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Urban History Review
Revue d'histoire urbaine

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Number 2-78, October 1978

Immigrants in the City

URI: https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1019424ar
DOI: https://doi.org/10.7202/1019424ar

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Publisher(s)

Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine

ISSN

0703-0428 (print)
1918-5138 (digital)

Explore this journal

Cite this article

Sturino, F. (1978). A Case Study of a South Italian Family in Toronto, 1935-60. *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine*, (2-78), 38–57. https://doi.org/10.7202/1019424ar

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A CASE STUDY OF A SOUTH ITALIAN FAMILY IN TORONTO, 1935-60

Franc Sturino

Introduction

It is the purpose of this study to illustrate how city directories may be used to trace an immigrant family through time in an effort to plot its occupational and residential history within the context of the Canadian urban environment. The account presented was researched as part of a wider study on the social history of South Italian immigration to Canada in the twentieth century. In this endeavour, a case study approach is being used with the focus on Toronto immigrants from a number of specific villages and extended families from the region of Calabria. Along with utilizing standard historical sources in this study, recorded oral interviews are employed as a source of primary information.

The data derived from the directories acted to substantiate the occupational and residential case histories that emerged during the interviews. At the same time, however, the directories give a degree of detail and accuracy often not possible through oral reports; for example, informing one about who the next door neighbours of the immigrant family were in 1938 or the changing number of compatriots in the immigrant's neighbourhood from 1947 to 1957. In short, although the data derived from the directories acted to substantiate the information given in the interviews, it also acted to add detail and depth to it. In this paper, however, the accounts of the family under discussion flow from data found in the directories, though this is at times supplemented by information from the oral interviews, especially as this information pertains to kinship ties.

On the basis of comparison with other case histories in the wider study, it is my opinion that the family under discussion is representative of the average Calabrian family with pre-World War II roots in Canada. As such I believe that the contours of its experience can be taken as typical of its South Italian counterparts.

FORM 30A. **(ORIGINAL)**

S.S. Colombo Class 2 Date of Sailing 20-6-22

Inland routing ..... to North Bay Can.

(STATE NAME OF RAILWAY)

DECLARATION OF PASSENGER TO CANADA.

1. NAME Scappatura Antonia Age 28

(PRINT IN BLOCK LETTERS, FAMILY NAME FIRST)

2. Sex f Are you married, single, widowed or divorced? M

If married, are you accompanied by husband or wife? If so, give name of husband or wife and son Antonino age 2

3. Present occupation H.Wife Intended occupation H.Wife

4. Birthplace R.Calabria Race or people Italian

5. Citizenship Italian Religion Catholic

(IF PROTESTANT, STATE DENOMINATION)

6. Object in going to Canada to join her husband

7. Do you intend to remain permanently in Canada? yes

8. Have you ever lived in Canada? no If you have, give Canadian address no

Port of previous entry no Date

Port of departure from Canada no Date

9. Why did you leave Canada? no

10. Money in possession belonging to passenger 125

(I am aware that I must have on my arrival in Canada the sum of $ 125)

11. Can you read? yes What language? Italian

12. By whom was your passage paid? herself

13. Ever refused entry to, or deported from Canada? no

14. Destined to husband De Marco Carmine

630 P.O.Box North Bay Cana-

(IF JOINING RELATIVE, FRIEND OR EMPLOYER (1) STATE WHICH AND IF RELATIVE GIVE RELATIONSHIP; (2) GIVE HIS OR HER NAME AND CANADIAN ADDRESS; (3) IF NOT JOINING ANY PERSON IN CANADA, GIVE YOUR OWN CANADIAN ADDRESS.)

15. By which Canadian railway are you travelling to destination? C.P.R.

16. Nearest relative in country from which you came

father Scappatura Domenico

(NAME) (RELATIONSHIP)

R.Calabria

(GIVE FULL ADDRESS OF SUCH RELATIVE)

17. Are you or any of your family mentally defective? no

Tubercular? no Physically defective? no

Otherwise debarred under Canadian Immigration Law? no

(Before answering question 17 see the prohibited classes named in Immigration Booklet 30A which will be handed to you by Booking Agent.)

