DETROIT'S ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOODS AT THE END
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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"(The East Side) has the churches, the synagogues, the breweries and the beer gardens that for elegance and desirability cannot be excelled in any other portion of the city; but while this is true, the fact remains that there are also on the east side certain sections with environments especially their own as to make them striking examples of foreign customs transported to American soil."

"The East Side Has an Environment All It's Own", <u>Detroit</u> <u>Sunday</u> <u>News-Tribune</u>, September 6, 1896

"In a rectangle formed by four streets, Monroe, Watson, Brush and Orleans, the larger portions, by far, of all the Jews in Detroit, have made their homes. Of this whole district Hastings Street is the business thoroughfare. Around that street and those that adjoin it pretty much all that is orthodox and distinctive of the Jewish race in Detroit clusters."

"The Ghetto", <u>Detroit</u> <u>Sunday</u> <u>News-Tribune</u>, September 13, 1896

"The man who cut the grass and shoveled the snow and stoked the furnaces for all Alfred Street was an admirable citizen of German ancestry named George Brudel.. Colloquies with Mister Bru-dell never got much beyond pronouncing his name, for the neighbors were not, as a whole, schooled in German."

Russel McLauchlin <u>Alfred</u> <u>Street</u> (Detroit, 1946), p.29

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People do not settle at random in urban territory; quite the contrary, a variety of forces -some planned, some unplanned, and conflicting with each other- compete to form clusters in the urban environment. Ethnicity is one such force. When Detroit was developing into one of the nation's largest industrial metropolises, it was also developing into a multi-ethnic city. In 1900 Detroit was the 13th largest city in the U.S. with a population of 285,704. One third of Detroit's inhabitants were then foreign born. The various ethnic groups that contributed to the making of Detroit built and occupied different parts of the city. This booklet describes how ethnic neighborhoods looked in the period of intense immigration (1880's-1900's) and how functional and important they were in the making of a new industrial city.

Ethnic neighborhoods, however rapid the population turnover may be, supposedly show distinct features, persistent over time, originating either in the characteristics of the old country population or developed in the context of American life. How different were the ethnic populations among themselves? How different were they from the already established American populations? Did these observed characteristics manifest themselves in the space of the city and, if so, how? Immigrant life often followed two divergent though complementary paths of influence. On one, life was involved with the family and a community of friends and neighbors and in an environment where kinship and cultural ties were free to develop. On the other, life was dependent on economic forces, job opportunities and working conditions. Despite some ethnic clustering in the city's factories, a logic other than the the logic of

the community prevailed in the world of work. To be sure, the two aspects of life were closely related and probably considered together in every decision that had to be made. This booklet, by focusing primarily upon the development, scope and importance of neighborhoods, studies the physical and social characteristics of the immigrants residential environment in greater detail than their world of work. It is an attempt to evaluate the scope and importance of Detroit's ethnic neighborhoods.

The data presented here in a summary form are based on the analysis of two large probability areal samples of Detroit at two points in time, 1880 and 1900.[1] The samples were designed to study the city of Detroit both in the diversity of its neighborhoods and in its entirety. They provide detailed information, primarily from census and land use sources, of small areal sub-populations in all parts of the city[2]. Today many of the original settlements reconstructed in these samples have been destroyed. Some have been replaced by highways, as in the early German quarter, or almost completely vacated as in the early Polish area. Others have been better maintained such as the old Irish Corktown area. Nevertheless, these data, and what can be inferred from them about the organization of neighborhoods, may interest the visitor

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[1] O. Zunz, W. A. Ericson, and D. J. Fox, "Sampling for a Study of the Population and Land Use of Detroit in 1880-1885," Social Science History 1, 3(Spring 1977), 307-332

[2] The Census information comes from the manuscripts of the 10th (1880) and 12th (1900) Federal Censuses. The Land Use data come from real estate and insurance atlases: E. Robinson and R.H. Pidgeon, Atlas of the City of Detroit, Embracing Portions of Hamtramck, Springwells, and Greenfield Townships, Wayne County, Michigan, (New York, 1885), 29 plates; and Sanborn Perris Map Co, Insurance Maps of Detroit, Michigan, (New York, 1897), 6 vols. All the available information was coded for each individual and for each parcel of land in the sampled neighborhoods.

to many little known, now often vacated areas of the city, to visualize
what life may have been like in these areas when they were densely
populated, lively ethnic neighborhoods and to better understand the
development of the city.

