used is the map. A series of these are drawn to

reveal the distributions of individual ethnic groups at the chosen periods of time and a composite one to reveal the ethnic regions which such distributions have produced.

CHAPTER I - NOTES

1. See these two authors for some of the methods used in the study of the social geography of cities:

Watson, J. W. "The Sociological Aspects of Geography" in Geography in the Twentieth Century ed. Griffith Taylor, 3rd ed. rep.; London: Methuen, 1962 p.482.

Jones, Emrys "The City in Geography" London: G. Bell and Sons 1962. (This was the author's Inaugural Lecture as Professor of Geography in the University of London at the London School of Economics and Political Science, 3 May 1962) p.2.

Jones, Emrys "A Social Geography of Belfast" London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1960.

2. See especially the following works:

W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, "The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups." Yankee City Series, vol. III; London: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Cressey, Paul F., "Population Succession in Chicago,1898-1930" American Journal of Sociology. XLIV. pp.59-69.

Lieberson, Stanley, "Ethnic Patterns in American Cities," New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.

Gist, Noel P. and Halbert, L. A., "Urban Society," 3rd ed; New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell Company, 1954. p.96.

3. Ware, Caroline F., "Ethnic Communities," in "Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences," ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman, vol. V; New York: McMillan Company, 1931. pp.607-613.

CHAPTER II

THE POPULATION OF HAMILTON

(i) The City of Hamilton

Hamilton is the fifth city of Canada in size and is the nation's major centre of heavy industry. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century it has grown from a small agricultural village to its present population of 273,991 within a total metropolitan area of 395,189. Situated at the foot of the Niagara Escarpment and backed in the west by the pre-glacial Dundas Valley, the major part of the city lies on the lake-shore plain at the extreme western end of Lake Ontario (see fig. 1). It is cut off from the outer lake by two gravel bars, the remnants of previous lake level shore lines. The outer bar cuts off Hamilton Harbour from Lake Ontario, while the inner bar separates Cootes Paradise from the Harbour. Hamilton's "Head of the Lake" situation and its superb harbour have contributed to its emergence as a major centre of Canadian industry.

The site of the city is affected by several prominent physical features. The greatest of these is the "Mountain," part of the Niagara Escarpment which severs the city in a predominantly east-west direction. Today this has created an upper level of the city above the scarp slope and a lower level on the lakeshore plain between the escarpment and the Harbour. Less spectacular is the Red Hill Creek on the east side of the plain and the Chedoke Ravine

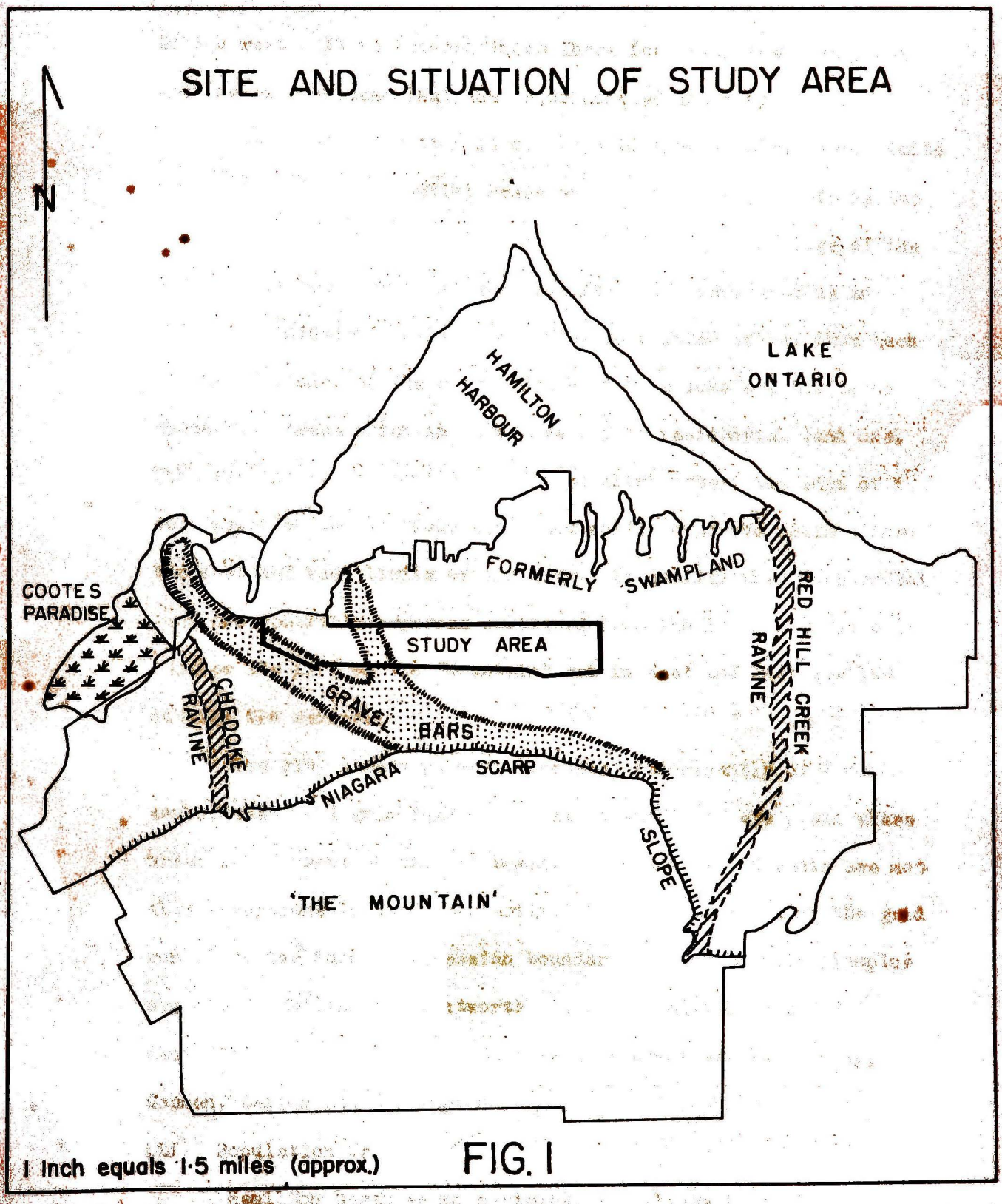

SITE AND SITUATION OF STUDY AREA
N
HAMILTON HARBOUR
LAKE ONTARIO
FORMERLY SWAMPLAND
COOTES PARADISE
STUDY AREA
RED HILL CREEK RAVINE
CHEROKE RAVINE
GRAVEL BARS
NIAGARA SCARP
SLOPE
'THE MOUNTAIN'
1 inch equals 1·5 miles (approx.)

FIG. 1

to the west. It is between these three features, the escarpment and the two ravines, that the major part of the city lies.

As a generalization it can be said that outside these limits are the growing residential areas of the city while inside is the real heart of Hamilton. The former swamp land on the edge of the Harbour has been reclaimed over the years and developed as an intensive industrial belt, segregated to a large extent from much of the remainder of the city. South of this zone are the major commercial areas which in turn give way to residential land use. This extends to the foot of, and then climbs over, the edge of the escarpment on to the "Mountain," and spills over the ravines into the east and west limits of the city. In quality this residential land use generally improves southward from the industrial zone and reaches its peak on the "Mountain" and in West and East Hamilton outside the ravines.

The city street pattern consists predominantly of a north-south, east-west grid laid out first on the lakeshore plain where urban development originally began. York and King Streets are notable exceptions to this regularity. The main arteries of the grid run along the former concession boundaries. North-south examples are James, Wellington, Wentworth, Sherman, Gage, Ottawa and Kenilworth, while the major east-west arteries are Main, King, Cannon, Barton and Burlington.

(ii) Population Growth

Hamilton began as an agricultural village in a pioneer

region at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It gradually developed into a market town with small-scale local industry to meet the needs of the surrounding agricultural region. Consequently population growth was relatively slow during the greater part of the century and it was not until the industrial stimulus of the closing decades that the growth rate noticeably increased (see fig. 2). Between 1871 and 1901 the population of the city doubled from 26,880 to 52,634. The beginning of the present century heralded a thirty year period of much greater relative increase. The 1931 figure of 155,547 represented a trebling of the 1901 total and this period was really the coming of age of Hamilton as Canada's major heavy industry centre. Subsequently population growth stagnated until after the second world war due to the economic depression of the pre-war period which struck the heavy industry of Hamilton with particular severity. In the post-war period population growth has again become active with a 65,000 increase in 1961 over the 1951 figure.

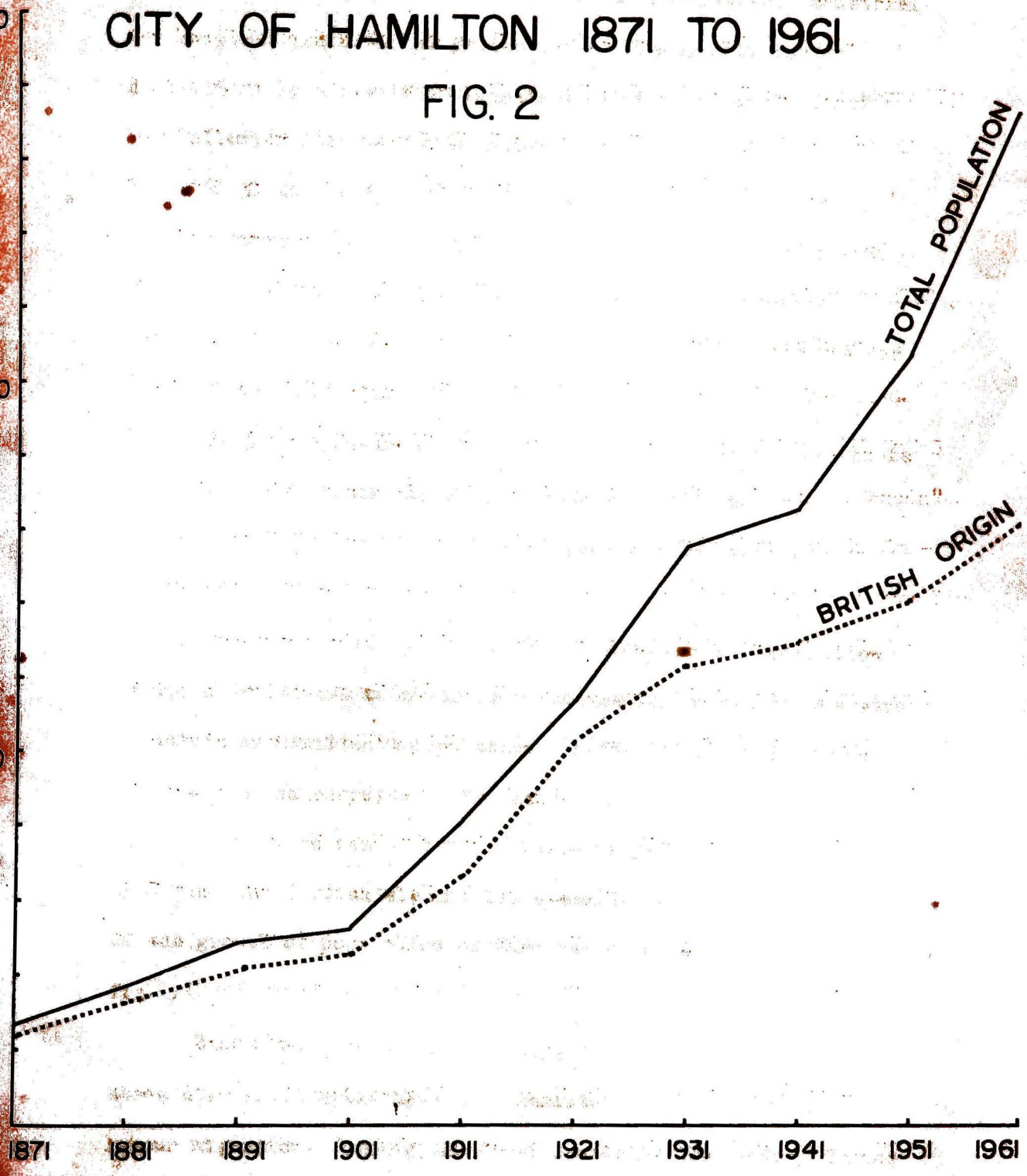
The most important periods of economic development in Hamilton have been recognized as follows:[1]

1 - 1853-57 as a result of early railroad development and the development of regional and national markets for Hamilton products.

2 - 1896-1907 as a result of the simultaneous introduction of very hydro electric power, further railroad development in the form of the Hamilton and Buffalo railway, and the bring-into operation of a blast furnace.

POPULATION GROWTH OF THE CITY OF HAMILTON 1871 TO 1961

FIG. 2



3 - 1910-13 as a result of better harbour facilities, industrial mergers, and national protectionist fiscal policies.

4 - 1915-21 as a result of increased war-time production and the following post-war consumption boom.

5 - 1926-30 as a result of better harbour facilities, the construction of the new Welland Canal, excellent city advertising, the growth of importance of the British Imperial Preference and the development of international markets for Hamilton products.

6 - 1940-45 as a result of the full utilization of all available industrial plants and skills in the war effort.

Since 1945 there has been an even greater expansion of Hamilton's industrial base.

The two interrelated factors of economic and population growth have between them worked a fundamental change in the ethnic structure of Hamilton's population. Before 1900 Hamilton was to all intents and purposes a "British" city, in that over 90 per cent of the population was of British Isles origin. However, since that time the British element has steadily declined in the face of the growth of population of European continental origin. (see fig. 2)

Since the turn of the century, the heavy industry and its associated ancillaries have made Hamilton a constant magnet for labour migration. During the first decade of the century Canada as a whole experienced a very rapid immigration rising to a peak

of over 400,000 in 1913. New settlers were being rapidly absorbed on the prairies but many of them were eastern Canadians and their places in the east were being filled by newcomers from abroad. The prairie boom gave a stimulus to manufacturing in the eastern cities and thousands of immigrants moved directly into industrial employment. Hamilton was one of the cities affected by this movement and the change in the ethnic character of the city had its origins in this period.

Among those attracted to the city were many non-English speaking people from the continent of Europe. A great number of these new immigrants were unskilled workers who sought labouring jobs in the iron and steel plants. These people formed the original nucleus of Hamilton's present European population, the "ethnic groups" in the sense that the term is used in this study. Coming in at a low socio-economic level they began to produce many of today's distinctive patterns.

In 1961, 59 per cent of the city's population claimed ultimate origin in the British Isles, the lowest figure in Hamilton's history (see table 1). This was a 30 per cent decline from the 1901 figure. Before that date non-British movement into the city had been negligible, but the change began soon afterwards and really gained momentum in the 1920-30 decade. By 1911 the British origin figure showed its first significant drop as the city's industry began to affect the pattern of immigration. It rose slightly in 1921 as a result of large-scale immigration from

the British Isles after the first world war, but was falling again by 1931 and 1941.

This process accelerated after 1945, reaching much lower figures in 1951 and 1961. This is accounted for by the large-scale European immigration during the late 'forties and early 'fifties. Consequently, while the germs of change were planted earlier in the century, the post-1945 period with its heavy immigration has contributed most to the cosmopolitan character of Hamilton's population.

In its proportion of British population Hamilton is in an intermediate position among the major non-French Canadian cities of Canada (see table 1). Calgary and Vancouver are almost similar while Ottawa and Toronto are slightly lower. The Maritime cities of Halifax and St. Johns have much higher British figures as would be expected from their east coast locations and essentially non-industrial character. The prairie cities of Edmonton and Winnipeg have much lower figures, explained by the history of immigration into the prairie provinces. Hamilton reflects almost exactly the British origin figure for the province of Ontario and to that extent it can be called typical with regard to basic ethnic structure.

The percentage sizes of individual non-British origin groups in Hamilton have varied relatively from time to time but all have shown absolute increases (see fig. 3). In 1901 the Germans were by far the largest "ethnic" group, and apart from the

PERCENTAGE SIZE OF HAMILTON'S NON-BRITISH ETHNIC GROUPS 1901 TO 1961

FIG. 3

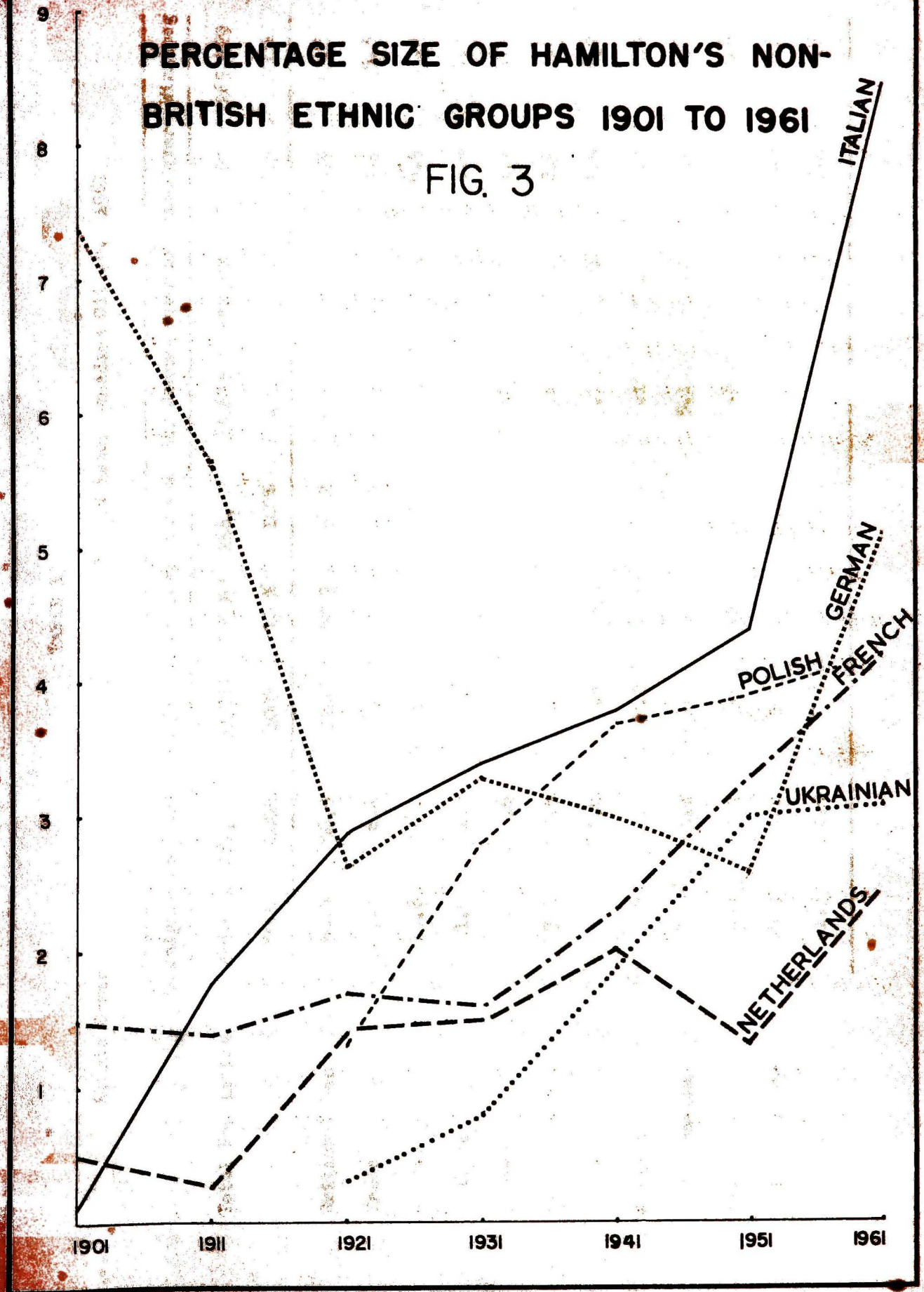


TABLE 1

Ethnic Composition of the Total Population of Selected Major Canadian Cities. 1961.

	Calgary	Edmonton	Halifax	Hamilton	Ottawa	St. Johns	Toronto	Vancouver	Winnipeg
Total Population	249,641	281,027	92,511	273,991	268,206	63,633	672,407	384,522	265,429
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
British Isles	58.9	56.3	72.0	58.9	55.2	94.9	51.6	59.9	42.8
French	3.8	6.2	10.8	4.2	25.5	1.4	4.1	3.2	5.3
German	10.8	12.2	4.6	5.2	3.5	.6	4.6	6.9	11.4
Italian	1.9	1.6	.6	8.5	3.1	.1	11.6	3.4	1.6
Jewish	.7	.6	.7	.7	1.3	.1	1.7	1.1	4.4
Netherlands	3.5	3.5	3.0	2.5	1.4	.1	1.0	2.4	2.6
Polish	2.0	4.0	.4	4.2	1.3	.1	4.0	1.9	6.2
Russian	1.4	.1	.2	.5	.4	.1	.6	1.3	1.0
Scandinavian	5.6	5.2	1.1	.8	.9	5.1	.7	4.9	3.8
Ukrainian	2.8	11.6	.2	3.1	.9	.5	3.9	2.4	13.6
Other European	5.5	5.3	1.6	8.1	2.5	3.3	11.2	5.9	5.0
Asiatic	1.3	1.0	9.8	.8	1.1	3.3	1.9	5.2	8.8

French, other groups were negligible in size. By 1911 the German figure had fallen somewhat while the Italians showed an increase. There was little change among other groups.

The influences of large-scale immigration were first strongly felt in the 1921 figures. The Italian group had again increased and for the first time there was a notable eastern European group, composed mainly of Poles and Ukrainians. This trand has continued with varying emphasis ever since. The Italian element has remained by far the strongest being especially strengthened during the 1950's. The greatest relative Polish increase occurred between 1921 and 1931 but since then the rate of increase has been smaller. The Ukrainian figure has always remained smaller than the Polish.

The Netherlands increase was small and smooth until 1951 when subsequent immigration more than doubled it by 1961. From being the largest non-British group in the city in 1901 the Germans reached their lowest proportion between the two world wars. However, the group began to grow vigorously after 1945 and doubled itself in the 1951-61 decade until at the latter date they formed the second largest ethnic group after the Italians. The French element grew slowly but steadily after 1901 with a small temporary decline between 1921 and 1931 and had reached their highest peak by 1961.

The above groups are the major ones in the city but there is a sizeable "Other European" category containing a variety of groups which, with a few exceptions, are too small to be individually

important in the total population. The Hungarian element began to grow in the 'twenties but subsequently there was no further significant increase until the immigration of the late 'fifties boosted the size of the group. The Jewish group became relatively strong in the first decade of the century but since then has declined in relative size as the group has not been strengthened by any large scale immigration. The Scandinavian element has always remained very small showing only a tiny relative increase. The Asiatic group has also remained small as have such groups as the Czechs, Slovaks and Romanians.

In summary it is true to say that all groups have grown in absolute numbers and most in relative importance with the Jewish group being the most notable exception in the latter category. Hamilton occupies an intermediate position among major Canadian cities with regard to the ethnic composition of its non-British population (see table 1). All the western cities have larger German elements but much smaller Italian elements. In fact only Toronto surpasses Hamilton's Italian figure. The city's Asiatic figure is the lowest of any major non-French city in Canada, while its Ukrainian figure is surpassed only by Edmonton, Winnipeg and Toronto. Hamilton resembles its close neighbour Toronto most of all in its ethnic structure. This fact might be expected from these two highly industrialized Ontario cities despite their discrepancy in size. However, the city has a slightly greater proportion of eastern and southern European

national origins and a smaller proportion of northern and western compared with the mean figure for Ontario.

(iii) Ethnic immigration in the pre-1941 and pre-1961 periods.

There is no completely accurate method for tracing in detail the past movement of ethnic population into Hamilton as such statistics do not exist. However, a fairly good idea of such movements can be gained from those census tables which show immigrant population according to period of immigration and ethnic origin for the major cities of Canada. These figures show only the period of arrival of the immigrant in Canada and not actually in, for example, Hamilton. But they are valuable for showing the general trends of movement into the city for it is probable that in most cases Hamilton was the first and only place of permanent residence in Canada for most of the ethnic population in it today.

As the major part of this study selects three particular years for special examination it is of interest to reconstruct the position with regard to ethnic movements into the city during the periods preceding these years. A word needs to be said concerning the reasons for the choice of these particular years, 1921, 1941, and 1961. It was felt that they were most representative of the various stages of ethnic "invasion" of the city as a whole and so could be used as cross-sections in which to examine the main features of ethnic occupance of the chosen study area.

Before 1911 the ethnic diversity of Hamilton's population was not sufficiently great to make much impact on the city, except

perhaps for a few very small areas. Subsequently in the period after 1911, foreign immigration increased and by 1921 several ethnic groups had arrived in large enough numbers to make their distinctive influence felt in the form of residential patterns and ethnic service patterns in certain parts of the city. As a result this year was chosen to illustrate the first stages of distinctive ethnic occupance of the study area.

Foreign immigration continued on a comparatively large scale, until the depressed years of the 1930's, when it ceased almost entirely. So by 1941 the greatly increased "ethnic" population had had time to settle down and evolve peculiar ecological patterns. Thus that year represented a further stage in the development of ethnic occupance. After 1945 immigration resumed on a scale greater than in any previous period and this was reflected in ethnic distributions within the city. The year 1961 illustrates the more advanced stages of ethnic occupation which had emerged from the cumulative effect of nearly fifty years "invasion" of foreign population. The first year of each decade was particularly chosen to coincide with the decennial census statistics.

Unfortunately the 1921 census statistics give no detailed ethnic break-down of population movements for Hamilton but this is done for 1941 and 1961. In 1941 about 32 per cent of the city's total population were immigrants (see table 2). Two-thirds of them had arrived between 1911 and 1931 and only a very small proportion after 1931. The majority of all immigrants were British born while many of the ethnic groups were very small

With regard to period of immigration, practically all groups showed very low figures for the 1931-41 period due almost entirely to the effects of the contemporary economic depression. Some groups showed proportionately high arrivals in the period before 1911 among them being the British, German, French, Russian, Danish, Swedish and Italian. However, some of these were so small in actual number as to be insignificant.

The 1911-20 decade saw an increase in the entry of most groups, exceptions being Hungarian, Finnish, Czech-Slovakian, Danish and most notably, German. There were no exceptions in the subsequent 1921-30 period when the immigration rate for all ethnic groups was high. Then, of course, followed the depression of the 1930's.

There were, then, several basic trends in ethnic immigration in the pre-1941 period. Both in proportion and in actual numbers British Isles immigration was still vastly greater than that of any other single group. Moreover the flow of British immigration was more regular until the 'thirties, with only a slight increase above average in the 1911-20 period. Immigration from the United States followed a similar pattern only it continued throughout the 1931-40 period. Total European immigration was quite small before 1911. It increased in the 1911-20 period and reached its peak between 1921 and 1930 before almost ceasing after the latter date. Some European groups showed few fluctuations but most had their peaks in the years after the first world war.

The 1961 census table showing immigrant population according

TABLE 2

City of Hamilton. 1941. Immigrant population according to period of immigration and ethnic origin.

	TOTALS	PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION					
		pre-1911	1911-20	1921-30	1931-35	1936-39	1940-41
Total	53,776	14,053	16,483	19,187	1,964	1,135	581
	100%	26.1	30.7	35.7	3.7	2.1	1.1
British Isles	35,149	10,638	12,535	10,650	522	284	246
	100%	30.3	35.7	30.3	1.5	.8	.7
United States	3,800	1,109	843	1,046	399	218	158
	100%	29.2	22.2	27.5	10.5	5.7	4.2
Europe	12,244	1,912	2,625	6,580	650	419	16
	100%	15.6	21.4	53.7	5.3	3.4	.1
Poland	3,468	439	773	1,917	185	130	3
	100%	12.7	22.3	55.3	5.3	3.7	-
Italy	2,347	569	847	823	68	38	-
	100%	24.2	36.1	35.1	2.9	1.6	-
Hungary	1,652	71	57	1,302	154	63	-
	100%	4.3	3.5	78.8	9.3	3.8	-
U.S.S.R.	929	261	327	316	15	8	-
	100%	28.1	35.2	34.0	1.6	.9	-
Austria	673	124	176	326	33	11	-
	100%	18.4	26.1	48.4	4.9	1.6	-
Rumania	556	103	162	260	23	4	2
	100%	18.5	29.1	46.8	4.1	.7	.4
Germany	317	139	36	121	11	8	-
	100%	43.8	11.4	38.2	3.5	2.5	-
Czech	614	22	25	393	90	82	-
	100%	3.6	4.1	64.0	14.7	13.4	-
Other European	383	71	63	303	8	7	2
	100						

to period of immigration and ethnic origin confirms the above picture (see table 3). However, it also shows the great flood of ethnic groups into Hamilton in the post-1945 era. Of the total number of immigrants in the city by 1961, 59 per cent had arrived during this time. The proportion of British Isles immigrants in the total number was smaller than at any previous time in the city's history, and only 38 per cent of the total British Isles immigrant population had arrived during the period.

This was a relatively low figure compared with some of the remarkably high ones for European groups. The highest were for the Dutch, German and Italian groups, with slightly lower rates for the Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian and other smaller groups. The only substantial groups which had less then 50 per cent of their total immigrants arrive after 1945 were the British, French, Russian and Asiatic.

Two groups, the Poles and the Ukrainians, had their greatest post-1945 proportions come in the 1946-50 period, but for most the really large wave of immigrants came after 1951. The reasons were partly economic and partly political. In the case of the Poles, Ukrainians, Hungarians and Germans, the political motives were important. Many of the German immigrants were formerly resident in the East German region or even in Poland until they moved west as refugees after the war and finally made their way to Canada. In the case of Hungarian immigration the 1956 rising in that country had important effects as about 39 per cent of Hamilton's Hungarian immigrants came after that year. On the other hand, post-war

TABLE 3

City of Hamilton. 1961. Immigrant Population according to period of immigration and ethnic origin.

	TOTALS	PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION					
		pre-1921	1921-30	1931-45	1946-50	1951-55	1956-61
GROUP TOTAL	85,738	18,538	13,612	3,178	11,014	18,546	20,850
Per Centage	100%	21.6	1.9	3.7	12.8	21.6	24.3
British Isles	37,341	14,549	7,301	1,274	3,397	4,630	6,190
	100%	39.0	19.6	3.4	9.1	12.4	16.6
French	430	118	60	51	31	70	100
	100%	27.4	14.0	11.9	7.2	16.3	23.2
German	5,872	242	265	116	331	2,427	2,511
	100%	4.1	4.5	2.0	5.3	41.3	42.8
Italian	13,527	985	703	193	1,406	4,688	5,552
	100%	7.3	5.2	1.4	10.4	34.7	41.0
Netherlands	3,325	62	105	36	427	1,565	1,128
	100%	1.9	3.2	1.0	12.8	47.0	33.9
Polish	5,423	601	1,364	363	1,494	897	704
	100%	11.1	25.2	6.7	27.5	16.5	13.0
Russian	536	171	114	24	96	104	27
	100%	31.9	21.3	4.5	17.9	19.4	5.0
Scandinavian	721	113	161	25	30	134	258
	100%	15.7	22.3	3.5	4.2	18.6	35.8
Ukrainian	3,094	378	588	154	1,085	645	244
	100%	12.2	19.0	5.0	35.1	20.8	7.9
Mother Tongue Magyar	2,024	199	427	152	693	364	189
	100%	9.8	21.1	7.5	34.2	18.0	9.3
Other European	14,283	922	2,784	883	2,664	3,210	3,820
	100%	6.5	19.5	6.2	18.7	22.5	26.7
Asiatic	815	292	118	23	38	145	199
	100%	35.8	14.5	2.8	4.7	17.8	24.4

Italian immigration was triggered off almost exclusively for economic reasons.

In actual numbers of immigrants of course there have been wide discrepancies among different groups. British Isles immigrants continued to form the largest single group, but the Italians followed quite closely behind. Germans formed the third most substantial group. The 1945-61 period was the most important ever both for the total amount of foreign population added to the city's total, and for the increase in the proportion of groups of European origin in the total population. During this time the economic, social and cultural impact of these ethnic groups on all facets of city life has become most evident.

(iv) Ethnic Residential Patterns

One of the most interesting results of this immigration has been the emergence in Hamilton of distinctive residential sectors occupied by certain ethnic groups. As has been noted previously, this is a common feature of those American cities which have had large-scale ethnic "invasions" in the past. From the point of view of the diverse nature of its ethnic population, its distinctive ethnic residential patterns, and the cultural impact of ethnic institutions and services on the urban landscape, Hamilton is a small-scale example of the classic North American industrial city.

Before the issue of the 1961 census tract series on Hamilton it was impossible to describe in any quantitative form the ethnic residential patterns of the city. Several geographical studies

which briefly considered these qualities delineated a few general regions of ethnic residential density. From his own observations and surveys, Watson concluded that there were certain "human regions" within the city associated with hetereogeneous ethnic concentration.[2]

In his study of the "Cultural Areas and Neighbourhoods of Hamilton," Nagle used the intensity of ethnic distribution as a criterion for delineating his areas, as he considered it normal for people of like culture and nationality to live in close proximity.[3] By using a 5 per cent sample of the total city population he constructed a distrubution map which showed the more significant clusterings of some of the larger ethnic groups.

From this map he showed that there were concentrations of ethnic peoples from Sherman Avenue to Ottawa Street, in many of the isolated residential pockets north of the Canadian National Railway tracks, in the James Street North Area, and in the sector north of York Street. On the other hand, few ethnic cases occurred in Westdale and in the Queen Street - Aberdeen Avenue area, these being almost exclusively Anglo-Saxon in origin. Although such British origin population also predominated on the Mountain there was a greater variety of ethnic mixing. Nagle's sample allowed only the Italian, Polish and Ukrainian groups to stand out with the Baltic and German people showing some minor concentration.

A more quantitative assessment of ethnic distributions has been possible only since the publication of the 1961 census tract

series for Hamilton, giving figures for the population characteristics of 65 census tracts within the city (see fig. 4). From these figures a series of choropleth maps have been constructed showing the percentage distribution per census tract of each of the major ethnic groups. In reading these maps it is important to note that the values used for each division were derived from scatter diagrams drawn for each group so that the densities are not strictly comparable. This was done because of the widely varying sizes of the groups. However, they do show the main ethnic residential concentrations within the city formed by the largest ethnic groups. The percentages of foreign born population, and of those who immigrated in the 1946-61 period were also mapped to show their associations with ethnicicity.

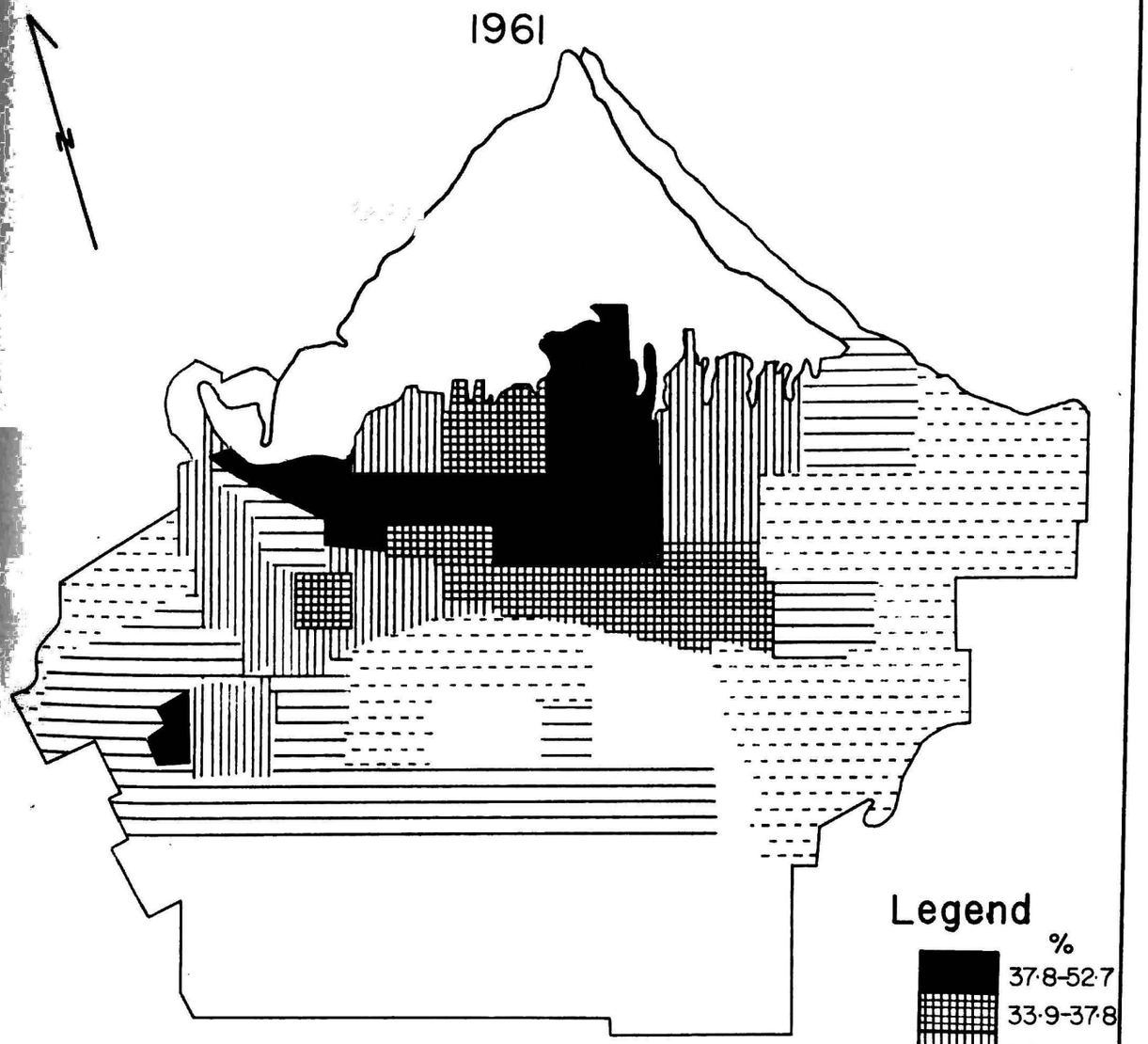
The strongest concentration of population of non-Canadian origin is found on the lake-shore plain between the escarpment, Chedoke and Kenilworth, with the greatest densities north of Main. (see fig. 5a). There is one pocket of high density west of Garth on the mountain. The distribution of those who immigrated between 1946 and 1961 follows the same pattern quite closely (see fig. 5b). It increases northwards from the foot of the Mountain and has its greatest density along the Barton Street axis. Densities fall off east of Ottawa and in the west end where the proportion of post-war immigrants in the population is very low. The situation is similar on the edge of the Mountain although densities do increase south of it. Again there is a pocket of greater density on the Mountain west of Garth.