I declare the above statements are true: I am aware that an inaccurate statement constitutes misrepresentation and that the penalty is a fine, imprisonment or deportation.

Signature of passenger Scappatura Antonia

I hereby declare that the above is the signature of passenger and that I have handed passenger a copy of Immigration Booklet 30A.

Sig. of Booking Agent N.J.T. at

(To be detached and given to passenger before leaving the ship.)

LANDING CARD

Name Scappatura Antonia Age 28
and son
De Marco Antonio age 2

S.S. Colombo

Class 2

Date Stamp

The Declaration and Landing Card of an Italian passenger entering Canada as an immigrant in 1922. (Donated to the Multicultural History Society of Ontario by Mrs. Antonia De Marco).

Research Procedure

In 1935, the first member of the "Stella" family was listed in directories. After tracing him for a decade and noting a substantial growth in his family, the tabulation form as illustrated in Figure 1 was devised.[1] Information was tabulated with respect to eleven headings. Under headings 1-4 and 6 (i.e., year, name, occupation, place of work, address), I tabulated information from the alphabetical listings in the order it was found. The homeowner status of heading 5 was derived from the street section of the directories. The main purpose of the information was to allow the tracing of individuals' occupational and residential mobility. The order in which individuals were entered from the directories onto the tabulation forms was kept the same, so that when analysed, time would not be wasted in locating them.

Items 7-11 (i.e., other residents, number of Italians, ethnicity, land-use, other) were derived from the street section and were considerably more complex and time consuming to tabulate. The prime purpose of this information was to provide a picture of the ethnic and land-use composition of the neighbourhoods in which mobility took place.

Heading 8 gave the number of Italian householders in the immediate neighbourhood. One was counted as Italian if his surname was discernible as such - the most obvious indication of this was a surname ending in a vowel and not containing the letters H, K, W, X, or Y which do not exist in standard Italian. Where an address contained more than one individual and at least one surname was Italian then that household was counted as Italian.

The "immediate neighbourhood" of any family member consisted of 12 address numbers[2] radiating outward from the individual's house on both

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[1]For a description of the organization and information of the Toronto City directories, which are representative of directories throughout North America, see my paper "A Case Study of Immigrant Family Mobility in Toronto 1930-1965, and the Utilization of City Directories," The Canadian Social History Project: Report No. 6 (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, 1975), pp. 1-12.

[2]The phrase "address numbers," rather than "households," is used purposefully in order to include small businesses and professional

Figure 1

Part of Tabulation Sheet for Toronto
City Directory Data, 1944

1 Year	2 Name	3 Occupation	4 Place of Work	5 Householder(h) Homeowner (*) or Resident(R)	6 Address	7 Other Residents	8 Number of Italians in Immediate Neighbourhood	9 Main Ethnicity in Immediate Neighbourhood	10 Land-Use in Immediate Neighbourhood	11 Other Info.
1944	Michele Stella	cutter	Canada Packers	h*	70 Brock Avenue	Joseph Como	0 | 0 0 | 1	Anglo-Celtic	residential, Italian grocer @ 87 Brock	Joseph Como has <u>paesano</u> surname
	Elena Stella	(no entry for 1944)								
	Mario Stella	clerk	Grand & Toy	r	"	"	"	"	"	"
	Julio	general employee	Canada Packers	r	"	"	"	"	"	"

0 | 0
0 | 1

Michele's household

* Count 12 households radiating outward from relevant householder's for "Number of Italians".

sides of the street, excluding, however, apartment buildings, factories and other large intrusions. Where interferences such as factories or intersections occurred, I skipped the interference and continued counting in the most appropriate manner possible.

Heading 9 gave the main ethnic make-up of the non-Italian residents in the immediate neighbourhood. Again ethnicity was derived from the sound and spelling of the residents' name. British and Irish names, which of course included the majority of native Canadians, were lumped together into an "Anglo-Celtic" grouping. East European names, primarily Polish and to a lesser extent Ukrainian, were lumped together into a "Slav" group. In addition to these two main groupings, there were substantial concentrations of Jews and Germans.