ETHNIC GROUPS AND THE CITY

Picture Detroit in the year 1880. It had ceased to be the small scale commercial city of the 1850's and was on its way to becoming a giant industrial metropolis of large industrial zones and neat patterns of residential segregation. In 1880 the great industrial changes that transformed American cities at the turn of the century were all in progress. The Detroit industries which then employed overall more than 1000 workers each were the clothing, lumber, tobacco, transportation and the iron and steel industries. In 1900, other industries that became sizable were foundry and machine shop products, tool manufacturing, drugs, and printing. By 1904, the new automobile industry had emerged and accounted for 63% of the workers of the traditionally large vehicle manufacturing industry which employed 6% of the city's labor force. At the turn of the century, Detroit was fully industrialized. All the components of the motor city were there: iron, steel, foundry products, lumber products, and vehicle making. In addition, Detroit was also producing the more traditional products of the nineteenth century large cities (table one).

A description of the ethnic neighborhoods of this large industrial city in the late nineteenth century is in many respects a description of the entire population. The concept of ethnic groups being well bounded minorities is unrealistic, as their combined proportion of the population in the period of heavy immigration shows. Many minorities made up the majority. As much as 78.64% of the entire population of

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Table one
Percentages of Industrial Workers
Employed at Principal Industries
1880, 1900, 1904 (1)

	1880 %	1900 %	1904 %
Clothing and Other Apparel	13	11	7
Construction	9	8	incomplete data
Tobacco	8	8	8
Lumber & Related	7	6	6
Food & Beverages	7	5	6
Transportation Vehicle Construction	7	2	3.6
Automobile Industry (1904 only)			2.4
Iron and Steel	7	3	3
Foundry & Machine Shop Products	5	13	8
Stoves & Furnaces (1904 only)			6
Printing & Publishing	5	4	4
Druggists' Preparations	incomplete data	5	5

(1) These general categories for each year of enumeration do not correspond exactly to one another since, in different years, some industries were defined differently. Thus, within the broad categories presented here, there are some groups of workers accounted for in one year but not in another, affecting the accuracy of comparison. Statistics for 1880 industries were taken from the Compedium of the 10th Census, 1883, Table III, U.S. Census Office, Washington D.C., Government Printing Office 1883-88. For 1900, 12th Census, 1900, Vol. 8, Statistics of Manufactures, Table 7, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1901-02. And for 1904, Census of Manufactures, 1904, Table 10, Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1905. The tables include "every establishment of mechanical or manufacturing industry...having had a year product of five hundred dollars or more in value."

The specific numbered categories selected from these tables to create the larger categories compared here are:

"Clothing and Other Apparel" — 1880: 4,5,13,14,18,27, and 49; 1900: 8,9,24,25,26,27,32, 53,54,68, and 93; 1904: 10,22,23,45,46.

"Construction" — 1880: 11,37,39,43,45; 1900: 16,18,64,65,73,75,77,82,84,88.

"Tobacco" — 1880: 54,55; 1900: 99,100; 1904: 84,85.

"Lumber & Related" — 1880: 8,17,24,47,60,61; 1900: 13,31,46,47,61,62,106; 1904: 13,26 39,52,91.

"Food & Beverages" — 1880: 1,9,15,16,22,34,50; 1900: 2,10,15,22,28,30,41,42,58,63,69,81, 94, and 95; 1904: 15,25,35,36,50,53,56,65,76,77.

"Transportation Vehicle Construction" — 1880: 12,46,48,58; 1900: 5,20,21,89,92; 1904: 19, 20,21,72,74.

"Automobile Industry" (1904 only) — 4,5.

"Iron & Steel" — 1880: 29; 1900: 56,57; 1904: 47,32.

"Foundry & Machine Shop Products" — 1880: 23; 1900: 43; 1904: 37.

"Printing & Publishing" — 1880: 44; 1900: 7,85,86; 1904: 9,68,69.

"Druggists' Preparations" — 1900: 33; 1904: 28.

Detroit in 1900 could be classified as ethnic, that is, _either foreign born or having at least one parent who was foreign born_, or belonging to the very small black community (table two).

Table two
Estimated Frequencies and Percentages
of Ethnic Groups, 1900 (1)

Birthplace/ Parent's Birthplace	A.A.A.	A.A.FB.	A.CE.CE.	A.CF.CF.	A.GB.GB.	A.I.I.	A.G.G.
Frequency	60,904	37,030	4,939	1,976	5,319	8,561	38,436
Percentage	21.36	12.99	1.73	0.69	1.87	3.04	13.48
	A.P.P.	A.R.R.	A.AH.AH.	A.IT.IT.	A.SW.SW.	A.F.F.	A.BX.BX.
Frequency	12,799	1,155	599	463	132	620	554
Percentage	4.49	0.41	0.21	0.16	0.05	0.22	0.19
	A.SC.SC.	A.O.O.	A.MXFB.	CE.CE.CE.	CF.CF.CF.	GB.GB.GB.	I.I.I.
Frequency	116	7	10,834	10,694	2,823	7,916	6,316
Percentage	0.04	0.00	3.80	3.75	0.99	2.78	2.22
	G.G.G.	P.P.P.	R.R.R.	AH.AH.AH.	IT.IT.IT.	SW.SW.SW.	F.F.F.
Frequency	30,903	12,177	1,637	596	734	337	427
Percentage	10.84	4.27	0.57	0.21	0.26	0.12	0.15
	BX.BX.BX.	SC.SC.SC.	O.O.O.	FB.MXFB..	BLACK A.A.A.	BLACK OTHER	ORIENT
Frequency	1,083	394	118	20,095	2,604	1,707	23
Percentage	0.38	0.14	0.04	7.05	0.91	0.60	0.01