INDEX MAP OF CENSUS TRACTS OF CITY OF HAMILTON

1 Inch equals 1·5 miles (approx.)

FIG. 4

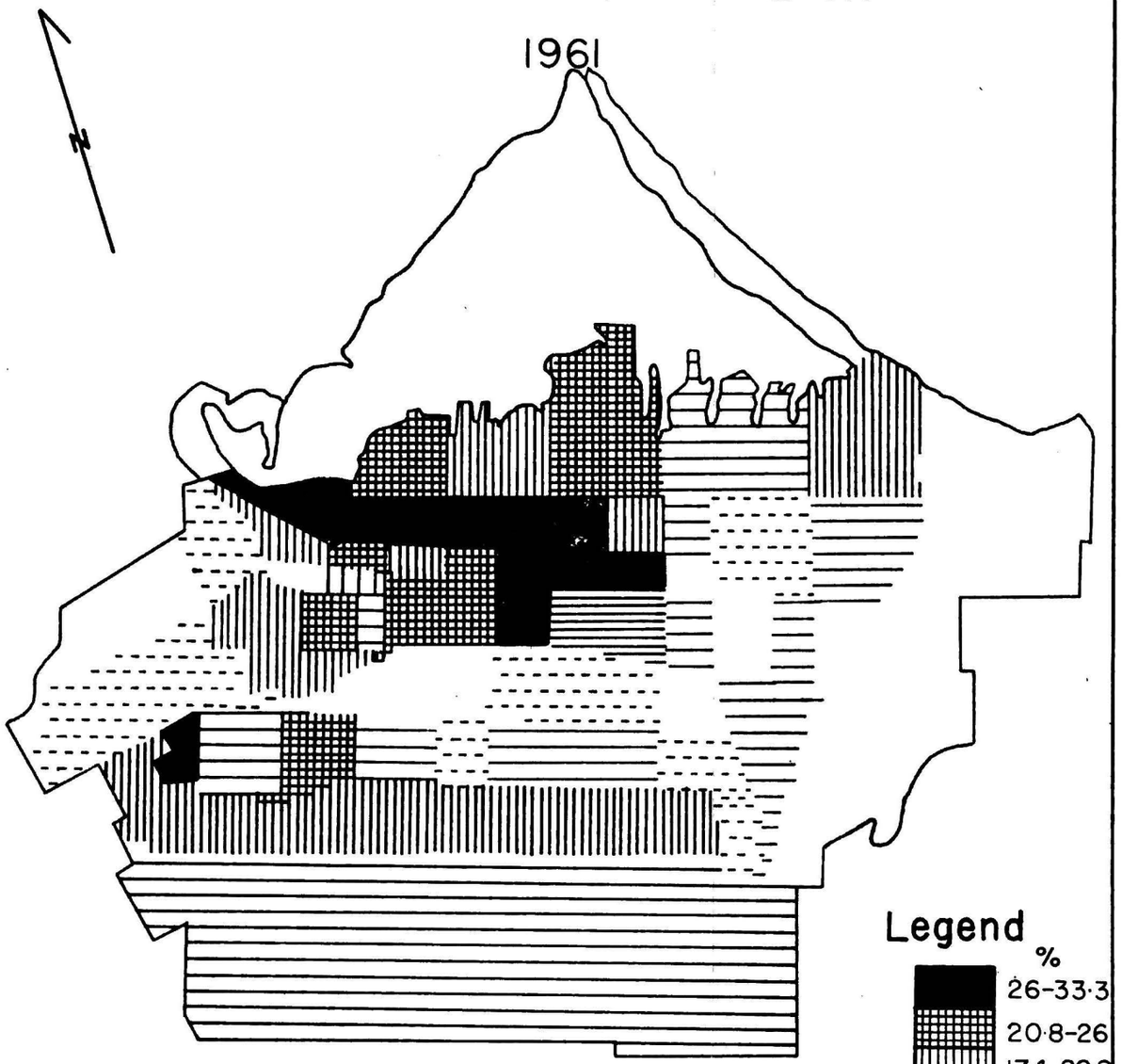
DISTRIBUTION PER CENSUS TRACT OF
POPULATION OF NON-CANADIAN ORIGIN IN
THE CITY OF HAMILTON
1961



1 inch equals 1·5 miles (approx.)

FIG. 5a

DISTRIBUTION PER CENSUS TRACT OF
1946-1961 IMMIGRANT POPULATION
IN THE CITY OF HAMILTON
1961



1 inch equals 1·5 miles (approx.)

FIG. 5b

The British origin population pattern is almost exactly the negative of the foreign-born pattern (fig. 6a). Comparatively speaking that section of the city north of Main has very low British densities but they begin to rise east of Ottawa and west of York until they reach their peak on the Mountain. Again the pocket west of Garth stands out, this time because of the relative paucity of British population. The Beach Strip is an area of strong British density.

The German concentrations follow the British pattern to some extent but are more highly localized (fig. 6b). German population is thin north of Main and it reaches its greatest density in the area between Main and the escarpment, and Chedoke and Gage. This merges into fair densities in West Hamilton and on the west end of the Mountain. Coversely, the east side of the Mountain from Upper Wellington onwards has low densities as has the entire east end of Hamilton.

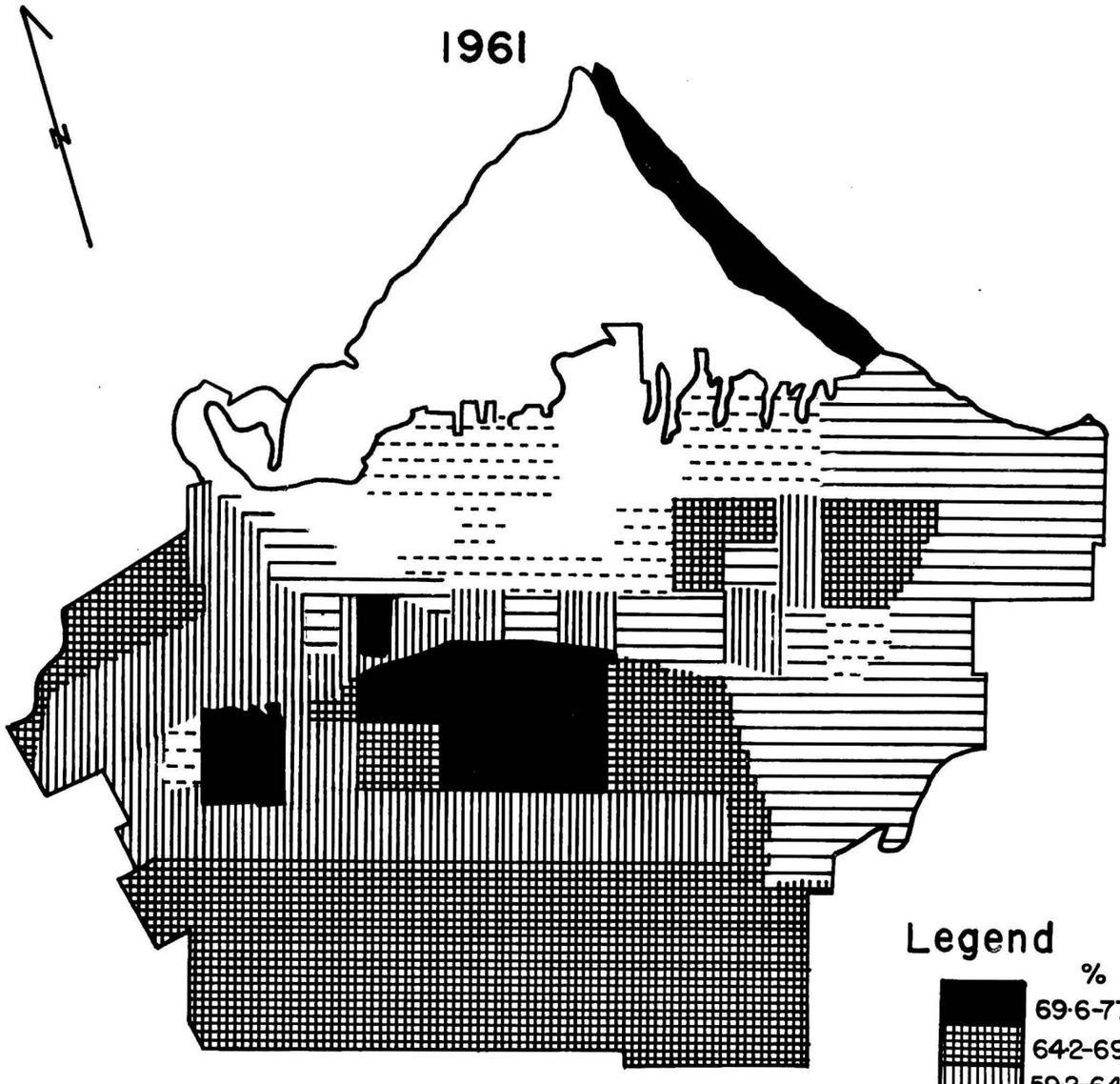
The greatest Italian concentrations are undoubtedly in the north west quarter of the city bounded by Main and Ottawa (see fig.7b). The Red Hill Creek area also has a comparatively high density. Italian settlement on the Mountain is generally light and in west Hamilton very light. It also falls off somewhat east of Ottawa. There is an association between the distribution of Catholic population, and not only the Italian group but also that area north of the Mountain containing the highest densities of non-Canadian population and recent immigrants (see fig. 7a).

DISTRIBUTION PER CENSUS TRACT OF

POPULATION OF BRITISH ORIGIN IN

THE CITY OF HAMILTON

1961



1 inch equals 1·5 miles (approx.)

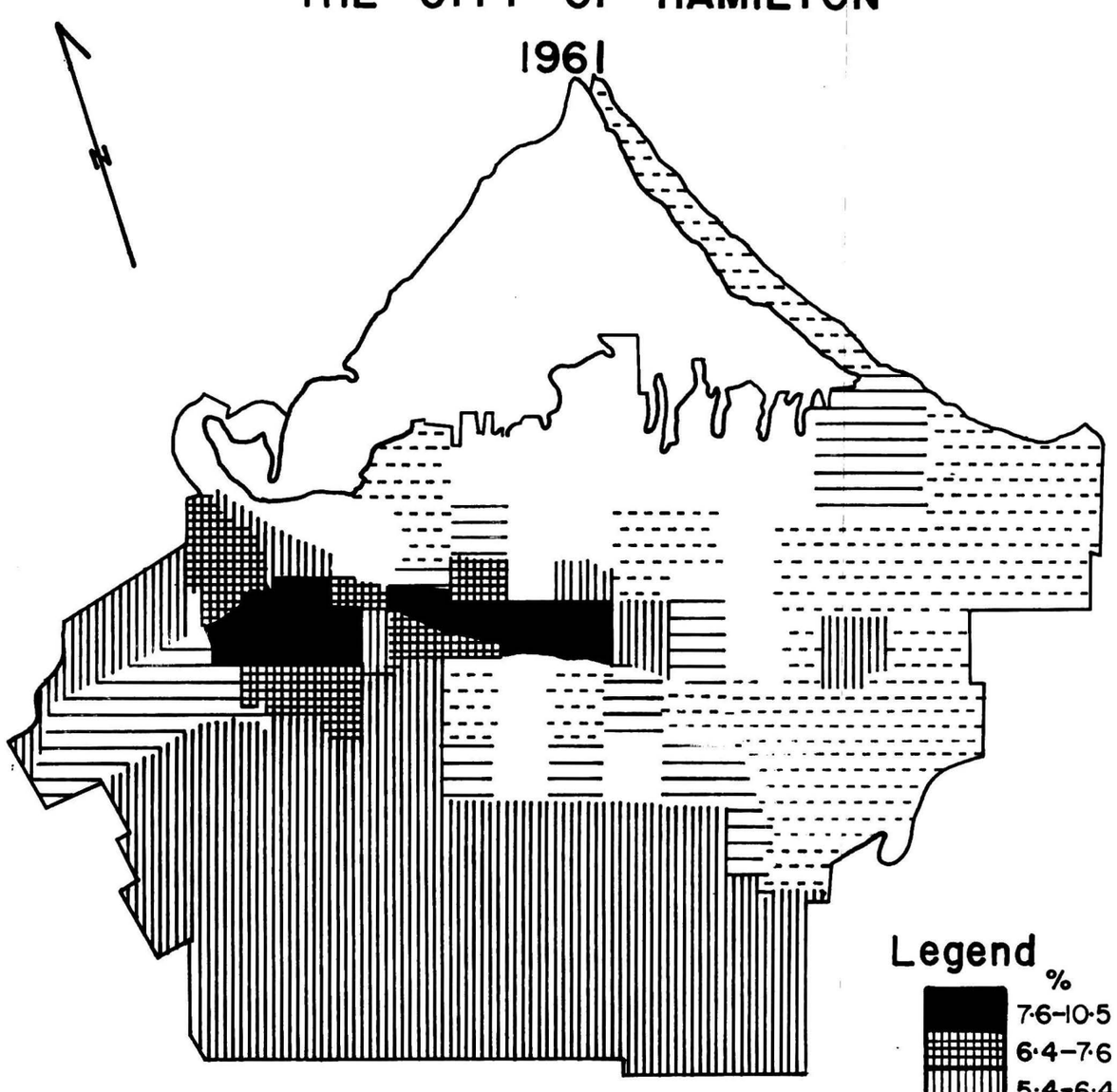
FIG. 6a

DISTRIBUTION PER CENSUS TRACT OF

POPULATION OF GERMAN ORIGIN IN

THE CITY OF HAMILTON

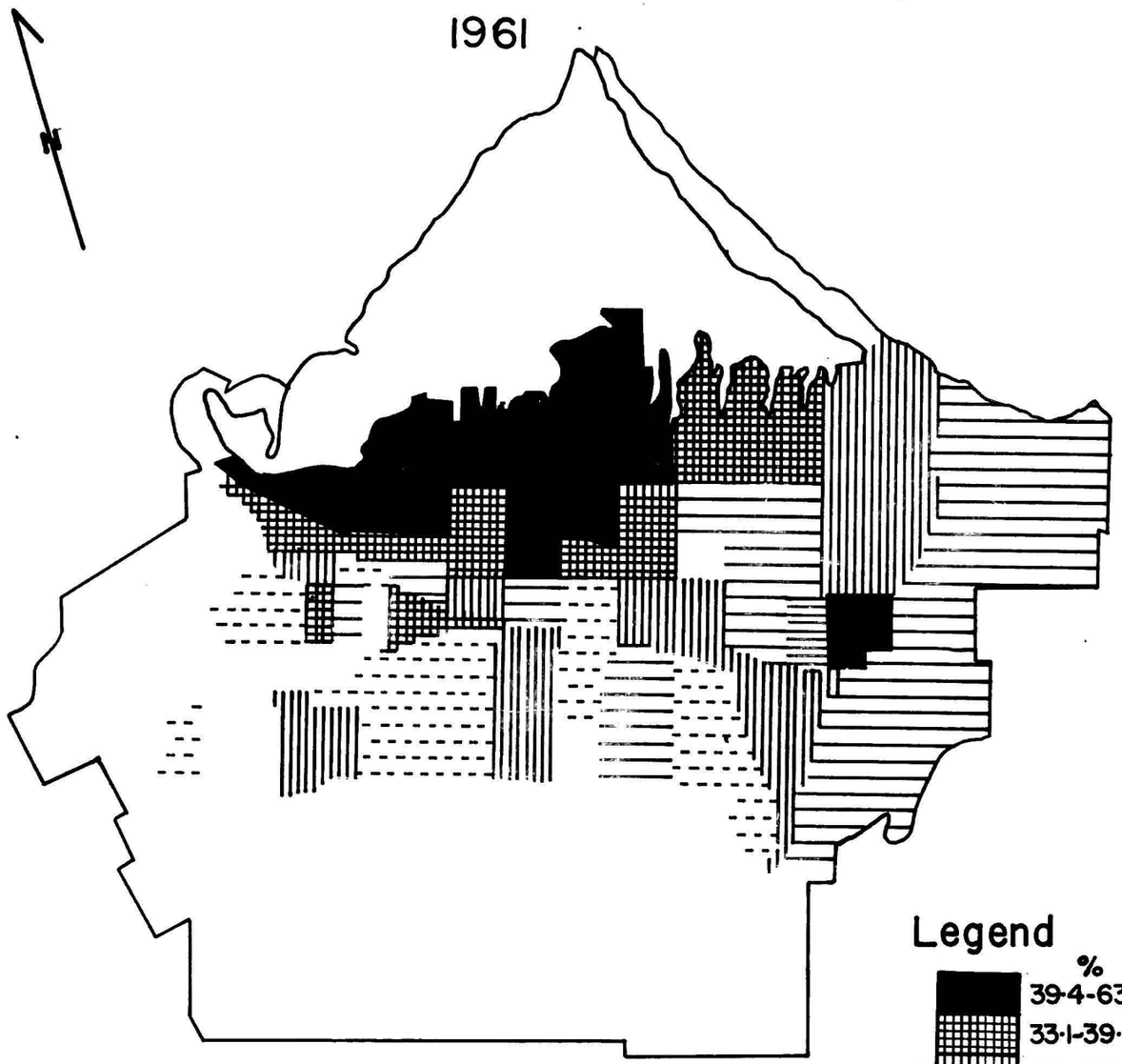
1961



1 inch equals 1·5 miles (approx.)

FIG. 6b

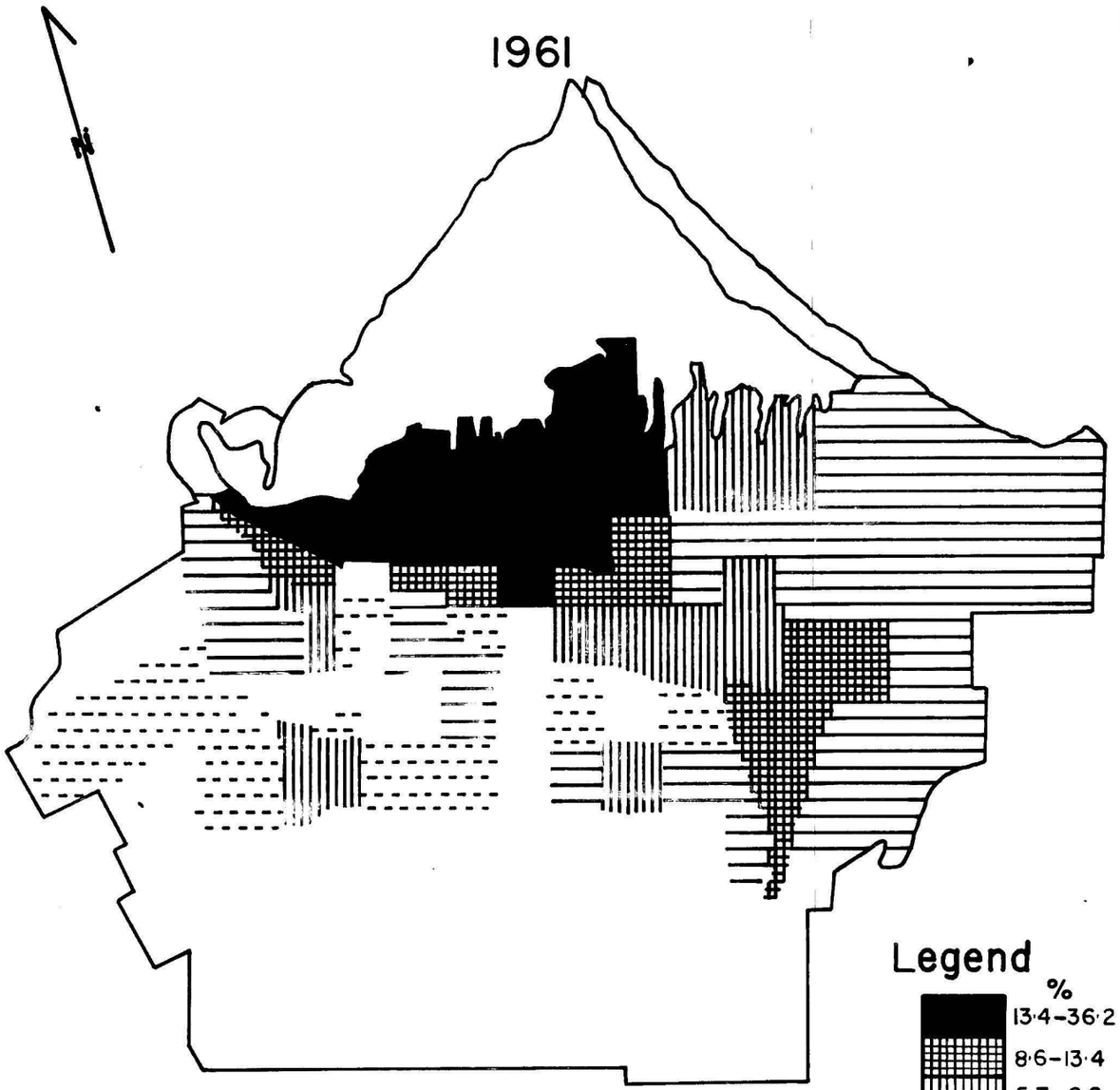
DISTRIBUTION PER CENSUS TRACT OF
CATHOLIC POPULATION IN
THE CITY OF HAMILTON
1961



1 inch equals 1·5 miles (approx)

FIG. 7a

DISTRIBUTION PER CENSUS TRACT OF
POPULATION OF ITALIAN ORIGIN IN
THE CITY OF HAMILTON
1961



1 inch equals 1·5 miles (approx.)

FIG. 7b

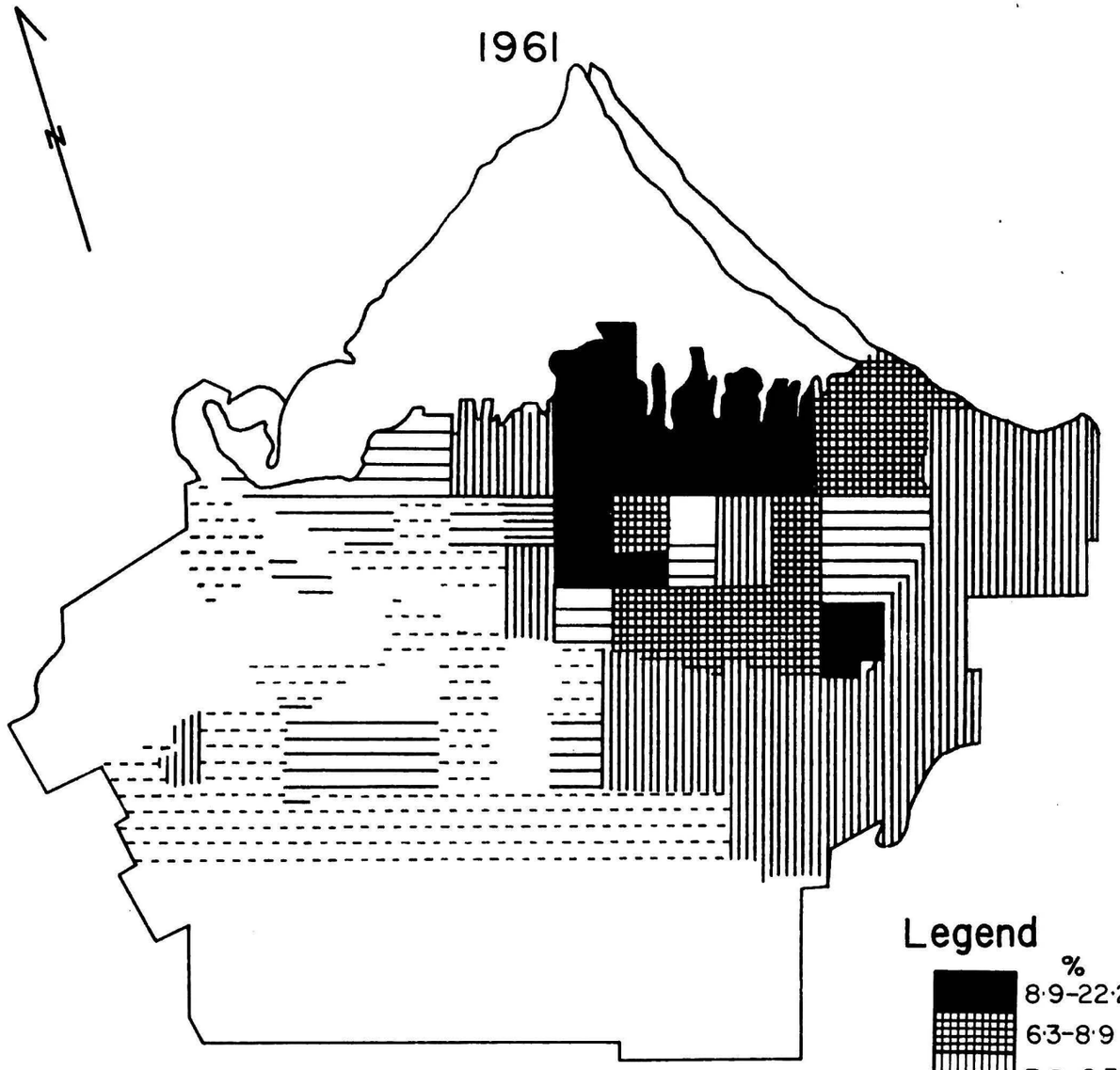
The Polish and Ukrainian distributions are rather similar to one another and are remarkable in that their influence is quite definitely confined to the north-east third of Hamilton (see figs. 8a & b). Greatest densities are reached in the extreme north and while these gradually taper off gently towards the east they drop more abruptly towards the west beyond Sherman. The greater part of the west end and of the Mountain have low Polish and Ukrainian percentages.

When comparing these distributions it should be borne in mind that in practically all census tracts the majority of the population is still of British origin. The only exception is the tract north of York and west of James North where the population is 36 per cent Italian and 28 per cent British. In nearly all cases also the Italian population is greater than the Polish or Ukrainian. In interpreting these maps one should pay close attention to the numbers involved.

This has been merely a very general examination of the distributions to show that very definite ethnic residential patterns do exist in Hamilton. It is also obvious that there are associations between these patterns and the various social regions of the city. The major heavy industrial region runs along the north and water-front and extends south mainly as far as the Canadian National Railway track with a few instrusions to Barton. The central business district is situated around the James - King intersection and does not extend much farther south than Main. The other main concentra-

DISTRIBUTION PER CENSUS TRACT OF POPULATION OF POLISH ORIGIN IN THE CITY OF HAMILTON

1961

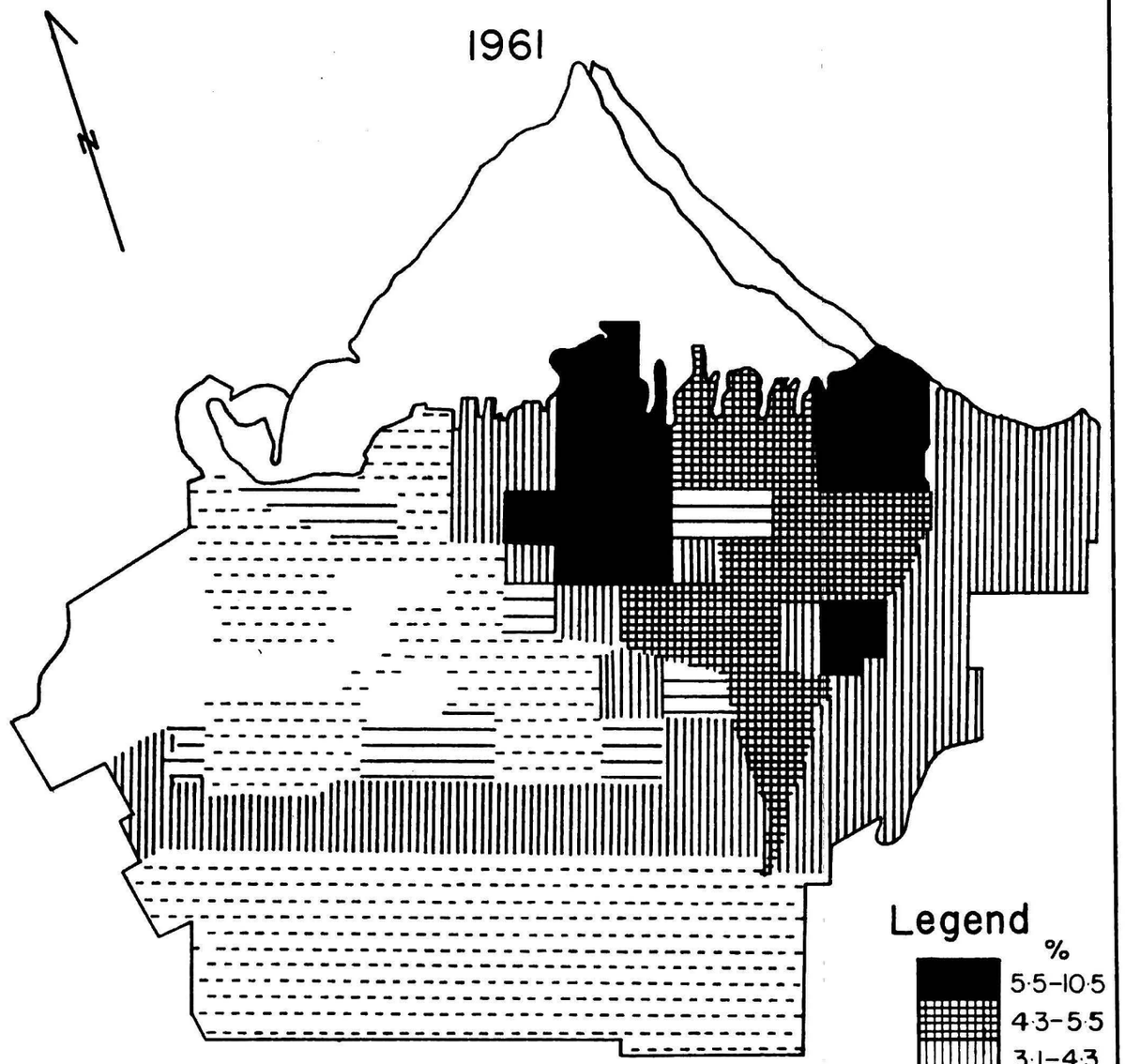


1 inch represents 1·5 miles (approx.)

FIG. 8a

DISTRIBUTION PER CENSUS TRACT OF POPULATION OF UKRAINIAN ORIGIN IN THE CITY OF HAMILTON

1961



1 inch represents 1·5 miles (approx.)

FIG. 8b

tions of retail service outlets run in strips along Main, King, Barton, York, Ottawa and Kenilworth, with some on the Mountain.

That part of Hamilton north of Main is a predominantly working class residential area gradually deteriorating as one moves north towards the heavy industrial belt. The Barton strip is really the junction of the more stable working class sector to the south and the poor residential pockets set in the industrial north. The belt between Main and the escarpment is one of better residential class.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the region north of Main, especially the Barton strip and the industrial belt beyond it, should have the greatest densities of foreign-born population and the highest proportion of foreign post-war immigrants. Ethnic diversity is at its most complex here. On the other hand, the oldest stock in the city, namely the British, have abandoned this part of Hamilton in large numbers and have also decreased in the Main - Mountain foot belt. Their highest densities are found in the best residential areas, on the Mountain and in the west end.

It seems that the escarpment and the Chedoke ravine are two of the sharpest ethnic divides in the city. The strip between Main and the foot of the escarpment is an ethnic transition zone. For example, some of the German population, while not being able to move into the best residential areas on first arrival, nevertheless manage to avoid the region north of Main by forming their tracts of highest density between that street and the Mountain where housing

conditions are better and proximity to industry not so great. In this the Germans differ from the Poles, Ukrainians, etc., but especially from the Italians, who all have high densities in the north end. In fact, the Italian group shows a very high degree of segregation, probably only surpassed by that of the British. But whereas the highest figures on the British segregation scale occur in the better residential areas, the highest Italian occur in the poor north end. The Jews also display quite a high degree of segregation as over 55 per cent of that group's members live west of the Chedoke ravine.

When it leaves its nuclei the Italian population tends to move further east and south-east and on to the east end of the Mountain. The Poles and Ukrainians whose range of segregation is less than the Italian, also tend to move in the same direction avoiding the west end of Hamilton. German population on the move tends to move west into west Hamilton and on to that end of the Mountain.

It seems that behind the present ethnic patterns there is a definite process of succession, but this does not work in a similar fashion for each individual ethnic group. As foreign immigrants have entered the city many have settled in colonies in the low-rent north end convenient to many of the industrial plants. These congested areas of first settlement have been characterized by the perpetuation of many European cultural traits. After some years of residence in such areas a movement of ethnic population

began into more desirable residential districts. In fact the relative concentration or dispersion of the various immigrant groups usually furnishes an excellent indication of their length of residence in the city and the degree of assimilation which has taken place. But this is a complex process varying with the different ethnic groups concerned.

As yet the cycle of ethnic population succession in Hamilton has not reached a very advanced stage because the old nuclei of initial group settlement were greatly reinforced by the post-1945 immigration waves. This added to the strength of existing social and cultural differences and additional immigration will tend to increase this effect. At the moment, while some members of the ethnic groups are moving into new residential areas, the number of institutions and services are actually increasing in the old ethnic nuclei so that they are becoming even more distinctive rather than less so. In fact the ethnic "colonies" within Hamilton are probably now larger and more elaborate than at any previous period of time so that the complete assimilation of all the ethnic elements in the city's population still has a long way to go.

Against the physical background of the city itself, this chapter has traced the growth of Hamilton's population, the changes in its ethnic composition, the major periods of immigration and the present general residential distribution of important elements of population. From this discussion has emerged the complexity of the factors affecting ethnic movements and patterns and it is with trying

to elucidate some of the complexities that the major part of this study is concerned. For this purpose the most complex athnic sector of the city has been chosen for the detailed examination contained in the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER II - NOTES

1. City of Hamilton Planning Committee, "Report on Existing Conditions Prepared as Base Material for Planning," Hamilton: Town Planning Consultants Ltd., 1945.
2. Watson, J. W., "The Geography of the Niagara Peninsula," Ph.D. Thesis; University of Toronto, 1945.
3. Nagle, Robert W., "Cultural Areas and Neighbourhoods of Hamilton," B. A. Thesis; McMaster University, 1962.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDY AREA

The area chosen for detailed study is a long east to west strip running along the axis of Barton Street in the north end of Hamilton (see figs. 9 & 10). It is bounded by Cannon Street and part of York Street on the south, the Canadian National Railway track on the north, Dundurn Park on the west, and Ottawa Street on the east. The area is approximately three miles in east to west extent and three quarters of a mile north to south.

The choice was made for the following reasons:

A. The area contains some of the highest non-British ethnic population densities in Hamilton and is the region where segregation of much population is greatest. Over 30 per cent of all the Italians in the city, over 25 per cent of all the Poles and over 18 per cent of all the Ukrainians live here.

B. As a result it has by far the greatest concentration of ethnic institutions, stores and services of any sector of Hamilton and always has had. In 1921 there were approximately 180 such services within the area, approximately 260 in 1941 and 410 in 1961. It now has over a dozen ethnic churches and many social clubs. In fact this area is really the heart of non-British origin Hamilton. Here ethnic manifestations on the landscape and on residential, social and commercial life are the most remarkable in the entire city.

The area is artificial in some respects. For example, the boundary used runs down through the middle of York, Cannon and Ottawa Streets and along the Canadian National tracks, despite the fact that ethnic features continued beyond such lines. It is really an area of convenience with respect to its boundaries but visible as a study region because those boundaries enclose the main core of ethnicity in Hamilton. This convenience arises partially from the fact that the area is contained within six census tracts for which detailed population and housing statistics are available for 1961 (see fig. 10c). In theory these tracts are supposed to possess a certain unity of their own.[1]

Barton Street is the focus of the area. For a long period in Hamilton's history Barton was the most northerly east-west route in the city. It skirted the southern edge of the unreclaimed, marshy, bay-shore while to the south lay the greater part of the nineteenth century city. With the unprecedented expansion of industry in the north end at the end of the century, the bay-shore creeks and marshlands were filled in and the land beyond Barton was occupied. However, residential land did not extend en masse beyond the Canadian National track apart from a few pockets which rose up around the industrial plants and along Burlington Street. The only major exception was at the west end of Barton East where James Street extended down to the Bay with residential land on either side. James had long been the major connection between the city centre and the Bay before industrialization began in the north end, and so had developed this residential fringe.

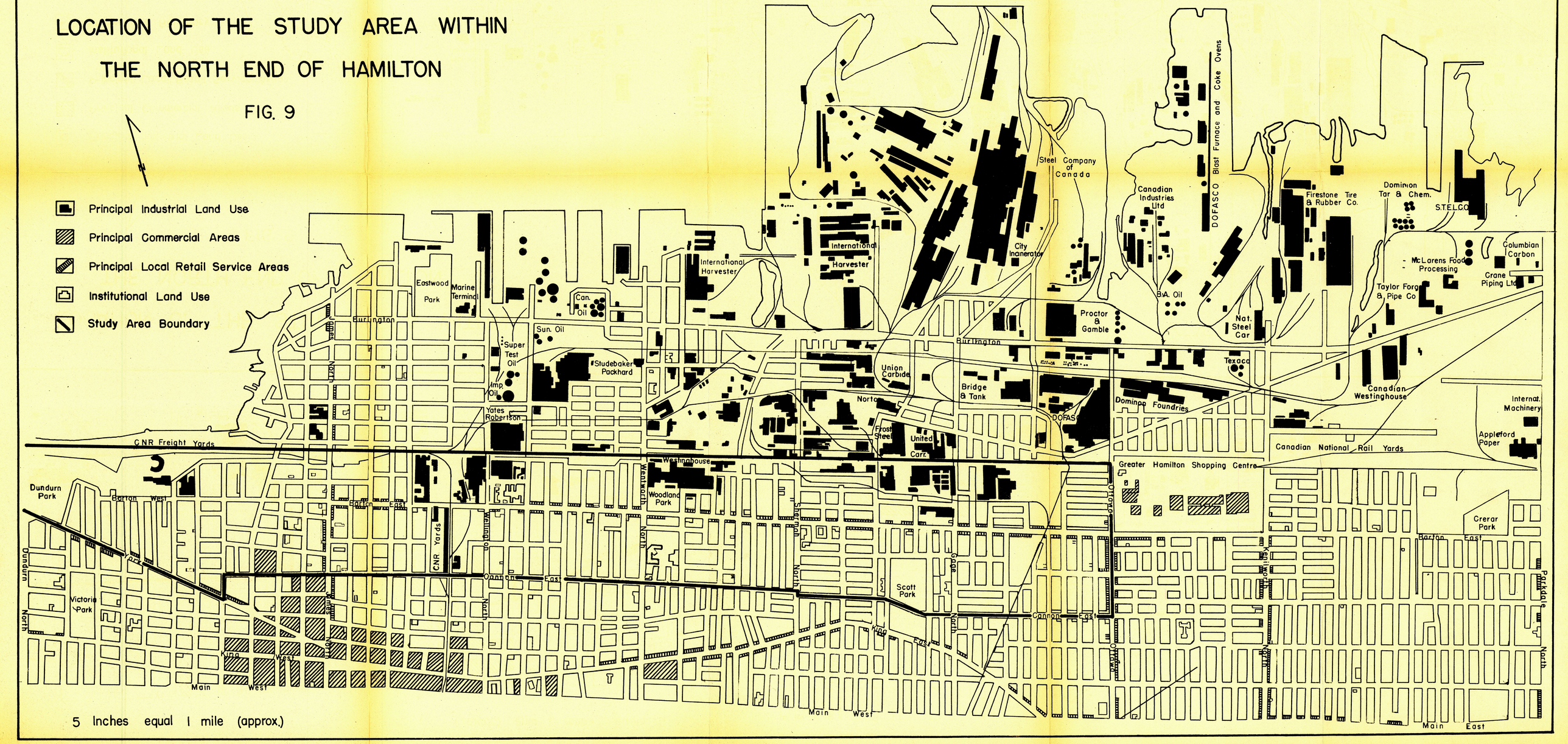
Barton Street remained the most northerly east-west route containing commercial development along its length to serve the local shopping needs of the north end population. Burlington Street never developed a similar important retail commercial strip due to the mass of industry and lack of residential population in the sector through which it passes. It has always remained a transport artery more than anything else and beyond Burlington there is practically no residential land use at all. Instead most of the major industrial plants of Hamilton are located there, such as International Harvester, the Steel Company of Canada, Dominion Foundries and Steel Company, Firestone, and National Steel Car, as well as the port facilities (see fig. 9).