The land-use of the immediate neighbourhood was characterized under heading 10 as either residential, commercial, industrial, institutional, or combinations of these. Particular attention was paid to the commercial category which included small businesses such as grocery stores, shoe repair stores, and garages, as well as professional establishments such as doctors' and lawyers' offices. Note was made of the location, name, type, and proprietor of these establishments for later relevance it might have to the family under study.

Heading 7, "other residents," simply included those individuals which were listed in the street section as living at the same addresses as the individuals being traced. And finally, the last heading was used to record other relevant information such as the fact that a former boarder later turned out to be a householder in the immediate neighbourhood or that a fellow villager or paesano happened to be a neighbour.

The Pre-War Family: 1935-1949

In 1935, when the first member of the Stella family was initially listed in the Toronto directories, he was a householder in the College Street district, "Little Italy": the same area that up to the present

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establishments for which occupants are listed in my count. The number "12" was chosen essentially on the basis of time.

has acted, although less exclusively, as a receiving area for Italian immigrants.

Michele Stella was a semi-skilled employee with Canada Packers and a year later we learn that his wife was a seamstress with the William Leishman Company. It is interesting to note that when the couple moved to the city's west-end in 1940, one of their neighbours was also a Leishman. Because of the fact that at this time they had no paesani or relatives in Toronto that could influence their decision about where to locate, it is not unlikely that the couple's decision to move to their new neighbourhood was related to the wife's contact with her employer.

We learn that, during 1935-6, an Anglo-Celtic roomer lived with Michele, but a year later a cousin appeared as a boarder. This cousin moved at the same time as Michele and became his neighbour a block away.

While in the College Street "Little Italy," 60% of Michele's immediate neighbourhood was Italian, the remainder was, in almost equal proportions, Anglo-Celtic, Jewish, and Slavic. Within the neighbourhood, there were numerous, small, commercial establishments. Real estate agents, grocery stores, contractors, and coffee shops were all neighbours of Michele and most of these small businessmen were Italian.[3]

In contrast to "Little Italy," there were no Italians in the West End when Michele moved there, and it was not until the later forties that he had a few Italian neighbours. The area was initially Anglo-Celtic, although by the later part of the decade, a substantial minority of Slavs had moved in. Also, in contrast to "Little Italy", the West End was almost entirely residential and it was not to change in character for more than a decade.

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[3]Little Italy at this time was concentrated in the area between Bathurst and Shaw Streets on one hand and Dundas and College on the other. North of this Italian concentration, between College and Bloor Streets, the population was predominantly Jewish, and north between Bloor and Dupont (parallel to the Canadian Pacific Railway), Anglo-Celtics predominated. South of the Italian section, between Dundas and Queen Streets, the population was an amalgam of poorer Anglo-Celtics, Slavs and Jews.

In 1941, Mario and Julio, the second and third of Michele's five sons, having reached adulthood, first appeared in the city directories. It is interesting to note that Mario worked as an assistant shipper with his mother's employer and that Julio worked as a general employee at Canada Packers with his father. For the first time an indication is given of a pattern that will frequently repeat itself, that is, the finding of employment through kinship ties.

A year later, Mario changed his occupation and firm to work as an office clerk. He again changed in 1947 to work as a shipper. Yet another move, in 1953, brought him substantial occupational mobility as a baked goods' salesman in the food industry; an industry with which he remained as it progressed throughout the post-war boom.

In contrast to this quick pace of lateral and then upward mobility, Julio made only one move throughout this formative decade. He mastered a trade and established himself as a welder. Although he too experienced mobility with this entrée into the construction industry, it was not, nor was it to be, to the extent of his older brother.

The directories reveal the occupational status of two additional sons of Michele's as well as his two daughters in the late forties. The oldest son, Santo, and the fourth son, Carmen, both worked as general employees at a mattress factory and, since Carmen is listed first, it is assumed that it was he who helped secure employment for his older brother, rather than vice-versa.