Key to Countries of Birth:

A=U.S.
AH=Austria-Hungary
BX=Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg
CE=Eng. Canada
CF=French Canada
F=France
FB=Foreign Born
MXFB=Mixed Foreign Born
G=Germany
GB=Great Britain
I=Ireland
IT=Italy
O=Other
P=Poland
R=Russia
SC=Scandinavia
SW=Switzerland

(1) Source: U.S. Census, 1900, manuscript population schedules; weighted sample data.

Throughout the period of intense immigration and new settlement in Detroit some foreign groups increased their share of the population while some others declined. Looking at table three gives us an immediate picture of the relative importance of foreign born groups in Detroit from 1850 to 1920. The Canadians, most of them English Canadians having crossed the river from their neighboring country, always had a fairly large and stable share of the foreign born population: around 20% with a peak of 30% in 1900. The percentage of immigrants from Great Britain (not including Ireland) decreased

throughout the 70 year period from 17.32% to 8.52% but always remained a sizeable figure. However, the Irish-born population, the most important foreign-born group in 1850, steadily declined in proportion to other groups to become a small minority by 1920. The single largest group of immigrants throughout the nineteenth century was the German population with a peak of 43% in 1890. At the turn of the century and on into the twenties, the population of Poles, Russians, and Hungarians, which constituted only tiny minorities in the seventies and eighties, grew in importance to make up 40% of the foreign born population of Detroit by 1920. The evolution of the foreign born populations in Detroit follows the national urban trend of a relative decrease of "old" immigrant groups and an increase of new groups from eastern Europe; hence in Detroit the enormous growth of the Polish community.

Geographic origin is an essential component for identifying someone with an ethnic group. Yet people from a similar origin may differ in religious affiliation, a distinction that may be very important in shaping the ethnic map of Detroit. Although the official census statistics do not provide information on religion, the following table is an estimate of Detroit "ethno-religious" groups obtained by linking the data from the manuscript of the 1900 census with the Wayne County marriage license records for the previous years.[3]

Sixty-four percent of the Yankee population was Protestant as well as 79.5% of the English Canadian immigrants, 83.3% of the English

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[3]The 1900 Census gives the number of years each couple has been married. It is therefore relatively simple to develop a strategy to find the marriage licenses which are kept by years. Starting in 1900, we ended our search in 1887. For this 13 year span, we found that half of the couples married in the U.S. and living in Detroit in 1900 had been married in Wayne County.

Table three
Percentages of Foreign Born Population
1850-1920 (1)

	Census Year	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
N	Total Population	21,019	45,619	79,603	116,340	205,876	285,704	465,766	993,678
N	Foreign Born	9,927	21,349	35,381	45,645	81,709	96,503	157,534	289,297
%	Foreign Born	47.22	46.79	44.44	39.23	39.39	33.77	33.82	29.11
%	Canada (English) (2)	—	—	—	—	--	26.32	—	—
%	Canada (Unspec.)	—	14.46	21.83	23.56	23.00	—	24.55	19.13
%	Canada (French)	—	—	—	—	—	3.67	2.64	1.27
%	Great Britain	17.32	16.49	14.03	13.28	11.88	9.27	7.95	8.52
%	Ireland	33.13	28.08	19.70	14.84	9.11	6.64	3.54	2.42
%	Germany	28.66	33.82	35.75	37.69	43.42	33.19	28.36	10.48
%	Austria (Austrian (3) Empire without Hungary)	0.07	--	1.98	1.50	1.44	1.12	8.99	6.13
%	Hungary	—	—	0.15	0.14	0.14	0.09	3.77	4.69
%	Russia	—	—	0.25	0.17	0.82	3.18	11.83	9.43
%	Poland (4)	--	—	0.81	3.88	6.55	14.12	—	19.57
%	Scandinavia	—	—	0.15	0.34	0.53	0.59	0.82	2.35
%	Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg	—	—	1.53	1.31	0.91	1.11	1.79	2.82
%	France	2.84	2.92	2.15	1.58	0.98	0.61	0.40	0.60
%	Italy	0.04	--	0.10	0.28	0.41	0.94	3.63	5.60
%	Greece	--	--	<0.01	<0.01	<0.01	0.02	0.37	1.60
%	Other Europe	0.04	—	1.32	0.96	0.53	0.56	1.15	4.00
%	All Others (Asia, S. America, Australia, Cuba, "other countries")	18.65	4.23	0.19	0.24	0.51	0.28	0.26	1.42

(1) Source: U.S. Census, 1850-1920, Published Population Volumes.