Between Burlington and the Canadian National track, some pockets of residential land do occur, as already described. This is especially the case in the west around James North. The Industry in this strip is more mixed than beyond Burlington Street and contains lighter industrial plants such as Robertson-Yates, Studebaker, Proctor and Gamble, and the eastern Westinghouse plant, as well as extensions of the STELCO and DOFASCO plants.

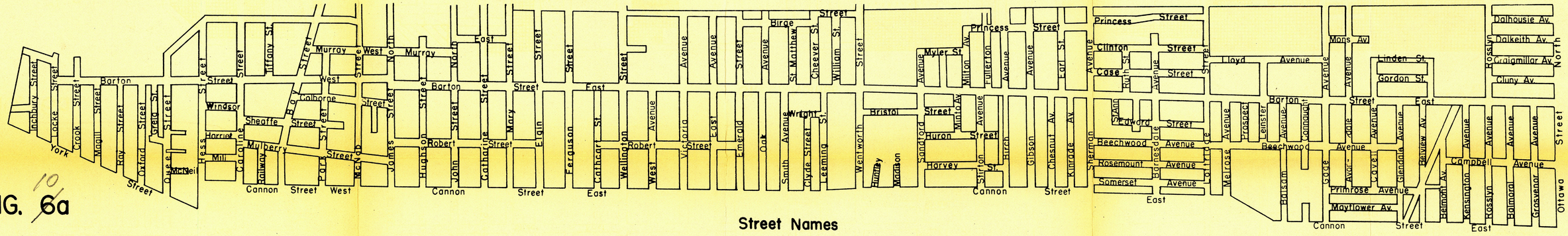
Between Barton and the Canadian National track there are several intrusions of industry from farther north, but the predominance of residential land use begins. Along Barton itself exists a fairly continuous commercial strip developed on either side of the street and extending with some interruptions as far east as Kenilworth. Between Barton and Cannon Street industrial land use is

LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA WITHIN THE NORTH END OF HAMILTON

FIG. 9

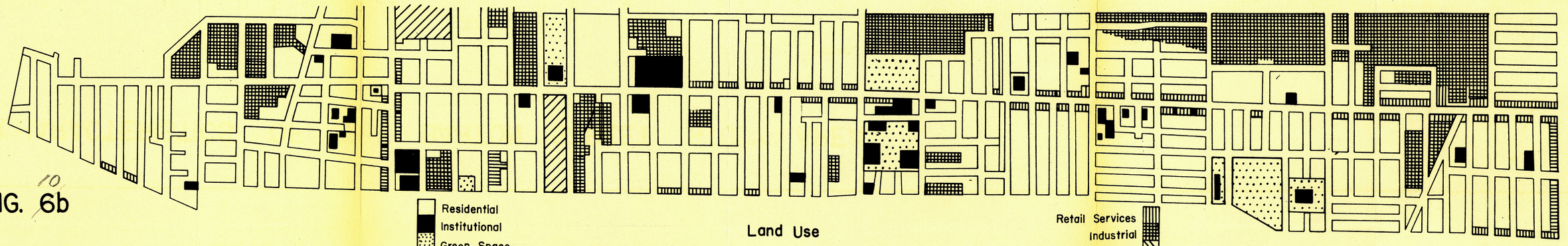


CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BARTON STREET STUDY AREA



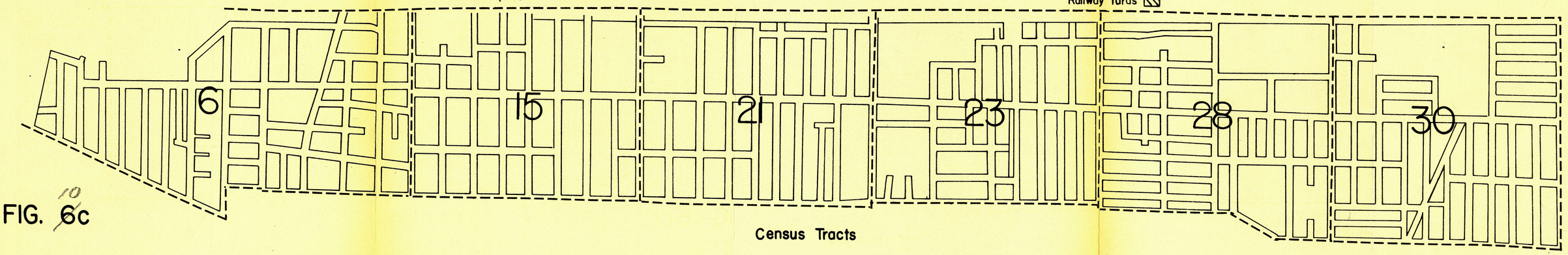
Street Names

FIG. 10/6a



Land Use

FIG. 10/6b



Census Tracts

FIG. 10/6c

One Inch Represents 800 Feet.

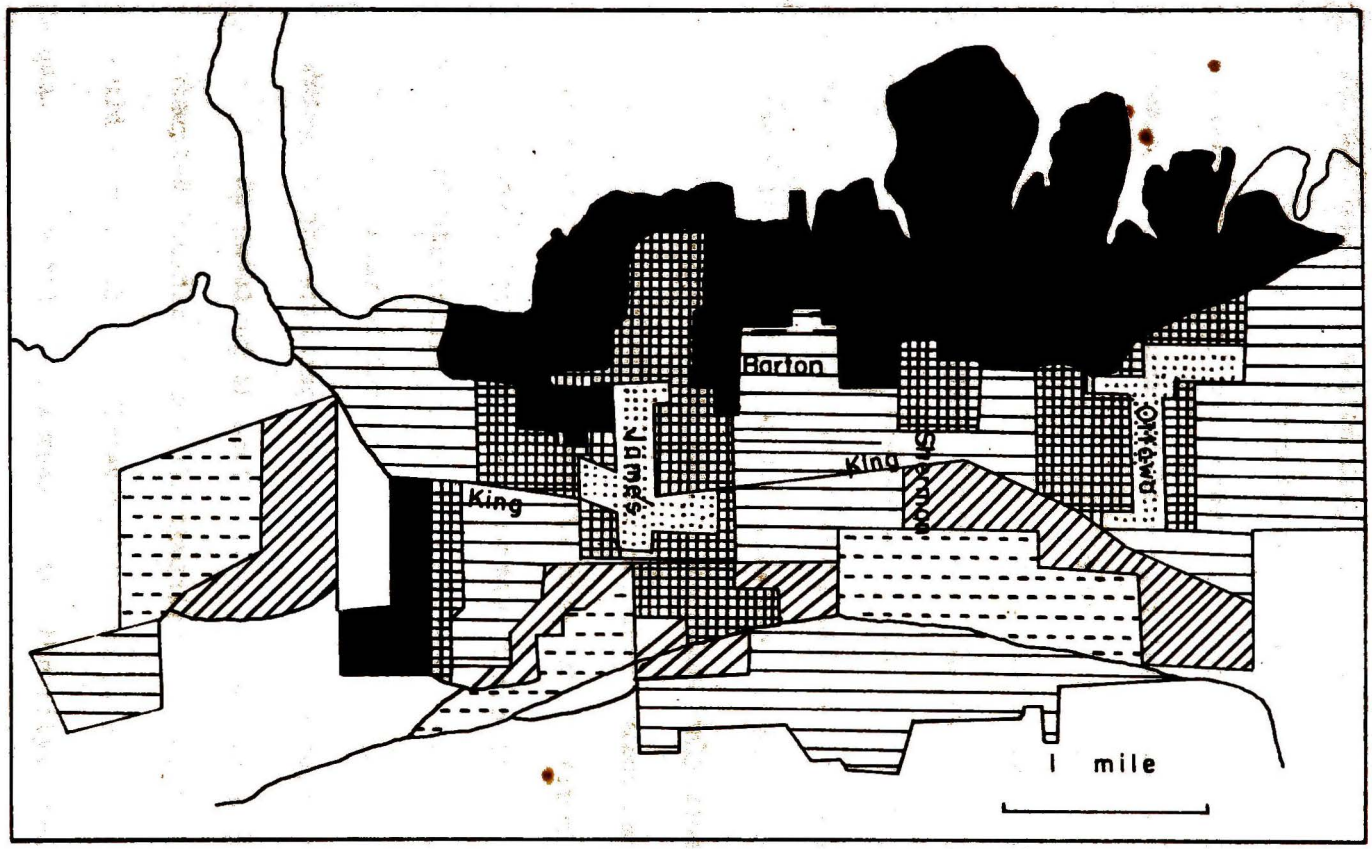
negligible and residential and institutional uses take over almost completely. South of Cannon land use merges into the mixed commercial-residential use of the King - Main Streets zone and the residential regions beyond.

It can be seen that the area is located between the major industrial region of Hamilton and the major commercial area, so that it represents a transitional zone with regard to function. It has a variety of land uses with industrial intrusions from the north, commercial intrusions from the south as well as its own internal commercial zones and large residential area, mainly working class, but varying as to quality. So in a way Barton is a divide to the north of which land use merges into the zone of heavy industry while to the south it merges into the rest of the city. Conversely it can be regarded as the seam joining two major functional zones of Hamilton.

The location and land use characteristics of the strip give rise to its diverse social nature. In his map of the "Major Social Regions of Hamilton," Watson concludes that Barton passes through several distinct social regions (see fig. 11). In the west it begins in the "stable working class" area around York, passes through the "industrial" section on Bay Street and the James Street North "urban centre." It continues through the industrial and residential "transition zones" and "shatter belts" between James and Wellington where a "stable working class" zone takes over as far as Wentworth. There "industry" resumes as far as the "shatter belt"

MAJOR SOCIAL REGIONS OF HAMILTON

after J.W. Watson



Legend

- Industry
- Transition Zones and Shatter Belts
- Stable Working Class
- Urban Centres
- Unstable Better Class
- Stable Better Class

FIG. II

and "transition zone" of Sherman and the "urban centres" of Ottawa and the Greater Hamilton Shopping Centre.

These zones are a result of the friction between the residential, commercial and industrial land uses, pockets of stable working class residential housing interspersed with zones of transition and change. Because of its proximity to the heavy north and industry the Barton strip is both unattractive and attractive. Because of the presence of industry and its concomitant effects on amenities and housing standards, it is unattractive to most of those who can afford to live in better residential areas of Hamilton. Conversely it is attractive to those who cannot afford high housing prices or rents and who wish to be relatively close to their industrial places of work. These conditions caused many foreign immigrants to gravitate towards the area in the first place and there now exists a type of social inertia within the region as the original nuclei of ethnically diverse population have continued to attract further streams of foreign immigrants entering the city, thus adding to the existing colonies and guaranteeing their persistence.

No detailed classification of housing quality has been attempted because of the difficulties and length of time which this would have involved. However, if a range of four classes based on quality is adopted as a measure for the city, then the housing in the area generally varies between third class and fourth class with a few pockets of second class quality. The fourth class housing in the west extends between Ray and Park Streets, and between James and

TABLE 4

Housing characteristics of the study area. 1961.

	City average	Area average	Tract 6	Tract 15	Tract 21	Tract 23	Tract 28	Tract 30
Total number of households		7,584	1,403	816	1,569	1,241	1,066	1,489
Total number of families		7,633	1,496	825	1,479	1,285	472	1,376
Per cent houses with 1 family	80.4	74.4	75.3	72.1	72.4	70.9	72.9	80.9
Per cent houses with 2+ families	6.1	12.5	13.8	13.4	10.5	15.7	17.8	5.7
Per cent houses with lodgers	8.8	20.9	20.7	24.8	20.4	25.1	29.7	9.5
Per cent with lodging families	11.4	8.1	8.3	9.1	7.6	11.4	12.9	1.6
OCCUPIED DWELLINGS								
Per cent single detached	67.9	54.4	40.1	33.8	47.1	58.7	81.4	63.8
Per cent apartments and flats	25.3	27.0	25.7	36.9	33.7	27.1	9.4	28.4
Per cent crowded dwellings	11.1	15.8	18.5	16.7	16.4	18.9	10.6	13.2
Per cent owner occupied	69.3	66.4	57.9	47.8	62.8	66.2	85.5	75.0
Per cent tenant occupied	30.7	33.6	42.1	52.2	37.2	33.8	14.5	25.0
LENGTH OF OCCUPANCY								
Per cent less than 1 year	15.9	13.2	11.7	20.0	16.8	18.0		12.6
Per cent 1 - 2 years	15.6	13.0	13.7	21.7	12.0	11.6	12.2	10.6
Per cent 3 - 5 years	22.2	20.7	23.2	19.0	21.0	21.9	17.4	20.4
Per cent 6 - 10 years	17.4	15.9	17.2	15.6	14.5	13.5	19.4	16.0
Per cent over 10 years	29.0	36.3	34.1	24.1	35.8	35.0	44.9	40.4
PERIOD OF CONSTRUCTION								
Per cent before 1920	37.6	80.1	88.7	94.7	93.6	77.3	65.9	62.0
Per cent after 1945	35.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Per cent in major repairs	3.0	1.5	8.2	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 5

Ethnic characteristics of the study area population.

	Hamilton average	Tract 6	Tract 15	Tract 21	Tract 23	Tract 28	Tract 39
Total Population	273,991	6,264	3,531	6,124	5,126	4,567	5,151
Per cent born in Canada	68.7	56.3	58.6	60.2	53.9	47.3	60.7
Per cent born outside Canada	31.3	43.6	41.4	39.8	46.1	52.7	39.3
Per cent immigrated 1946 - 61	18.4	30.5	27.9	27.5	32.2	32.7	20.0
Per cent British Isles origin	58.9	28.1	41.7	52.3	37.9	28.3	52.4
Per cent French	4.2	5.3	6.0	3.8	5.4	2.0	4.0
Per cent German	5.2	3.4	4.4	5.2	3.0	3.0	3.8
Per cent Italian	8.5	36.4	24.6	15.5	26.7	25.9	10.0
Per cent Dutch	2.5	0.8	1.4	1.5	1.2	0.7	1.1
Per cent Polish	4.2	2.8	2.3	3.1	8.0	22.2	8.5
Per cent Russian	0.5	0.9	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.7	0.2
Per cent Scandinavian	0.8	0.2	0.5	0.8	0.5	0.3	0.5
Per cent Ukrainian	3.1	2.6	2.1	3.5	5.9	10.5	6.0
Per cent other European	8.7	12.2	13.6	10.2	7.7	5.0	11.1
Per cent Asiatic	0.8	0.6	1.7	1.0	3.0	0.6	0.5

Wellington Streets where some of the worst housing in the entire study area occurs. A small fringe of second class housing occurs on the peripheries of Scott Park, while elsewhere there is little differentiation with most housing belonging to the third class, although as a generalization it may be said that the housing on the north side of Barton is slightly inferior to that on the south.

Eighty per cent of the houses were constructed before 1920 compared with an average of 38 per cent for the remainder of the city (see table 4), and none at all have been built since 1945, so that this is a comparatively old sector of Hamilton. The number of houses with two or more families is greater than the city average and that with lodgers much greater. In addition the number of single detached houses and owner occupied homes is slightly smaller, while apartments and flats, crowded dwellings, and tenant occupied dwellings all exceed the Hamilton average.

In total the study area contains a population of 30,763 with 7,584 households and 7,633 families (see table 5). The percentage of foreign-born population is high throughout the area with tract 28 having the highest figure for Hamilton (see fig. 10c). A generally high proportion have immigrated in the post-1945 period with tracts 23 and 28 having the highest figures in the city in this case. The British origin population element is relatively small with the city's lowest figure in tract 6.

There is a comparatively high Italian density in all tracts, the Italians forming the largest non-British group in each case. In

tract 6 they even outnumber the British element and almost equal it in tract 28. The Polish origin group is small towards the west end of the area but gradually grows eastwards so that in tract 28 they achieve their highest density in the city. The Ukrainians follow the same pattern and reach their highest figure in the same tract. On the other hand the German and Dutch figures are below the Hamilton average while the French does not vary much from the city mean. In most tracts there is a comparatively high "Other European" figure and a high Catholic proportion.

The purpose of the subsequent chapters is to trace in detail the development of the ethnic occupance patterns as revealed within the area in 1961. As already discussed this can best be done by adopting a cross-sectional approach through time and making a study of the changing distributions of the residential elements and service establishments of each individual group residing there, in so far as this may be possible. An individual chapter is devoted to each of the major ethnic groups and one to the miscellaneous small groups. Finally the total ethnic occupance of the area between 1921 and 1961 is discussed and conclusions drawn with regard to the main changes which occurred.

CHAPTER III - NOTES

1. "Census tracts are designed to be relatively uniform in area and population, and such that each is fairly homogeneous with respect to economic status and living conditions. They are established in co-operation with local authorities, and wherever possible, local census tract committees are formed to delineate the areas."
   from: 1961 Census of Canada, "Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts: Hamilton." Introduction.

CHAPTER IV

THE ITALIAN GROUP

(i) 1921

The 1921 Italian population of Hamilton was 3,268, almost 3 per cent of the total city population and making them the largest non-British ethnic group. Of this number, 1,885 had actually been born in Italy. In 1901 Hamilton had contained a mere 100 persons of Italian origin but an influx of immigrants during the following decade raised this figure to 1,442. The vast majority of these, 1,195, were Italian born.

Attracted by the demand for labour in the new iron and steel mills, the first small movement of Italians into the city began near the end of the nineteenth century. Most of the first arrivals were Southern Italians, and some who moved to Canada from the northern industrial cities of the United States in search of work. There seems to have been quite a close connection between early Italian settlement in Hamilton and in the United States. For example the first Italian church leaders to arrive in the city came from that country.

It has been estimated that early in the present century there were approximately 300 Italians working in the iron and steel plants of the north end. As a result much of the Italian population lived beyond the present Canadian National Railway tracks in the residential pockets adjacent to the heavy industry. Housing here

was poor but two factors, proximity to place of work and cheapness, made the area attractive to the new immigrants coming in at a very low economic level. In addition there was active discrimination against the Italian immigrants in the remainder of the city.

By 1921, however, two separate clusters of Italian residential settlement had emerged south of the railway tracks (see fig.12a). The larger of the two was in the west with its core between Ray and McNab Streets, and accompanied by a group of Italian service establishments on James Street. The smaller had its core just east of Sherman Avenue in the north-east intersection of Barton and Sherman. This eastern cluster was rather smaller and more compact than the western one and was also accompanied by a number of Italian services.

The study area contained a total of 34 such services (see table 6A). Their range was really quite narrow as practically all the retail goods outlets dealt in some sort of food or in convenience goods. The number of fruit stores seems especially remarkable. The retail manual services provided were small and elementary. A most interesting establishment was the steamship agency which was probably catering to the contemporary Italian immigration flow. Two of the four religious institutions were missions and not formal churches while a third was a church under construction. The fourth was as yet the only formal Italian church in Hamilton.

In the block on either side of the Barton-Sherman junction the eastern settlement nucleus had a group of 11 services associated with it (see fig. 12a).[1] The single largest concentration was on

TABLE 6A

Italian ethnic services and institutions - 1921.

Retail foods	
Fruit stores	10
Grocery stores	9
Tobacco shops	3
Stationery	1
Retail Services	
Barber shops	2
Tailor shop	1
Shoe repairs	2
Restaurant	1
Other Service	
Steamship Agency	1
Religious Institutions	
Formal Church	1
Church Site	1
Missions	2
Approximate[1] Total	34

[1] This total includes all those institutions and services shown in the 1922 City Directory which can definitely be assumed to be Italian. It is possible that there may have been some more included under non-Italian names, or omitted. This also applies to the other ethnic groups considered later.

Gibson which at that time must have contained a row of stores, while the others were scattered on Barton and Sherman. The Italian Catholic Church of St. Anthony of Padua was located on Clinton. Founded in 1912 it was the first formal Italian church in Hamilton and for a time served all the Italians in the city.

The western nucleus had a larger number of services most of them located either on or near James, especially in the Mulberry-Colbourne and Barton -Murray blocks of that street. On Stuart was an Italian Mission and on Barton a new church site on which All Souls Italian Catholic Church was being built.

In both clusters there was a definite association between the distribution of Italian population and Italian services. This is emphasized by the fact that only two stores appear where there was no evidence of strong Italian settlement, and both were fruit stores. The number of Italian fruit stores was inordinately large for the size of the resident Italian population so it is probable that they were a type of store in which Italians specialized for the general public. In this connection it is worth noting that one of the largest wholesale fruit dealers in Hamilton Market at present is an Italian firm which was in business at this time.

Apart from a few differences in detail the range of ethnic services was duplicated in each of the two nuclei for basic foods

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1 For the services key to this and all other subsequent maps, see Appendix I.

and retail services. Apart from a few variety stores, non-food outlets were entirely lacking. Similarly, with the exception of the steamship agency, no Italian professional or semi-professional services existed in either area. However, each one was provided with religious institutions; the eastern nucleus having acquired its church at a very early date indeed.

Within the study area in 1921 then, two separate Italian communities had already appeared. Each had a certain number of basic service establishments attached to it and, equally important, each had at its core an ethnic church serving as cohesive factors for both groups. It might seem rather peculiar that such a comparatively small group as the Italians at that time should have produced two such separate communities. The reason was that a rather fundamental difference underlay this development. The larger western cluster was composed mainly of Southern Italians and Sicilians while the smaller eastern one was mainly of Central and Northern Italian origin. Distinctive regional differences within Italy itself have long been very strong and they reach their greatest development in the polarization of North and South. Consequently it was not unnatural that separate communities based on regionalism should appear as a result of mixed Italian immigration into Hamilton. These two communities provided an excellent example of the transplantation of European regional consciousness into the landscape and social life of a Canadian city. Both groups entered the city at the same low economic levels and gravitated towards low rental sectors but in

different directions. It may have been that the North-Central group chose Sherman because more of their numbers worked in the steel plants.

(ii) - 1941.

By 1941 the Italian origin group in Hamilton had grown to 6,294, almost double its 1921 size. Of this number, 2,347 had actually been born in Italy and 60 per cent of these people had come to the city before 1921. Therefore, in proportion to the size of the group, Italian immigration in the 1921-41 period had been quite limited compared with that of many other groups. However, they still formed the largest non-British ethnic group in Hamilton with almost 4 per cent of the population.

In 1941 it is probable that almost all of the Italian population was still located north of Cannon Street. Within the study area itself the two clusters of settlement remained separate as in 1921, but both had expanded in size into peripheral streets and blocks (see fig. 12b). In terms of residential distribution the western nucleus had increased approximately threefold. The main core was still the McNab - Bay sector but Italian settlement had spread both east and west into streets where there had been no trace of such settlement in 1921. In the west it extended to Locke and in the east to Mary. So in terms of both absolute numbers and range of streets settled Italian influence had been much strengthened in this area.

However, the increase was much less in the Sherman community. This may well have been because of a smaller North-Central immigration

in post 1921 period compared with that of Southern Italian and Sicilians. The principal change here was that settlement had progressed south of Barton as far as Cannon and more notably into several blocks adjoining Scott Park. The latter represented an important advance because previous to this time the Scott Park area had been inaccessible to most immigrant groups due to a series of private deeds and agreements to prevent them from buying or renting houses there. This was eventually overcome by an Italian lawyer who forced a hole in the ban. However, it does show that Italians were moving into better class housing so that low rents and prices were no longer the only forces attracting them there.

The number of Italian services had expanded substantially from 34 to 60 (see table 6B). Nevertheless, with regard to retail outlets the great emphasis was still on food stores and variety stores of one sort or another. Only two apparel stores appeared altogether. The second largest category was that containing retail manual services. Professional services appeared for the first time in the form of medicine, and semi-professional services principally as real estate agencies. Of the other establishments the macaroni plant and the statuette works were of most ethnic significance, the former producing, of course, a purely Italian type of food, and the latter specializing in Italian headstones.

As in 1921 the western community had the largest cluster of establishments with the major concentration on James and a Scatter on the streets west of it. The actual number on James had increased

TABLE 6B

Italian Ethnic Services and Institutions - 1941

Retail foods	
Grocery stores	12
Fruit stores	9
Smoke shops	4
Confectionery stores	3
Meats stores	2
Clothing store	1
Shoe stores	1
Retail Services	
Barber shops	5
Shoe repairs	4
Tailor shops	2
Shoe-shine shops	2
Radio Service shop	1
Statuettes	1
Entertainment	
Billiard Hall	1
Professional and semi-professional	
Physicians	2
Dentist	1
Real Estate	4
Music Teacher	1
Religious Institutions	
Churches	3
Manufacturing	
Macaroni Plant	1
Approximate Total	60

only slightly but the range had widened with the most notable additions being the two real estate offices, and the macaroni plant. However, the food and convenience goods outlets and retail manual services still predominated. The small stores in the streets west of James acted as local food outlets for the surrounding Italian population.

There were also two churches west of James, All Souls Roman Catholic; under construction in 1921 and a new one, Redeemer United Church which was the first formal Italian Protestant church in Hamilton. The congregation was formed informally in 1909 by an Italian minister who arrived in the city and began to hold street meetings in this area. Practically all the immigrant Italians were Catholic, consequently the congregation consisted of converts. In 1929, after the formation of the United Church of Canada, a church building was erected on the present site within easy reach of most of the congregation. Also west of James on Park was the surgery of the first Italian doctor to set up a practice specifically for Italians.

So in 1941 the western Italian community was served by Church, medicine, real estate, small food and convenience goods stores, and small manual service establishments. Still lacking was a larger variety of professional and semi-professional services, and a wider range of retail goods outlets.

Meanwhile in the Sherman Avenue community the number of services had increased by fifty per cent. The largest concentration

was on the Avenue itself. A complete shift from Gibson had occurred due to the demolition of premises there to make way for a school building. Apart from one real estate office, all the establishments on Sherman were small retail food outlets and a manual service. On Barton was a scatter of establishments between Birch and Lottridge the most notable being a physician's surgery and a clothing store.

As in the case of the James nucleus, then, the Italian community here was served by Church, medicine, real estate, small food and variety stores, and retail manual services. A clothing ship and a tailor shop were unique to this community. Like the western one it was really served by two churches for in addition to St. Anthony's on Clinton an Italian Presbyterian Church had been founded in 1935 on Sherman just north of the C.N.R. tracks.

In both communities an apparent lack of formal social facilities existed. However, there were some such centres within the study area although they do not appear on the maps. For example, until 1941 the eastern community had owned a large hall in the Gibson - Chestnut block of Barton, calling it the "Casa D'Italia." When Italy entered the second world war this hall was impounded by the Canadian Government and later sold to the Polish Alliance of Hamilton. In the western community several clubs were formed in the 1930's. The Hamilton Italian Recreation Club was founded in 1935 and the Italo-Canadian Recreation Club in 1931, both for the purpose of providing recreational activities for young Italian origin people in the north end of the city.

Besides the two major clusters of population and services there were some groups of services on Barton located in areas where Italian population was either sparse or absent. Eight such establishments existed between East Avenue and Cheever. Four of these stores dealt in fruit which still seemed, as in 1921, to be a speciality Italian service catering to the general public. Beyond Gage Avenue in the extreme east were several other isolated services in an area of low Italian density. The most remarkable of these was the surgery of the first practising Italian dentist in Hamilton, but because of the specialized nature of his service he did not need to locate actually in the areas of greatest Italian residential population.

The most significant changes in the Italian occupance of the study area between 1921 and 1941 can be summarized as follows. Quite a large expansion of Italian population had taken place around the James Street nucleus, but a much more limited one around Sherman denoting differences in the rate of immigration. Both clusters still formed separate communities surrounded by areas devoid of substantial Italian settlement. With an increase in the total number of ethnic services some new categories appeared, such as medicine, real estate, and social clubs, but the small food and convenience goods stores and retail manual services still predominated. Some establishments had sprung up at a distance from the major Italian residential densities denoting the existence of a small Italian professional shop keeping class providing "non-ethnic" services, that is catering primarily to the general public.

(iii) - 1961

By 1961 the Italian origin group contained about eight and a half per cent of the total city population of Hamilton. Of its 23,203 members just over one half, 13,527, had actually been born in Italy. These figures show a radical increase over those of 1941 and demonstrate the magnitude of Italian immigration into Hamilton in the post-1945 period. Between 1946 and 1950 1,406 Italian immigrants arrived, followed by 4,688 between 1951 and 1955, and 5,552 between 1956 and 1961 (see table 3). The factors underlying this movement were overwhelmingly economic, with a rather larger number coming from the poorer southern provinces of Italy and from Sicily than from the relatively more prosperous central and northern provinces. Practically all of these people have come in at a relatively low social and economic level.

One of the results has been to strengthen the already existing Italian communities within the city. The general distribution of Italian population in Hamilton has already been discussed, noting the high degree of segregation and the high densities reached in some census tracts (see fig. 6b). A few further comparisons will help to illustrate these points. In 1961 just over 14 per cent of the total Italian population lived on the Mountain compared with nearly 27 per cent of the Ukrainians. Over 64 per cent of all the Italian population lived in that north west sector of Hamilton bounded by the Harbour in the north, the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo railway track in the west, Ottawa in the east, and King as

far as Wellington and Main as far as Ottawa in the south. The sector east of Ottawa contained just under 16 per cent. In eight census tracts Italian densities exceeded 20 per cent of the total tract population, a figure achieved by the Poles in only one tract but by no other non-British ethnic group anywhere.

The densest block of Italian settlement was bounded by the Harbour, York and Cannon, Dundurn, and Ottawa, although it falls off somewhat east of Gage. The 1961 distribution map shows the remarkable intensification of settlement in the study area which, of course, lies along the southern part of this block (see fig. 12c). The two original nuclei were much enlarged and settlement had spread into previously untouched areas, such as that of Gage and between Elgin and Wentworth. Obviously this settlement explosion was touched off by the heavy inflow of post-war immigrants and these new areas were yielding to the pressure.

In the western community the James - Bay core had increased its density. To the east of James settlement had spread into the zone of poorer housing extending as far as Elgin where it was stopped by a barrier of industrial land use. This area had shown only a limited Italian influence in 1941. West of Bay there was an increase in density everywhere especially in the range of streets from Hess to Inchbury.

The eastern Sherman community had spread both east and west with a filling up of the sector between Lottridge and Ottawa where little evidence of substantial Italian settlement had existed in 1941.

West of Sherman densities were increased almost as far as Sanford. An important feature of the advances was the filling up of the streets south of Barton for the first time. West of Wentworth a completely new Italian settlement zone appeared, continuing westward until it almost joined up with the eastward extension of the James community.

In 1921 location of both nuclei had been determined to at least some extent by local housing conditions existing in those two areas. However, the significance of such local variations gradually disappeared as each community with its associated services structure took root and its size grew with further immigration. By 1961 it seems that Italian settlement was moving into housing irrespective of its quality as long as it was adjacent to either of the two main communities. This was especially the case in the east end where housing was generally of superior quality to that in the west.

Nevertheless both communities retained their basic Italian regional differences to a large extent, that is southern Italian and Sicilians in the west, and central and northern Italians in the east. But it is important to note that within this broad framework there existed many subtle sub-regional differences arising as a result of the pattern of Italian immigration into Hamilton. Family ties remain very strong and once a member is established in the area he begins to sponsor the immigration of other members of the family, who, on arrival, endeavour to settle as near as possible to this relation. They may often live in the same house in the beginning

and subsequently obtain houses of their own in the same or adjacent streets. The same force operates among those who have come from the same Italian village or town. Consequently the general Italian settlement pattern within the study area should not be regarded as a homogeneous undifferentiated mass for it contains many shades of difference compounded of kinship, regional, and even occupational factors.

Broadly speaking, more of the Sherman Avenue community are employed in the heavy industrial plants of the north end compared with that on James. By contrast the latter contains more general labourers and, as a speciality, construction workers. This differentiation should not be stressed too much, however, as it is by no means universally applicable. It is difficult to say whether it has developed because of the different regional backgrounds of traditions and skills, or whether it has just developed between the two Hamilton communities because of their respective locations in relation to the north end heavy industry. The latter is more probable.

With the enormous increase in population there was, of course, a corresponding increase in Italian institutions and services, from 60 in 1941 to approximately 140 by 1961 (see table 6C). Not only was the number larger but the range was much wider also. In the retail goods category the greatest increase was in non-food stores rather than in food stores as in the previous periods. This trend was partially countered by the improved quality and size of

some of the food outlets, a few even reaching small super-market status and selling a wide range of good quality foods. Apart from these improvements separate Italian bakeries now appeared for the first time. However, the most remarkable feature was the unprecedented expansion of retail non-food outlets. Many of them were of a very high quality specializing in good Italian and Canadian style clothing and other speciality goods such as gifts, music and cosmetics.

The manual trades and services list showed an increase in number but not in range apart from the new service stations. The professional and semi-professional categories had expanded to provide the communities with a very good cross-section of such services even down to a funeral chapel. The comparatively large number of real estate and travel agencies would be expected from such an expanding population group adding to itself by immigration and maintaining close ties with the home country.

The number of restaurants had increased to fulfil their important roles as informal social centres for the Italian communities, and two cinemas had switched over exclusively to showing Italian films. Of the other miscellaneous services perhaps the wine supplier is of most ethnic significance. The actual number of churches had not been added to but one was rebuilt on a new site and each of the Catholic churches had a nursery school attached. As independent social centres there were at least five halls or clubs. This great expansion of services and institutions was not only the

TABLE 6C

Italian Ethnic Services and Institutions - 1961

Retail Goods

Food Markets and Grocery Stores	22
Fruit	3
Bakery shops	3
Butcher shops	2
Smoke shops	2
Confectionery stores	2
Man's clothes	4
Tailors (most sold some retail clothing)	8
Knitwear shop	1
Bridal shop	1
Shoe stores	2
Furniture	1
Pharmacy	1
Gift store	1
Import store	1
Flower shop	1
Cosmetics	1
Music shops	2

Retail Services

Shoe repairs	6
Barber shops	14
Service stations	3
Cleaners	1
Beauty salons	3
Ladies' tailoring	2
Shoe shine shop	1
Restaurants	11

Continued

TABLE 6C (cont'd)

Italian Ethnic Services and Institutions - 1961

Professional and semi-professional	
Physicians	7
Dentists	2
Law offices	2
Real estate and insurance	10
Travel agents	3
Funeral Home	1
Amusement	
Cinemas	2
Religious and Social Institutions	
Churches	3
Independent halls and clubs	4
Wholesale and Manufacturing establishments	
Wine merchant	1
Clothing factory	1
Wholesale jewellery	1
Car sales lot	1
Bakery	1
Approximate Total	138

result of increased population size but also of its improved economic condition.

The major concentrations were still around James and the Barton - Sherman axis as in previous years, with various other small groups and isolated elements elsewhere. West of James the most notable addition was a super-market on York appearing with the increased Italian population of that sector. All Souls Catholic Church on Barton and United Church of the Redeemer were still in existence but their functions had changed somewhat since 1941. Like St. Anthony's in the east end, All Souls has no formal parish in the way that other Catholic churches in Hamilton have, and again it is located near a large "non-ethnic" Catholic church, in this case St. Mary's. Both All Souls and St. Anthony's have jurisdiction over all the city's Italian Catholics and, generally speaking, All Souls ministers to the James community and many of those who formerly lived there but are now resident elsewhere. However, many of these Catholics of Italian origin do not attend either of these churches but instead use the local ones in their new localities. All Souls, then, ministers to a congregation composed largely of fairly recent immigrants and the older age groups as four masses are held each Sunday in Italian and only two in English. The latter are for first generation Italo-Canadians, Italians who are trying to learn English, and children who speak most English and only dialect Italian. The same pattern is followed by the larger churches belonging to some other groups of the study area.

The Church of the Redeemer serves a much smaller congregation and although mainly Italian it also ministers to some other nationalities. In fact, it contains two congregations, an "Old" serving the older first generation Italian group, and an "International" serving the second generation Italians as well as some Ukrainians and Britons.

At least three clubs were located in the area immediately west of James. The most interesting of these was the Brothers of Racalmuto hall on McNab. Racalmuto is a Sicilian town many of whose former inhabitants have migrated to Hamilton and who have taken up residence in this immediate vicinity, organizing this hall to perpetuate their old ties. On Murray West and Cannon West were the Hamilton Italian Recreation Club and the Italo-Canadian Recreation Club, both examples of the type of club appearing in the earlier days of the Italian community.

James itself contained the largest cluster of Italian establishments, the best ones being on the west side, some of them highly specialized and exotic in the goods they sold. For example a tailor shop "Faro Della Moda" specialized in Italian clothes, a knitwear shop "Eleganti Con Lori" imported Italian woollen goods besides knitting some of its own on order, the "Profumeria Italiano" dealt in Italian cosmetics and toiletries, while a shoe and repair store specialized in Italian footwear. The east side had professional and semi-professional services, food stores, and most notably a travel agency and a pharmacy. Just east of James were a few other elements

which can be regarded as belonging to this main complex. The most remarkable was the large super-market on Robert, the service station on Barton, and the funeral chapel also on Barton. The service station of course did not cater exclusively to the Italian group but it is an indicator of the strength which Italian influence had attained when such services as this were taken over. The funeral chapel was an even more remarkable development and was the only such exclusively ethnic institution in the city. There was also a clothing factory in the Mary - Elgin block of Barton. The owner of this factory had formerly owned a clothing store in the Sherman community and was now located further west because of the facilities offered by a partly disused factory building.

The whole James Street cluster, then, showed a widening in the range and an improvement in the quality of services offered in 1961 compared to those in the previous periods. This was a logical advance accompanying the large increase in Italian population and its improved prosperity. Good food stores, apparel stores, speciality shops, restaurants, professional and semi-professional services, a cinema and even a funeral parlour made this area the finest commercial and social complex ever developed by any one European ethnic group in Hamilton. Since 1961 further developments have taken place and have improved it even more.