The two daughters were sales' clerks with the T. Eaton Company, but it is impossible to surmise who helped whom for they both appear simultaneously. They then simultaneously disappeared a few years later from the directories, because as interviews revealed, they married. Interviews further revealed that the young women married fellow villagers or paesani. Interestingly, the younger daughter married a paesano from the Decco family who was a boarder in her father's household through the early forties. The directories show that her husband had established a small construction company within the community by the end of the decade. The older daughter married a house painter, and, although the potential for economic cooperation with Decco existed, it

did not develop because his construction company never matured to the point of building complete structures.

Throughout the forties all the sons lived with Michele. Although the daughters moved when they married, they were within a block of their father. Whereas the older daughter established a separate household, the younger rented a flat in a house owned by her brother-in-law. The moving out of the daughters was followed by Michele housing his second Anglo-Celtic roomer.

The Post-War Family: 1950-1960

By 1950 both Julio and Carmen moved out of their father's home. Julio moved to room with an Italian family in the city's Junction area (so called because the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways intersect), a short drive from his father. On the other hand, Carmen, although in 1950 he roomed with an Anglo-Celtic family four blocks away from his father, a year later moved to the distinctly native Canadian area around Yonge and Eglinton Streets. It is noteworthy that the first sons to leave Michele were also the most mobile: the former, occupationally, and the latter (as we shall see below) geographically.

By 1953, all the sons as well as the older daughter had quite remarkably established themselves as householders in the vicinity of what later became known as the St. Clair Street "Little Italy." Settling along a north-south strip, all lived in the inner suburb of York township or in the adjacent north-western part of Toronto. The siblings had moved almost directly north from their father's house and all were about a ten-minute drive from their father.

Also in the neighbourhood was listed the Decco Construction Company. It belonged to the husband of Michele's younger daughter and two of his brothers were employed there. The directories show that women from the Decco family, along with the wife of Santo, worked in the textile industry - an industry which traditionally acts as a magnet for working Italian women.

The ethnic composition of the immediate neighbourhood of Michele's offspring established the fact that their migration took place

before the immigrant wave which by the next decade was to make the St. Clair and Dufferin Streets' area synonymous with "Italian," and York Township the most heavily Italian municipality within Ontario.[4] Less than 5% of the offsprings' neighbours were Italian; the overwhelming majority of the population was Anglo-Celtic. Similarly, all of the neighbourhood's many commercial establishments had Anglo-Celtic proprietors.

The sons' change of occupational status was considerable in these years. Mario switched firms early in the decade to become a salesman for Oshawa Wholesale, a major food distributor with whom he remained throughout the decade, though with rising responsibility. Likewise, Julio changed employers but retained his trade as a welder. Interviews further showed that through business ties with his brother-in-law, Decco, he was later established as a junior partner. Santo and Carmen also switched employers in the mattress business. Santo changed positions for the third time in 1956 establishing himself as an upholsterer, and Carmen started working as a machine operator at about the same time.

Michele himself was consistently listed as working for Canada Packers until 1955, when no occupational status is given by the directories. This was explained in the interviews which revealed that the father retired at this time at age 66.

In the latter part of the decade the family colony established in the St. Clair area entered a time of residential dispersion reflecting the general prosperity around them. Intentionally or non-intentionally, the siblings avoided the mounting influx of post-war compatriots.

The most radical uprooting occurred with Carmen. Already signs appeared which foreshadowed his present course. He was the only family member to have roomed with a non-Italian family; he was the only one to

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[4]In 1961, 13% of York township's population was Italian-born, compared to 9% for the City of Toronto, the next heaviest Italian concentration. Anthony H. Richmond, Immigrants and Ethnic Groups in Metropolitan Toronto (Toronto, 1967), pp. 37-9.

have lived in the Yonge-Eglinton area, and he was the first to move away from the St. Clair colony. The most "individualistic" and "assimilated" of the siblings, Carmen moved to the solidly residential Anglo-Celtic and Slavic village of Swansea. He was listed as first taking in a Slav roomer, and then an Anglo-Celtic one, after which he disappeared in 1959. This "disappearance" was explained in the interviews which revealed that he decided to make the decision to immigrate alone to California in order to pursue his previously dormant ambition to be an entertainer.