(2) The enumeration of Canadians varied from year to year. In some years they were categorized by province and in other years more generally as English or French Canadians. For the year 1850, most "All Others" were Canadians.

(3) The Austria-Hungarian Empire was composed of the kingdoms of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia until 1918. In the tabulation here, the immigrant populations of Bohemia (in 1870-1900), Czechoslovakia (1920), and Yugoslavia (1920) have been included with the Austrians for convenience.

(4) In 1910, Polish immigrants were listed with Russians, Germans, or Austrians according to which country the respondents chose. Only in 1900, the census recorded Poland Austria, Poland Germany, Poland Russia, Poland Unspecified. In 1917, Poland re-established its political sovereignty.

immigrants and 65.4 % of the German immigrants. Similarly, 85% of the French Canadian immigrants, 81.9% of the Irish immigrants, and 100% of

| | Birthplace/ Birthplace of Parents | | | | | | | | | | |
	U.S. " "	Eng. Can. " "	Pr. Can. " "	Gt. Brit. " "	Ireland " "	U.S. Ireland Ireland	Germany " "	U.S. Germany Germany	Poland " "	U.S. Poland Poland	Russia " "
PROTESTANT											
% Tot. Population 57.5	9.44	2.94	0.13	3.34	0.43	0.99	11.46	11.90	0.0	0.0	0.0
% Religious Group	16.31	5.07	0.22	5.78	0.75	1.71	19.79	20.36	0.0	0.0	0.0
% Ethnic Group	64.75	79.51	14.50	83.37	18.04	25.47	65.43	66.91	0.0	0.0	0.0
CATHOLIC											
% Tot. Population 39.6	5.08	0.76	0.74	0.62	1.97	2.90	5.87	5.37	5.46	1.14	0.15
% Religious Group	12.94	1.93	1.89	1.58	5.03	7.39	14.95	13.68	13.90	2.89	0.37
% Ethnic Group	34.85	20.49	85.50	15.52	81.96	74.53	33.54	30.21	100.00	100.00	11.59
JEWISH											
% Tot. Population 2.9	0.06	0.0	0.0	0.04	0.0	0.0	0.18	0.51	0.0	0.0	1.12
% Religious Group	2.03	0.0	0.0	1.59	0.0	0.0	6.44	18.17	0.0	0.0	39.69
% Ethnic Group	0.39	0.0	0.0	1.12	0.0	0.0	1.04	2.88	0.0	0.0	88.41

(1)Source: Weighted percentages based on data obtained from the linkage of the 1900 census-manuscript population schedules-with the marriage licenses of couples married in Wayne County between 1887 and 1900. (Statistics based on less than 1.00% of the total population should not be considered reliable.)

the Poles were Catholic.[4] Although the Germans were predominantly Protestant, 33% were Catholic. Only 1.03% of the Germans were Jews. Most of the Russians, 88%, were Jewish (table four).

To be sure, the Protestant denominations differed from one nationality group to another. Among the Protestant population, some denominations were more represented than others. The most important

[4]The figure for Catholic Poles may seem surprising. However, the 1900 census is the only census in which, in the absence of a recognized Poland, the distinction between "Poland Austria", "Poland Russia", "Poland Germany", and "Poland Unspecified" is made. Therefore there is little chance of confusing Polish people with Austrians, Germans, and Russians, or vice versa, as in previous or later census years. Up to 1900, all of the licences I found in the Wayne county archives for the marriages of persons born in Poland, and listed in my census sample, indicated that the marriage ceremony had been performed by a Catholic priest.

Table five
Estimated Percentages of Ethnic Groups
per Major Protestant Denominations, 1900 (1)

	Baptist	Christian	Congregational	Episcopalian	German Evangelical	Lutheran	Methodist	Presbyterian	Reformed German
% of all Protestant denominations	4.65	2.20	4.15	14.90	16.99	23.52	15.23	11.27	4.23
				% of Ethnic Groups per Denominations					
American	72.09	60.80	73.43	60.89	23.11	7.04	39.16	27.25	4.63
English Canadian	0.0	10.06	7.63	13.09	1.78	0.0	31.13	15.90	13.54
French Canadian	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.94	0.0	1.96	0.0
Great Britain	12.09	20.91	14.59	14.51	6.93	0.0	14.42	37.16	0.0
Irish	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.85	0.0	0.0	3.54	5.04	0.0
German	3.86	8.17	4.33	8.63	68.17	92.01	7.02	5.35	81.82
Black Americans	11.94	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.70	7.10	0.0

(1) Source: Weighted percentages based on data obtained from the linkage of the 1900 census-manuscript population schedules-with the marriage licences of couples married in Wayne County between 1887 and 1900.