The second large concentration of Italian services in 1961 lay around the Barton - Sherman intersection with an intensification of the 1961 pattern. On Barton itself Italian establishments extended

from Sanford in the west to Lottridge in the east while on Sherman practically all lay north of Barton. The basic service structure of Sherman had not changed much since 1941, the most notable addition to the previously existing small retail services and estate agency being a shore store and a theatre. Barton on the other hand had developed a much wider range with more specialized and better quality stores. The Barton - Sherman intersection has long been an important local shopping node with most of the traffic on Barton which, therefore, attracts the better establishments of the two. The attraction of Sherman is also diminished by a certain degree of industrial blight just south of the railway tracks.

On Barton were several clothing and custom tailor shops of good quality, including a bridal salon. There were also several restaurants the best of which, "The Trocadero," specialized in fine Italian foods and attracted people from all over the city. Some of the food shops reached small super-market size. A small range of speciality stores included a service shop, a flower shop, a jewellery store and a gift shop. In the Kinrade - Sherman block there was a small concentration of professional and semi-professional services including medicine, real estate, law and insurance.

A few other services appeared off Barton and Sherman. On Princess was St. Anthony's Church Hall and on Ruth was the "Roma" Bakery with its retail outlet on Case. By 1961 St. Anthony's Church itself had moved into a new and much larger building on Barton indicating the further strength of the local Italian residential

DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIAN HOUSEHOLDS AND ETHNIC SERVICES IN 1921 1941 AND 1961

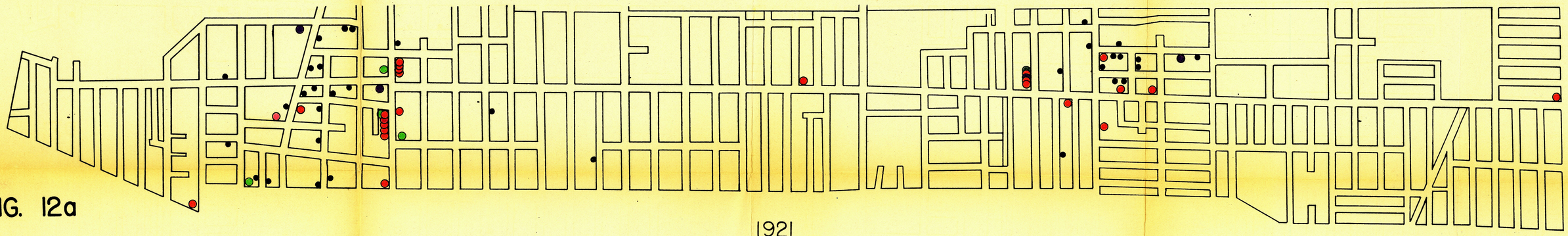

FIG. 12a

1921

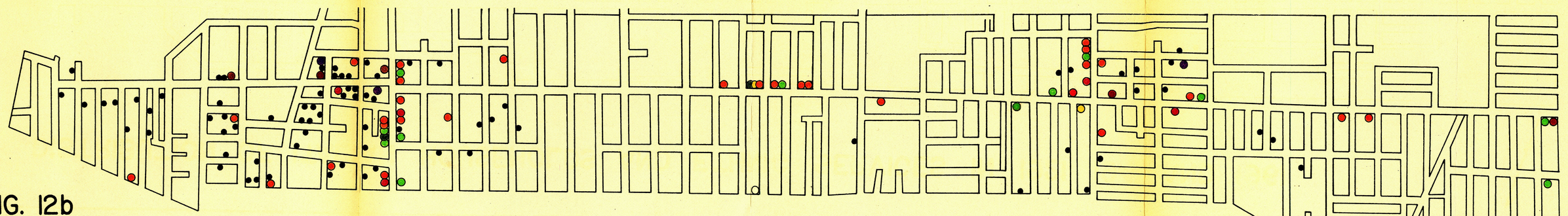

FIG. 12b

1941

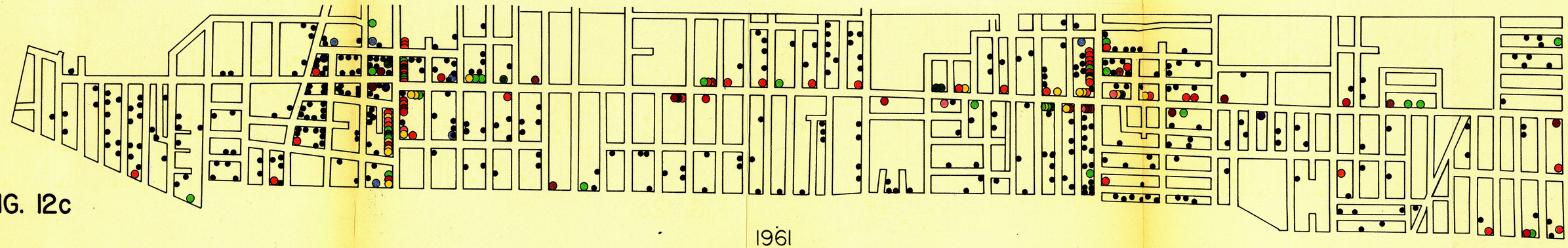

FIG. 12c

1961

One Inch Represents 800 Feet.

Households Represent a 20% Sample

population. The bakery represented an important advance in the Italian service structure as a plant producing daily a specialized type of food for the Italian community.

Broadly speaking, the same range of services was duplicated in the eastern community as in the western. Each was served by church, medicine, law, real estate and travel agents. Each had a number of food stores, apparel stores, restaurants and a range of retail manual services such as barbers, haridressers, and shoe repairers. They even had one music store and one cinema each. The differences were mainly ones of detail. Perhaps the most notable difference was the apparent lack of halls and clubs in the east end compared with the west.

Besides these two main centres there were several other groups of Italian services within the study area. The largest of these was on Barton between West Avenue and Wentworth. In 1941 this same area had contained a similar cluster of services without any obvious density of Italian population to support them. By 1961 the Italian residential element here was much stronger consequently this is an example of the services preceding the ethnic settlement. West of the establishments were small food or manual service outlets with the exception of a dentist's surgery, a realtor's office, and a restaurant. On Barton east of Gage the number of establishments had also grown with the increase in the Italian population of that area. The extreme east end of Cannon near its junction with Ottawa, and Ottawa itself also showed signs of this Italian residential advance but on a small scale as yet. The most remarkable of

these services east of Gage was the car sales lot in the Cavell - Lincoln block, the only Italian car sales lot in the entire study area.

The principal changes wrought in Italian occupance of the study area between 1941 and 1961 can be summarized as follows. Due to renewed vigorous immigration a large increase occurred in the total number of Italian households. This resulted in an intensification of the two original settlement nuclei and a diffusion into previously non-Italian occupied areas with the pressure of new arrivals. The total number of services was almost tripled and new elements introduced into a more sophisticated ethnic structure. Besides an intensification of services in the two main communities there was some expansion of establishments into the newly settled Italian districts. The impact of Italian occupance on the cultural landscape was greater than in any preceding period because of the increased number of store types with their specialized goods, and their Italian language signs, the cinemas with their signs, the new church and, of course, with the physical pressure of the greatly enlarged number of Italian people themselves.

(iv) Summary and Conclusions

The development of the Italian occupance of the study area followed this sequence:

STAGE I. Period of initial settlement - 1921

(1) Residential Pattern: Formation of two small separate and distinctive clusters of settlement on the northern industrial fringe adjacent to two important neighbourhood business streets.

(2) Commercial and Professional Services Pattern: Small number of services with very simple range. Most retail outlets dealing in food or small convenience goods. Some small retail manual services. Professional and semi-professional services non-existent. Most establishments closely associated with Italian residential clusters. Exceptions dealing in an Italian speciality, i.e. fruit.

(3) Religious and Social Institutions: Religious institutions had already appeared. No formal independent social institutions evident.

(4) Expression of Material Culture on the Landscape: Quite small but evident through stores and churches.

STAGE II. Period of Consolidation after limited immigration - 1941

(1) Residential Pattern: Still two well defined core areas but with some diffusion of settlement into peripheral streets. Western core larger than eastern. Persistence in the Italian regional differences of origin in the two communities.

(2) Commercial and Professional Services Pattern: Total number of services and institutions almost doubled. Most retail outlets still dealing in foods and small convenience goods. Appearance of a few apparel stores. Still relatively large number of retail manual services, i.e., medicine and real estate. Most establishments still tied to nuclei of Italian population.

(3) Religious and Social Institutions: Now several well established churches with most of their congregation members being within the study area. Appearance of some formal social and recreational clubs.

(4) Expression of Material Culture on Landscape: Growing with increasing number of stores and institutions but still quite weak.

STAGE III. Period of renewed intensive immigration - 1961

(1) Residential Pattern: Old nuclei and peripheral zones greatly intensified with diffusion of settlement into previously non-Italian residential areas due to pressure of immigration. General regional differences in Italian origin of population still maintained, with more minute sub-regional and kinship patterns as well.

(2) Commercial and Professional Services Pattern: Total more than doubled and range widened. Just over one half of all retail goods outlets now dealing in foods and convenience goods. Quality of some food stores improved. Many new types of retail goods outlets appeared or added to, i.e., better apparel stores, and specialty stores such as flower shop, bridal salon, gift store. Pharmacies appeared. Restaurants greatly increased. Expansion of manual retail services to include service stations. Also expansion of professional and semi-professional categories. Law, travel agencies, funeral chapel, appear for first time.

(3) Religious and Social Institutions: Churches still very strong and now serving wider radii as Italian population moves into other regions of the city. Clubs increased to include those of a regional character. Cinemas showing only Italian language films opened.

(4) Expression of Material Culture on the Landscape: Now very strong and distinctive with the much enlarged population and number of services. Most obvious in the goods and signs displayed, in some residential decoration, and in the people themselves.

The most remarkable feature of the Italian occupance was the emergence of two separate communities east and west. This was not a case of one developing much later than the other for both appeared simultaneously and independently. It must be attributed to the strong feelings of regional consciousness which the Italian immigrants brought with them to Hamilton. Subsequently, of course, a refinement of these feelings, and strong family attachments, led to differentiations within each of the two main communities.

Once a cluster of services, and especially a church, appeared to serve each of them the regional differences were crystallized and future growth depended not only on natural increase but also on immigration from the particular regions of Italy concerned. This being the case, it seems that in the period after 1921 Southern Italian and Sicilian immigration was larger in volume than that from Central and Northern provinces for the west end community was substantially bigger than the eastern one by 1941. However, in the post-war period the proportion of Northern and Central Italians increased in the general flood of immigration from that country so that both communities expanded enormously and by sheer pressure of numbers advanced into areas hitherto virtually untouched by Italian settlement. One indication of the growth of the Sherman community

was the construction of a new building for St. Anthony's Church on Barton to replace the original small one on Clinton.

Broadly speaking, each of the two communities developed a similar range of services with differences only in detail. One factor underlying this duplication was the actual physical distances between them, about one and a half miles, which contributed to the development of separate groups of services. Each of them began with small food and convenience goods outlets and simple retail manual services to serve a small local Italian population as such establishments needed only a limited amount of capital to set up and provide such basic services. It was only as the communities grew and became more prosperous that the range of services grew until it reached the sophisticated level of 1961.

So Italian occupance of this region not only persisted between 1921 and 1961 but expanded on a large scale. The succeeding streams of fresh immigration was a major factor in this, of course, but to it must be added the "residential inertia" of much of the Italian group long established there. Because of a natural gregariousness and strong sense of community it seems that a large number of Italians have shown a marked reluctance to move away from the old nuclei to other residential districts of Hamilton even when they could conceivably have afforded this. However, this is a characteristic which will probably weaken in future.

CHAPTER V

The Polish Group

(i) 1921

In 1921 there were 1,478 people of Polish origin living in Hamilton of whom the greater part, 983, had actually been born in Poland. With just over 1 per cent of the total population the Poles formed only the fifth largest non-British ethnic group in the city. Although the first Poles arrived about 1884 they were still a very small group by the turn of the century. With the beginning of a small stream of immigration they grew to 557 by 1911 and to 1,478 by 1921.

As in the case of the Italians some of the first Polish immigrants moved into Hamilton from Buffalo and Chicago, the attraction of the city being, of course, the heavy industry plants. However, the main influx came from Europe itself. A small number arrived before 1914 but this was much enlarged after 1918 and especially during the 1921-31 decade.

Within the city Polish settlement began in the residential pockets interspersed between the industrial plants of the north-east beyond the present Canadian National Railway tracks. The Polish group was in the beginning very closely attached to the major iron and steel plants which they entered usually as labourers. Consequently they settled at a low income and social level as close to these places of work as possible. By 1921 there was also Polish settlement

south of the railway tracks and in fact there appeared to be the beginnings of two Polish residential communities there, a small one west of Bay Street in the extreme west end of the study area and another, small but better defined, laying around the Sherman - Barton intersection (see fig. 13a). Elsewhere there was only a little scattered settlement between Wellington and Wentworth.

Associated with this Polish population was a total of 19 ethnic service establishments and institutions. The service structure was really very simple, the greater number consisting of retail food outlets of some kind (see table 7A), with only two stores dealing in apparel and several retail manual services. Religious and social facilities were already present, but professional and semi-professional services were entirely lacking.

Most of these establishments were located in association with the Sherman community and only a few small food stores connected with the west end community (see fig. 13a). In the former the largest group was on the east side of Sherman north of Barton and was probably extended along Sherman north of the tracks to serve the Polish population residing in pockets there. There was also a cluster of stores on Gibson in what, judging by the Italian case also, must have been a row of shops. It seems likely that all of these establishments catered primarily to the locally resident Polish population.

A Polish church was situated in the St. Ann - St. Olga block of Barton, and a club on Edward Street. This was the Catholic Church

TABLE 7A

Polish Ethnic Services and Institutions. 1921.

Retail Goods	
Grocery Stores	5
Butcher Shops	2
Bakery Stores	2
Confectionery Store	1
Fruit Shop	1
Dry Goods Store	1
Shoe Store	1
Retail Services	
Shoe repair shop	1
Barber shop	1
Cleaner	1
Restaurant	1
Professional and semi-professional	
None	
Religious and Social	
Church	1
Club	1
Approximate Total	19

of St. Stanislaus, founded in 1911 when the Polish community was yet still very small, and the present building was opened in 1919. So Polish and Italian religious institutions appeared in the same area about the same time. The church was located on this site because most of the original Polish community was living in the vicinity. In 1912 a St. Stanislaus Mutual Benefit Society was formed and the main aim for several years was to acquire a building for social cultural and academic group activities. In 1917 such a club was opened on the Edward Street site. Its purpose was not only social but also to maintain Polish cultural traditions, to acquaint new immigrants with the Canadian way of life and to teach the English language.

By 1921, then, a definite Polish community had emerged around the Barton - Sherman intersection complete with basic retail services and religious and social institutions. Proximity to the northern industrial region seems to have been the chief factor governing the location of the community. On the other hand the very small west end Polish group was probably located there because it was a low rental quarter. It is even possible that this was a Polish Jewish group while the Sherman group was almost entirely Catholic.

(ii) 1941

In 1941 the total Polish population had increased to 5,312 and as in 1921 the greatest number, 3,468, had actually been born in Poland. The Poles had become the second largest non-British group with just over 3 per cent of the city population. This relatively

great advance over the 1921 position was due largely to heavy immigration during the 1921-31 period. Of the 1,941 Polish born population, only 13 per cent had arrived before 1911, but over 22 per cent immigrated between 1911 and 1921, and over 55 per cent between 1921 and 1931.

Consequently the Polish community was enlarged by the new arrivals and the results of this are evident in the 1941 distribution map (see fig. 13b). The most obvious change was the enormous increase of Polish settlement in the east end of the study area. From the small 1921 cluster north of Barton between Birch and Ruth there was a diffusion eastward and northward into streets not previously touched by Polish settlement. The expansion west of Sherman was limited but it was to the east as far as Lottridge that the greatest density occurred. East of Lottridge the density was less but fairly evenly spread over this new area of Polish advance. All this expansion was due to the members of the enlarged community wishing to reside as near as possible to their places of work, their services and institutions, and to one another. It is difficult to say why expansion was so obviously directed towards the east and not west. The presence of Italian settlement there may have acted as a barrier, or it may just have been that the major industrial plants also lay east of Sherman and so drew settlement east also.

Elsewhere within the study area there was only a slight increase in Polish population. The embryo community west of Bay Street in 1921 never developed and there seems to have been a small migration

eastward to the James Street area. Again this makes it possible that the Polish population here was partly Jewish. Or it may have been that, because of its location and already established services, the Sherman community was much too attractive to let this western cluster develop strongly.

The total number of Polish services and institutions had increased from 19 to 28 with a small widening of the ranges (see table 7B). Among the retail goods outlets food stores were still the most important type, and there was little significant expansion of the non-foot outlets. With a few additions the retail manual services remained much the same. Amusements appeared for the first time as did a single professional service, law. To those existing in 1921 had been added another church and hall.

The distribution of these establishments had changed somewhat. In the west end the 1921 food stores had disappeared while three new services were located on James but with no apparent direct association with the small residential Polish population there. The concentration around the Sherman - Barton intersection was intensified although most of the services were now on Barton itself whereas in 1921 they had been on Sherman and Gibson mainly. The densest cluster was on the north side of Barton between Sherman and Lottridge, forming the core of the Polish community. On Sherman and on Barton in the blocks west of it were some additional establishments still belonging to the community and serving it. Elsewhere on Barton were four others unconnected with the main concentration of population

TABLE 7B

Polish Ethnic Services and Institutions. 1941.

Retail Goods	
Grocery Stores	4
Meats Stores	4
Fruit Shops	2
Confectionery Stores	2
Drug Store	1
Dry Goods Stores	3
Department Store	1
Retail Services	
Beauty Parlour	1
Tailor	1
Barber Shops	2
Shoe Repair Shop	1
Entertainment	
Billiard Saloon	1
Bowling Alley	1
Professional and semi-professional	
Lawyer	1
Religious and Social Institutions	
Churches	2
Halls	2
Approximate Total	**29**

although they may have had some ethnic association, especially the two east of Gage.

St. Stanislaus Church was still in the same location as was the Polonia Club on Edward Street. As a second church there was a small "storefront" one, the Polish Baptist Church, in temporary premises almost opposite St. Stanislaus,but it was very small. During the course of the year 1941 the Polish community acquired another hall, formerly the "Casa D'Italia" belonging to the Italians. At the beginning of the war the government confiscated it and sold it to the Poles. Afterwards as the "Polish Alliance Hall" it was used as a headquarters for Polish activities in Hamilton and district.

Generally speaking, then, the major changes wrought in the distribution of Polish elements between 1921 and 1941 was the strengthening of the eastern settlement there. Despite an increase in number there was no significant change in the ethnic services structure and most professional and semi-professional services were still missing. At this time the Polish community had not developed either as great a number or as wide a range of ethnic services and institutions as had the Italian group which was only slightly larger in total population. One reason may have been that the Polish group concentrated on industrial work rather than providing services, even for itself. Another undoubtedly was that the Polish community was much more homogeneous than the Italian and not affected by old country regional loyalties which in the latter case led to the development of two separate communities with duplicated services.

(iii) 1961

By 1961 the size of the Polish group had almost doubled since 1941. There were 11,412 persons of Polish origin living in Hamilton representing just over 4 per cent of the total population, and only the Italian and German ethnic groups were bigger. Of the Polish group, 5,423 had actually been born in Poland and 3,095 of these immigrated into the city between 1945 and 1961, about one half coming in the 1946-50 period. In the pre-war years desire for economic improvement had been the main factor behind Polish immigration in contrast to the post-war period when political reasons were dominant.

Despite this further immigration the 1961 map does not show any dramatic signs of an increase in the Polish element within the study area, and certainly nothing to compare with the contemporary Italian expansion (see fig. 13c). Part of the explanation may be found in the 1961 choropleth map showing the distribution of Polish population throughout the city. Although the Polish core area was still in the industrial north end migrating Polish population was moving into the residential areas of the east end and the Mountain. In that sector of Hamilton east of Sherman and below the Mountain lived approximately 57 per cent of the total Polish origin population. Only over 16 per cent of it lived on the Mountain, and a very scanty number in the west end. So instead of further increasing by very much the density within the study area, there was actually an out migration of Polish population elsewhere. It is notable that

this was eastward and southward drift, rather than westward, and so carrying on the trend observable within the study area in 1941.

In the main eastern nucleus of this area there was little significant difference between the 1961 and 1941 pictures. Polish settlement generally covered the same sectors as before most of it east of Sherman with comparatively little to the west. Between Wellington and Wentworth there was some increase where only a tiny Polish element had existed in 1941, but in the west end no really distinctive clusters remained at all.

The total number of Polish services had increased only from 28 to about 35 (see table 7C). Food stores still dominated the retail outlets category and the remaining non-food outlers really showed a very small range for such a large group as the Poles, compared especially with the Italians. The retail manual services remained comparatively unchanged while the bowling alley remained as an amusement centre. Professional and semi-professional services really established themselves for the first time with medicine and real estate and insurance.

Another large hall was added to the couple previously existing. This was the Polish Legion Hall opened after the end of the war as a special branch of the Canadian Legion, as of course many Poles had served as members of the Canadian forces. Another Polish church was under construction and was eventually opened in 1962 as Holy Trinity Polish National Catholic Church on Barton. The congregation was actually formed in 1949 and for the time being met in

TABLE 7C

Polish Ethnic Services and Institutions. 1961.

Retail Goods	
Grocery Stores	7
Meats Stores	2
Confectionery Stores	1
Shoe Store	1
Clothing Store	1
Leather Supply Shop	1
Saw Shop	1
Pharmacy	1
Retail Services	
Shoe Repair Shops	2
Barber Shops	2
Beauty Salon	1
Tailor Shop	1
Garage	1
Entertainment	
Bowling Alley	1
Professional and semi-professional	
Physicians	2
Dentists	2
Realtors	2
Insurance Agent	1
Photo Studio	1
Religious and Social Institutions	
Churches	1
Halls	3
Approximate Total	35

St. Philip's Anglican Church on Earl. The Polish National Catholic Church is truly an "ethnic" church in that it sprang from the experiences of Polish Roman Catholic immigrants in the United States and was later transplanted back to Poland itself. It began in Pennsylvania at the close of the last century as a protest by Polish immigrants feeling discriminated against by the Irish-German Catholic hierarchy. They formed their own Polish National Catholic Church as a splinter group from the main Roman Catholic body, resembling in some ways the "High Anglican" church, but with a strong Polish flavour. From the United States this spread to Polish groups in Canada and so to Hamilton where the congregation contains about 150 families. St. Stanislaus Roman Catholic Church, however, remains much the larger of the two.

The major concentration of Polish establishments was still confined to those blocks of Barton between Sherman and Lottridge as in 1921. East of Gage were a few establishments forming an eastward extension of the Sherman-Lottridge cluster. All of these catered primarily to the local Polish population. Elsewhere there existed only a few isolated establishments which do not seem to have had any strong ethnic connections at all.

On the whole the changes in the Polish distributions within the area in the 1941-61 period were not very remarkable as compared with the Italian changes, and notwithstanding the post-war flux of immigration and the doubling in size of Hamilton's Polish population. The main features were the increase of Polish settlement between

Wellington and Wentworth, the spread of more Polish services east of Gage, the maintenance of the Sherman - Lottridge service area and the almost total disappearance of Polish influence in the James Street area.

(iv) Summary and Conclusion

Polish occupation of the study area followed this sequence:

STAGE I. Period of early settlement, 1921

(1) Residential Settlement: Formation of two small separate population clusters, one in the east end, the other in the west.

(2) Commercial and Professional Services Pattern: Development of small number of services in association with these two groups. Range limited and composed mainly of retail food outlets and retail manual services. Few non-food outlets. Complete absence of professional and semi-professional services.

(3) Religious and Social Institutions: One large church and one formal ethnic club in existence in east end community.

(4) Expression of Material Culture on the Landscape: Most evident in the church building and some stores.

STAGE II. Period of Consolidation after further immigration - 1941

(1) Residential Pattern: Intensification and expansion of eastern nucleus eastward and southward into new areas. Little development of the western nucleus. Little change elsewhere.

(2) Commercial and Professional Services Pattern: Number of services increased but range not significantly widened. Food

outlets and retail manual services still predominated with no important additions to other retail outlets. Introduction of some amusement facilities. Appearance of only one professional service.

(3) Religious and Social Institutions: No important religious additions. One more large hall added indicating further social development of the community.

(4) Expression of Material Culture on the Landscape: Growing with increase in number of services. Mainly confined to Church and Polish language signs in stores.

STAGE III. Period following further limited immigration - 1961

(1) Residential Pattern: Despite further immigration residential pattern little changed apparently due to migration out of the area. Still a distinctive residential community in existence.

(2) Commercial and Professional Services Pattern: Little change in retail outlets as emphasis still on foods and manual services. Some major additions to the professional and semi-professional category.

(3) Religious and Social Institutions: One more church and one social centre added. So importance of the area as an ethnic religious and social focus maintained.

(4) Expression of Material Culture on the Landscape: At its greatest ever extent but still limited compared with the Italian. Mainly evident through church and store signs, Polish flag on Legion Hall, etc.

The main factor responsible for the initial development of the east end Polish community was economic. The first Poles entered the city at a low socio-economic level and took up employment principally in the iron and steel plants. They settled in low rental areas convenient to these plants and Sherman Avenue as the principal route leading into the north end heavy industrial complex attracted much settlement. The first Polish households to appear just east of Sherman and north of Barton were probably southern extensions of Polish settlement north of the railway tracks. Removed from the worst nuisances of the industrial complex farther north and located around the important Barton - Sherman intersection, the first Polish commercial services and religious and social institutions appeared.

These developments stabilized the residential nucleus of the Polish group and perpetuated its industrial associations. Further periods of immigration expanded this nucleus into better housing to the east and south and at the same time the number of services increased. However, the range of the latter was always limited, especially with regard to retail goods outlets which consisted predominantly of food stores with few non-food outlets. It appears that the Poles concentrated on industrial work and did not develop such an intricate "shop keeping class" as the Italians. However, religious and social institutions have played an important part in retaining the area as the focus of Polish ethnic life in the city. For a long time St. Stanislaus was the largest and finest ethnic

church in Hamilton. Until the very recent appearance of another church, the Poles showed a remarkable homogeneity with regard to religion. The Polish Clubs have never shown any regional influences as have the Italians, neither have such influences affected the Polish settlement pattern by producing more than one large community.

In this respect it is pertinent to note that the embryonic west end community never did develop, and was overwhelmed by that in the east. It may have been because it consisted of Polish Jews who moved out with the rest of the Jewish community there. Or it may have been that the attractions of the east end community with its established services and institutions and its industrial proximity proved superior to later immigrants.

Instead of becoming a more densely crowded community, as in the case of the Italians, the Poles have been moving east and south, but not west, into new districts beyond the study area. This occurs of course with an improvement in their economic circumstances. They move east and south, and avoid the west, probably because the group has always been orientated towards the north and east and not towards the west. Despite this migration the area east of Sherman will retain its place as the religious and social centre of the Polish community in Hamilton even if the retail services there decline in future.

DISTRIBUTION OF POLISH HOUSEHOLDS AND ETHNIC SERVICES IN 1921 1941 AND 1961

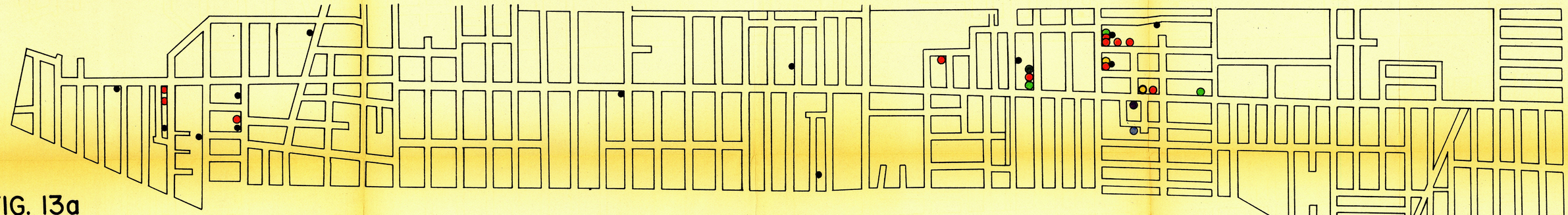

FIG. 13a

1921

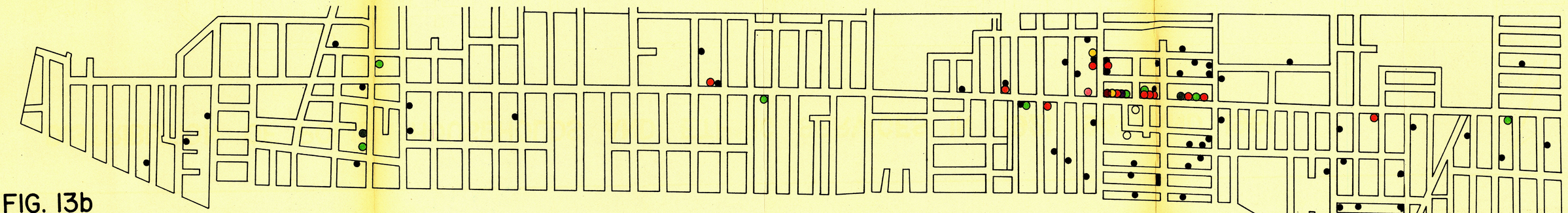

FIG. 13b

1941

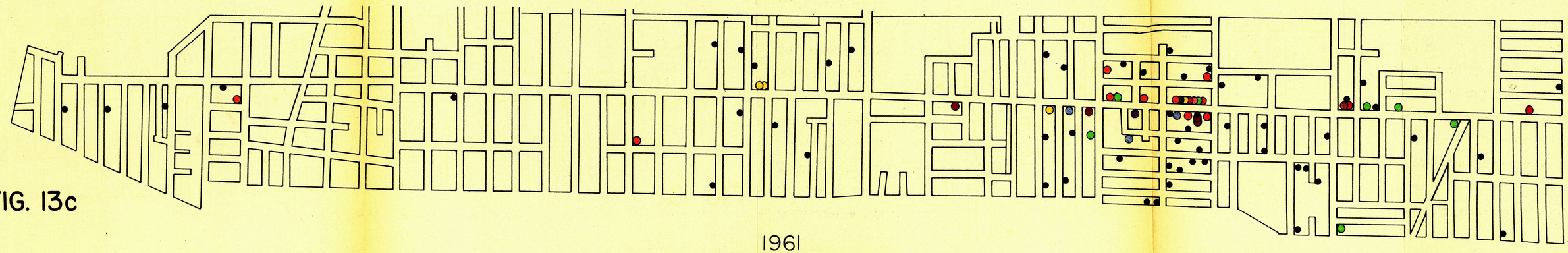

FIG. 13c

1961

One Inch Represents 800 Feet.

Households Represent a 20% Sample

CHAPTER VI

The Ukrainian Group

(i) 1921

For Hamilton in 1921 the official census figures show a Ukrainian origin population of 370, of whom only 65 are shown to have actually been in the Ukraine itself. These figures are probably artificially low on account of the fragmented political nature of the territory from which the people of Ukrainian origin came. On arrival in Canada they were described under various names.

> "If the immigrant came from the Province of Galicia he was recorded as a Galician: if from Bukovina as a Bukovinian: if that part of the territory he came from was under Poland he was registered as a Pole. Since much Ukrainian territory was under Austria the immigrants were often listed as Austrian. When he used the old Ukrainian term 'Rusin' or 'Rusky' he was labelled a Russian. He was even sometimes called a Ruthenian, the name used by the Church of Rome in its communications with the Ukrainians."[1]

Consequently it is impossible to put an exact figure on the size of the city's Ukrainian group at that time, but it was small compared with the Poles or the Italians. The contemporary Ukrainian population was coming from two sources. Between 1896 and 1914 it has been estimated that about 200,000 Ukrainians entered Canada. This was a predominantly agricultural immigration and most of the people settled in the prairie provinces. Of a rather later date was a Ukrainian proletarian immigration consisting of single men, servants, landless workers, and seasonal labourers, and most of

these people did not settle on the land but in the cities. Some of the original agricultural settlers moved off the land and also settled in the cities. Because of its heavy industry Hamilton was an attraction to the Ukrainians as it was to other groups, and it attracted both the proletarian immigrants and the ex-agriculturalists.

Like the Poles the first Ukrainian settlement in the city was closely associated with the industrial plants of the north east. It probably began in the residential pockets north of the railway tracks and then filtered south. Again as in the case of the Poles, two separate clusters of households had appeared by 1921, an eastern and a western (see fig. 14a). In the west the core lay between Bay and Hess, while in the east it lay east of Sherman and north of Barton. There was no evidence of substantial Ukrainian elsewhere within the study area.

Only four Ukrainian services seem to have been in existence (see table 8a). The range was very narrow indeed and it is notable that there were no food outlets or retail manual services as in the case of the Italians and Poles. This is an indicator that the Ukrainian community at this time was at a very elementary stage of development. Although the four services were associated with Ukrainian settlement clusters only two of them can be considered as particularly ethnic: One of these was a Ukrainian book store on James which was obviously a specialized Ukrainian service.

The other, on Gray Street (now St. Olga) was the Church of the Holy Ghost Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. There have always

TABLE 8A

Ukrainian Ethnic Services and Institutions. 1921.

Retail Goods	
Ukrainian Book Store	1
Dry Goods Store	1
Retail Services	
Plumber	1
Religious Institutions	
Church	1
Approximate Total	4

been in Canada religious differences among the Ukrainian group based on their provincial origin in the Ukraine. The strongest church has remained the Uniats or Greek Catholic group from the Western Ukraine, with the other important one being the Greek Orthodox from Eastern Ukraine. Since the majority of Ukrainians who came to Canada were from the Province of Galicia and therefore under Polish influence, the largest and most powerful of the two was, and has remained, the Greek Catholic. In 1916 a Greek Catholic congregation began to hold services in St. Anthony's Italian Catholic Church and by 1921 had its own church on Gray Street.

So by 1921, because of its small size, the Ukrainian group in the city was still in the first stage of developing a distinctive community. Its two residential clusters were small and separated, while the number of services was very limited. However, the eastern nucleus had the advantage of being located near the chief places of work of the Ukrainian group, and the erection of the church there was helping to fix it as the main centre of Ukrainian settlement and focus of social activities.

(ii) 1941

By 1941 the Ukrainian origin group had increased to 2,265 people making them the eighth largest group in the city. Since 1921 their numbers had been added to by comparatively large scale immigration in the 1921-35 period. Many of these migrants came, not directly from Europe, but from the prairie provinces.

Within the study area the density of Ukrainian settlement had increased very substantially (see fig. 14b). The 1921 eastern cluster had intensified within its old limits and had also spread west of Sherman, south of Barton and east of Lottridge into areas previously unoccupied by Ukrainian households. West of Sherman the limit of settlement was just beyond Birch while east of Lottridge it thinned out towards Ottawa. The core of the residential cluster lay between Sherman and Lottridge. In the west end Ukrainian settlement had expanded only on a very small scale. There were now two small groups of households, one west of Caroline and the other around James. Between James and Wentworth a light scatter of Ukrainian households occurred.

The number of service establishments and institutions showed a large increase, from 4 in 1921 to 25 in 1941, with a corresponding widening of the range (see table 8B). The emphasis of the retail goods outlets was on foods although in proportion the number of these was smaller than those associated with the Polish and Italian groups. The non-food retail outlets were very limited. There was the usual range of retail manual services, and also some amusement facilities, but only one professional service of any kind. The number of churches had been added to, and a new type of establishment was the Ukrainian Labour Temple, illustrating the close industrial ties of a large part of the Ukrainian community.

The distribution of these establishments was closely associated

TABLE 8B

Ukrainian Ethnic Services and Institutions. 1941.

Retail Goods	
Grocery Stores	4
Meats Shop	1
Confectionery Shops	3
Dry Goods Store	2
Jewellery Store	1
Retail Services	
Tailor Shops	2
Barber Shops	2
Shoe Repair Shop	1
Garage	1
Restaurants	3
Entertainment	
Billiards	2
Professional Services	
Dentist	1
Religious and Social Institutions	
Churches	2
Labour Temple	1
Approximate Total	**26**

with the distribution of Ukrainian settlement in that there was a small group of establishments on James and a much larger one between Earl and Lottridge. Those on James were all simple retail services orientated partly towards the local Ukrainian population and partly towards the general public. In the eastern nucleus most establishments were located on the north side of Barton between Earl and Lottridge, with a few others on the opposite side of the street. All of these services, with the probable exception of the jewellery store, catered primarily to the Ukrainian community. To the Holy Ghost Church on Gray was added another in temporary premises on Barton. This was a Greek Orthodox Church belonging to the second main Ukrainian religious group.

The main changes in Ukrainian occupance between 1921 and 1941 can be summarized as follows. There was a large increase in the number of Ukrainian households within the study area, forming a main nucleus between Sherman and Lottridge with extensions east and south but limited towards the west. In the west end settlement was confined to two small clusters. Therefore, as in the case of the Poles, the east end settlement had developed much more than the west end. This may be attributed to several factors, principally the proximity of the Sherman community to the heavy industrial plants and the close Ukrainian employment association with them, the early establishment of a Ukrainian church there which acted as an anchor in localizing the growing Ukrainian community, and finally the presence there of another Slavic group, namely the Poles. The fact that the Polish

and Ukrainian languages are mutually intelligible helped to some degree to draw the two groups together in Hamilton although their separate and sometimes antagonistic European historical backgrounds would prevent this from becoming a very close association.

(iii) 1961

By 1961 Hamilton contained 8,559 persons of Ukrainian origin, a fourfold increase over the 1941 figure. This gave them just over 3 per cent of the total population making them the city's fifth largest non-British ethnic group. Of the total group 3,094 had actually been born in the Ukraine and of these 36 per cent had immigrated into Canada before 1945, 35 per cent arrived in the 1946-50 period, 21 per cent between 1951 and 1955, and 8 per cent after 1956. So the core of "old" Ukrainian immigrants was substantially added to in the post-1945 decade but since then there has been comparatively little Ukrainian movement into the city.

The Ukrainian origin population showed a definite pattern of distribution which resembled that of the Polish group in some respects. The greatest densities appeared in the north east third of Hamilton (see fig. 8b). Approximately 61 per cent of the total Ukrainian population resided in the sector east of Wentworth and north of the Mountain Brow. The tracts containing the city's highest Ukrainian densities were found firstly between Sherman, Ottawa and Main, secondly east of Parkdale and north of the Canadian National track, and as in the case of the Poles, in the small tract bounded by Queenstown Road,

Parkdale, the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo track, and Pottruff Road. The Ukrainian group had a larger proportion of its members on the Mountain than either the Poles or the Italians, almost 27 per cent as compared with 16 per cent and just over 14 per cent respectively.