Reflecting his increasingly managerial responsibility in these years, Mario was able to move into suburban North York and then in quick succession into a newer section of Etobicoke's prestigious Islington district. Mirroring the solidly Anglo-Celtic and residential nature of the area, the street names read like a who's who of the Royal Family. Although the other members of his immediate family were never to break into this enclave,[5] Mario indicated the path that any future residential reunion was to take: north-west.

With the move to Etobicoke in 1960 of Michele and his youngest son, Leo (who was first listed in the directories at this time as Michele's boarder), the locus of the new family centre was set. Within a ten minute drive of Mario, the neighbourhood around Michele soon attracted both his offspring and more distant kin, thus emerging as a surprisingly coherent and complete family centre.

With all the adult offspring having moved out of Michele's house by 1953, it is no accident that in that year two of his nephews, Orlando, the eldest, and Geno, his younger brother, having recently arrived from Italy, were boarders with him. The two nephews were part of a group of siblings consisting of five brothers and two sisters, that, through Michele's sponsorship, were eventually reunited in Toronto.

In 1953, Orlando and Geno, while boarding with their uncle, were listed in the directories as labourers. A year later, however, due to

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[5] Three fairly predominant Toronto names, including a federal Member of Parliament, were recognizable in Mario's immediate neighbourhood.

Mario's contacts with grocers supplied by Oshawa Wholesale, both were employed as grocery clerks. Similarly, two additional brothers, who immigrated a short time later, also worked as labourers upon first arriving in Toronto, but found jobs as clerks within two years of their arrival. In both cases, contacts with Mario were instrumental in their placement.

The brothers' employers were pre-World War II Italo-Canadians. These were small businessmen who belonged to the Independent Grocers' Alliance supplied by Oshawa Wholesale. In at least one case, the owner, a Sicilian, had progressed to this stage from peddling fruit in the 1920s.

The nephews' jobs were looked upon favourably both because the position as grocery clerk was considered semi-white collar and "clean" work[6] and because working under compatriots bridged language difficulties. As well, working within the food industry had a familiar affinity with their peasant past as food producers, and the experience of working directly for one's employer rather than for a faceless corporation was consonant with a past in which employment usually involved personal ties to one's employer or padrone (literally "master").

For three of the four brothers their positions as grocery clerks proved to be stable and long-term, lasting well into the sixties, and for the fourth, the related position of produce inspector was found after an interval of experimenting with various jobs.[7] At any rate, their initial employment as common labourers was seen as temporary, and comparison with various paesani traced suggests that, generally, a time lag of a year or

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[6]The word "clean" was used in the interviews to denote work that was indoors, safe, and not filthy.

[7]After leaving his position as a grocery clerk, this fourth brother worked in a chocolate factory, a mattress factory, and then as a plumbing apprentice. This latter job, though well paying, was disliked because it was menial and "dirty". He then went to work as a produce inspector for Oshawa Wholesale. It is interesting to note that all these positions were gotten through kin: the first through a cousin, the second through Carmen, the third through his father-in-law, and the last through Mario.

two in finding desirable long-term work is indicative of a common pattern. Although kinsmen usually aided in finding new immigrants short-term unskilled jobs upon their arrival (many worked for Decco's construction firm, for example), the finding of desirable long-term employment was a much more complicated matter which only a few, strategically placed kinsmen could facilitate.[8] Notwithstanding the aid of kin, the immigrants had to wait for the right "break" to come along which in times of economic slowdown could take considerable time.

Along with his new position as a grocery clerk, in 1954, Orlando established himself as a householder a block away from Michele. Not surprisingly, two of Orlando's brothers were boarders with him. Later, as they arrived from Italy, the remaining two brothers (as well as numerous other kin) also spent a year or so as boarders with him before moving out on their own. In a word, for those relatives who had closer blood ties to Orlando rather than to Michele, the immediate way-station as they arrived from overseas was no longer Michele's house but his nephew's.[9] Hence, although Michele had at least two additional boarders after mid-decade, they were non-kin.