"American" means born in the U.S. of U.S. born parents; "German" means born in Germany of German born parents, etc.

were the Episcopalians (14.9% of the Protestant population), the Methodists (15.23%), the Presbyterians (11.27%) and the Lutherans (23.52%). American Protestants were very well represented among the Episcopalians, (60.89% were Americans), the Methodists (39.16%) and among the Presbyterians (27.26%). The English Canadians comprised 31.13% of the Methodist congregations. The majority of the Presbyterians (37.16%) were from Great Britain; (72.2% of the Presbyterians from Great Britain were Scottish, as could be expected). Thus it can be seen that these three denominations -Episcopalians, Methodists and Presbyterians- were composed primarily of Americans, British immigrants, and English Canadians. Two other major Protestant denominations -German Evangelicals and Lutherans- were heavily German, 62.17% and 92.01% respectively (table five).

Two general observations can be made on this ethno-religious distribution. First, the percentage of the Catholic population in

Detroit, 39%, exceeded by far the average figures for the Midwest or the country at large, both at around 17%.[5] As a large industrializing city, Detroit was receiving a disproportionate share of the Catholic immigration. Second, if one aggregates the population of the more ritualistic Protestant denominations -Lutherans, and to some extent, German Evangelicals and Reformed Germans- to the Catholic population, it is easy to see that Detroit was primarily inhabited by immigrants from Germany, Poland and Ireland, ritualistic in religion, and, as several studies have shown, likely to be attached to the Democratic party.[6] The more evangelical Protestants were Yankees or British immigrants. P. Kleppner intelligently demonstrated how the indecisive German Lutherans, while oscillating between a ritualistic and an evangelical orientation, played a key role, together with the economic depression and the abuses of the Democratic party, in the victory of Republican reform Mayor Hazen Pingree in the nineties, the very period of our study of neighborhoods.[7]

This preliminary survey of the ethno-religious composition of the Detroit's population enables us to study the spatial distribution of these groups. How did they share the urban territory? Were they divided or mixed? An ethnic neighborhood is primarily a residential area predominantly inhabited by a population of a given ethnic group. Yet locating and delineating the boundaries of a particular ethnic neighborhood with some precision is difficult. Students of neighborhood

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[5] R. Jensen The Winning of the Midwest (chicago, 1971)

[6] Jensen, op. cit, see also R. Formisano The Birth of Mass Political Parties, Michigan, 1827-1861, (Princeton, 1971), and P. Kleppner The Cross of Culture, (New York, 1970).

[7] Kleppner, op. cit, and M. Holli Reform in Detroit (New York, 1969)

activities have long recognized that the geographic boundaries defined by these activities vary and overlap.[8] In addition these cut across non-residential areas, and the boundaries of an ethnic neighborhood are not the same as those of social class. Altogether, neighborhoods have loose and shifting boundaries. Usually only the core of the neighborhood shows a great concentration of the ethnic population, one that decreases toward the periphery in a gradual and subtle manner.

Ethnic neighborhoods must be understood in the context of the entire city in the complex set of relationships between people, activities, and territory. For the sake of clarity, consider three types of urban areas: 1) areas which are primarily residential 2) areas occupied primarily by non-residential activities with residences more or less intermingled, and 3) vacant areas, the unused areas of the city, also more or less intermingled with residences. Detroit in 1880 was spatially small. The distance from the river in the south to the northern boundary was only 3.5 miles along Woodward Avenue. The declining curve of population density from the center to the periphery shows that space within the city was only half used. Overall the population density was very low. Up to the 1.3 mile limit, the center had the highest density of the city, with a maximum of sixty people per acre. Beyond this distance, there was a dramatic decline of density.[9]

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[8] R.D. McKenzie, The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio, (Chicago, 1923). S. Keller, The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective, (New York, 1968).

[9] Figure 1 represents the predicted values of the model:

Ln Density = 3.4 + 1.35 Distance − .99 Distance^2 + ϵ ;

R^2 = .92

The city was divided into 22 density gradients from the center to the periphery. Areal and population data were computed from the sample on

The used area itself was divided. Most of the non-residential activities, as well as the non familial types of residences, such as hotels and boarding houses, were concentrated in the center of the city. This central area was surrounded by a zone which was primarily residential. Beyond this residential zone was the unused city, a very large, low density zone with many vacant spaces. Suburban settlement did not exist (map one).