The migration trends followed by the Ukrainians again resemble those of the Poles. Both had their largest original nuclei in the north east industrial sector and both still retain their greatest densities there. But there has been a general migration out of this area and in both cases this has been towards the residential zones of the east and south-east rather than towards the west. However, a sizeable percentage of Ukrainians have moved on to the Mountain, as shown above. With reference to this, it is of interest to note that there would appear to be less prejudice against the Ukrainian group in the minds of the general public than against many other non-British ethnic groups. In a 1963 survey of the north end of Hamilton it was found that 51 per cent of the answers reflected unfavourable attitudes towards Italians, compared with 21 per cent towards Ukrainians. Therefore, the latter seem to be among the potentially more socially mobile non-British groups in the city. Nevertheless, this factor of prejudice probably has much less influence over the mobility of a group than the economic condition of its members and their own attitudes to such movement. The economic factor is an important one in turning Ukrainian and Polish migration east and south rather than west because the former areas are less expensive than the residential districts of the west end.

TABLE 8C

Ukrainian Ethnic Services and Institutions. 1961.

Retail Goods	
Grocery Stores	4
Pharmacy	1
Book Store	1
Radio and T.V. Store	1
Jewellery Store	1
Parcel Service	1
Gift Store	1
Retail Services	
Shoe Repair Shops	2
Shoe Shine Shop	1
Tailor Shop	1
Beauty Salons	2
Barber Shop	1
Service Station	1
Watch Repair Shop	1
Entertainment	
Billard Saloons	3
Professional and semi-professional	
Physicians	3
Barristers	5
Accountant	1
Dentists	2
X-ray Technician	1
Real Estate	1
Photographer	1
Religious and Social Institutions	
Churches	3
Labour Temple	1
Association headquarters	1
Halls	2
Approximate Total	**41**

Despite the large increase in the size of the Ukrainian group between 1941 and 1961 the number of Ukrainian households within the study area showed no corresponding increase (see fig. 14c). West of James there was little change in either density or distribution, while between James and Wentworth there was merely a slight increase in the general density. The main nucleus was still located between Sherman and Lottridge. A slight intensification occurred west of Sherman as far as Sandford and east of Lottridge towards Ottawa.

The total number of Ukrainian service establishments and institutions was raised to 41 from the 1941 total of 25 (see table 8c). The proportion of retail goods outlets was very small compared with other groups and this applied even to food stores. The most interesting type of store was a Ukrainian parcel service which specialized in sending parcels to Eastern Europe and Baltic countries. There was also a Ukrainian book store and a gift shop. The retail manual service range was quite wide. However, the most radical changes affected the professional services category and now medicine, law, accounting and real estate were all represented.

The location of these establishments remained substantially the same as in 1941, with a few qualifications. The main group was still on Barton between Earl and Lottridge, most of the commercial establishments being on the north side and the social and professional on the south. An extension of services had taken place eastward from Lottridge probably as a result of the increased Ukrainian residential population there. In contrast all but one of the 1941 Ukrainian services on James had disappeared.

Two churches had been added to the main Barton concentration. The much larger of the two was St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Church housed in a fine new building between Cavell and Gage. The smaller was a Ukrainian Presbyterian Church on Earl. The addition of the churches and the appearance of the medical services, with the persistence of the older retail services, combined to keep this area the largest single Ukrainian services complex in the city. However, its traditional dominance was being attacked by new developments farther east. On Cannon in the Rosslyn - Balmoral block was the headquarters of several Ukrainian organizations including the credit union. This important social service then had moved away somewhat from the Sherman-Lottridge strip. Much farther east on Barton was the new St. Nicholas Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church just a few blocks east of Parkdale Avenue. On Parkdale itself was the new Ukrainian Community Centre opened in 1961 in a converted theatre. These cases illustrate the pull which the eastward and south-eastward migration of Ukrainian population was exerting on the "old" Ukrainian centre on Barton.

The main changes in Ukrainian occupance of the study area during the 1941-61 period can be summarized as follows. Residentally there was little change in the western half of the area, while in the eastern half the 1941 pattern was intensified slightly by further immigration. There appears to have been an eastward and southward drift of Ukrainian population out of the area. The major change in the services structure was the appearance of further religious insti-

tutions and professional and semi-professional services. With regard to their distribution only one establishment remained on James while the number in and around the Sherman - Lottridge increased to maintain it as the most important service centre of the Ukrainian community.

(iv) Summary and Conclusions

The sequence of Ukrainian occupance follows this pattern:

STAGE I. Period of initial settlement - 1921

(1) Residential Pattern: Formation of two small separate population clusters, one in the west and one in the east, along the southern fringe of the northern residential zone.

(2) Commercial and Professional Services Pattern: Very few services. No food outlets at all.

(3) Religious and Social Institutions: One church established in eastern population cluster. No other obvious social institutions.

(4) Expression of Material Culture on Landscape: Very small but evident through church and bookstore.

STAGE II. Period of Consolidation following Immigration

(1) Residential Pattern: Great intensification of eastern nucleus and diffusion of settlement south and east. Little change elsewhere.

(2) Commercial and Professional Services Pattern: Number and range of services increased. Comparatively few retail outlets

particularly food stores. Many small retail manual services. Only one professional service of any sort.

(3) Religious and Social Institutions: Two churches now in existence catering for different provincial origins among the Ukrainian group. First appearance of Labour Temple.

(4) Expression of Material Culture on the Landscape: Increased with greater number of establishments. Most apparent in stores and churches.

STAGE III. Period of expansion after further limited immigration

(1) Residential Pattern: Further immigration served only to intensify the existing pattern slightly. Migration eastward and southward.

(2) Commercial and Professional Services Pattern: Increase in range of services but mainly in the professional category. Number of food outlets still small. Some specialty stores added. Services still usually associated with population distribution. Some extension of services eastward with new Ukrainian residential densities there.

(3) Religious and Social Institutions: At its greatest ever extent. Churches most distinctive, followed by some store signs and goods.

The development of the Ukrainian community east of Sherman showed many similarities to that of the Polish in the same area. Indeed most of the major conclusions reached with reference to the

Polish community can be applied largely to the Ukrainians and do not need to be repeated here. Their common Slavic background and similar socio-economic level was probably responsible for the close spatial relationship of the two groups. Nevertheless they retained their separate identities as distinctive communities despite these similarities.

There were some differences between the patterns developed by each group. The Ukrainians displayed a religious differentiation based on regional origins which the Poles did not. However, this did not result in any peculiar residential cleavages. By 1961 Ukrainian religious and social institutions were appearing much farther east than the study area, thus detracting somewhat from the importance of the Barton - Sherman community.

However, the Ukrainian and Polish communities resembled each other more closely at all times than any other groups within the study area.

Notes. (1) Skwarok, J., "The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and their schools, 1891-1921", Toronto: Basilian Press, 1959. p. 11.

DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIAN HOUSEHOLDS AND ETHNIC SERVICES IN 1921 1941 AND 1961

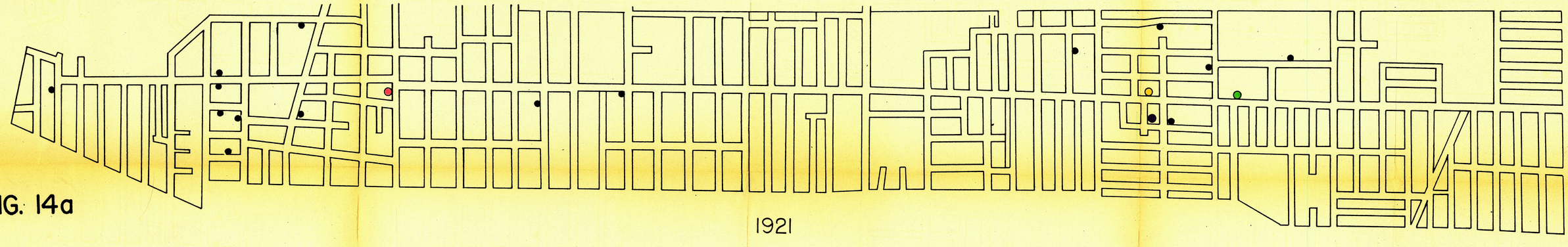

FIG. 14a

1921

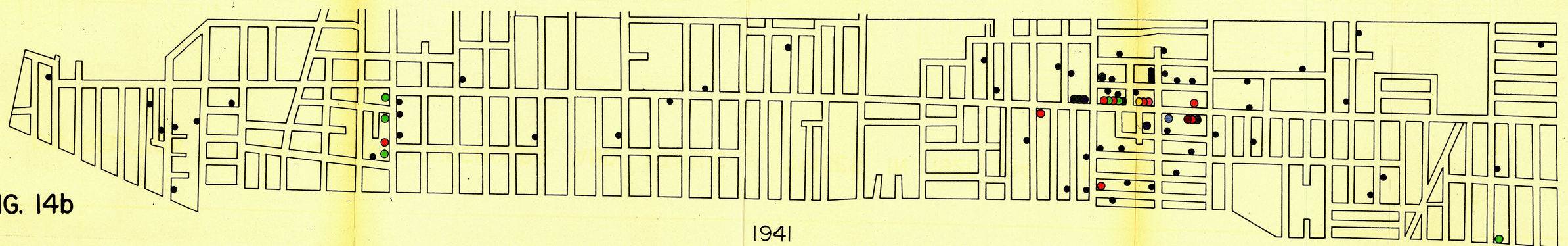

FIG. 14b

1941

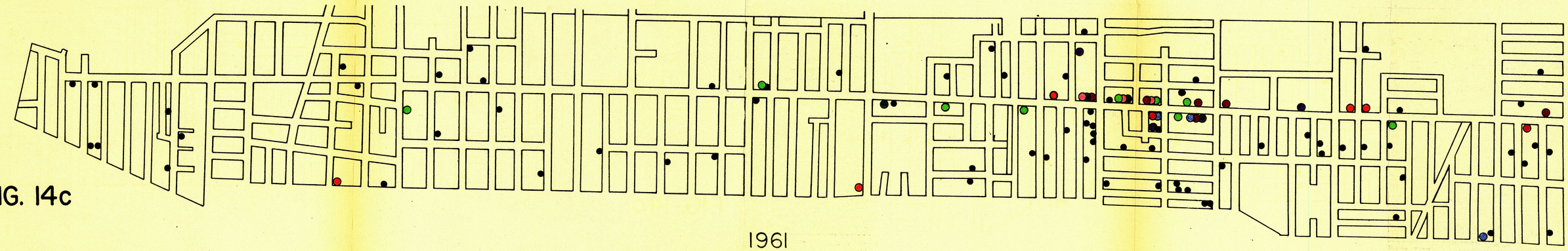

FIG. 14c

1961

One Inch Represents 800 Feet.

Households Represent a 20% Sample

CHAPTER VII

The Jewish Group

(i) 1921

In 1921 there were 1,777 people of Jewish origin living in Hamilton. This figure had been 1,681 in 1911 but only 484 in 1901 so it seems that the major influx of Jewish population into the city came in the first decade of this century. As a group the Jews were by no means homogeneous as to actual national origin but most came from central and eastern European countries. Although many other ethnic groups came to Hamilton attracted by the prospects of employment in the iron and steel plants, few Jewish immigrants took up such jobs. Instead most of them entered into the business life of the city in some capacity or other.

The 1921 Jewish distribution map shows that a large part of the residential Jewish population was confined to that area west of James with its axis along York Street (see fig. 15a). East of James little Jewish residential settlement appeared at all. However, despite this relative paucity of settlement the study area contained no less than 59 Jewish services of all kinds (see table 9A). These services differed from the ethnic services of other groups in that they were designed primarily to cater to the general public and not just to members of the Jewish group. Part of the explanation lay in the fact that many of the immigrant Jews arrived with some trade or commercial skill and so endeavoured to set up in some sort of

TABLE 9A

Jewish Ethnic Services and Institutions. 1921.

Retail Goods Outlets	
Grocery Stores	7
Tobacco Shop	1
Dairy Shop	1
Druggist Shop	1
Confectionery Shop	1
Variety Store	1
Clothing Stores	6
Dry Goods Stores	4
Men's Furnishings	3
Shoe Stores	4
Millinery Stores	2
Furniture Stores	2
Jewellery Stores	2
Hardware Store	1
Fur Store	1
Second-hand Store	1
Retail Services	
Tailors	6
Cleaners	2
Barber Shops	1
Shoe Shine Shop	1
Watchmaker Shop	1
Manufacturing and Trading	
Scrap Metal Dealers	2
Soda Water Dealer	1
Professional and Semi-professional Services	
Steamship and Ticket agencies	3
Amusements	
Billiard Saloon	1
Religious Institution	
Synagogue	1
Approximate Total	59

business rather than take on industrial jobs.

Streets such as the northern end of James, and Barton, were most suitable because they were already retail service strips passing through lower income residential areas. Most of these commercial establishments were small and relatively inexpensive to buy or rent compared with those nearer the central business district. These circumstances allowed Jews, even those with a very small amount of capital, to set up businesses within the area. So by 1921 there was a major concentration of Jewish services on James with scattered establishments along the length of Barton Street to Ottawa, a few on Cannon, a few on York and some in the streets west of James and north of York (see fig. 15a).

The service structure showed an amazingly wide range (see table 8A). This list reveals many services associated in the public mind with the Jewish group. For example, 26 establishments or about 44 per cent of the total dealt in apparel of some sort or other. Dry goods stores, men's clothing stores, millinery shops, fur shops and footwear stores are services long associated with Jews. Furniture stores, jewellery shops and even second hand stores and scrap metal dealers have also been traditional Jewish "speciality" services. No other groups within the study area specialized in these services as did the Jews.

Only about 24 per cent of the Jewish establishments dealt in foods or small convenience goods. This again was in marked contrast to other groups which usually had the greater proportion of

their services engaged in food of some sort or other. No other group had so few simple retail services, i.e. barber shops, shoe repair shops, etc., compared with its total number of ethnic services. Both of these features were a result of the fact that the Jews were not just providing basic services for their own limited group but for the general public.

There seem to have been no Jewish professional services at all within the area, although the "semi-professional" Jewish steamship agents were catering for the stream of European immigrants entering Hamilton at that time. Although there were no formal social institutions there was one Synagogue on Cannon West.

The Jews were the first non-British group to provide such an elaborate array of services in this area of the city and in total number and variety no other group could match them until the Italians in 1961. West of James most of these services were small and dealt in food or convenience goods and the Synagogue was also located there. This was because of the relative density of Jewish residential population in this area so that these services were at least partly orientated towards the Jewish ethnic group for their trade.

On the other hand the great concentration of Jewish services on James was not directed at the Jewish community but at the general public. The great emphasis on both sides of the street was on clothing, footwear, furniture, jewellery, or trades connected with them. The steamship agencies were located on James as much of the contin-

inental European immigration of the period was filtering into the north end of the city.

Among the services in other parts of the study area there was again this great emphasis on clothing, shoes, dry goods, etc., although the range was not quite so great as on James. The other Jewish specialities of furs, jewellery and second-hand goods also appeared. Food stores were present only in some streets off Barton, notably on Sherman. Like those on James, all of these Jewish services on Barton, Sherman and Ottawa were catering to the general public.

(ii) 1941

In 1941 the Jewish population of Hamilton was 2,597. During the period since 1921 there had been relatively little immigration compared with other groups with the result that from being the third largest non-British with 2.2 per cent of the total population in 1921, the Jews in 1941 occupied sixth place and had only 2 per cent of the city's population.

The distribution of Jewish households within the study area showed a slight eastward shift from the 1921 position with the greatest density now in the streets on either side of James between Grieg and Elgin (see fig. 15b). Intensive Jewish settlement was evident nowhere else within the area.

The number of services was reduced from 59 to 43 but, although the 1921 emphasis on certain categories of services was

still retained, the range was widened slightly (see table 9B). Only about 4 per cent of the total dealt in foods of any kind compared with about 35 per cent dealing in apparel of some sort or other. Apparel, furniture and jewellery were still typical Jewish specialities services. The number of simple manual retail services was still small but the range of merchants and dealers had expanded. Professional services, absent in 1921, now appeared represented by law and medicine. To the existing religious institutions, the Synagogue, were now added social and educational institutions in the form of a Jewish Club and a Hebrew School.

There was a marked change in the distribution of these services as James had lost its 1921 predominance to Ottawa Street where the single greatest concentration now occurred. Establishments were still scattered along Barton but in reduced numbers while west of James the number of services was smaller and the type almost completely changed. All the 1921 food outlets had disappeared, probably with the slight eastward migration of population. This movement had not affected the Synagogue, still located relatively close to the main cluster of Jewish population. On James only 8 establishments remained but the Jewish specialities of clothing, jewellery and second-hand stores were still represented. Immediately east of James was a Jewish Club and a Hebrew School neither of which had been in existence in 1921 but which were now centres of the Jewish residential community there. It is remarkable that no small food stores had appeared to serve this local population as

TABLE 9B

Jewish Ethnic Services and Institutions. 1941.

Retail Goods Outlets	
Confectionery Shops	3
Tobacco Shop	1
Fruit Shop	1
Clothing Stores	7
Shoe Stores	2
Jewellery Stores	2
Furniture Stores	3
Millinery Stores	2
Fur Store	1
Ladies-wear Store	1
Wallpaper Shop	1
Second-hand Goods Store	1
Retail Services	
Barber Shops	2
Tailor Shops	2
Shoe Repair Shop	1
Shoe-Shine Shop	1
Restaurant	1
Garage	1
Auto Wrecker	1
Manufacturing and Trading	
Oils	1
Supply Company	1
Tires	1
Professional and Semi-professional Services	
Physicians	2
Barrister	1
Religious and Social Institutions	
Synagogue	1
Hebrew School	1
Jewish Club	1
Approximate Total	43

had been the case in the area west of James in 1921.

The string of Jewish services along Barton was very irregular but with some exceptions the emphasis was on apparal and furniture as in 1921. The 1921 cluster around the Sherman - Barton axis had practically disappeared, no doubt partly as a result of the growth of services amongst the other ethnic groups resident there. The concentration of 9 services on Ottawa was a notable change from 1921 when it had contained only 2 Jewish establishments. Now this west side of Ottawa was really a centre of Jewish speciality services, i.e. clothing, millinery, furniture and jewellery. The shift to Ottawa had probably occurred with the improvement in quality of some of the Jewish stores. Their specialization and resulting dependence not on any one ethnic group but on the general public demanded a good location for such stores and Ottawa Street, as the most important commercial district outside the central business district itself, provided such a location.

The 1941 picture and the changes which had occurred since 1921 can be summed up as follows: A small resident Jewish population still existed within the area but it had migrated somewhat eastward of its 1921 position and now straddled a few streets on either side of James. This area contained the Jewish social institutions but few or no other services catering to the local Jewish population apart from a physician. The location of services in general had changed with the emphasis now on Ottawa instead of James. However, in both streets, and on Barton, speciality services such as clothing, millinery, footwear, furniture

and jewellery were still most important and accounted for over 50 per cent of all Jewish services in the area.

(iii) 1961

In 1961 there were 3,318 people of Jewish origin in Hamilton and almost 60 per cent of them lived in the west end of the city beyond the Chedoke ravine. Between 1941 and 1961 the actual increase in numbers of the Jewish group was very small but this migration into the west end was the largest of any non-British group. It made the Jews one of the most highly segregated ethnic or religious groups in the city, but unlike many other groups, this was a segregation into a good residential district and not into a poorer area fringing the industrial or commercial zones of Hamilton. West Hamilton now contains two synagogues and a variety of stores, mainly dealing in kosher foods, to serve this new Jewish population.

By 1961 all aspects of Jewish occupance of the study area had been greatly reduced. During the 1941-61 period there had evidently been a general migration out of the area affecting both population and services. (see fig. 15c). In fact by 1961 the area contained only about 93 Jewish people altogether and the number of service establishments had been reduced to 19. The map shows no Jewish residential concentration at all, the former cluster around James having disappeared entirely.

The distribution of services has greatly changed with only small concentrations around the James area and on Ottawa and a few

scattered establishments on Barton. The range of services has also declined (see table 9C) although the traditional Jewish specialization in clothing, furs, jewellery and general dealing is still in evidence. Only one food outlet appears. Professional services were represented by medicine ministering not to any notable density of Jewish population but to the general public.

Not only had Jewish population been reduced in the James Street area, but also the number of services was less, with the remaining emphasis on apparel and dealing. The Synagogue on Cannon West was abandoned for those in the western part of the city, as were the former club and school just east of James. On Ottawa and Barton Jewish establishments were also fewer, but the specialities still persisted, i.e., apparel, fur, furniture and jewellery. Indeed the Jewish medical services of the area had about become a speciality too.

(iv) Summary and Conclusions

There has been a definite sequence of Jewish ethnic occupance patterns within the study area, but a sequence of declining rather than increasing influences. From being one of the most important non-British groups in the study area in 1921 the Jews had become one of the least important by 1961 with few service establishments and only a very small resident population. In fact a large-scale Jewish migration out of the area had taken place.

In both 1921 and 1941 residential concentration had existed around James with a slight eastward shift between the two years. Like

TABLE 9C

Jewish Ethnic Services and Institutions. 1961.

Retail Goods Outlets	
Bakery Thrift Store	1
Fur Stores	3
Dry Goods Stores	2
Clothing Stores	2
Furniture Store	1
Hardware Store	1
Shoe Store	1
Leather Goods Store	1
Jeweller	1
Manufacturing and Trading	
Hides Dealer	1
Scrap Metal Dealer	1
Professional and Semi-Professional Services	
Physicians	3
Dentist	1
Approximate Total	19

many other groups most Jews came into Hamilton at a low socio-economic level, but unlike them they did not take up industrial jobs on a large scale. Instead many arrived with some sort of skill or business trade and so endeavoured to set up small businesses of their own. Thus, although at a fairly low economic level, they did not settle in the areas adjacent to industrial plants but in a declining area fairly close to the major business districts of the city, namely that area around James and York. There they set up their social institutions and a few food stores to serve the community. However, the group was not reinforced by fresh waves of immigration so that, when a migration out of the area took place with the improving financial position of the earlier immigrants, Jewish residential influence almost ceased.

The number of Jewish services was constantly much greater in proportion to the total of the group's residential population than was the case for any other ethnic group. This resulted from the peculiar background which led many Jews to set up businesses directed, not at their own group, but at the general public. The small good stores in 1921 west of James were the only Jewish stores to serve, at least in part, a local cluster of Jewish households. All the others catered primarily to the populace at large.

This was the prime consideration in the location of Jewish service establishments. In 1921 most were located on James and Barton, important local shopping strips in lower income where business could be

set up fairly cheaply. As the economic situation of the group improved locations in better areas were sought so that there was an eastward shift to Ottawa. By 1961 many of the services had been shifted from this location probably nearer or into the actual central business district. Another reason for the migration of establishments during the period may have been the increasing pressure of services set up by other expanding ethnic groups, especially on James and Barton. Of course, some services disappeared simply because the owners gave them up and went into other branches of industry. So in contrast to most other groups and in company with the Chinese, Jewish influence in this area was much less in 1961 than it had been in 1921.

There was always a tendency towards specialization in certain types of services resulting from the experience and background of the Jewish group in Europe. The examples occuring in this area were men's furnishings, dry goods, millinery, furniture, furs, jewellery, second-hand goods and scrap dealing. No other ethnic group apart from the Chinese has had the same degree of service specialization, neither has any group had so few food stores or simple retail services. The reason for the latter is that the actual Jewish residential population within the area was never large enough to set up a comprehensive range of services just for itself and those which did appear, in turn disappeared with the migration of the population. Even the religious and social institutions were abandoned and establishmed in other parts

of the city as increased prosperity and lack of further immigration led to the desertion of the initial area of Jewish settlement for those better class residential locations.

DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS AND ETHNIC SERVICES IN 1921 1941 AND 1961

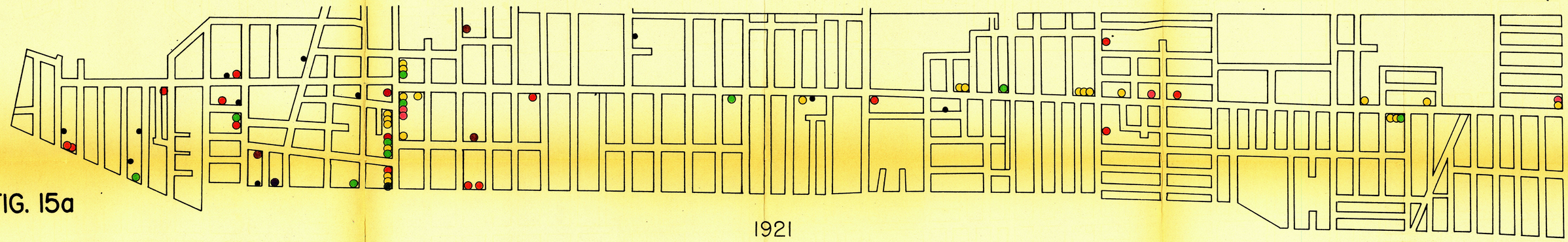

FIG. 15a

1921

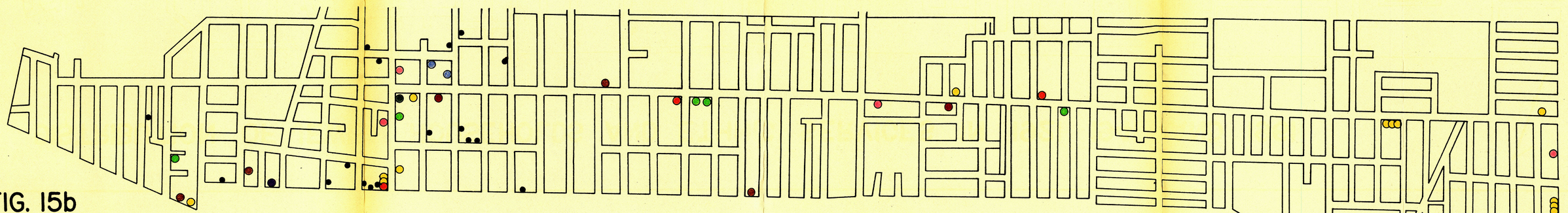

FIG. 15b

1941

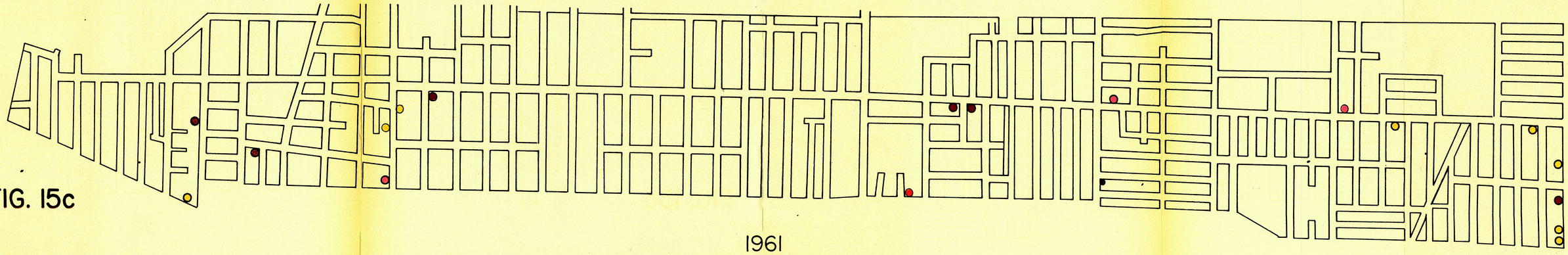

FIG. 15c

1961

One Inch Represents 800 Feet

Households Represent a 20% Sample

CHAPTER VIII

The German Group

(i) 1921

In 1921, 2,944 citizens of Hamilton claimed German ethnic origin, while only 380 persons claimed to have actually been born in Germany. By contrast, in 1911, 4,619 people had claimed German origin of whom 659 said they had been born in Germany. This apparent decrease in Hamilton's German population during the 1911-1921 decade may partly be explained by the fact that during and immediately after the 1914-18 war many people tended to conceal their German origin by switching to other groups instead. This seems to have been a fairly general phenomenon in Canada at the time.

However this may be, the German group had lost its 1901 position of dominance in Hamilton when it had been the largest non-British ethnic group with over 7 per cent of the total population. The German element was comparatively large in Ontario during the nineteenth century and Germans formed one of the oldest non-British groups in Hamilton. Therefore, unlike many other groups, the first German citizens were not initially attracted by the city's heavy industry and in fact German immigration was light in the 1911-21 period when many of those other groups were beginning to flood in.

The 1921 distribution map shows that there was already a substantial German residential population within the study area (see fig. 16a). It tended to be distributed generally with a lack

of any intensive clusters, although a slightly greater density appears in the west end between Catharine and Oxford. No German residential elements at all appeared east of lottridge.

Within the area were approximately 14 German service establishments, most of them being either retail food outlets or simple retail manual services (see table 10A). There were no non-food retail outlets, no religious or social institutions and practically no professional or semi-professional services. Their distributional pattern does not reveal any close link with the residential German population. There may have been a tenuous link in the west where 10 of the 14 establishments were located between John and Ray, 8 of these west of James. With the exception of the physician's surgery these were all simple and small. In the east end of the area 3 establishments were located where no German population appeared on the map at all.

It is possible that previous to 1921 there had been a stronger German element residing in the area and that these services had appeared at that time and persisted after much of this population had migrated out of the area. However, this is not likely, because in the case of other groups when the ethnic population declined so also did the ethnic services associated with them. It is also possible that some of these establishments may have been Jewish rather than German, but this would only apply to a small number of them. It is more likely that most of these services had no direct "ethnic"

TABLE 10A

German Ethnic Services, 1921

Retail Goods Outlets	
Grocery Stores	4
Bakery Stores	2
Confectionery Stores	2
Retail Manual Services	
Barber Shops	2
Shoe Repair Shops	2
Blacksmith	1
Professional Service	
Physician	1
Approximate Total	14

significance at all and were not linked with any resident German group but just happened to be owned by Germans to serve the general public. Therefore, they resembled the Jewish services of the area to some extent.

No German religious or social institutions appeared at all. So it appears that there was no real German community here in 1921, but merely a scatter of German households and service establishments which happened to be German owned.

(ii) 1941

By 1941 the German origin group had increased to 3,947, making it Hamilton's third largest non-British ethnic group with 3 per cent of the population. But again, according to the census figures, this was a drop from the 1931 total of 4,356, so perhaps the same factor was at work as in 1921. Only 317 persons claimed to have been born in Germany of whom 44 per cent had immigrated before 1911 and 38 per cent between 1921 and 1930. Therefore, it seems that the German group was less affected by immigration in the post-1921 period than many other groups, and was of "older stock" in 1941.

This helps to explain the comparatively small change in the residential distribution within the study area between 1921 and 1941. The actual German population had increased somewhat in size, but the distribution showed no radical change. The largest group was still in the west end between Catharine and Oxford. (see fig. 16b). Between Catharine and Wellington there was some movement south of Barton while

beyond Gage in the east end some German settlement appeared for the first time. However, the general effect was to intensify the 1921 pattern a little rather than to create a new one.

Even the number of services showed little change actually dropping slightly from 14 in 1921 to 12 in 1941 (see table 10B). The services were composed mainly of retail food outlets and retail manual establishments and, as in 1921, these showed no significant correlation with the residential distributions. Six were located in the James area with the others scattered elsewhere.

So really the basic features of German occupance of the area had altered very little during the 1921-41 period. No compact German residential clusters had appeared in the meantime and the limited range of services was still aimed at the general public. Neither had any German religious or social institutions appeared. One of the main reasons may have been that the German group received no external stimulus in the form of a fresh wave of immigration similar to that which caused other groups in the area to expand.

(iii) 1961

Hamilton's 1961 German figure was a fourfold increase over that of 1941. The Germans formed the second largest non-British group with over 5 per cent of the city's population. This dramatic increase was due to a post-1950 flood of immigrants. Of the 1961 total of 4,872 people claiming to have been born in Germany, only 10 per cent had immigrated in the pre-1945 period and just over 5

TABLE 10B

German Ethnic Services. 1941.

Retail Goods Outlets	
Grocery Stores	3
Confectionery Store	1
Jeweller's Shop	1
Retail Manual Services	
Barber Shops	2
Shoe Repair Shops	2
Restaurant	1
Garage	1
Amusement	
Billiard Hall	1
Approximate Total	12

per cent between 1946-1950. Then these figures jumped to 41 per cent between 1951 and 1955, and to 43 per cent between 1956 and 1961.

This drastically changed the 1921 and 1941 structures of the German group in that no longer were most Germans of early immigrant, that is pre-1911, background. Many of the newcomers were refugees from East Germany and beyond who had moved to West Germany and then on to Canada. Others were West Germans who came for purely economic reasons. During the previous periods considered there had been no strong German ties with the heavy industrial plants and this is perhaps a contributory reason for the fact that no significant German community developed within the study area. However, a considerable number of post-war German immigrants did go to work in the north end industrial plants. Many others arrived with training and took up skilled trades and industrial jobs.

Despite this influx German settlement still tended to avoid the north end residential area, especially between Wellington and Parkdale (see fig. 16c). The areas of densest German settlement lay west of Ottawa between Main and the foot of the Mountain and extended into the west end of the city, and on to the west end of the Mountain. Elsewhere north of Main, east of Ottawa and east of Upper Wentworth, German settlement was relatively light.

Within the study area were 1,232 members of the group or only about 8 per cent of the total Hamilton German group. The number of German households had increased but no new patterns emerged. There was rather a slight intensification of the previously existing patterns

and the appearance of German elements in some new areas (see fig. 16c). The number of services changed not at all, but there was a change in stores (see table 10C). The range of retail manual services was quite wide indicating a small German specialization in mechanical trades and services. Two of the small manufacturing businesses had direct ethnic associations; the bakery specializing in rye breads for the Germans and Baltic population and the other plant specializing in sausage products.

As in the previous periods the location of the establishments does not seem to have had any special significance for the local German population. The "Baltic Bakery" and the sausage plant served not just the local area but the entire city. There were still no German professional services nor any religious or social institutions. It seems that the latter have always avoided this region, and in 1961 were located to the south and west of the study area. Redeemer Lutheran Church was on Main East at Wexford, St. John Evangelical Lutheran Church on Hughson North, the Baptist Mission Church on North Oval, and St. Boniface Roman Catholic Church on Aberdeen. St. John's Church was founded in its present site in 1859 and is easily the oldest non-British ethnic church in Hamilton, so it is fitting that it should serve the Germans, one of the oldest non-British ethnic groups in the city. The German clubs were also situated outside the study area in the south. The Germania Club was on King East near Sherman, the Allemania Club on Barnesdale South, and the Sudeten Club on Rutherford. Three of the four churches were founded only after 1945 in response to

TABLE 10C

German Ethnic Services. 1961.

Retail Goods Outlets	
Grocery Store	1
Bakery Store	1
Butcher Shop	1
Men's Shop	1
Retail Manual Services	
Barber Shops	2
Restaurant	1
Shoe Repair Shops	1
Service Station	1
Auto Service	1
Garage	1
Welding Service	1
Wholesale and Manufacturing	
Bakery	1
Sausage Plant	1
Approximate Total	14

the wave of German immigration, yet they were not confined to the one locality as the German population itself has not been so confined. And, despite this immigration, nowhere in Hamilton has the group developed an important local nucleus of commercial, professional and institutional amenities, especially not within the study area. In this respect the Germans differ from every other large group except the Dutch.

(iv) Summary and Conclusions

German occupance of the Barton Street study area has been different from that of almost every other ethnic group there with the exception of the Dutch. No distinctive sequence of occupance was developed by the group and the changes in the service structure showed no real pattern. Although the number of German households was always fairly substantial and actually increased slightly, no distinctive residential cores ever developed. At no time did there appear to be any direct association between the distribution of German households and the distribution of German service establishments. It seems that the services were directed not at any one ethnic group but at the general public.

Part of the reason lies with the early immigration history of the German group. It has been pointed out that they are one of the oldest ethnic groups in the city and it is likely that they had become fairly well assimilated before the group was strengthened by further immigration. For example, before the early 1950's St. John's

Lutheran was an English speaking church and it only switched back to German with the many new arrivals then. Therefore, the group had had time to become dispersed throughout the city and not localized in any one place in a distinctive community.

However, judging by the post-1945 developments, it is doubtful whether Germans ever were at any time so localized in the sense that other groups were. A contributing reason may have been that before this period the group had no strong connections with the north end heavy industries and so was not attracted by factors of convenience to settle there like other groups. Nevertheless, the main reason is probably more fundamental and is closely bound up with the cultural attitude of the Germans themselves. They are less gregarious than other groups and show no strong desire to settle close to other German families or to other ethnic groups. They are more independent and less restrained by kinship and ethnic social ties. They also make a stronger effort to settle in better residential areas than those adjacent to the north end industry even if this means a great initial financial sacrifice. It is remarkable that, although many of the post-war German immigrants have taken up employment in the iron and steel mills, this has not been enough to make many take up residence there also. When families do settle there it is usually regarded as a temporary measure and a shift is made as soon as possible. This is not to say, of course, that other groups do not move out of the north end and into better areas, but the Germans seem to do this more quickly than most. It is true to say, then,

that they assimilate quite rapidly as far as residential patterns are concerned and they are aided in this because there is little if any discrimination shown to most Germans moving into better class residential areas as there probably is to some other groups. In fact, most Germans show an active desire to assimilate quickly, a desire lacking among some other groups perhaps.

Therefore, the lack of a pronounced sequence of German occupance within the study area must be attributed to the history of German immigration into the city and, more important, to the cultural attitude of the group itself.