Within a few years of his arrival, one of Orlando's brothers, partly as a result of having boarded with him, had already saved sufficient money to make the first installment on a house in the western part of York township. With home-ownership, he was now able to share with Orlando the responsibility of housing single or less prosperous family members.

In 1956, one of the more recently arrived siblings, after spending a year with Orlando, moved to board with his other brother in

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[8]Grace M. Anderson, Networks of Contact: The Portuguese and Toronto (Waterloo, 1974).

[9]By 1960, Orlando had been joined nearby by his sister-in-law and family. Over the decade this short street, a block away from Michele's former residence, emerged as an enclave of kin and paesani who had been left behind in the boom-years' rush to suburbia or who had recently arrived from overseas. By the sixties, the Italian neighbours of Orlando's immediate neighbourhood, many of whom were paesani, expanded to over 25%.

York township. He later made a second move at the end of the decade, boarding with an Italian family in north Toronto, one of whose daughters he later married. Upon his departure from the York township home, his place was immediately taken by Geno. Several members of a paesano family happened to be the neighbours of Geno and he was eventually to marry one of their young women. It is interesting to note that, of the five brothers, three immigrated to Canada as single men and all three married paesani. (The third immigrated after 1960 and married a young woman he had known in the village.)[10] We find repeated here, then, as part of a fairly common pattern, the earlier noted instances of intermarriage between paesani which occurred with Michele's two daughters in the 1940s.

The immediate neighbourhood contained few Italians, eight percent in the 1950s, and what few there were belonged primarily to the above paesano family. The neighbourhood was residential and ethnically Anglo-Celtic and Slavic. Although a few small shops broke the monotony of single-family housing, none were Italian.

In contrast to this, the directories show that the West End was starting to lose the residential character it once had. By mid-decade, the numerous vacant lots listed in the directories testified to the rapid demolition of homes that was transforming the neighbourhood into a mixed residential-institutional area. What first started as a modest enlargement of a small neighbourhood park soon developed into a large, fully equipped "recreation centre" encompassing a whole block. The building of cut-rate apartments on an open field a block next to Michele's further intruded into the pre-war nature of the area. And when a new school adjacent to the centre was built in the 1960s in response to the Catholic immigrant population that formed the new

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[10]Four of the seven siblings of five brothers and two sisters made their home in the York township neighbourhood. The others established homeownership near their in-laws. We have here an example reflecting the bilateral kinship system of Southern Italians by which married couples could elect to associate with either set of parents; the choice often being made on the basis of which could best facilitate one's betterment in life.

majority, the transformation was complete.[11]

Over the years the ethnic composition of the west-end also changed. Bolstered by the influx of post-war compatriots, the Slav grouping grew so that by mid-decade it was as numerous, if not more so, than the older, established Anglo-Celtic population. While in the 1940s Michele was virtually the only Italian householder in the immediate neighbourhood, by 1957, 13% of his neighbours were Italian - about the same proportion as was true for a three block radius. To a large extent this increase in the number of Italians in the west-end was due to the settlement in the area of numerous paesano families. We have earlier noted the settlement a block or two from Michele of his cousin and his nephew, Orlando. By 1957, however, no less than a dozen paesano families had moved within three blocks of Michele.[12]

Five of these paesano families had the same surname as Michele and it was thought that a kinship tie existed. The interviews revealed, quite surprisingly, that these people were not relatives of Michele. Herein, then, lies a central weakness in the use of directories in tracing families: the temptation to lump together as kindred individuals of the same surname, especially when they are found in a geographic cluster, where, no kin relationship exists. It must be remembered, therefore, that what may appear in Canada as an uncommon and even exotic surname, may be as common in the village as our "Smiths" or "Jones". Thus, the only way one can establish a kinship tie is through the use of informants.

The fact that Michele was not related to the above families of the same surname is, however, not to say that his original settlement in the West End had no bearing upon their decision to locate there. It

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[11]Over one-half the Catholic immigrant population of Metropolitan Toronto arrived between 1956-1961. Richmond, Immigrants and Ethnic Groups, p. 43.