Figure one
Density Decline from the
Center to the Periphery
1880
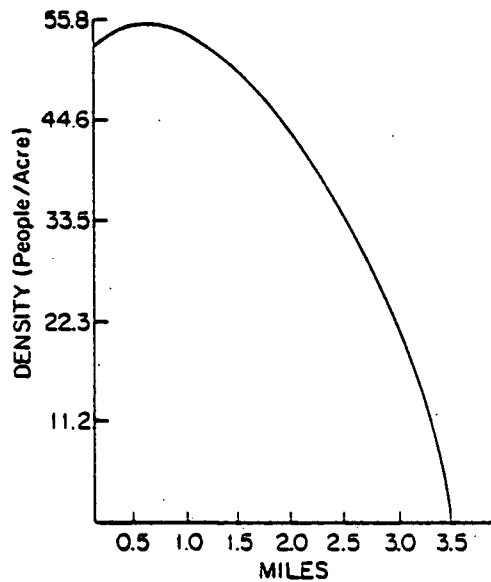
In such a setting, the two large areas that showed very little

each gradient.
As an example of the opposite extreme, the world record in 1900 was held by the Lower East Side of New York City in which there were areas with up to 900 people per acre.

ethnic concentration were the dense city center, which contained many different activities, and the relatively vacant periphery. They were both demographically incomplete areas- one almost empty, the other full but inhabited by an unusually large number of young male bachelors in the hotels and boarding houses. The diversity of activities found there catered to the needs of the "young bachelor" population of the center and provided jobs for workers throughout the city. Thus, the sample units that contained hotels and boarding houses in 1880 contained also 42% of the heavy industry, 80% of the light industry, 68% of the craft shops, 95% of the wholesale commerce, 57% of the retail stores, 60% of the bars and saloons, 97% of the businesses, 68% of the professional offices, and 75% of the public services. As an example of a typical downtown street front, the Monroe Front in 1880 included 6 retail stores, 3 saloons, 3 businesses, 3 professional offices, 1 public service office, 2 industrial establishments; in 1900 there was one hotel, sixteen stores and two other businesses.

In 1880 the city's vacant areas accounted for almost half the available space. By 1900 the city's population had grown dense subsequent to massive immigration but prior to massive suburbanization. Buildings filled the vacant lots. On a block where forty people dwelt twenty years earlier, eighty lived in 1900. Large empty blocks were divided and built up, especially along Grand Boulevard. The regions of low use had been pushed nearly one mile further from the city center.

In order to assess the relative degree of concentration of different ethno-religious groups, the areas of abnormal concentration must first be located. A few technical considerations are in order here so as to make clear the critical steps that we are to follow in