DISTRIBUTION OF GERMAN HOUSEHOLDS AND ETHNIC SERVICES IN 1921 1941 AND 1961

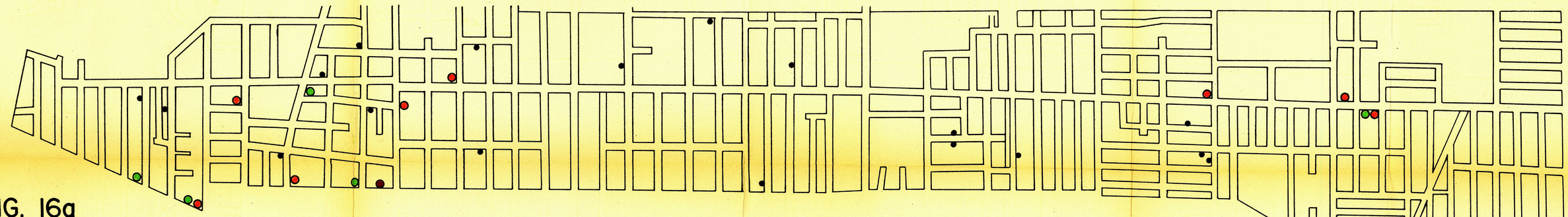

FIG. 16a

1921

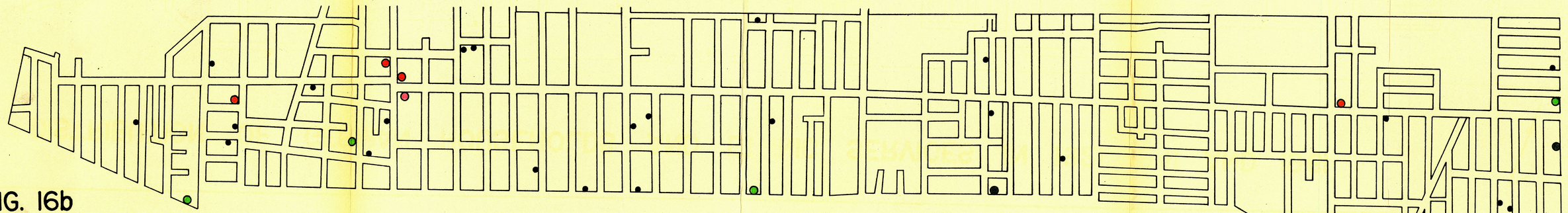

FIG. 16b

1941

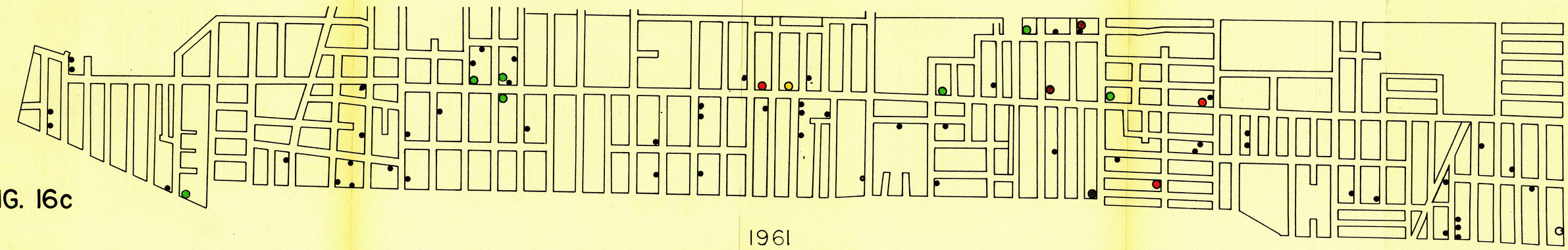

FIG. 16c

1961

One Inch Represents 800 Feet.

Households Represent a 20% Sample

CHAPTER IX

The Hungarian Group

(i) 1921

The first Hungarian immigrants arrived in Hamilton in 1892 making this one of their first settlements in Canada. They were few in number and farmers by occupation although they were attracted to the city by the prospect of industrial jobs. The census figures of 1921 show only 200 persons claiming Hungarian origin, 102 of these having actually been born in Hungary. However, in 1911 no less than 355 persons claimed to have been born in Hungary while only 308 actually claimed ultimate Hungarian ethnic origin. This confusion may have arisen from the complex political fragmentation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, while in 1921 the figure may have been artificially low for the same reason as in the German case.

However this may be, it is obvious that the Hungarian group was relatively small at this time consisting of low income former agricultural workers attracted by the presence of industry. The 1921 distribution map reveals only a tiny Hungarian element within the study area, confined to a small area west of James (see fig. 17a). Only one Hungarian service appeared, a shoe repair shop in the Catharine - Mary block of Barton, not related to any obvious Hungarian residential settlement there. So it is evident that Hungarian influence within the area was very small at this time.

(ii) 1941

By 1941 the group had grown very substantially to 2,573, making it the fifth largest non-British group in the city. Of this number 1,652 had been born in Hungary and of these 79 per cent had immigrated in the 1921-30 period and only 8 per cent before 1920. Before the 1920's the United States had been the chief recipient of Hungarian immigrants and most of the Hungarians who did come to Canada passed on to the prairies rather than settle in Eastern Canada. Then, with the change in the United States immigration policy, Canada became the chief destination for Hungarians. Instead of going west, immigrants of this second phase settled in the industrial areas of the east and especially in Ontario which now became the center of Canadian Hungarians. During this period an estimated 90 per cent of the Hungarian immigrants came from the poorer classes, especially from the agrarian proletariat and many of these people who came to Hamilton, of course, gravitated towards the north end industrial plants.

The strength of the entire Hungarian community was much added to by the immigration and the effects are obvious on the 1941 distribution map (see fig. 17b). Both residential settlement and the number and range of services had increased (see table 11B). A distinctive residential cluster appeared between Bay and Mary, and especially along Catharine, while west of Bay settlement was more scattered. East of Mary there was no obvious Hungarian settlement until beyond Oak.

TABLE 11A

Hungarian Ethnic Services and Institutions. 1921

Retail Manual Service	
Shoemaker	1
Total	1

TABLE 11B

Hungarian Ethnic Services and Institutions. 1941.

Retail Goods Outlets	
Confectionery store	1
Tobacco	1
Books	1
Retail Manual Services	
Shoe repair shops	4
Shoe shine shop	1
Hairdressers	2
Garage	1
Watchmaker	1
Professional Service	
Dentist	1
Religious and Social Institutions	
Churches	2
Hall	1
Approximate total	16

The number of services and institutions had increased from only 1 to 16 (see table 11B). There were comparatively few retail goods outlets with no grocery or meat stores at all. The retail manual services category was relatively large, while there was only one professional service. Religious and social institutions appeared for the first time. So the Hungarian group had developed remarkably from 1921 with regard to its services, but unlike the other larger groups, had no food outlets and only a very narrow range of retail outlets of any sort. Six of the establishments were located within the main Bay - Mary residential cluster, the most important of which was the Hungarian Home on James, the first group community centre to emerge.

Nine establishments were spread at intervals along Barton with no very obvious correlation between them and the distribution of Hungarian specialization in simple retail services for the general public.

There were two churches within the area, one the John Calvin Presbyterian Church founded on Birch in 1932, and the other an informal Greek Catholic Congregation formed in 1934, and meeting in a private house on John Street. At this time there was no formal Hungarian Roman Catholic Church here and Hungarian Catholics just attended the local Catholic Churches such as All Souls and St. Mary's.

So the main change from 1921 was a large increase in Hungarian residential population and the growth of a definite community in the west end on either side of James, including the small Hungarian

cluster of 1921, and a scatter of settlement elsewhere mainly beyond Oak. The number and range of services was amplified introducing the first social and religious institutions, but food outlets seem to have been lacking and many of the service establishments were not directly related to the Hungarian community at all. Therefore, the community itself was still a rather embryonic stage of development.

(iii) 1961

In 1961 the Hungarian origin population was 5,643, more than double the 1941 figure, and with 2 per cent of the total city population they formed the sixth largest non-British ethnic group. The rise in actual numbers was mainly due to a substantial post-1945 wave of immigration. Of the 3,249 people claiming to have been born in Hungary, 43 per cent had immigrated in the pre-war period and the rest afterwards, especially after 1956 when 1,235, or 39 per cent of the Hungarian born group arrived. The pre-war immigration was comprised largely of working class elements arriving for economic reasons, but after the war most came for political reasons, including middle class and professional people. This latter movement was especially reinforced after the 1956 revolt in Hungary and at that time Hamilton was one of the chief recipients of Hungarian refugees.

Within the study area this increase in the Hungarian population was apparent as there was an increase in the total number of Hungarian households and a change in their distributional pattern (see fig. 17c). Several loose clusters had developed, in the extreme

west end between Inchbury and Oxford, between Bay and Mary south of Barton and between Cathcart and Wentworth also south of Barton. East of Wentworth was a scatter of households revealing no clear pattern. The main change in distribution, then, from 1941 was a diffusion west and east south of Barton from the old core between Bay and Mary. Despite the general increase in the number of households no pattern had developed east of Wentworth.

There was a further expansion in the number and range of Hungarian services, from 15 to 22. (see table 11C). The study area still contained only one retail food outlet, a grocery store. However, in James just south of the area several other Hungarian food stores were in existence, although, of course, they do not appear on the map. There was a considerable expansion in the range of the retail outlets compared with 1941, and a decline in the number of retail manual services. The professional and semi-professional category had expanded and the number of churches and halls increased. So far as ethnic services were concerned, the Hungarian community had matured considerably since 1941.

The areal distribution of the establishments had changed somewhat with a definite concentration appearing on and adjacent to James. This street contained very important establishments such as a general agency selling Hungarian books, records and gifts, and two restaurants which played an important part in the local Hungarian social life, being used as informal social centres. It also contained stores selling imported shoes and clothes and the only Hungarian insurance

TABLE 11C

Hungarian Ethnic Services and Institutions. 1961.

Retail Goods Outlets	
Grocery Store	1
Confectionery Stores	2
Paint Shop	1
Books, gifts, etc. shop	1
Shore Store	1
Clothing Store	1
Retail Manual Services	
Barber Shops	2
Tailor	1
Restaurants	2
Welding Shop	1
Wholesale and Manufacturing	
Sausage Products	1
Professional and Semi-Professional	
General Insurance Agency	1
Real Estate Office	1
Physician	1
Religious and Social Institutions	
Churches	3
Halls	2
Approximate Total	22

agency, notary and real estate office.

Two halls and a church were also located here. One of the halls had been present in 1941 while the other was attached to St. Michael's Greek Catholic Church which moved to this location in 1952. Both church and hall are part of a former ballroom. At first most of the congregation lived within a short radius of the church site, but recently it has become dispersed throughout the city. St. Michael's represents a distinct Hungarian regional background as in Hungary the Greek Catholic Church is largely confined to the eastern provinces. In Hamilton the church represents only about 7 per cent of the total Hungarian population. In contrast about 60 per cent of Hamilton's Hungarians are Roman Catholic and 30 per cent Presbyterian, while about 3 per cent are Jewish. These figures mirror fairly accurately the religious ratios actually existing within Hungary itself and they represent regional origins within that country. Another Hungarian Church had appeared in the study area by 1961. This was St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church on Barton, located within range of the greatest densities of Hungarian residential population. The congregation was founded in 1944 and for a time met in the basement of All Souls Italian Church until the present building was opened in 1948. This is the largest Hungarian Church in Hamilton with a congregation of about 250 families, many of them scattered over the city although the core live locally. The third Hungarian Church was the John Calvin Presbyterian Church on Birch, which marked the eastern limit of the main Hungarian residential area.

On Barton east of Elgin only the 3 establishments between Wellington and Wentworth seem to have had any direct association with a Hungarian residential cluster. East of Birch were 4 establishments, seemingly with no obvious ethnic connection at all. So the main change in the Hungarian services structure and distribution by 1961 was the increase in retail goods outlets, professional and semi-professional services and the improvement of religious and social facilities. A definite concentration of services had appeared in the James area connected with the Hungarian residential population there, with a scatter of isolated ones along Barton as in 1941.

(iv) Summary and Conclusions

The sequence of Hungarian occupance of the area has been as follows:

STAGE I. Period of very elementary settlement - 1921

(1) Residential Settlement: Tiny core of Hungarian population in the west.

(2) Commercial and Professional Services Pattern: Only one small retail manual service.

(3) Religious and Social Institutions: None.

(4) Expression of Material Culture on the Landscape: None.

STAGE II. Period of expansion following Immigration - 1941

(1) Residential Settlement: Increase in density and appearance of definite cores of ethnic settlement. Scatter of households elsewhere.

(2) Commercial and Professional Services Pattern: Large increase in number and range of commercial services, but lack of food outlets. Some specialization in small retail establishments. Only one professional service.

(3) Religious and Social Institutions: Appearance of churches and social facilities.

(4) Expression of Material Culture on the Landscape: Still quite small but increasing.

STAGE III. Period of renewed expansion after further immigration-1961

(1) Residential Settlement: Increase in density throughout the area. Further development of distinctive clusters still adjacent to the original core of Hungarian settlement but diffused eastward.

(2) Commercial and Professional Services Pattern: Further increase in number and range. Increase in retail outlets. Professional and semi-professional services added.

(3) Religious and Social Institutions: Improvement in quality of religious and social facilities. Churches representative generally of Hungarian regional backgrounds.

(4) Expression of Material Culture on the Landscape: At its greatest ever extent. Most obvious in store signs and products and in religious facilities.

A distinctive Hungarian community was practically non-existent in 1921, there existing only a tiny residential element and one service

establishment. By 1941 the residential population had grown as a result of immigration and definite clusters of settlement had emerged while the number and range of services increased and religious and social institutions appeared for the first time. However, retail goods outlets and professional and semi-professional services were still lacking. By 1961 the community had matured, population was greater and a definite concentration of services had developed on James. Almost all types of services were improved and this has continued since 1961 with the appearance on James of further Hungarian service establishments, for example, a restaurant and a pharmacy.

DISTRIBUTION OF HUNGARIAN HOUSEHOLDS AND ETHNIC SERVICES IN 1921 1941 AND 1961

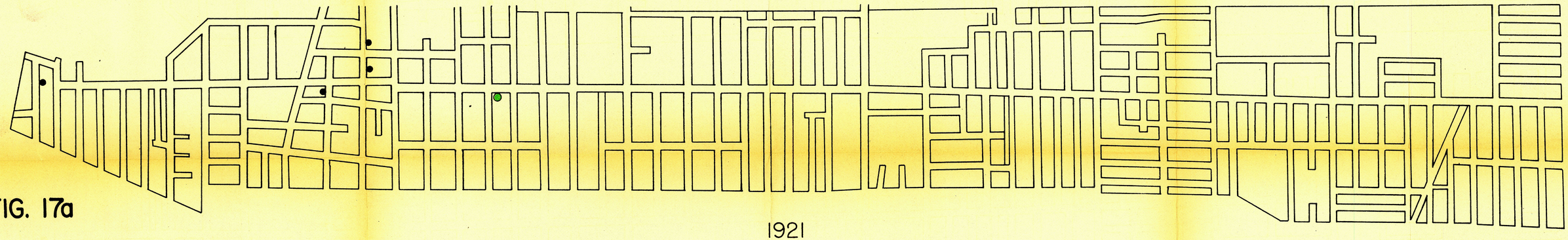

FIG. 17a

1921

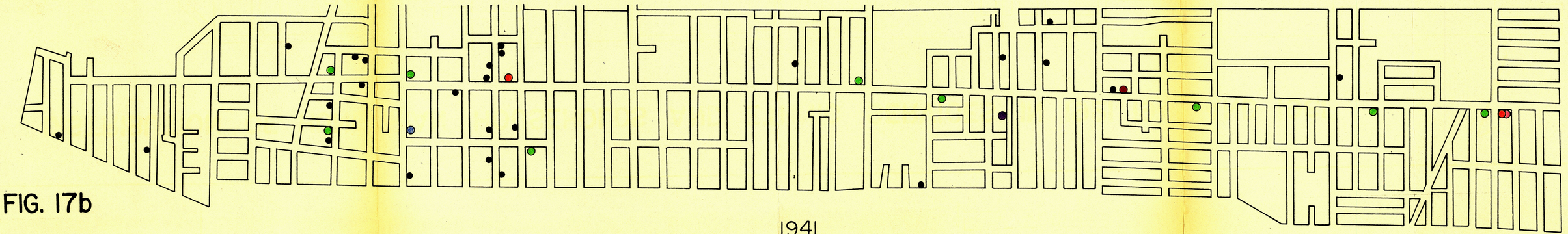

FIG. 17b

1941

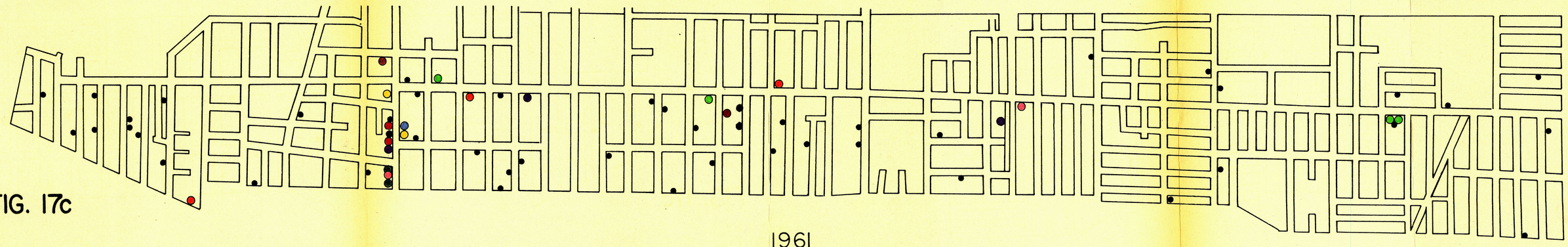

FIG. 17c

1961

One Inch Represents 800 Feet.

Households Represent a 20% Sample

CHAPTER X

The Minor Ethnic Groups

The preceding chapters have dealt with the major non-British ethnic groups occupying the study area in the 1921-61 period, but there were a number of other groups making a minor contribution to the general ethnic diversity of the area. This category included the French, Dutch, Chinese, Armenian, Scandinavian, Czech, Slovak Romanian, Russian, Japanese, and Serbo-Croatan groups. Just after 1961 this list was added to by the appearance of Portuguese and Maltese establishments. Some of the above groups were very small and relatively insignificant, but they all deserve to be dealt with in turn.

(i) The French

Throughout the period considered there was always a scatter of French origin households within the area (see fig. 18). In fact, by 1961 there was a larger number of persons of French origin residing there than of German, but like them, the French did not develop any significant residential nuclei, nor a significant range of ethnic services. In all three years the distribution of the French households appeared to be fairly random, while the few French services did not appear to be associated with any concentration of ethnic population. So, despite the fact that between 1921 and 1961 the French origin population of the city as a whole increased, this

had little effect on French occupance of the study area. As actual immigration from France itself was very sparse, it is possible that the majority of the French origin population were French-Canadian who either at least partly assimilated or who looked to other areas of Hamilton for their ethnic associations. However this may be, the total French ethnic contribution to this area was very small.

(ii) The Dutch

Only one Dutch institution appeared during the entire 1921-61 period. This was a church located on West Avenue by 1961. In 1921 the total Hamilton population of Dutch origin had been 1,615 increasing to 2,634 by 1941. However, no significant Dutch residential settlement or range of ethnic services appeared within the area despite the fact that those of other smaller groups did so.

By 1961 the total Dutch population of the city had jumped to 6,910, due mainly to the very high Dutch immigration rate of the 1950's. But this hardly affected the study area at all and by 1961 there were only 334 persons of Dutch origin living there. So, like the Germans, they have always tended to avoid this area. They have never had very strong ties with the heavy industrial region and most of the post-war immigrants have had some sort of training or skill, with comparatively few unskilled labourers. Therefore, there has been no strong economic motive to make them settle there. Again like the Germans, the Dutch are much less gregarious than some other groups and have not really settled in distinctive residential communi-

ties anywhere in the city, so that Dutch churches and service establishments are scattered widely throughout it.

For example, the Dutch Christian Reformed Church is in the west end on Paradise, and the Free Christian Reformed Church is on Mohawk in Ancaster, while the Canadian Reformed Church is on West Avenue within the study area. This congregation was founded in 1951 as a result of the post-war Dutch immigration, but the present church site was only taken over in 1960. The congregation bought it because it was central and available at the time, and not because the church members lived in close proximity. In fact, they are scattered all over the city. The church does represent a certain regional background as most of the members originated from North Holland.

So there has been no distinctive sequence of Dutch occupance patterns within the area. The Dutch population has always remained small and the presence of a Dutch church there in 1961 was almost purely fortuitous.

(iii) The Scandinavians

The Scandinavian element in Hamilton has always remained very small and this has been reflected in the study area where the contribution has been very limited. In 1961 there were only 137 persons of Scandinavian origin residing there, and neither then nor in previous years did any notable residential patterns appear on the maps. Only two Scandinavian establishments were apparent during the entire

period, a restaurant in 1921 on Barton and a Finnish steam bath also on Barton in 1941 and 1961. "Sauna" of course is a Finnish speciality service.

(iv) The Japanese

The Japanese content of the area was always very small also No residential cores appeared at any time, although 4 services occurred in 1961, an upholsterer on York, a landscape gardener on Earl, a grocery store on Balmoral and a garage on Bristol. All these were directed at the general public.

(v) The Chinese

Within the area there has long been a distinctive Chinese service element, yet concentrations of Chinese residential settlement has been totally lacking. The reason is that the Chinese population in Hamilton has always been associated with certain types of service, mainly laundries and restaurants. This is not universally true at the present time when more Chinese have moved into other occupations, but it was true in the past.

As a result, the Chinese tended to live on their business premises and consequently they were scattered thinly over various parts of the city. There was one concentration, a small "Chinatown" on King William Street, near the central business district, which had some Chinese stores and restaurants to serve a locally resident Chinese population, but elsewhere Chinese laundries and restaurants existed to serve the general public.

This has long been the case within the Barton Street area. In 1921 there were no less than 16 Chinese services there, all laundries. The Chinese laundry has usually been a small hand laundry housed in shabby premises and located in lower-income local service areas such as on Barton where 13 of the area's 16 Chinese laundries were located. Several of these were located in very close proximity to one another.

By 1941 the number of laundries had fallen to 13, while 2 restaurants had appeared, introducing a new type of Chinese service into the area. Nine of the laundries were on Barton. By 1961 the laundries had been further reduced to 7 and the number of restaurants raised to 5. The number of laundries has decreased because this type of small business is uneconomic in face of competition from the larger modern laundries and cleaners, while the number of restaurants has increased to meet the growing fashion for Chinese and other exotic foods.

So there has always been a relatively strong Chinese service element in this area, with no development of any distinctive residential pattern. No other group has had such an effect on the cultural landscape in proportion to its population size than the Chinese, and neither has any group had such an intensive specilization of service type. Chinese immigration has always been very limited and few of the immigrants have taken up the industrial work associated with other groups of this area, but have concentrated mainly on these two specialized services instead.

(vi) The Armenians

Armenian immigration into Hamilton began in the 1914-20 period. This was a time of political turmoil in the Armenian province of Turkey as the Armenians sought independence from the Turks. As a result of Turkish massacres and violence, many Armenians were scattered into surrounding territories such as Greece and from such places a stream of immigrants made its way to North America. As with other groups it was the heavy industry which attracted these people to Hamilton. Most of them had been peasant farmers in Europe so that they came to the city as unskilled labourers and gravitated towards the industrial north end where they formed a compact island of settlement.

The 1921 map shows a small residential element on Princess and Gibson Streets, accompanied by a few services. Nowhere else in the study area did any Armenian settlement appear. A few of the first Armenian arrivals had found employment in the International Harvester plant which was located at the north end of Sherman Avenue. Most worked there in the foundries at unskilled jobs, but they attracted moreof the incoming Armenian population until about 75 per cent of the community was working in this firm. Most were also living in the compact Princess - Gibson cluster located within easy reach of the International Harvester works.

In 1921 the community was still establishing itself and setting up its own group of basic services. By that year there were

five of these, a grocery shop and butcher shop, two barber shops, and two restaurants which also acted as informal social centres. By 1941 the community was greatly strengthened with a stronger residential concentration and 9 services, including 3 barber shops, 2 grocery stores, 2 shoe repair shops and 2 clubs. This was the peak period of ethnic service development within the Armenian community, so that it never reached a very high level mainly because the residential cluster was never large enough due to lack of further immigration.

In 1961 there were approximately 150 Armenian families resident in Hamilton, but the original settlement nucleus was breaking up, as Armenians moved out into surrounding streets and to other parts of the city. The old core on Princess, Gibson and Earl was reduced in size and elements had spread on to streets south of Barton and out of the study area. The number of services had declined to four with the only two remaining in the old core the Hamilton Armenian Club and the Armenian Community Centre. The former service structure had disappeared leaving no food outlets or simple retail services as before. The Armenian Community Centre was a new building which, after much deliberation, was sited on Princess Street to retain the traditional ties with that area, despite the fact that the Armenians had scattered into other areas of Hamilton. The two other services were a barber shop on Cannon and a rug shop on Minto. The latter may be regarded as an Armenian speciality service for the general public and it is worth nothing that two of the largest rug

stores in the city are run by firms of Armenian origin.

Thus the period 1921-61 saw the development and subsequent decline of a distinctive Armenian community located with its own limited services in a compact residential cluster near the heavy industrial plant where most of the community were employed. With a diffusion of population to other parts of Hamilton and a lack of fresh streams of immigration to reinforce the old nucleus, the service structure there declined, but for reasons of sentiment social ties have been retained with it in the form of a Community Centre.

(vii) The Romanians

Only 3 Romanian establishments appeared during the study period, all in 1961. In that year there was a "Romanian Orthodox Church of the Holy Resurrection" on McNab Street, a Romanian Hall on Murray and a tailor shop on Catharine. The Romanian ethnic group never developed any intensive group of services mainly because the group was never large enough.

There were several distinct periods of Romanian immigration into Hamilton. The first was around the 1905-11 period and most of these settlers came from agricultural backgrounds in Bukovina, a province of Romania and a part of the Austro-Hungarian empire before 1918. They settled in Hamilton because of the available industrial employment. Most of these early Romanians worked in DOFASCO and lived in the east end beyond the limits of the study area. The 1911 total of 131 had increased to 435 by 1921.

Between the two wars there was further immigration and this time the largest group came from the province of Banat. About half of this province was included in Yugoslavia after 1918 but, as its population was partly Romanian, many people left it and emigrated, some coming to Hamilton. By 1931 the Romanian group in the city had 1,004 members, 600 of whom had actually been born in Europe. After 1945 there was a further immigration embracing a wider cross-section of the population than previously, and so including some middle-class and professional persons, many of them leaving Romania for political reasons. In 1962 there was another influx of persons from Banat province composed of about 20 families. They escaped from Yugoslavia into Italy and were accepted as immigrants by Canada, coming eventually to Hamilton.

There are now between 300 and 400 Romanian families in Hamilton. Most of them are still industrial workers but, as usual, as the second generation improve their socio-economic status, they move out to the newer residential areas of the city. Even of the older generation there has been a drift away from the east end towards the west so that at present about 100 families live within the area bounded by Cannon, Bay and Mary. The original Romanian Church was located in the east end, but later moved west to its present site where it was erected in 1959. The congregation contains nominally about 200 families many from quite a wide radius and even from outside Hamilton, but the core lives locally.

The community hall was begun in 1946 and so preceded the westward migration of the church. This "Casa Romana" and the church have helped to bind the city's Romanian community socially despite the fact that no strong, highly localised, residential community with a range of its own services ever arose. These two structures are the main contribution of the Romanian community to the cultural geography of the study area.

(viii) The Czechs and Slovaks

In 1921 the total Czechoslovak population of Hamilton was only 47. The first major immigration of these two groups began soon afterwards, so that by 1931 the total had reached 641 and 919 by 1941. However, the Czechs and Slovaks must be considered as two separate groups, as they have tended to remain apart in Hamilton. The second major immigration came after the second world war and this was inspired by political causes, whereas the first one was rather an economic migration. Many of these immigrants were of a much better educational standard than the post-1918 wave and had been professional people in their own country. In contrast many of the first immigrants had been farmers and workers and took up industrial jobs in Hamilton, some of them having returned from farming in the west of Canada to do so. By 1961 there were 2,237 Czechs and Slovaks in the city.

Neither group established a strong community within the study area at any time and most of their religious and social institutions were located outside it in 1961. The one exception was St. Cyril and

Methodicis Roman Catholic Church located on Park. This is a Slovakian Church and occupies a church building formerly serving as a chapel for a holy order, but taken over by the Slovakian group in 1943. The first pastor came to the church from Cleveland, indicating the connection between the groups in Canada and the United States, also found in the case of other groups such as the Italians and Poles. The Slovakian Greek Catholics have their own church on Barton, east of the study area. St. Cyril and Methodius serves about 200 families some of them being as far away as Stoney Creek and Grimsby and much of the Slovakian social life is concentrated on the church.

No distinctive Czech church appeared in the area at any time nor is there one anywhere in the city. The two Slovakian churches represent different European regional backgrounds with their differences in denomination. The group can also afford to support two churches as there are about twice as many Slovaks as Czechs in Hamilton. But, apart from the one church, neither group has made a large contribution to the material culture of the study area.

(ix) Russians and Serbo-Croatians

Because of the difficulties of surname analysis it has not been possible to map the residential distributions of either of these groups. However, there is some evidence that they were associated with the other Slavic groups around the Barton - Sherman intersection. Both groups have always remained small in the city and have produced few services of their own. In 1961 two Russian institutions

appeared, a Russian Hall on Barton adjacent to Sherman, and St. Mary's Russian Greek Orthodox Church on West Avenue. The hall was located in the core of the old Russian community, while the church was on West because a suitable building happened to become available. With regard to the Serbo-Croatians they had at least one service within the study area in 1961, a doctor on Barton near Sherman, but their religious and social institutions were in other parts of the city. Consequently neither group has made a very significant contribution to the ethnic character of the area.

(x) Portuguese and Maltese Groups

A small number of Portuguese and Maltese immigrants began to enter Hamilton in the early 1950's and it seems that they gravitated towards the study area, especially the James Street region. By 1961 a small Portuguese congregation was holding a service each Sunday in All Souls Italian Roman Catholic Church. Since 1961 a Portuguese food store has opened on James, and a Maltese community centre on Cannon east near James. Consequently the ethnic diversity of this region continues to grow.

DISTRIBUTION OF MINOR ETHNIC GROUP HOUSEHOLDS AND SERVICES IN 1921 1941 AND 1961

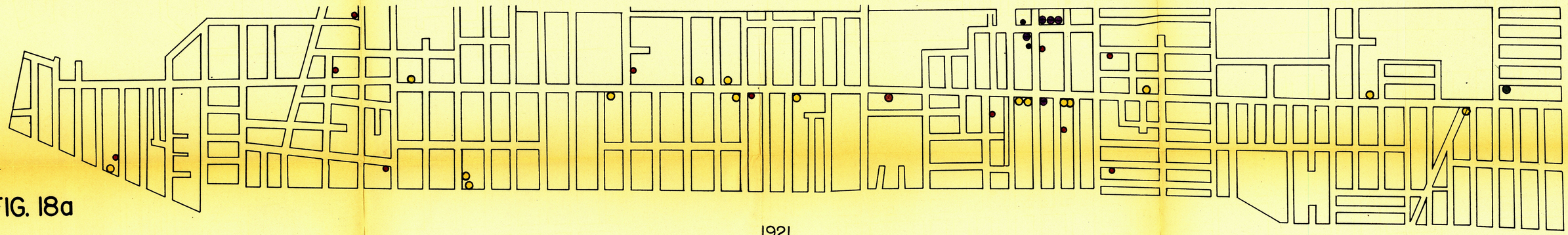

FIG. 18a

1921

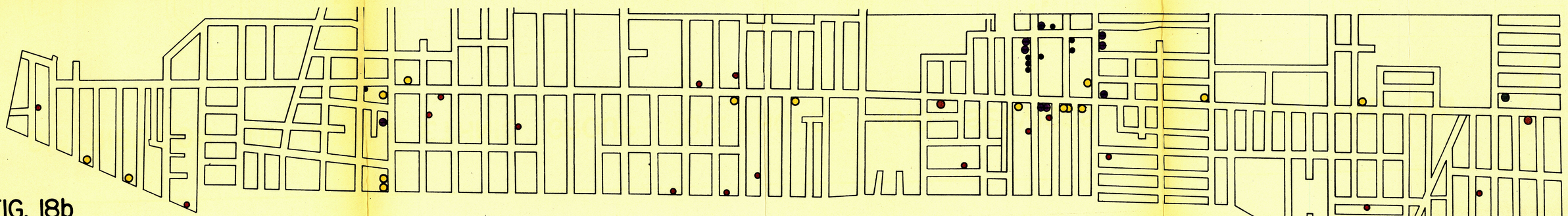

FIG. 18b

1941

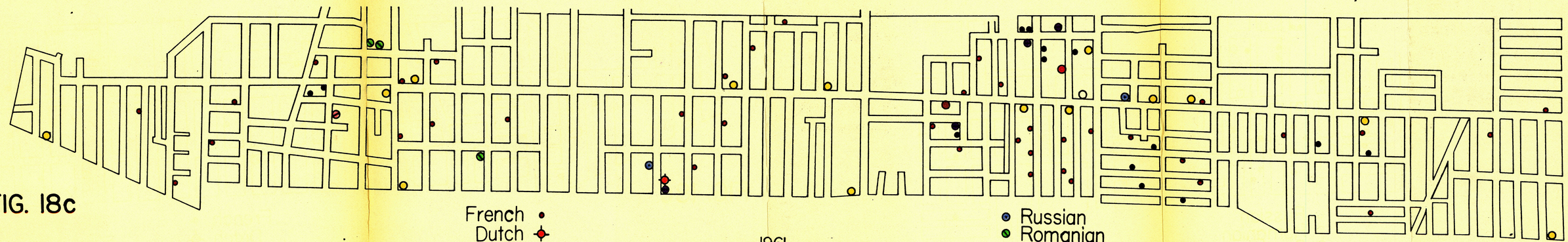

FIG. 18c

1961

French
Dutch
Scandinavian
Chinese
Armeian
Japanese

Russian
Romanian
Czech
Slovakian
Serbo-Croatian

One Inch represents 800 feet.

CHAPTER XI

Ethnic Regions of the Study Area

For individual ethnic groups this study has so far revealed certain patterns arising from the distribution of group households, services and institutions. The sequences of change undergone by these patterns have also been individually discussed. However, it would seem that the unique character of the Barton Street area has long depended not merely upon the proliferation of separate ethnic groups there, but also upon the cosmopolitan regions which their intermingling within a complex urban area has produced.

The purpose of this chapter is to synthesize the findings of the previous ones by dividing the study area into ethnic regions for each of the three years studied, and to analyse and classify them in order to trace and attempt to explain any changes in composition and size which they underwent. A composite map has been drawn to reveal these regions and their internal sub-regions (see fig. 19). On it they have been classified and named according to their location and degree of ethnic complexity.

Several criteria have been used in the delimitation and classification of the regions; firstly the size, composition and degree of nucleation of the ethnic population contained therein, and secondly the number and type of ethnic services associated with this population. Estimates of the approximate size of each ethnic group have been made, based on the household distribution

maps drawn for individual groups.[1] Although these estimates are intended to be only approximate figures, generally speaking they should not be subject to an error of more than about 15 per cent. The figures which have been rounded to the nearest ten, should at least give a good idea of the proportional size of the largest ethnic groups in each region and sub-region. The British-origin population is, of course, considered as belonging to a "non-ethnic" category. These estimated ethnic population figures appear in Table 12 (see pages 197-200)

From the map it is obvious that the character and areal extent of ethnic regions and sub-regions changed considerably from year to year. However, three principal categories of region did appear:

1. The "British Origin Belt"
2. The "Zone of Transition"
3. The "Ethnic Complex"

1. The British Origin Belt: This type of region was the one least affected by ethnic influences. The total non-British origin population did not exceed 6 per cent of the whole and showed no nucleated settlement pattern. If present at all, the number of ethnic service outlets was very small and directed at the general public, not at any specific ethnic group.

2. The Zone of Transition: This was a region where the principal non-British groups had grown to form between 25 per cent and 35 per cent of the total population, thus becoming much more significant

[1] See Appendix 4 for method used in making these estimates.

than in the previous type. However, all groups were less than 1,000 in size and indeed only one ever exceeded 500. No group showed any clustering of settlement sufficiently strong to form a sub-region of its own within the zone. A number of ethnic service outlets were present, at least some of which were oriented towards particular groups. However, these were usually limited in range to small food, tobacco, or variety stores, and manual service outlets such as shoe-repair, barber and tailor shops. They were scattered along the main thoroughfares with no strong focus on any one limited area.

3. The Ethnic Complex: There were three different stages in the development of ethnic complexes:

(i) Primary Stage. The total ethnic population was between 24 per cent and 35 per cent, but the groups usually showed a strong, nucleated residential pattern focussed on a relatively small area. Also present was a cluster of ethnic services centred on one or two streets either adjacent to or interspersed with the residential settlement. These were usually small retail goods and manual service outlets as in the case of the Transitional Zone, but in greater numbers. However, of great importance was the presence of several ethnic churches. These were found only in the complexes and indicated a relationship between them and the nucleations of population and other services, although it is impossible to say from the present study what the specific minimum population was for the establishment of a church by any individual group.

(ii) Secondary Stage. At this stage the ethnic population formed between 32 per cent and 47 per cent of the total population of the region. At least one group exceeded 1,000 in size, while two others exceeded 300. Again fairly strong nucleations of residential settlement were displayed by the groups. The number and range of services was greater than at the previous stage, for example, clothing and footwear stores being added to the retail outlets, and professional and semi-professional services beginning to appear in the form of a few physicians' surgeries and realtors' offices. To the expanded number of churches were added some community centres and social clubs.

(iii) Tertiary Stage. By this stage the total population of the largest ethnic groups had grown to about 50 per cent of the whole. At least one group exceeded 3,000 members in size, and in one case another group exceeded 2,000 and one exceeded 1,000. The density of ethnic settlement in the core of this type of region was high and settlement had also spread into peripheral areas, thus increasing the density throughout the region. Once more the number and range of associated services had expanded. They now included high quality clothing and footwear stores, improved food shops and speciality outlets such as gift shops,pharmacies, flower shops and music stores. The largest group even had a cinema and in one case a funeral parlour. The professional and semi-professional category had also expanded to include a large number of doctors,

lawyers, realtors, travel agents and insurance agents. Nearly all of these services were still clustered on one or two main thoroughfares. As at the other two stages of development, a number of sub-regions were discernible within the main complex

These, then, were the three principal types of ethnic region occurring within the study area, with some of the more obvious features common to each type. However, each had many features peculiar to itself, and all changed considerably in ethnic content and area over the period of study. Consequently it is necessary to discuss each region in more detail so that the processes of change, and the separate character of each, may be more fully understood.

In both 1921 and 1941 the area fell into four major regions: in 1921 these were:-

1. A "Western Ethnic Complex" lying between Inchbury and James.
2. A "Central British Origin Belt" lying between James and Birch, with a small southerly extension so far east as Lottridge.
3. An "Eastern Ethnic Complex" lying between Birch and Lottridge, mostly on the north side of Barton, with a limited southward extension to Beechwood between Sherman and Lottridge.
4. An "Eastern British Origin"Belt" extending from Lottridge to Ottawa Street.

Thus the area contained two small isolated regions of ethnic

diversity and two more extensive regions of almost homogeneous British origin. The Western Ethnic Complex was the larger of the two principal ethnic nuclei, containing clusters of Italians, Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Germans and Hungarians. Centred on the Barton - Sherman intersection, the Eastern Complex was a Slavic and Italian enclave containing an intermingling of Polish, Ukrainian and Italian population with a small Armenian group.

So, even in 1921 most of the major ethnic groups of the later periods were already represented in the Barton Street region. Their members were all relatively new immigrants who had gravitated towards this sector of Hamilton upon first arrival in the city. Already definite regions of ethnicity were appearing showing that the distribution of ethnic population here was not a purely random matter.

The original attraction of the sector west of James may have been that of a declining residential neighbourhood on the fringes of two important thoroughfares, James and York, leading from the principal commercial region of the city. The housing here was relatively old and deteriorating in quality, thus perhaps forming a low rental area for the newcomers to move into. The small stores along James and York could also be taken over quite cheaply and easily.