[12]It should be noted that, commencing about 1957, it is almost impossible to trace a member of Michele's family without encountering in the immediate neighbourhood, or at least in the vicinity, relatives or paesani.

undoubtedly did, but the influence, as with the other paesano families, was indirect. For example, Michele's settlement in the area influenced his cousin and former boarder to settle a block away in the early forties. This, in turn, influenced a cousin of the former boarder to settle in the West End in the fifties, and this, in turn, led to in-laws of this cousin, who had the same surname as Michele but who were not related to him, to settle in the area. Hence, what appeared on the surface to be kin related settlement directly influenced by Michele, was instead, as in the case of the paesano settlement generally, much more complex and subtle.

Upon closer scrutiny and with some degree of hindsight, various evidence derived from the directories collaborates the fact that the five families thought to be kin of Michele were, in fact, not so. First, of the five families listed, not one of its members was shown to have been a boarder with Michele or his nephews although they did board amongst themselves. This was at the very time when Michele rented out available space to non-kin, a step which previous evidence has shown he took only when his kin relations no longer required his accommodation. Second, there was no evidence which pointed to the gaining of employment by members of the five families through the connections of Michele's family. Not one of the five families' members were involved in the same industries or companies as Michele's sons. The paesano males were labourers or factory workers; modest occupational mobility may be explained, in part, by the absence of close kin relationships with the older, established family of Michele's. Third, by the turn of the decade, all of the five families moved away from the West End, but none located near any of the already settled offspring or nephews of Michele's. Instead, they moved to two distinct districts within the city which, by 1960, had become nuclei of settlement themselves.

Although somewhat beyond the time span of our study, it should be noted that the increasing number of relatives and paesani (as well as co-nationals) who settled in Toronto during the fifties and early sixties made it possible for two of Michele's sons to utilize this pool of immigrants as a vehicle for both new business initiatives and upward

mobility. By the mid 1960s both Julio and Leo had tapped this pool, estimated from the directories alone at 64 kinsmen and 200 paesani, for business purposes.[13] Julio, through starting a catering business,[14] provided a service usually required at the various rites of passage (baptisms, first communions, confirmations, and marriages) within the community. Leo, on the other hand, appealed to the immigrants' desire for familial security in his role as an insurance agent.

The emergence and success of these business initiatives at this time was not accidental, but the direct result of opportunities offered by a growing number of paesani. Both Julio and Leo are illustrative of a frequently found pattern by which pre-war immigrants were able to utilize the post-war influx of compatriots for their own socio-economic betterment, while at the same time providing needed services the host-society was either incapable of or unwilling to provide.

Conclusion

In tracing the occupational and residential history of the immigrant family at hand, it becomes evident that considerable upward mobility occurred. In the 1930s the family is first found living in the College Street district, "Little Italy," and, in 1940, moving to the basically working class area of the West End. With the coming of maturity and marriage, the offspring gradually moved away from their parents, eventually reuniting as homeowners in the early fifties in the lower middle class area to the north, which was later to become part of Toronto's second "Little Italy." This family centre of the siblings had then begun to disperse in favour of the new family centre that was emerging around the parents in the middle class and heavily Anglo-Celtic suburb of Etobicoke.

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[13] Adding the number of kin and paesani not listed in the directories would have raised the estimate of relatives into the hundreds and the estimate of paesani into the thousands.

[14] It is interesting to note that interviews revealed that a former Anglo-Celtic roomer of Julio's was hired by him in these years to help manage his catering business. It appears that in this case the boarding relationship led not only to friendship but also to business ties.

Correlated with the family's upward residential mobility was occupational mobility. First listed as factory workers, all the sons experienced various degrees of lateral and upward mobility until, by the early sixties, four of the five sons had achieved fairly high status and responsible white collar positions (see Tables 1 & 2). In part, this mobility was the result of being raised in Canada and of, therefore, having the benefit of early socialization into Canadian norms. In part, the sons' mobility was but the reflection of the general post-war boom in Canada which raised the standard of living and status of established Canadians, while simultaneously leaving the lower echelons of the economic hierarchy to be filled by incoming immigrants.[15] Indeed, it is no mere coincidence that the occupational categories out of which the sons were emerging in the mid-fifties were the very ones the incoming immigrants were entering (see Table 2).