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Map one
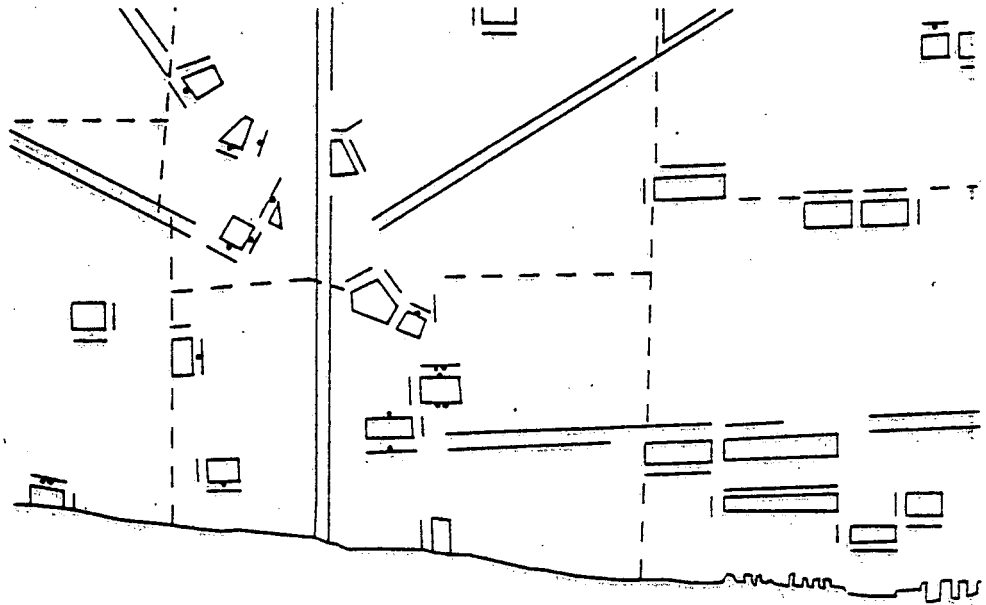Vacant Space and Diversity of Activities
1880
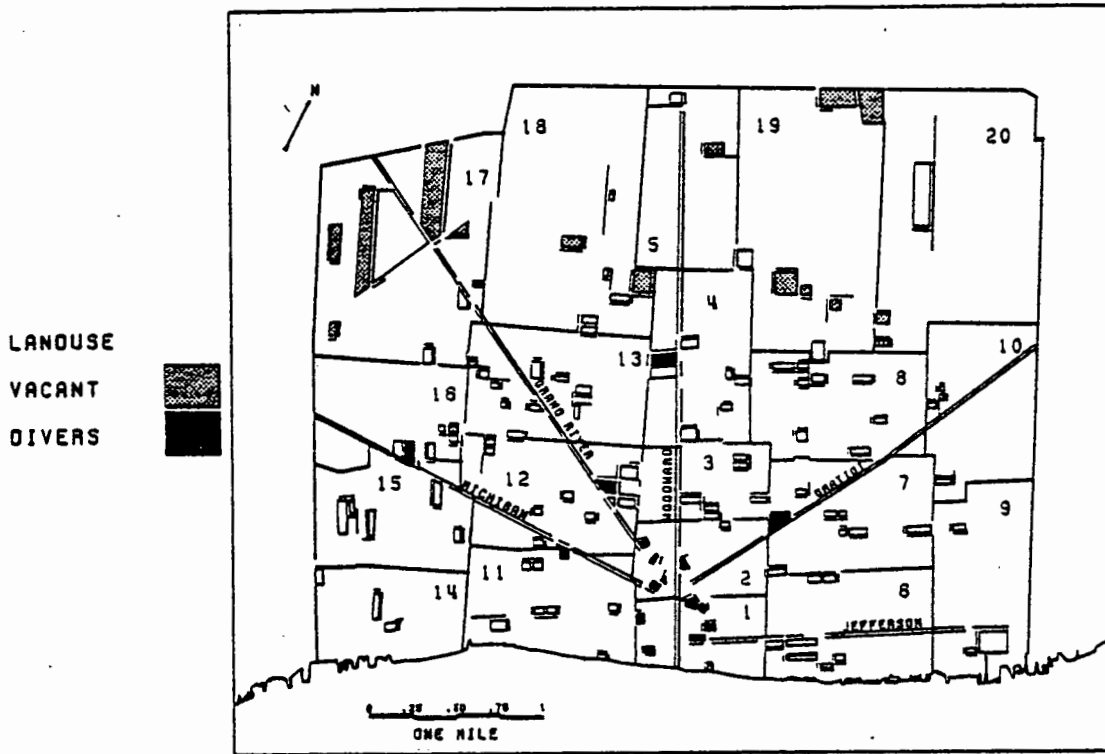
Vacant clusters, and clusters with more than five types of non residential activities: Heavy industry, light industry, craft shops, wholesale, retail stores, bars and saloons, business, professional offices, public services, churches, parks and recreation lots.
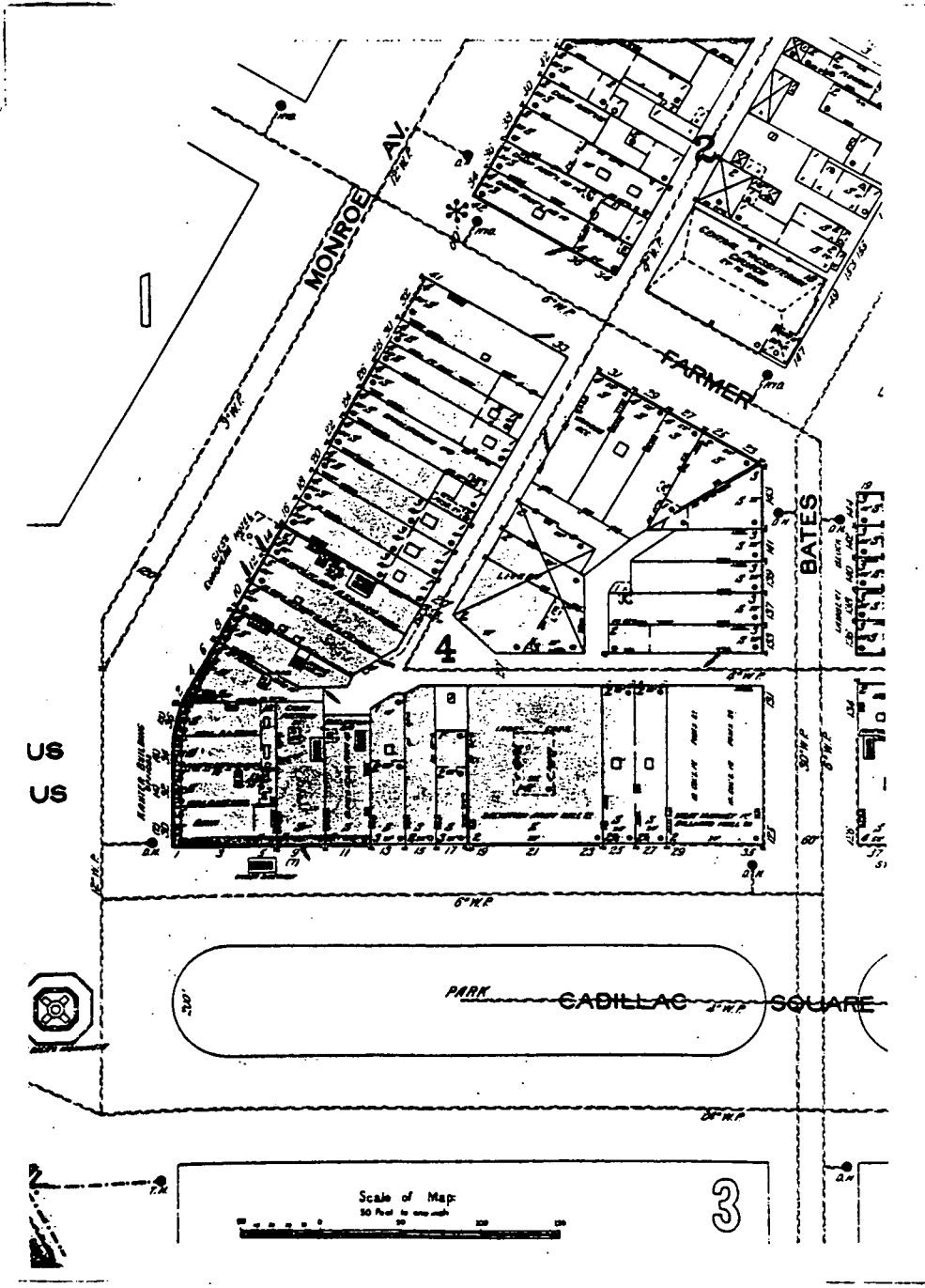
The subdivisions, one to twenty, are the plates of the Robinson and Pidgeon Atlas of the City of Detroit (New York, 1885). The clusters on the map, that is, the blocks and their opposing fronts (see graph two, infra) are the areas of the city sampled for intensive study.