Sherman on the other hand was at a much greater distance from the city centre, but it was a main south to north artery leading directly into the heart of the northern heavy industry region. Consequently it was attractive to those who wished to

reside near their industrial places of work and who were willing to bear some of the rather unpleasant effects on the residential amenities which proximity to the heavy industrial plants entailed. That the area east of Lottridge was almost completely devoid of ethnic population was probably due to the fact that much of the housing there was relatively new, having been built with the expansion of the northern industrial belt and the eastward shift of the city limits.

By 1941 the total ethnic content of the study area had increased very substantially as a result of the large-scale immigration of the 1920's. The four main regions of 1921 still persisted but with alterations to their limits and internal differentiation:

1. The Western Ethnic Complex had extended its eastern boundary as far as Elgin but retained its focus on James. The Italian population of this region had increased to make that group the most important one by far, while the Hungarian and Jewish groups had also grown and migrated somewhat westward of their 1921 locations. The slightly expanded Polish and Ukrainian groups retained the same general location.

2. The central British Origin Belt had contracted its limits from 1921 and now stretched from Elgin in the west to Milton and Birch in the east. The non-residential land use of the blocks just east of Elgin, especially the Ferguson Street railway track, seemed to act as a barrier separating this region from the Western Complex.

As in 1921 there was only a light scatter of non-British residential population and a few Jewish, Chinese, German and Italian services directed at the general public.

3. The Eastern Ethnic Complex still maintained its eastern limit on Lottridge but had expanded as far south as Cannon and as far west as Birch and Milton. Southward expansion seems to have been easier than movement either east or west. This was due to the constricting effects of the non-residential land use barriers provided by the Westinghouse - Woodlands Park - Forum - Hamilton Institute of Technology blocks in the west and the industrial land, open space and parkland of Scott Park just east of Lottridge. Within this complex the intensity and complexity of both ethnic residential and service distributions had increased with the Poles and Ukrainians forming the largest groups followed by the Italians, an enlarged Armanian group and a new Hungarian element.

4. The Eastern Transitional Region, extending from Lottridge to Ottawa had replaced the former Eastern British Origin Belt. This change was due mainly to a diffusion eastward of Polish and Ukrainian population from the neighbouring ethnic complex and to a shift of emphasis by Jewish service establishments from James on to Ottawa. The Italian and Hungarian content of the region had also increased slightly.

Thus, although the broad framework of the 1921 picture was still similar, many changes had been wrought through the increasing ethnicity of a large part of the Barton Street area. With continual

immigration the two original cores of ethnic settlement had consolidated their importance and then begun to expand their limits. The unique feature of the Italians, that of maintaining two widely separated settlement groups, was continued. As discussed previously, this was a carrying over from Europe of Italian provincial differences. By 1941 the western Italian community had witnessed a greater growth than the eastern, a disparity probably resulting from a larger post-1921 Southern Italian and Sicilian influx than that from Central and Northern Italy.

Whereas the Italian groups had become numerically dominant in the James Street region, the Slavic groups had actually increased as compared with the Italian in the Sherman district. Here the Italians were still confined to the streets adjacent to Sherman and had not yet spread nearly so far eastward as the Poles and Ukrainians. The residential and services distributions of both the latter groups were closely interrelated as their common Slavic backgrounds and languages similarities probably provided a certain bond which led them to settle in proximity to one another.

As in 1921 the two major regions of ethnicity contained internal sub-regions based on the composition and size of their ethnic populations and associated services while the other two remained relatively homogeneous. However, they had been reduced in size, by 1941, and their ethnic content, especially in the eastern belt, had increased, thus showing that they were beginning to feel

the pressure exerted by the increasing population, and consequent expansion of the two principal complexes.

This expansion had been further accelerated by 1961. By this latter date an unprecedented expansion of ethnic population had taken place resulting primarily from the very high rate of European continental immigration in the years after 1945 and especially during the 1950's. The high rate of Italian immigration was the one which affected the Barton Street area most of all. In 1961 approximately 44 per cent of all the study area residents were immigrants of one period or another, about 29 per cent arriving in the 1946-1961 period alone. Approximately 60 per cent of the total population was of non-British Isles origin. In order of percentage size these groups were: Italian 23 per cent, Polish 8 per cent, French 7 per cent, Ukrainian 5 per cent, German 4 per cent, and Hungarian for which no figures are available. There were also small numbers of Armenians, Chinese, Croatians, Czechs, Dutch, Japanese, Maltese, Portuguese, Romanians, Russians, Serbians and Slovakians, etc. However, apart from the Armenian group, few of these showed any well defined residential patterns.

Important changes had been affected in the limits and characteristics of the four principal regions of 1941:-

1. The Western Ethnic Complex still extended from Elgin in the east to Inchbury in the west. The blocks of non-residential land use between Elgin and Mary continued to act as a partial barrier to its eastern expansion. However, the total ethnic content of this region had increased very substantially and even to the

extent that one census tract, bounded by James and Dundurn Park, and York and the C.N.R. track, was the only one in the city to have an Italian population exceeding its British one in size. Italian settlement within the region had intensified and spread eastward since 1941. A relatively strong Hungarian group had also persisted and increased in size, while on the other hand the once quite strong Jewish group had disappeared almost entirely. It seems that this was due to some migration out of this sector and to lack of further immigration to maintain the Jewish element there. A small Polish and Ukrainian group remained unaltered significantly in size. There were also some other small elements such as Romanian, Slovakian and Portuguese, which do not appear on the maps. However, all of the above groups were overwhelmingly outnumbered by the Italians.

2. A Central Zone of Transition had replaced the Central British Origin Belt of 1921 and 1941. It was located between the two wedges of non-residential land use, that centred on the Ferguson Avenue railway track in the west, and the Westinghouse plant - Woodlands Park - Forum - Hamilton Institute of Technology belt in the east. Pressure from the main ethnic regions immediately to the west and east seemed to be overcoming these barriers and turning a previously generally homogeneous population into a cosmopolitan one. This took the form of some increase in the Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian, German, and even Dutch influence, but all of these groups were surpassed by the Italian expansion. With this increase in ethnicity went a

corresponding increase in the number of ethnic service establishments to be found within the region, whereas these had been few in number in previous periods.

3. The Eastern Ethnic Complex. While there had been two distinctive and separate major regions in existence in the east end of the study area in both 1921 and 1941, developments since the latter date had caused them to fuse into one large region. Thus, the area east of Lottridge, the Eastern Transitional Region of 1941, was no longer in transition but had increased its ethnic content so much as to make it part of the main Eastern Complex centred on the Sherman-Barton intersection. This resulted primarily from the appearance of a strong new Italian residential element and the movement eastward from the main core of a number of Italian, Polish and Ukrainian service establishments.

Several points emerge from this general discussion. At the beginning of the study period there existed two relatively small and compact ethnic nuclei set within the larger region of generally homogeneous British origin population. Their limits were not defined by any very obvious non-residential land use factors. However, with the continuous movement of immigrant population into Hamilton and its infiltration into this north end sector, the original cores of ethnic settlement constantly grew in size so that land use barriers began to exert an effect on their shape and extent. By 1941 the railway tract of Ferguson Street and the industrial and institutional land use on either side of it separated the Western Ethnic Complex

from the Central British Origin Belt. The barrier of the Westinghouse plant, Woodlands Park, Hamilton Forum and the College of Technology, had some effect in separating the Central Belt from the Eastern Ethnic Complex. Beyond Lottridge the non-residential land use extending between the C.N.R. track and Barton Street, and the Parkland of Scott Park, provided another barrier between the Eastern Complex and the Eastern Transitional Region.

By 1961 the latter barrier seems to have lost most of its effect, so that the two regions which it had formerly separated had merged into a single large region. The other two wedges, however, were still effective to some degree, but even these were being overcome as the whole Barton Street strip began to become more and more of a single cosmopolitan continuum. Nevertheless, throughout the forty year study period it is fairly obvious that definite ethnic regions did develop within the context of the land use framework of this part of the city. However, the limits imposed by this framework were eventually being overcome by the continuous movements of ethnic population into the area.

The details of the internal change undergone by each of the principal regions needs closer examination and for this reason each of them will be dealt with in turn in the following pages

I. <u>The Western Ethnic Complex</u>:

As we have seen, from its 1921 boundaries of Inchbury in the west to James in the east, this region had expanded through

1941 and 1961 as far east as the Ferguson Street barrier. Internal non-residential land use does not seem to have changed much throughout this period. It consisted of industrial use in the blocks between Bay and Queen north of Barton, and between Caroline and Bay south of Barton. Non-residential land use elsewhere consisted of institutions and commercial outlets.

Compared with that of later years the total ethnic population of the region was small. Nevertheless, the nucleus of a distinctive ethnic complex was already discernible. The Italians were the largest group, followed by a small number of Poles, Ukrainians, Jews, Germans and Hungarians. A predominantly Italian core, with some Jewish and Hungarian elements, lay between Bay and James, while west of Bay to Queen and Grieg was a Polish and Ukrainian sector. Beyond this in the streets extending as far as Inchbury was a light scatter of Jewish and German population.

By 1941 the Italian population had increased substantially and was confined principally to the area west of James with a few small extensions eastward as far as Elgin. It had also expanded beyond Bay right up to Inchbury, thus greatly outnumbering all other non-British groups in the region. The resident Jewish population had increased on a much smaller scale, especially in the area between James and Elgin, as had the Polish, Ukrainian and German groups. The Hungarian group, on the other hand, had grown and spread to the streets immediately on either side of James.

Further changes were effected by 1961. The Italian group

had become even more dominant and in fact this region was now a largely Southern Italian and Sicilian quarter. Even the Ferguson Street barrier was being overcome and the Central Belt invaded. All this was primarily a result of the heavy Italian immigration of the 1950's. Other significant changes were the increase in size of the resident Hungarian group and the almost total disappearance of the Jewish group. As mentioned previously, there was probably an increase in the number of very small groups within the region also.

Along with these internal population changes went changes in the number, type and distribution of ethnic commercial services and institutions. In this Western Complex, James Street remained the second major focus of ethnic service establishments throughout the period. It had been the largest concentration of such services in 1921, but by 1941, and even more so by 1961, the Eastern Complex had taken over this role. This was due to the fact that the Italian, Polish and Ukrainian groups each had a range of services around the Sherman - Barton intersection, while after 1921 only the Italian group, and to a lesser extent the Hungarians, had large clusters of services on James.

In 1921 Jewish and Italian outlets predominated, accompanied by single German and Ukrainian ones. In the streets west of James most of the small stores and service outlets were Jewish with a few Polish, German and Italian ones, all reflecting the ethnic composition of the population within that sector. Apart from the Jewish,

these services were mostly small retail food and manual service outlets typical of fairly recently established ethnic nuclei. The number and range of the Jewish services was remarkable and almost wholly unrelated to the size of the small resident Jewish group. The reason, of course, is that most of them were Jewish speciality services directed at the general public. No ethnic group provided any significant professional or semi-professional services at all, another indication that this was a fairly recently established ethnic quarter.

The oldest established group was obviously the Jewish one for besides their numerous stores, they also possessed a Synagogue on Cannon West. However, it is evident that the roots of a permanent Italian quarter were also being put down because a large Italian Catholic Church was under construction on Barton West. An Italian mission was already present on Stuart. There was a complete absence of formal social institutions belonging to any group.

By 1941 James was still maintaining its importance as an ethnic service centre with an even greater variety of groups represented in response to the increased ethnic diversity of the region as a whole. The number of Jewish services had dropped sharply, due at least in part to a migration to other parts of the study area, Ottawa Street, for example, or out of the area altogether, to more prosperous sectors of the city. However, the number of Italian outlets had increased so that James was now a predomin-

antly Italian service strip, whereas it had been Jewish before. Accompanying the Italian were a few Jewish, Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian, German and Chinese establishments. West of James there was also an expansion of Italian services and a contraction in the number of Jewish. Most of the Italian establishments were still small food and manual service outlets, but to them had been added a few professional services such as medicine and real estate, indicating the increasing size and sophistication of the Italian community here.

The religious and social facilities of this Western Complex had also expanded in response to its increase in ethnicity. All Souls Italian Catholic Church, under construction in 1921, appeared on Barton West, while the new Redeemer Italian United Church now appeared on Park at Murray. The Synagogue remained on Cannon West, serving the still strong local Jewish community. In addition to these a Slovakian Catholic congregation was holding services in a chapel rented from St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church on Park, while a Hungarian Greek Catholic congregation was meeting in a private house on John. Neither of the two groups which these congregations represented was yet strong enough to provide church buildings of their own.

While probably less important than the churches in binding individual groups together, the appearance of several social institutions added to this region's importance as an ethnic settle-

ment nucleus. These included a "Hungarian Home" on James, a Jewish Club and "school," and at least two Italian recreation clubs. All were closely tied to their locally resident ethnic groups and showed how much these groups had grown in sophistication since 1921.

The trends evident in 1941 had produced further changes by 1961. The decline of Jewish services had continued, while the number of Hungarian ones had increased substantially with the growth of the local Hungarian population. Only a very few Polish and Chinese ones remained. James Street was more than even the principal focus of ethnic services and, reflecting the ethnic structure of the region's population, was almost completely dominated by Italian establishments. The Italian group had also taken over most of the small stores west of James which had previously been held by various groups. The total number of establishments was much greater than in 1941, and showed a much more sophisticated range. In addition to small food and manual service outlets, the Italian group now possessed fine shoe stores, speciality stores such as music and gift shops, a pharmacy and a flower store, professional and semi-professional services such as law and travel agencies, and an enlarged number of doctors and realtors. Services unique to the Italians were a theatre and a funeral chapel. The Hungarian group also had some high quality apparel and speciality shops. In fact this region contained the major Italian and Hungarian foci of the city, while the Jewish services, so numerous and varied in 1921, had

almost entirely disappeared.

The same trend also continued with regard to religious and social institutions. Four new churches alone had been founded since 1941. A new Romanian church on McNab at Murray was a result of continued migration of Romanian origin people who had formerly lived beyond the eastern limits of the study area. A Slovakian congregation had acquired a church building on Park, renaming it St. Cyril and Methodius. The Hungarian Greek Catholic congregation had found more permanent quarters on James while a new Hungarian Roman Catholic Church had been founded on Barton just east of James. Thus, further immigration had strengthened the older ethnic groups of the region and introduced new ones, and this factor was expressing itself in a further development of ethnic churches. On the other hand, the decline of the local Jewish community had resulted in the abandonment of the Synagogue on York.

The number and range of ethnic social facilities showed a similar expansion. By 1961 there were at least four Italian clubs, two of which, the Brothers of Recalmuto Hall and the Venetian Club, belonged to Italian provincial groups. No other group within the study area possessed such societies reflecting their "old country" origins, although the German group did have several in other parts of the city. The Hungarian Home remained on James, but the Jewish Club and "school" had disappeared with the Synagogue. A Romanian community centre was located adjacent to the Romanian church, while the Slovakian, Hungarian and Italian churches all had social facili-

ties of their own. It is of interest to note that since 1961 a Maltese community hall has appeared on Cannon just east of James, thus further increasing the importance of this region as an ethnic social complex.

Within this Western Complex definite ethnic sub-regions appeared in each of the three years under consideration, showing significant changes in area and composition each time as a result of the movement of various groups into, out of, and within the region.

In 1921 the densest core of ethnic population was located within the area extending from James as far west as Bay, and Caroline south of Sheaffe (1A on fig. 19a). This area seems to have been one of the two original ethnic nuclei of the entire Barton Street region. At this time it had a fairly high density of Italian population, a scatter of Jewish, and the trace of a small Hungarian quarter on McNab north of Barton (1B). Some German name households also appeared, but many of these may well have been Jewish. This sub-region also contained a number of Jewish and Italian stores and a few religious institutions as already described. However, it was still at the early stages of development as a permanent ethnic immigrant quarter. Most of these immigrants had arrived only after 1911, with a few after 1901. Apart from the special case of the Jews, commercial retail services were very limited in range, and the Jews were also the only people to have a permanent church, although an Italian one was being built.

The influence of the core spread westward, but not east beyond James. At this time James seemed to be acting as a barrier for no very obvious reason except that the total ethnic population was small and did not need to expand far through force of numbers as it was to do later. Between Queen and Caroline was a small residential Polish - Ukrainian - Jewish sector forming an Eastern European enclave (1C). It seems to have been somewhat isolated from 1A by a short barrier of industrial land use projecting south of Barton between Caroline and Bay, and also by the steep hill where the land immediately west of Bay falls sharply away before rising gently again towards Dundurn Park. Thus, it would appear that there was at least some topographic and land-use control involved in the separation of ethnic sub-regions here.

Between Queen and Hess was a Polish sector including a few small Polish stores (1D). Containing only a light scatter of Jewish and perhaps some German households, the streets between Queen and Locke formed a sub-region as yet only slightly affected by ethnic population (1E). Isolation from the main core (1A) had prevented any "invasion" as yet.

However, some important changes had taken place by 1941. The limits of the Western Complex had been pushed as far east as Elgin where the non-residential land use centred on Ferguson Avenue acted as a decisive barrier. Into this previously "non-ethnic" area had moved a substantial Italian, Jewish and Hungarian population. East of James as far as Bay the Italian, Jewish and Hungarian population

had also expanded, thus forming a fairly homogeneous ethnic sub-region extending from Bay to Elgin with a concentration of services on and near James (1A). So several changes from the 1921 position were obvious. The total ethnic population had increased and so pushed eastward. The tiny Hungarian quarter of 1921 had grown very substantially by attracting many of the new immigrants of the 1920's. The Jewish residential population had also increased and shared in the general eastward migration. And finally, the already strong Italian core had retained and added to its strength.

West of Bay Street the density of ethnic population had increased substantially. The land use barrier between Bay and Caroline, and the hill, were still significant as limits but less so than in 1921. A new region appeared in the area between Bay and Hess, south of Sheaffe and Barton (1B). In 1921 the eastern part of this region had been part of the main Italian-Jewish sector, while the western part had been a Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish quarter. Now, however, it had become an Italian region with a smaller Jewish-German population, including a few stores. Therefore, the Polish-Ukrainian element had disappeared, the German-Jewish element remained, while the Italian population, as in the region as a whole, had increased.

However, in the streets immediately west of this region there still remained a Polish and Ukrainian element. Within this heterogeneous sector, lying between Oxford, the lower half of Queen,

and Hess, there was also a Jewish and Italian element (1C). This area had had a small Polish population in 1921 but on the whole had not been ethnically diverse. It seems that in the meantime more Polish and Ukrainians had moved from the streets immediately to the east, while Italians had moved in as part of the general westward movement of Italian households. However, there was still no sign of the emergence of a permanent Polish-Ukrainian community complete with services, probably due to the attraction of the Sherman-Barton area for new immigrants.

Finally, in the streets between Oxford and Dundurn Park some changes had also taken place. Although still relatively homogeneous, there were signs that it was becoming "Italianised," especially the northern half of these streets (1D). There was also a small Hungarian population, but the sparse Jewish element of 1921 had become even more sparse, possibly joining the eastward migration of Jewish households which appears to have taken place.

By 1961 further important sub-regional changes had taken place. The principal concentration of ethnic population was circumscribed by the same limits as in 1941, lying between Elgin in the east and Bay in the west, with James as its axis (1A). However, the composition of the population had changed somewhat. The density of Italians was much greater than at any previous period, due to the constant immigration of the post-war years. They far outnumbered any other single group, even including the British Origin one. The Hungarian residential element remained relatively unchanged from 1941, but the

former Jewish group, on the other hand, had disappeared almost completely, either migrating to other parts of the city or dying out as the existing community was not reinforced by further Jewish immigration. Other groups such as Germans, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Romanians and even Portuguese and Maltese, added to the general heterogeneity.

This sub-region also contained the major concentration of services on James and its intersection with Barton. So, too, did it include all the ethnic churches and social facilities of the Western Complex. In fact, this small area contained the second largest concentration of ethnic population, services, and institutions to be found anywhere within Hamilton in 1961 and, of course, far exceeded that of any previous period. This was the culmination of a trend very obvious even in 1921.

West of Bay extended a largely Italian residential region containing no service establishments at all (1B). The Polish, Ukrainian and Jewish elements present in previous years had disappeared almost completely, having either died out or else migrated away as Italians moved in. This Italian movement was evident again in the range of streets between Queen and Dundurn Park (1C). Italian density there had increased greatly since 1941, as had the small Hungarian element also present at that time. Thus, by 1961 this sub-region, which in 1921 had contained only a tiny scatter of Jewish-German population, had been transformed into a highly Italianised area containing also a much smaller Hungarian group.

From the above discussion the most obvious factors influencing the changing pattern of this Western Complex since 1921 would appear to have been the following:

(i) The attraction of a definite nucleus of ethnically diverse population already in existence by 1921. The reasons for its original location here are not clear, but one may have been that of a declining residential neighbourhood on the fringes of two important thoroughfares, James and York, leading from the principal commercial region of the city.

(ii) The importance of this area as a focus for the large number of gregarious Southern Italian and Sicilian immigrants who moved into the city throughout the study period. These people retained some of their old provincial loyalties here, and in this the Italian group was unique within the Barton Street area.

(iii) The failure of the Jewish group, who appear to have been the original ethnic "invaders" of this part of the city, to be replenished by fresh waves of immigration. This inevitably resulted in their almost entire disappearance as a residential group as they either died out or migrated. They were unique in that they had had a remarkably wide range of services here at a relatively early date and in that most of these were Jewish speciality services directed at the general public.

(iv) The failure of the Poles and Ukrainians to develop a strong community here. Their immigration was never on the same scale as that of the Italians and they did not settle in separate communities

based on Old Country provincial loyalties as the Italian tended to do. Consequently the Eastern Complex around Sherman attracted most of the new immigrants at the expense of this region.

(v) The steady growth of the Hungarian community as it made James Street its focus.

(vi) The attraction of a number of small groups to this now extremely cosmopolitan neighbourhood, its attraction being this very fact.

(viii) Land use and tapographic barriers such as the Elgin-Sheaffe area, the Stuart-Barton-Sheaffe one, and the steep hill west of Bay. These tended to have a constricting effect on the spread of ethnic settlement, protecting and isolating some areas from ethnic "invasion" for a time, but usually they were eventually overcome by pressure of numbers.

II. The Central British Origin Belt

This region was the one least affected by ethnic diversity in both 1921 and 1941, and it was only by 1961 that it could really be called cosmopolitan. Even at the latter date it contained no clear internal ethnic residential sub-regions. Apparently the reasons for this were twofold: it contained no important "through" streets such as those of James, Sherman and Ottawa, passing through the other regions; it was for a time protected in the east and west by pronounced non-residential land use barriers. The latter shielded this strip of Barton from the lateral expansion of the eastern and western complexes until after 1941.

However, these barriers were of little importance in 1921 as the boundaries of the region lay beyond them at that time, almost on James in the west and on Birch, and Sherman south of Beechwood, in the east. The two original ethnic nuclei were, of course, still very small and highly localised and so were not yet seriously impinging upon this Central Zone. Non-British population there was negligible in size and the only obvious ethnic features were a few Jewish stores, a single Italian fruit shop, a Swedish restaurant and no less than six Chinese laundries. These were all serving the general public and not any specific ethnic group.

With the expansion of the two principal ethnic complexes in the intervening years, the limits of the region contracted and fell back to the land use barriers of the Ferguson Street area and the Westinghouse, Woodlands Park, Forum and Institute of Technology blocks. Their protective influence was now being felt. Within the Central region the total size of the ethnic population was still small and this continued to prevent the development of any outstanding ethnic service nuclei. Scattered along Barton a few Jewish and Chinese services remained while the number of Italian outlets, principally fruit shops, had increased and clustered between East Avenue and Cheever Street,

A much more radical change had taken place by 1961. The ever increasing ethnicity of the eastern and western complexes had forced them to expand and finally to leap over this Central Zone's

protecting barriers. Thus it was transformed into a cosmopolitan residential area providing a link between the two main ethnic nuclei. It now contained a large Italian population, a smaller Hungarian one and enlarged Polish, German and Ukrainian groups. However, there was no development at all of any obvious internal sub-regions as in the other regions. The growth in the size and diversity of the ethnic population was accompanied, as might be expected, by a rise in the number of ethnic services. Most of them were Italian, of course, but a few were Hungarian, German and Chinese. Nearly all were small retail food stores and manual service outlets located along Barton Street, so that they were part of the general ethnic continuum now quickly developing along the whole Barton Strip and not any longer just a few isolated ethnic intruders set in a largely non-ethnic district. Only two churches appeared in the region, a Dutch Reformed church and a Russian church, both on East Avenue. However, neither of the two formed the nucleus for a local ethnic community as the churches in the other regions seemed to do, and for the Dutch church at least location here was fortuitous rather than deliberate.

It is true to say, therefore, that by 1961 this Central Zone was still at a transitional stage. Although it had become cosmopolitan it had not developed a separate strongly centralised core of sophisticated services and institutions as the two main ethnic complexes on either side had done. It remained transitional in both location and character between these two, and owed its ethnic

characteristics to their lateral expansion.

III. The Eastern Ethnic Complex

As we have seen, this was the second of the two major ethnic regions of the study area. It grew from a small ethnic cluster located principally on the north side of the Sherman Avenue-Barton Street intersection in 1921 to include by 1961 most of the Barton strip between Sandford Avenue and Ottawa Street. Among other factors, the sub-regionalisation of this region was affected by internal land use differences, and the total area covered by industrial and park-land use does not seem to have altered much throughout the study period. Several large blocks of industrial land-use were found north of Barton, between Sherman and Rosslyn, more particularly north of Clinton, Lloyd and finally Barton itself. These represented industrial intrusions from north of the C.N.R. track. South of Barton was a triangle of industrial and rail track land east of Glendale, and several blocks of parkland south of Beechwood between Gage and Lottridge. In addition, of course, there was some commercial and institutional land use, most of it in strips along Sherman, Ottawa and especially Barton.

In 1921 this Eastern Complex was centred on the Sherman-Barton intersection between Birch and Lottridge, with only a small extension south of Barton. The largest single ethnic group there appears to have been the Italian, followed by the Polish, Ukrainian and small Armenian colony. The residential core of the first three lay between Sherman and Lottridge while the Armenian cluster was located on Princess and part of Earl just west of Sherman.

By 1941 the western and southern limits of the region had expanded, to Milton and Birch, and to Cannon respectively, while the eastern boundary remained on Lottridge. The total ethnic population had grown considerably with the Poles and Ukrainians now forming the largest groups, followed by the Italians, an enlarged Armenian group and a new Hungarian element. The main cores of 1921 had been intensified and some diffusion, especially of Polish and Ukrainian settlement, had occurred into peripheral blocks.

The expansion of the Complex continued in the intervening period, so that by 1961 it had fused with the former transitional region east of Lottridge and so now extended to Ottawa. As in the other regions, the Italian group had grown remarkably so that it was now almost as large as the two main Slavic groups combined. Thus, between 1921 and 1941 Polish and Ukrainian immigration into this region had been the single most important ethnic factor, but it was now far exceeded by that of the Italian group and as a result the whole character of this eastern Complex was being changed.

Throughout the study period this eastern area remained, as might be expected, the second great focus of ethnic services, and their number and range increasingly reflected the ever growing size and importance of the ethnic groups there. Even in 1921 there was a substantial group of services. As in the case of the Western Complex, the commercial establishments were of two kinds, the ubiquitous Jewish, German and Chinese speciality services, and the simple small food and manual service outlets of the residential groups. The latter

were found on four streets, being mostly Polish on Sherman north of Barton; Polish and Italian on Gibson; Armenian on Princess and a scatter of Jewish, Ukrainian, Italian, German, Polish and Chinese on Barton between Gibson and Lottridge.

From the point of view of ethnic religious and social facilities, this Eastern Complex was at a more advanced stage of development than the Western in 1921. Indeed, it would appear to have been the older of these two nuclei because by this date it already had several large well established churches and a social club. On Barton just east of Sherman was St. Stanislaus Polish Roman Catholic Church, and St. Olga's Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Greek Catholic Church of the Holy Ghost. On Clinton was St. Anthony's of Padua Italian Roman Catholic Church, and on Gibson another Italian Mission. All of these churches were the first of their kind to be built in the city. Religious institutions seem to have been the first permanent foci of firm ethnic residential concentrations within the study area. This was true of the Italian, Polish, Ukrainian, Jewish, and later the Hungarian, groups. The first four had all founded churches before 1921 when they were still quite small numerically and at a relatively low socio-economic level. Although initially chosen to be close to the already existing areas of settlement, the actual location of the churches contributed to the geographical momentum of the subsequent development of the individual ethnic communities, forming foci for incoming population and the location of other service establishments. Social institutions did not have the same initially important role. For

instance, the Polish Club appearing in 1921 had been formed by members of the Polish Church after the foundation of the church itself.

With their increase in size the major groups had diversified their services structure by 1941 to include such things as medical services, real estate agencies, clothing stores, restaurants and amusements, as well as retaining the older food and convenience goods stores and manual service outlets. The Barton strip between Gibson and Lottridge had become especially important, particularly with regard to Polish and Ukrainian establishments between Sherman and Lottridge on the north side. This strip also contained a number of Jewish, Chinese and Hungarian ones and a larger group of Italian ones. Sherman Avenue north of Barton had become primarily an Italian service strip, with only a few of the 1921 Polish establishments remaining.

By 1961 the Barton-Sherman intersection had further increased in importance as an ethnic service nucleus. reflecting the character of its population. It had become a predominantly Italian-Polish-Ukrainian service complex, but as might be expected, the expansion in the number of Italian establishments had been greatest. In the Sandford-Lottridge strip of Barton, Italian services were most numerous west of Sherman, and were increasing east of it, although the Polish and Ukrainian service element was still strongest there. On Sherman itself Italian services were easily the most numerous, a trend obvious in 1941. East of Lottridge as far as Ottawa, Italian,

Polish and Ukrainian services were increasing in number in response to the intensified ethnicity of that sector. On Ottawa ethnic service development was still limited to a small number of Jewish and Italian establishments, the former reduced in number since 1941, but the latter gaining in strength. Ottawa was not so susceptible to ethnic invasion because it was a very important retail service street indeed, containing many large stores serving not just a small local area as in the case of most of the small Barton Street stores, but having city-wide importance, or at least widespread importance in the East End. Because of the presence of the new shopping plaza on Barton east of Ottawa ethnic invasion of the latter may become easier in future as its importance declines partially in the face of competition.

As in the Western Complex, the range of services available had become much more sophisticated. This was especially true in the case of the Italian group, and in fact the Italian services concentration of both major regions duplicated each other to a large extent. This was due to the distance separating the two regions and also to the general provincial differences separating the two Italian groups. Thus, this eastern region had a number of good clothing and footwear stores, speciality outlets such as a gift shop, flower shop and a bridal salon, a pharmacy, a theatre, a travel agency and several realtors, lawyers and doctors. The Polish and Ukrainian service range was much narrower, but did include some new features such as pharmacies, gift stores, realtors and doctors. This more limited number and range

of Slavic services was partly due, of course, to the smaller size of the two groups, but also to the fact that psychologically the Italians seemed to be more of a "shop-keeping" group.

Throughout the period of study this eastern region remained more advanced than the western from the point of view of ethnic religious and social facilities. Indeed, it would appear to have been the older of the two main ethnic nuclei because, even in 1921, it already had several well established churches and a social club, while the western region really had only the one long established religious institution, a synagogue. On Barton just east of Sherman was St. Stanislaus Polish Roman Catholic Church and St. Olga's Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Greek Catholic Church of the Holy Ghost. On Clinton was St. Anthony of Padua Roman Catholic Church, and on Gibson another Italian Mission.

By 1941 several new churches had been erected in response to the evolving ethnic character of the region. The three main churches of 1921 remained, of course, but to them had been added a small Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church on Barton west of Sherman, and a small Polish Baptist one on the other side of Sherman. There was also a new Italian Presbyterian Church on Sherman just north of the railway tracks and the John Calvin Hungarian Presbyterian Church on Birch.

Some further expansion of social facilities had also occurred. Just before 1941 the Italian group had opened a community centre on

Barton, but as previously related this was taken over by the Poles and added to their already existing Polish Club. The Ukrainians had opened a Labour Temple and the Armenians had opened several clubs on Barton, adding to the cohesiveness of their compact little community on Princess and Gibson.

Further church development had taken place by 1961, mainly through the erection of new churches by the older established groups. St. Anthony's Italian church had abandoned its old building on Clinton for a fine new one on Barton east of Lottridge, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox congregation had a beautiful new one opposite to it, while an entirely new denomination, the Polish National Catholics, were building a church slightly east of these two, also on Barton. A new Ukrainian Presbyterian Church appeared on Earl and the older Italian Presbyterian one on Sherman was beginning to look for a new site on or near Barton, in order to build a larger church away from the worst of the blighting effects north of the rail tracks. As in the Western Complex, these developments were due to the strengthening of the numerical and economic condition of the ethnic groups there. However, the functions of the churches there were not confined solely to their local areas as they had largely been in the past. As individual members of the various ethnic groups moved into other parts of the city, some of them retained their links with the old communities by continued attendance of the ethnic churches.

Similarly, despite some outward migration, the importance of the Barton-Sherman intersection as a social focus was retained and enhanced both by fresh immigration and the maintenance of social links

by former residents. The Poles had added to their social facilities with a Legion Hall on Barton and were looking for larger premises to replace the old Polish Alliance Hall which had become too small for the needs of the group. Indeed, it seemed possible that the original owners of the property, the local Italian community, would buy it back again. On Princess the Armenian community had built a new social centre to serve not only the immediate area, but all the Armenian origin people of the city. On the same street was a hall belonging to St. Anthony's Church, Although the Ukrainians had an organisational headquarters on Cannon near Ottawa, they had built a new community centre on Parkdale, much farther east of the study area. This may have indicated the beginnings of a diffusion of the social facilities of this Eastern Complex.

Because of the constant growth in the size and diversity of the ethnic groups and their services in this region between 1921 and 1961, it is evident that many changes must have occurred in its internal sub-regionalisation and, as we have already seen, in the actual outward limits of the main region itself. In 1921 there were three principal sub-divisions of the then rather small Eastern Ethnic Complex. The largest of these was a Polish-Ukrainian-Italian sector lying between Earl and Barnsdale and extending south of Barton to Beechwood and Edward (3A). The biggest of these three groups was the Italian, followed by the Polish and a small Ukrainian one. Associated with this residential population was a number of small

food stores and manual service outlets belonging to the Polish and Italian groups. Also significant were the Polish, Ukrainian and Italian churches, and the Polish club, all within this sub-region. Consequently this was undoubtedly the core region of ethnic settlement in the east end and probably first became important as such early in the present century. It may have been older than the Western Complex with regard to Italian settlement, and was certainly older as far as the two Slavic groups were concerned. On the other hand it seems that the western region was the first settlement area for the Jewish group within the city. Possible reasons for the emergence of the core of this Eastern Complex have been discussed previously.

West of Earl were two small sub-regions. The first of these, bounded by Birch and Earl and a line halfway between Princess and Barton, contained a relatively dense Armenian community centred on Princess and part of Earl (3B). This remarkable little cluster also had several small stores and a restaurant. It owed its location to the close association of the Armenians with the International Harvester plant. South of it lay an Italian-Polish sub-region, notable more for the number of services belonging to each group than for any dense residential population. These small stores were found mainly on Gibson, where there appeared to be a row of shops, and probably served the principal ethnic core just east of Sherman.

With the growth of ethnic population by 1941, the limits of the Eastern Complex had pushed west and south, extending to Cannon

and intensifying in the area between Sherman, Birch and Milton. Polish and Ukrainian settlement had even spread into the neighbouring region east of Lottridge. Italian growth had been considerably less and their main core was still confined to the streets adjacent to Sherman, with no expansion to the east and south in comparison with the Poles and Ukrainians. This was in large part due to the differences in the immigration rate of the three groups since 1921. Armenian immigration had been steady so that their cluster on Princess and Earl was now larger in area and eenser than in the previous period. A few of their service establishments had even moved on to Sherman and Barton.

The three sub-regions of 1921 had increased to five now. The principal one remained very similar in area, lying between Earl and lottridge, and north of Barton (3A). It included the original core of Polish, Ukrainian and Italian settlement in the north-east quadrant of the Barton-Sherman intersection and the major concentration of their services there on Barton and Sherman. It also included the Polish, Ukrainian and Italian churches and their social facilities, so that this sub-region was continuing and expanding its 1921 role as the "heartland" of the Polish and Ukrainian groups and of the second of the two separate Italian groups within the study area.

West of Earl and north of Barton two sub-regions remained, although slightly changed in area since 1921 in respect of the second. The limits of the first remained unchanged, and internally it persisted as an Armenian enclave even more dense than in 1921. This compact

community had added several social clubs to its small services range so that it was now at a more advanced stage of occupance. Some Armenian stores had moved south on to Barton and east to Sherman, thus extending the influence of the group into peripheral sub-regions.

Between Milton and Earl, and Barton and the southern edge of 3B. lay a slightly larger version of the 1921 3C. region. This now had a light density of Polish, Ukrainian and Italian population, as well as a small new Hungarian element. A few mixed services were scattered on Barton. Ethnic population density here had increased only slightly as compared with the district east of Sherman. The reason is not obvious, but may have had at least something to do with the Westinghouse-Woodlands Park barrier. The group of stores formerly located on Gibson had disappeared because of the demolition of that part of the street to make way for a school.

A new sub-region lay south of Barton between Sherman and Birch. (3D). This sector had been free of ethnic settlement in 1921 but was now being "invaded" by a small number of Polish, Ukrainian and Italian households, while a few of their services were pushing westwards along Barton. The western limit of this region was Birch and it may be significant that a strip of vacant land ran just west of that street, forming a narrow barrier. Looking at regions 3C. and especially 3D., it appears that ethnic population was finding it easier to move east of Sherman rather than west of it. Again, the reason is not obvious.

Finally, another region had appeared between Sherman and Lottridge, south of Edward (3E). It was a sector of quite dense Polish and Ukrainian residential, confirming the fact that the rate of immigration of these two groups into this Eastern Complex had far exceeded that of the Italians. The two Slavic groups simply spread into this district south of Barton because it was just across the street from their original nuclei, residential, commercial and institutional. Some movement east of Lottridge had occurred, but on a more limited scale because of the land-use barriers east of Lottridge which have been discussed previously.

The effect of these barriers had vanished almost entirely by 1961, so that the area between Lottridge and Ottawa had become part of the Eastern Complex region. A surge of Italian settlement towards the east was responsible for the binding together of the two regions. The main Italian core of 1941, located between Sherman and Lottridge, was greatly swollen by the post-war influx of Italian immigration so that households belonging to the group had spread westward to join up with the Central Transitional region along Cannon, and eastward to Ottawa. Polish and Ukrainian immigration, on the other hand, had been very much less so that their distributional pattern had changed little from that of 1941. Of the other smaller groups, Hungarian households had become more widely scattered throughout the region, while the Armenian cluster had declined somewhat in size.