In addition to allowing the tracing of mobility, the directories, in conjunction with oral interviews establishing kin relationships, point to the central importance that kinship ties played in the occupational and residential history of both the family and their kin. All of the family's seven children, except perhaps for two, initially gained employment either through their parents or siblings. And, although it seems that after this initial entry into the work force employment tangents were largely independent of kinship ties, by the early sixties, two of the sons had established businesses relying essentially on the large pool of relatives and paesani that, by this time, had immigrated to Toronto.

Perhaps of even greater importance in this connection was the utilization of kinship ties on the part of post-war kin. As was illustrated by the nephews who were able to find positions in the food industry through one of the sons, post-war immigrants utilized the contacts of pre-war kin whenever possible in an effort to gain desirable,

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[15] Jeremy Boissevain, The Italians of Montreal: Social Adjustment in a Plural Society (Ottawa, 1970), pp. 7-8.

TABLE 1

Social-Economic Groupings for Head of Household

Blishen Group Number	Blishen Scores	Occupational Description, Selected Examples (in increasing score order for males)
1	73.2 - 90.0	architect, engineer, lawyer, doctor
2	57.0 - 72.9	retail trade manager, insurance agent, librarian, other professional
3	52.0 - 56.9	actor, teacher, surveyor, commercial traveller
4	50.0 - 51.9	foreman, radio repairman, tollmaker, photographer
5	45.1 - 50.4	welder, sales clerk, butcher, office clerk
6	41.8 - 45.0	brickmason, waiter, machine operator, painter
7	32.0 - 41.8	farm labourer, labourer, longshoreman, janitor

SOURCE: Bernard R. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (Nov. 1958). "Occupations ranked and grouped according to combined standard scores for income and years of schooling." Ibid., 526. Blishen's work derived primarily from Census of Canada, 1951, Vols. IV and V; and Taxation Statistics, 1951.

TABLE 2

Occupational Mobility of Household Heads by Blishen Groupings

Individual Traced	1947/48	1956/57	1965/66
Michele	6	6	(retired)
Son 1	6	5	6
Son 2	4	3	2
Son 3	5	5	2
Son 4	6	5	3
Son 5	-	-	2
Nephew 1	-	5	5
Nephew 2	-	5	5
Nephew 3	-	5	5
Nephew 4	-	5	4
Nephew 5	-	-	5
paesano 1	-	7	7
paesano 2	-	7	7
paesano 3	-	7	6
paesano 4	-	7	7
paesano 5	-	6	6
paesano 6	-	5	5
paesano 7	-	6	5

long-term employment.[16]

Kinship ties were equally important in determining patterns of settlement. In the mid-fifties, with the arrival of kin and other villagers, the West End emerged as the major colony of both kindred and paesani. Hence, for the parents' kindred, as well as for many of their paesani who were part of the post-war Italian exodus, it was the West End and not stereotyped College Street's "Little Italy" that served as the immigrant receiving area when they arrived in Toronto.

It is also obvious that kinship ties determined the more specific family centres that emerged, for example, amongst the siblings in the 1950s and around their parents in Etobicoke by the early sixties.

The important role played by kinship ties in both the occupational and residential patterns that emerged was to a large extent the result of the transplantation from the Old World to the New of the system of mutual rights and obligations that bound family and kin. For both the pre-war family and their post-war kin, such coherence served an important role in smoothing their integration into Canadian society.[18]

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[16] Charles Tilly and C. Harold Brown, "On Uprooting, Kinship, and the Auspices of Migration," in Charles Tilly, ed., An Urban World (Boston, 1974), pp. 123-28.

[17] Boissevain, Italians of Montreal, p. 11; Rudolph G. Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of the Uprooted," Journal of American History, Vol. LI (December, 1964), p. 408.

[18] Constance Cronin, The Sting of Change: Sicilians in Sicily and Australia (Chicago, 1970), pp. 190-91.