These changes in ethnic composition meant that there were

now four sub-regional divisions. The principal ethnic density lay between Gibson and Lottridge, thus containing the core areas of Italian, Polish and Ukrainian residential settlement and the greatest concentration of ethnic service establishments on Sherman and Barton (3A). This sub-region contained the original core clusters of 1921 and 1941 also, but from the latter date it had advanced south to Cannon to include the 3E. region of that year as well as most of the 3D. and the eastern part of the 3C. regions. Within it the Italian population now almost equalled the combined Slavic population for the first time. Within it also was the greatest concentration of ethnic commercial services and institutions not only of the study area, but of the entire city. It was rivalled only by the James Street region of the Western Complex. Thus, the original nucleus of ethnic settlement present here in 1921 had persisted and constantly expanded, attracting ever increasing number of immigrants and their ethnic services and so forming a highly distinctive urban region.

The second sub-region was the small one laying along Princess and the northern halves of Gibson and Earl, the other sub-region to have persisted from 1921 (see fig. 3B). Since 1941 the Armenian community there had declined in size, due both to lack of fresh immigration and an outward movement to other parts of the city by some of the former residents. However, the Armenian population remained the most distinctive feature of this little sector and seemed likely to do so for some time to come because of the con-

struction of a fine new community centre. Nevertheless, the gradual decline of its Armenian character was accentuated by the appearance for the first time of a substantial number of Italian, Polish and Ukrainian households.

West of Gibson lay a new sub-region, the greater part of which had been relatively non-ethnic in character in previous periods, partially because of the effect of a land-use gap beside Birch and, of course, the major barrier of the Westinghouse-Woodlands Park-Forum-H.I.T. wedge, which still formed the western limit of the whole Eastern Complex (3C). This sub-region had been settled by Italians and a few Ukrainians and Hungarians. It is perhaps significant that s Hungarian Presbyterian Church was located on Birch. It will be remembered that the most important Hungarian quarter was centred on James in the Western Complex and that both Hungarian Catholic Churches were also located there. Consequently it is possible that a religious dichotomy existed within the Hungarian group, the larger community in the west being Catholic and the smaller eastern one Protestant.

Between Lottridge and Ottawa was the fourth sub-region, now no longer a transitional zone, but a strongly ethnic sector (3D). The constant stream of ethnic immigration since 1921 had gradually invaded it and changed its character, first to a Slavic residential district, and finally to a combined Italian-Slavic one by 1961. Although covering quite an extensive area, ethnic population was scattered over this sub-region in a relatively even manner. The land-use barrier just east of Lottridge had lost most of its effect and no longer

hindered easy residential and social movement between this eastern region and the main core. Indeed, the location of the large new ethnic churches, belonging to the Italian, Polish and Ukrainian groups, beyond Lottridge instead of in the cramped core area to the west of it was proof of this. An expanded number of stores had also sprung up along Barton in response to the increased residential densities. The rather peculiar services situation on Ottawa has already been discussed.

IV. The Eastern British Origin Belt

In 1921 the whole Barton Street strip between James and Ottawa had an almost homogeneously British origin population, interrupted only by the small ethnic cluster around the Barton-Sherman intersection. This ethnic wedge separated the strip into the Central British Origin Belt and the Eastern British Origin Belt. However, the two were linked together south of Edward, that being the southern limit of the small Eastern Ethnic Complex. The only obvious ethnic features of this eastern belt were a few Jewish, Chinese and Italian stores, all of them being very small and directed at the general public rather than at any particular ethnic group. The reasons for this non-ethnic character seem to have been twofold; much of the land-use east of Lottridge and north of Barton was non-residential in type, while most of the housing south of Barton was relatively new, having been built largely since the beginning of the century with the eastward movement of the city limits, the total ethnic

population of the Barton-Sherman cluster was as yet quite small, so that there was no pressure forcing it to expand laterally as there was to be in later years. In addition, there seems to have been an extremely important factor affecting ethnic settlement east of Lottridge. Apparently until the 1920's a ban existed on the occupation of the houses in the Scott Park area by immigrant ethnic groups. This ban was enforced by an agreement among the residents there, and by the deed under which the area had been developed in the first place. However, through the activities of an Italian origin lawyer, this ban was eventually declared illegal by the civic authorities. No doubt this, combined with other factors, of course, contributed to the changes which took place in the ethnic character of the region after 1921.

In fact by 1921 the old Eastern British Origin Belt had been replaced by a new Eastern Transitional Region. Its limits still lay between Lottridge and Ottawa, but a diffusion of Polish and Ukrainian population eastwards from the expanding Sherman-Barton complex had diluted its former British Origin character. In addition to this new Slavic flavour small new Italian and Hungarian residential elements had appeared. Important also was the appearance on Ottawa of a concentration of Jewish commercial establishments, the reasons for which have already been discussed. The region as a whole was probably still partially protected from ethnic "invasion" by the industrial and parkland barrier contained in the blocks immediately east of

Lottridge, thus separating it from the main ethnic complex to the west of that street.

However, as we have seen, the waves of post-1945 immigration further transformed the region and turned it into a sub-region of the Eastern Ethnic Complex itself.

It would seem that the following factors have been of most importance in the development, between 1921 and 1961, of this Eastern Complex as the second great cosmopolitan region not only of the Barton Street strip but of the entire city:

1. The existence by 1921 of a small, but well-established core of ethnically diverse population around the Sherman-Barton intersection. Probably the original attraction of this location was that, around the turn of the century when ethnic groups first began establishing themselves here (as it would seem from the date of foundation of the earliest ethnic churches), Sherman was already an extremely important thoroughfare leading into the industrial north end and particularly to such plants as International Harvester and Stelco. It was also on the eastern fringe of the built-up area at that time and close to the C.N.R. track. Ethnic settlement probably began north of the track in extremely poor housing adjacent to the industrial plants and then migrated south where there was better housing with space in which to build churches and opportunities to open stores along Barton and Sherman.

2. Because of its industrial proximity this region acted as a magnet to incoming Polish and Ukrainian population offering as it

did employment opportunities. A community was developed by each of the groups and a "social inertia" established. Because of a more limited scale of immigration neither of these groups grew as large ultimately as the Italian one. Not only were services fewer in number and more limited in range because of this difference in size, but perhaps also because the Italians were more of a "store-keeping" group than the Slavs.

3. The region was important as a focus for Northern and Central Italian immigration, differentiating it from the Western Complex and perpetuating within the city imported Italian provincial differences. This may have been the first area of significant Italian settlement in Hamilton as the first permanent group church was established here. Again this was probably because many of the first Italian immigrants were attracted by the opportunities of industrial employment. The sheer size of the post-1945 Italian immigration influx was overwhelming the region by 1961.

4. Very remarkable was the success of the small but compact Armenian group which managed to maintain its original location throughout the period, a location established initially because the first immigrants had a strong association with the International Harvester plant. By 1961 its growth had stopped, but the Armenian "flavour" was sure to be perpetuated by the erection of a group community centre.

5. The small Hungarian population of the region may also have been attracted originally by its industrial proximity. As already

mentioned, it is possible that the Hungarian group here was precominantly Protestant while the main concentration in the Western Complex was Catholic.

6. The influence of non-residential land-use barriers played a changing role in the growth of this ethnic region. The effect of the barrier beyond Lottridge may have been partially felt by 1921, but was much more obvious by 1941. However, its effect by 1961 was almost negligible. The western barrier of the Westinghouse, etc. line first showed its importance in 1941 and was still fairly effective by 1961, although rapidly becoming much less so.

One fact emerging from the study of the above regions is the obvious general association between ethnic population and the distribution of ethnic services. In fact, the criteria used in the delimitation and classification of these regions were firstly the size, composition and degree of nucleation of the ethnic population included in each region, and secondly the number and type of ethnic services associated with this population. It now remains to ask whether there was some direct common connection between the actual numbers or proportions in each ethnic group and the kind of services it possessed.

First of all a distinction must be made between the two main categories of ethnic service which existed in the Barton Street area. The largest and most important category included those which owed their existence to the presence of residential concentrations of ethnic population and which catered primarily to members of

individual groups. The other category consisted of services, owned by a small number of groups, which were directed at the general public and not primarily towards their own members, large numbers of whom did not reside within the area at all. Nevertheless their services were "ethnic" in the sense that they specialized in types of establishments commonly associated with them in the public mind. The three principal groups of this kind were the Jewish, German and Chinese.

With regard to the former category, it would appear that, while there were some general associations between groups, size and types of service common to all of these groups, each one tended to have a relationship peculiar to itself. The most obvious generalization is that the number and range of services associated with a group increased as the population of the group expanded, beginning with a few small food stores and manual service shops and gradually becoming more sophisticated to include clothing, footwear and speciality stores, and professional and semi-professional services. There does not appear to have been an average minimum figure for the first appearance of small, simple services. The Armenian group had fewer than 100 members in 1921, yet it had five small establishments of the above type.

Ethnic churches appeared in the primary stages of both main ethnic complexes when the groups concerned had populations varying between about 100 and 300. The appearance of social clubs did not appear to depend so much on a certain population figure as on whether

such clubs were attached to the ethnic church, as in the case of the Poles who had a club by 1921, or whether they arose from internal provincial differences among a group, as in the case of the Italians. Or again, a community centre may have appeared based not only on the strength of the group within the Barton Street area, but also on members living in other parts of the city. This was the case with regard to the Armenian centre appearing in 1961.

The relationship between group size and the appearance of more specialized retail services, and professional and semi-professional services also varied from group to group. The two separate Italian settlement clusters developed roughly the same range of services. It seems that they needed to have a population exceeding 1,000 before they could support doctors and realtors, while lawyers did not appear until regional totals exceeded 3,000. Such diverse establishments as pharmacies and flower shops also need a minimum size of about 3,000, as did the Italian language theatre. The Italian community centred on James, with a population of almost 3,500, had a funeral chapel, while that one centred on Sherman and with a population of just 3,000 did not.

The Polish group of the Eastern Complex had a population of about 2,000 before they had physicians, realtors and a pharmacy. Yet they had a lawyer in 1941 when the population was only 1,500. In 1961 the Ukrainian group had just over 1,000 members in the Eastern Complex, yet they had a pharmacy and more physicians, barristers and realtors than the Poles. It seems likely that these

services were being used by members of the group living in other parts of the city, and this probably applied to the other groups also. In the James Street area the Hungarian population of 500 in 1961 was supporting a doctor, a realtor and an insurance agent.

Thus, it is clear that there was no common "law" applying equally to all groups concerning group size and the appearance of certain types and number of services. Groups did tend to acquire a more sophisticated range of services as they grew in size, but each did so at a rate peculiar to itself, so that groups of a common population size did not necessarily possess the same number or range of services.

TABLE 12

Ethnic Regional Population Estimates

Region I. The Western Ethnic Complex

1921. Primary Stage

(i) Estimated total size of each predominant ethnic group

Italian	480
Polish	300
Jewish	290
Ukrainian	170
German	160
Hungarian	90

Estimated total; 1,490
Estimated percentage of total population of region: 24 per cent

(ii) Estimated sub-regional totals

A. Italian 430; Jewish 140; German 105
B. Hungarian 60
C. Polish 100; Ukrainian 110
D. Polish 100
E. Jewish 80; German 50

8

1941. Secondary Stage

(i) Estimated total size of each predominant ethnic group

Italian	1,330
Jewish	420
Polish	420
Hungarian	400
Ukrainian	290
German	250

Estimated total: 3,110
Estimated percentage of total population of region 32 per cent

(ii) Estimated sub-regional totals

A. Italian 820; Jewish 360; Hungarian 340; Polish 280; German 120
B. Italian 90; German 70; Jewish 30
C. Ukrainian 110; Polish 100; Italian 60; Jewish 30
D. Italian 150; Hungarian 40

1961. Tertiary Stage

(i) Estimated total size of each predominant ethnic group

Italian	3,490	Polish	240
Hungarian	510	Ukrainian	240
German	410	Jewish	40

Estimated total: 4,930
Estimated percentage of total population 51 per cent

(ii) Estimated sub-regional totals

A. Itl. 2,230; Ger. 330; Hun. 300; Ukr. 200; Jew. 20
B. Itl. 470 Hun. 30; Ger. 30
C. Itl. 571; Hun. 190; Ukr. 150; Pol. 67

Region II. The Central British Origin Belt

1921

Estimated total size of each predominant ethnic group

Jewish	70	
Polish	140	Estimated total: 450
Ukrainian	40	
Italian	70	Estimated percentage of
German	130	total population: 4 per cent

1941

Estimated total size of each predominant ethnic group

Jewish	20	
Polish	100	Estimated total: 440
Ukrainian	90	
Italian	50	Estimated percentage of
German	150	total population: 6 per cent
Hungarian	30	

1961 The Central Zone of Transition

Estimated total size of each predominant ethnic group

Jewish	20	
Polish	440	Estimated total: 2,030
Ukrainian	130	
Italian	910	Estimated percentage of
German	260	total population: 33 per cent
Hungarian	270	

Region III. The Eastern Ethnic Complex

1921. Primary Stage

(i) Estimated total size of each predominant ethnic group

Italian	310
Polish	200
Ukrainian	110
Armenian	60
German	70

Estimated total: 750
Estimated percentage of total population: 35 per cent

(ii) Estimated sub-regional totals

A. Itl. 210; Pol. 180; Ukr. 90
B. Arm. 60
C. Itl. 40; Pol. 60

1941. Secondary Stage

(i) Estimated total size of each predominant ethnic group

Italian	320
Polish	1,510
Ukrainian	650
Hungarian	90
Armenian	180
German	70

Estimated total: 2,820
Estimated percentage of total population: 47 per cent

(ii) Estimated sub-regional totals

A. Itl. 190; Pol. 630; Ukr. 350
B. Arm. 170
C. Ukr. 60; Pol. 150; Hun. 60
D. Itl. 70; Pol. 200; Ukr. 90
E. Pol. 520; Ukr. 150

1961. Tertiary Stage

(i) Estimated total size of each predominant ethnic group

Italian	3,060
Polish	2,020
Ukrainian	1,113
Hungarian	290
Armenian	270
German	440

Estimated total: 7,190
Estimated percentage of total population: 49 per cent

(ii) Estimated sub-regional totals

A. Itl; 1,722; Pol. 1,191; Ukr. 526
B. Arm. 110; Itl. 60
C. Itl. 400; Ukr. 130; Hun. 50
D. Itl. 870; Pol. 820; Ukr. 440; Ger. 250; Hun.180

Region IV. The Eastern British Origin Belt

1921.

Estimated total size of each predominant ethnic group

Jewish	30	
Ukrainian	30	Estimated total:110
Italian	10	Estimated percentage of
German	40	total population: 2 per cent

1941. The Eastern Zone of Transition

Estimated total size of each predominant ethnic group

Jewish	60	
Polish	810	Estimated total: 1,340
Ukrainian	240	Estimated percentage of
Italian	80	total population: 26 per cent
Hungarian	40	
German	110	

ETHNIC REGIONS AND SUB-REGIONS OF THE BARTON STREET STUDY AREA 1921 1941 AND 1961.

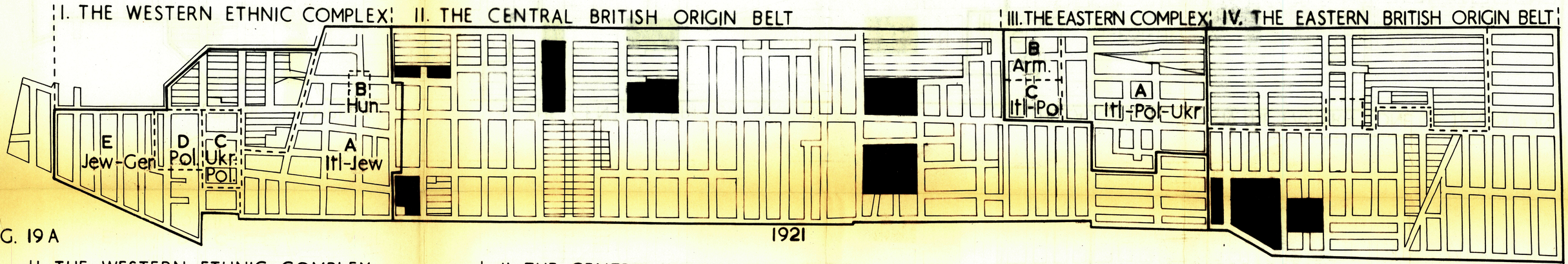

FIG. 19 A

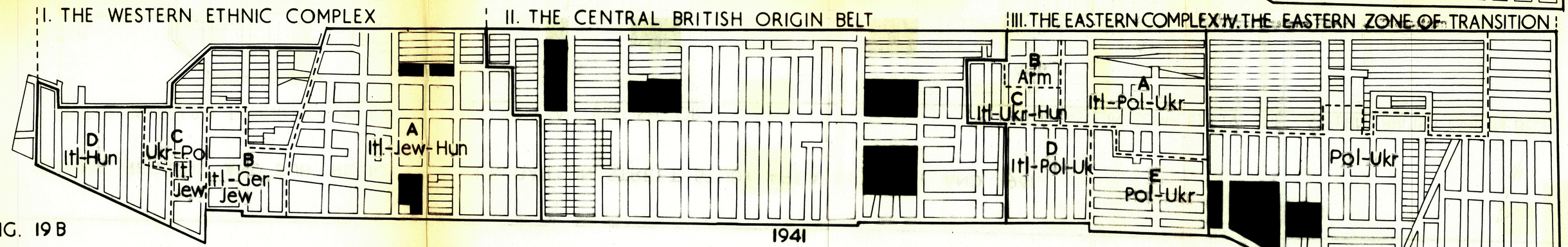

FIG. 19 B

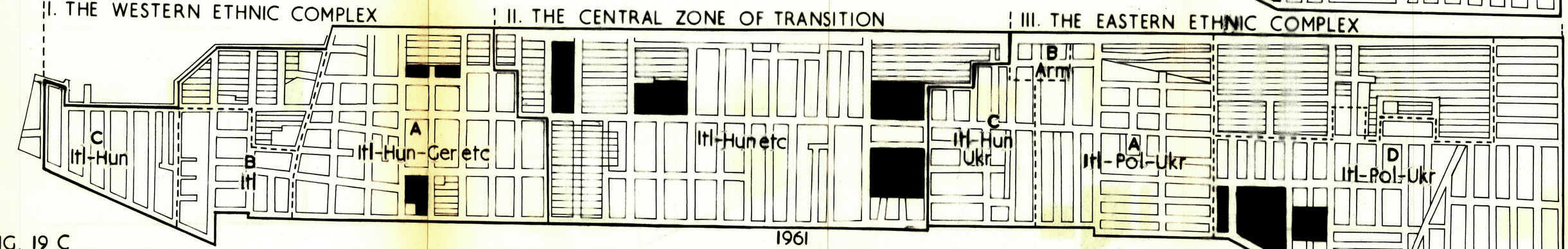

FIG. 19 C

REGIONALLY PREDOMINANT ETHNIC GROUPS

ITL.– ITALIAN
POL.– POLISH
UKR.– UKRAINIAN
HUN.– HUNGARIAN
GER.– GERMAN
JEW.– JEWISH
ARMENIAN
ETC– DIVERSE SMALL GROUPS

INDUSTRIAL AND TRANSPORTATIONAL LAND USE

GREEN SPACE AND LARGE INSTITUTIONAL LAND USE

ONE INCH REPRESENTS 800 FEET.

CHAPTER XII. CONCLUSION

This has been the regional study of an extremely cosmopolitan urban area examined over a period of forty years. A number of ethnic features were plotted on a series of maps and their distributions studied in order to reveal underlying patterns and to identify distinctive social regions based on associations of these features. From the previous chapters it is obvious that certain patterns do underly the distribution of ethnic features in the diverse Barton Street area and that these compose a number of extremely interesting regions and sub-regions of varying ethnic character, and have done so since 1921 at least. Thus, the various ethnic groups and the many services belonging to them have never been just randomly distributed in a jumbled mass throughout the area. Certain processes have operated through time to produce patterns of settlement. This much can be discerned from a quick inspection of the ethnic regions map which shows that certain localities have always been more attractive for incoming ethnic groups, while for some reasons others have been less attractive. Furthermore, these patterns have never been static. The areal extent and ethnic composition of the regions have changed constantly as they have become subjected to new social conditions. Yet certain generalizations can be made about these trends of change.

Although each group displayed many unique features of its own, dependent upon the size and history of its immigration, the predomin-

ant occupations of its members, and its own peculiar cultural traits, the maps revealed the emergence of three broad types of ethnic settlement in the Barton Street area. Firstly there were those groups which, despite a number of dissimilarities, did develop a recognisable sequence of settlement stages containing certain common features. These were the Italians, Poles, Ukrainians and Hungarians. Such a sequence involved the growth of a strong residential concentration within a relatively limited area, with firm economic and social ties to it. All of the above groups had certain characteristics in common. They entered the city in a series of waves at a low socio-economic level, taking up industrial or labouring work and settling in the declining neighbourhoods of the study area adjacent to sources of employment. The first arrivals formed small residential clusters which intensified and expanded with subsequent steady immigration.

With the growth in size of each residential core certain ethnic services began to appear. Among the first were a few small retail service outlets and, very significantly, churches. The latter were important in that they provided each group with a focus, using the ethnic language and often belonging to a "non-Canadian" religious denomination brought from the land of origin. These had a stabilizing effect on the communities, fixing their general location and so leading to the development of further categories of service as immigration strengthened the residential bases. The

first retail outlets were usually small food stores and shoe repair, tailor and barber shops. The range and quality of stores improved with the increased size of the group concerned. There was some relationship between the numerical size of an ethnic group and the kind of services which it developed, but this varied in detail from group to group. There was no universal law applying equally to all groups other than the fact that the number and range of every group's services expanded generally as its population grew.

Within the study area this development had reached its most advanced stage by 1961 in the case of the Italians who then possessed a very wide range of retail goods stores, retail manual services, professional and semi-professional services, amusements, social clubs and churches in each of their two communities. The Polish, Ukrainian and Hungarian groups had reached a lower stage of service development, mainly because of their much smaller population size and because each of them was focussed primarily upon one residential, commercial and social area and not on two as in the Italian case. Thus, these groups did follow a general sequence of settlement patterns, expanding their residential clusters and developing additional ethnic services with each new surge of immigration. In fact this is a cycle of development found in many North American cities which have been invaded by foreign immigrant groups, and it has been described in numerous social studies.

A second category of groups, German, Jewish and Chinese, did not follow the above sequence. Their common characteristic was that,

although none of them produced strong and persistent residential communities within the study area, they all offered a range of services catering not to any one group but to the general public. The services provided by these special "shop-keeper groups" were not ethnic in the sense that most Italian, Polish and Ukrainian ones were. However, they were ethnic in another sense for both Jews and Chinese specialized in types of establishments associated with them in the public mind, for instance, Jewish dry goods stores, fur shops, furniture stores, second-hand goods stores, tailor shops, scrap metal dealers and Chinese laundries and restaurants. It is true that a small Jewish community was in existence in the James Street area in both 1921 and 1941, but subsequently with the improving economic lot of the group and lack of fresh immigration a migration out of that sector took place. Nevertheless, even then the Jewish services had been oriented towards the general public and not towards the Jewish group itself. Apart from a slight general intensification, the German residential pattern showed little basic change between 1921 and 1961 while the Chinese residential element remained negligible at all times.

As mentioned above, the Jewish group was the only one to entirely abandon the Barton Street throughout the period of study. Indeed, most of the other groups showed sustained growth as opposed to any decline, although there probably was some migration to other parts of the city. There was no obvious evidence of groups being forced out of a particular area, or moving out voluntarily, in the

face of incoming groups of other nationalities, although this has been a very common feature of ethnic settlement in many other North American cities. This may have been due to the fact that immigration of population on a very large scale began only in the 1920's in the case of Hamilton; therefore, a long enough period of time had not yet elapsed for such a process to become well established. The fact that the Jews were the first to move out may be explained not only by the peculiar cultural cohesiveness of the group, but also by the fact that they seem to have been the oldest established group in the entire study area.

A third category contained those groups which never grew sufficiently in size to produce noticeable residential and social communities of their own. At various times they possessed isolated stores or churches, but their rate of immigration never allowed the development of a well established cluster. One exception among the small groups was the compact little Armenian community. Because of a strong association with a particular industrial plant and consequently with a particular residential area, the group established a definite community which persisted throughout the forty year study period. The other groups in this category merely added to the general ethnic heterogeneity of the area.

Throughout the period the unique character of the Barton Street area sprang from the intermingling in certain localities of groups from all three of the above categories. The resultant

cosmopolitan regions have already been discussed in detail. These regions were of three broad types ranging from the "British Origin" type in which the ethnic element was very small and unimportant, through the "Transitional" type in which the ethnic element was increasing in importance, to the "Complex" type in which the ethnic element was very important indeed. As immigrant population continued to move into the area the degree of ethnic complexity increased steadily between 1921 and 1961. Consequently, while in the former year the generally non-ethnic character of the Barton Street strip had been interrupted only by two relatively small nuclei of ethnic diversity, by the latter year it had become a thoroughly cosmopolitan sector varying only in the density and composition of its ethnic population from place to place.

Although the ethnic regions fell into three broad types, they each differed in detail as to the internal composition of their populations. No two groups were equally represented in every region and neither did they show exactly the same pattern of population growth and areal expansion of settlement. The two which did resemble each other most closely were the Poles and the Ukrainians, both Slavic groups. Most groups developed their densest residential and services cluster in one of the two main complexes. The Hungarians and Jews focussed on the Western Complex for instance, and the Poles and Ukrainians on the Eastern one. Only one group, the Italians, belonged almost equally to each throughout the entire period.

The uniqueness of the Italians depended principally upon two factors, the relatively large and continuous scale of their immigration, and the firm sense of regional consciousness which they brought with them from Italy. The northern and central peoples remained distinctive from the southern Italians and Sicilians and this showed itself in the development of two separate residential communities, the former around Sherman and the latter around James. Once institutions and service establishments began to appear the regional differences between the two communities was confirmed and perpetuated. Thereafter each tended to grow according to the proportion of new immigrants arriving from their general region of Italy. By 1961, however, Italian settlement was penetrating the entire study area, so that the lines separating the location of different provincial groups was probably quite blurred.

No other group displayed a settlement pattern based on such ties. This may have beem because no other group was so large or drew its immigrants from a relatively small number of localised regions in the "Old Country" as in the case of the Italians. It is also significant that in only one case was there any hint of a residential differentiation among individual groups based on religion, and even this was doubtful among that group, the Hungarians. Such a situation could hardly have arisen among such groups as the Poles and Italians who were almost universally Roman Catholic on entering Hamilton, but it could conceivably have occurred among the Ukrainians as well as the Hungarians.

Of the three types of ethnic region only one, the "Complex" type, showed distinctive internal sub-regional divisions based on the differential clustering of ethnic population. However, no group occupied any single region or sub-region to the exclusion of all others so that there were never any highly exclusive ghettos in the Barton Street area at any time. The small Armenian group probably came closest to taking over a small area for its own use in this way. But regions of diversity were the general rule. It is probable that the relationship between most of the groups living amongst one another was in the beginning largely locational rather than of deliberate social design. The area happened to offer certain advantages to the incoming groups and so they settled there adjacent to or amongst people of other national origins. In some ways the relationship between the groups remained one of co-existence rather than of complete mutual social interaction. Each of them, as we have seen, tended to maintain and expand its own range of religious, social and commercial services. Even the two large Slavic groups retained many of their differences. Nevertheless, there appears to have been much casual contact among all of the groups, especially with regard to the younger age groups.

However, not all of the incoming groups were attracted to this particular area in large numbers, the most notable exceptions being the German and Dutch groups. It is true that in the pre-1945 period the German and Dutch immigration rate was comparatively low, but even after 1945, when there was a large influx of such immigrants,

they still avoided intensive settlement within the study area. Obviously there was a social reluctance among these people to do so. They did not wish to live in a distinctively ethnic region, but preferred to settle in areas of the city with better residential amenities, even if this meant greater initial financial sacrifices. Their churches and community centres were scattered over the city and not limited to any one particular sector. No "German Community" or "Little Holland" developed in the areal sense, largely because of these group attitudes.

In contrast, the groups within the study area seemed to be more gregarious in their outlook and their partial segregation from the remainder of the city was not simply economic, but resulted also from a desire of the group members to live near one another. The Jewish group furnishes a good example of a closely knit ethnic community which did migrate, only to reform in a better residential sector in west Hamilton. These groups developed at least some sense of regional consciousness and even after moving to other residential areas of the city many retained some links with this region of first settlement through, for example, continued association with the ethnic churches and community centres. Thus, the consciousness was based on ethnic ties.

The landscape of the Barton Street area was modified only to a relatively limited degree by ethnic settlement. Because the incoming groups were settling in an area which already had an urban framework dating from a previous "non-ethnic" period they could only

modify it through adding a limited range of distinctive material culture traits to an essentially Canadian townscape. For instance, it is remarkable that only one street name within the area had a direct ethnic connection, the former Gray Street having changed its name to St. Olga after the Ukrainian Church of that name.

Many of the ethnic stores sold distinctive products such as types of food, styles of clothing, gifts, newspapers and books. They tended to conduct their business in the ethnic language and also to advertise in it. The two Italian theatres were particularly outstanding in the latter respect. Ethnic churches were distinctive through their denominations, names language signs and often through their distinctive architectural styles and decorations. However, occasionally there was little to differentiate either the churches or ethnic social centres from the normal Canadian styles and often the latter had only their nameplates to denote their ethnic significance. Ethnic householders were usually unable to effect much change in the external aspects of their homes. Some additional colour, a little peculiarly ethnic decoration, or an unusually large number of kitchen gardens by Canadian standards were occasional features. Among the people themselves ethnic language was the main differentiating factor, such things as distinctive dress being absent except perhaps for the traditionally dark apparel of the old Italian women and the headscarves worn to church in place of hats by many of the women. However, even these differences were usually absent among the younger members of the groups.

By 1961 the ethnic regionalization of the Barton Street area had become more complex than at any previous time. Since that year some new ethnic elements have appeared to increase even further its fascinating cosmopolitanism and no doubt to modify once again the ethnic social regions existing there, regions which have been developing and changing for over forty years at least.

APPENDIX I

Classification of ethnic service establishments and institutions contained in Figures 12 to 17.

A Retail goods outlets

- (i) Food, drugs, variety, tobacco, etc.
- (ii) Clothing, footwear, dry goods, etc.
- (iii) Other retail goods

B Retail manual services

- (i) Barber shops, shoe repair shops, auto repairs, etc.

C Restaurants and amusements

D Professional and semi-professional services

- (i) Professional: health, law, accountancy
- (ii) Semi-professional: real estate, insurance, travel, funeral, etc.

E Wholesale and manufacturing

- (i) Food products, wine merchant, scrap metal, etc.

F Institutional

- (i) Religious
- (ii) Social

APPENDIX II

Illustrations of ethnic cultural manifestations on the landscape of the Barton Street region.

Plate 1.

Holy Ghost Greek Catholic Church of St. Olga. Churches are the most spectacular ethnic contribution to the exotic character of the region, and outstanding among these are the Ukrainian Denominations. This is Hamilton's oldest Ukrainian Church and is soon to be replaced by a new building.

Plate 2.

St. Vladimir's Greek Orthodox Ukrainian Church. As in St. Olga's, the "Eastern" towers are very distinctive. However, this splendid new building is much more decorative than the simple St. Olga's.

Plate 3.

Holy Resurrection Greek Orthodox Romanian Church. Once more the Eastern influence of the towers stands out. A rather cramped site precluded the use of the traditional Romanian cruciform shape for this building.

Plate 4.

St. Cyril and Methodius Roman Catholic Slovakian Church. This church took over an already established building, consequently purely Slovakian influence has been rather limited. However, the interior is richly decorated in Slovakian style, while this fine external mural on the main doorway depicts the Slovakian Saint Cyril and Methodius.

Plate 5.

The former building of St. Anthony of Padua Italian Church. This was the first Italian Roman Catholic Church in the city, built in a simple style but with some external decoration on the front.

Plate 6.

The new building of St. Anthony of Padua. This Church has been constructed after a contemporary design, using brightly coloured brick and tile. External features include a decorated doorway and a garden containing fountains.

Plate 7.

Some Churches have nothing to distinguish them architecturally apart from their ethnic language signs. This Ukrainian Presbyterian Church is one such example.

Plate 8.

Similarly, the Polish National Catholic Church is build in a "Canadian" style, having only its sign, written in both Polish and English, to denote its ethnic associations.

Plate 9.

Again, this Italian United Church is housed in a building ethnically unremarkable except for its Italian language signs.

Plate 10.

The solid, almost austere, John Calvin Hungarian Presbyterian Church does stand out architecturally, despite its plainness.

Plate 11.

The now disused Synagogue on Cannon West remains a highly distinctive local landscape feature and a relic of the once strong Jewish community there. Decorative effects include a Star of David and Yiddish language inscriptions.

Plate 12.

The former Polish Alliance Hall, (and Casa D'Italia), now abandoned as being too small. Note the Polish language inscription above the doorway.

Plate 13.

The Polonia Club, the first Polish club to be founded in the city. Externally it has little to differentiate it apart from its name.

Plate 14.

The Polish Veterans Hall which flies both the Canadian Red Ensign and the Polish National flag.

Plate 15.

The Venetian Club, a good example of an Italian regional association. Note the Venetian gondola on the gate leading into the quite substantial premises.

Plate 16.

The Hamilton Italian Recreation Club, representing an earlier and smaller type of society housed in poorer premises.

Plate 17.

The Armenian Community Centre, possessing practically no peculiarly Armenian ethnic features on its exterior at all.

Plate 18.

Although housed in an old Canadian building, the Maltese Club is colourfully decorated with the Maltese Cross and the George Cross awarded to Malta during the second world war, "For Valour".

Plate 19.

The Italians are the only ethnic group having cinemas of their own. This one bears the Italian language posters advertizing the current film being shown.

Plate 20.

Another ethnic service unique to the Italian group is this small funeral chapel, built after the North American fashion.

Plate 21.

Polish and Ukrainian doctor's names outside their surgeries on Barton east of Sherman, in the "Slavic" district.

Plate 22.

The names of Italian doctors outside their surgeries on Barton west of James, in the strong Italian community there.

Plate 23.

The sign of an Armenian rug dealer, a service associated with that group in the public mind.

Plate 24.

Peculiar ethnic decorations on the Canadian style housing of the region is usually rare. However, one exception is this front door picture of St. Anthony feeding the birds, denoting an Italian household within.

Plate 25.

A small ethnic speciality shop, in this case Ukrainian, selling gifts and trinkets of "Old Country" origin.

Plate 26.

A type of service now declining within the region is the Chinese laundry in its small, shabby premises. The once amazingly large number has dropped in recent years.

Plate 27.

A typical small ethnic corner store selling many other things in addition to its main function as a food shop. This is one of the numerous such Italian establishments.

Plate 28.

By way of contrast, this is one example of the type of good quality Italian supermarkets which have appeared in recent years.

Plate 29.

Establishments on the ethnically diverse strip of James between Cannon and the C.N.R. tracks. Shown here is an Italian barber shop, a Hungarian speciality store, a Portuguese food store, and a Hungarian restaurant and bakery.

Plate 30.

Jewish, Italian, and Polish services on the same side of James.

Plate 31.

Italian stores and their bright signs on James.

Plate 32.

Further Italian establishments on James.

Plate 33.

Italian and Ukrainian services on Barton Street near Sherman.

Plate 34.

A row of fine new Italian stores on Barton adjacent to Sherman, containing such relatively specialized services as a "Bridal Salon" and a flower shop.

APPENDIX III

Procedure and sources of information for Maps 12 to 17

In order to investigate the thesis problem the sequence of ethnic settlement within the study area had to be revealed. It was felt that this could best be done by selecting certain years which were representative of the various stages of ethnic "invasion" of the city as a whole. These years could be used as cross-sections in which to examine the experience of each ethnic group within the area. For those reasons already discussed in Chapter II, the years 1921, 1941 and 1961 were chosen for this purpose.

The cross-sectional points in time having been chosen, the next problem was to express cartographically the most important features of ethnic occupance, that is, the residential distribution of each group, with their related service establishments and institutions. The sources of information for both of these were copies of "Vernon City Directory of Hamilton." The Directory has always contained a street-by-street list of householders' names, as well as a list of service establishments and institutions where these have occurred. It is a widely used and expensively produced compilation, so presumably it is usually accurate.

To use all the names occurring within the study area for each of the three years was considered to be too great an undertaking. As the aim was to expose general ethnic residential patterns,

a 20 per cent sample of names was deemed adequate. This is a larger sample than that generally used in such social studies and, therefore, should be sufficiently accurate. The following procedure was adopted. From the City Directories of 1921, 1941 and 1961 a random sample was taken of one householder in every five within the study area. From this list all names of British Isles origin were deleted and the remaining names again listed. These were then submitted to "experts" who analysed the surnames according to supposed ethnic origin.

The accuracy of this method of analysis varies according to ethnic origin. It is very high for such peoples as the Italians, Chinese, Japanese and Armenians, whose surnames are usually quite distinctive. German, Jewish, Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian, etc. names are rather more confusing as there has been much more intermingling of these people in Europe. However, nearly all groups have a hard core of distinctive names, so that the surname analysis method is sufficiently accurate for the purposes of this study.

After classification, all those names beyond reasonable doubt were plotted on the series of maps according to ethnic services. After ethnic classification, these were subsequently classified according to the type of service offered, and superimposed upon the household distribution maps.[1]

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[1] For the key to the classification of ethnic services and institutions, see Appendix I.

The result of this City Directory research was the production of a series of maps for each major ethnic group, showing a 20 per cent random sample of ethnic households with their related service establighments and institutions. Because of the size of the sample, and the fact that services were sometimes totally absent, a certain number of small ethnic groups do not appear on the maps. This was unavoidable and not too important as they have contributed little to the area compared with the larger groups.

APPENDIX IV

Method used in Calculating the Population of Ethnic Regions and Sub-Regions in Chapter II.

The object of this chapter was to estimate the approximate population size, or at least proportional size, of each ethnic group contained in the regions and sub-regions of the Barton Street area as delimited on map 19. As no detailed census figures were available this had to be done by using the distribution maps drawn for each of the principal ethnic groups.

The method used was as follows: The household distribution map of each group for 1961 was compared with the census tract figures given in the 1961 Census of Canada. Allowing for the fact that the distribution maps were based on a 20 per cent sample, and for the services associated with each group, the average household size for each group was estimated. These figures were then applied to the 1921 and 1941 maps and figures for those years estimated.

This method is obviously a very approximate one and can give no high degree of accuracy. However, when the average figures were applied to random parts of the 1961 maps, and checked against the Census figures, the degree of error was never more than 15 per cent and usually much less. Admittedly the average size of household among each group may well have changed from year to year. However, for the purposes of this chapter the method is accurate enough to give at least a good idea of the proportions involved in the ethnic composition of each region and sub-region. That is all that is claimed for it.

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