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Map two
Hotels and Boarding Houses
1880

BOARDING

ONE   1 .

TWO   2 ..

MONROE AV.

FARMER

BATES

US

US

PARK CADILLAC SQUARE

Scale of Map
50 Feet to one inch

Sanborn-Perris Maps of Detroit, 1897, Vol.4, Pl.2

36 to 40 Monroe (12 to 16 before 1920); commercial buildings built in
1870

evaluating the importance of ethnic neighborhoods. Given the general

physical characteristics of Detroit for the late nineteenth century that

we just described, especially the availabiity of vacant space, there are

reasons to be suspicious of the traditional sociological model that

envisions people who come from similar regions as having a tendency to

cluster geographically in ghettos located in the city center and then to

disperse throughout the city as their occupations, educational levels,

and the composition of their families come to resemble those of the

Maps three a and b
Changes in Population Density (People per Acre)
North West Section, 1880-1900

PEO.ACRE
NONE
TO 30
TO 60
OVER

N

18
17

PEO.ACRE
NONE
TO 30
TO 60
OVER

17
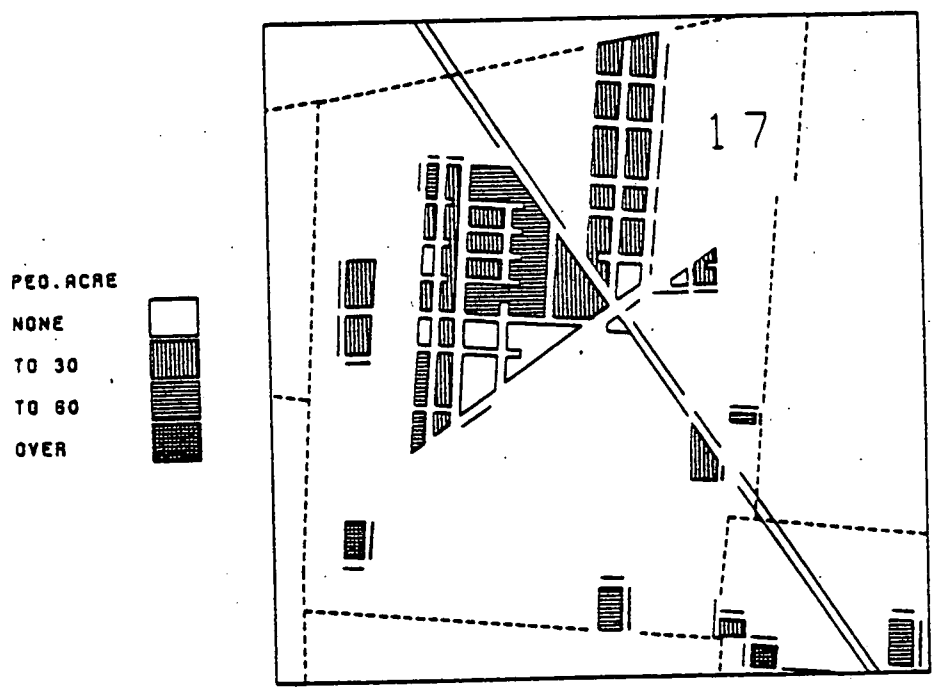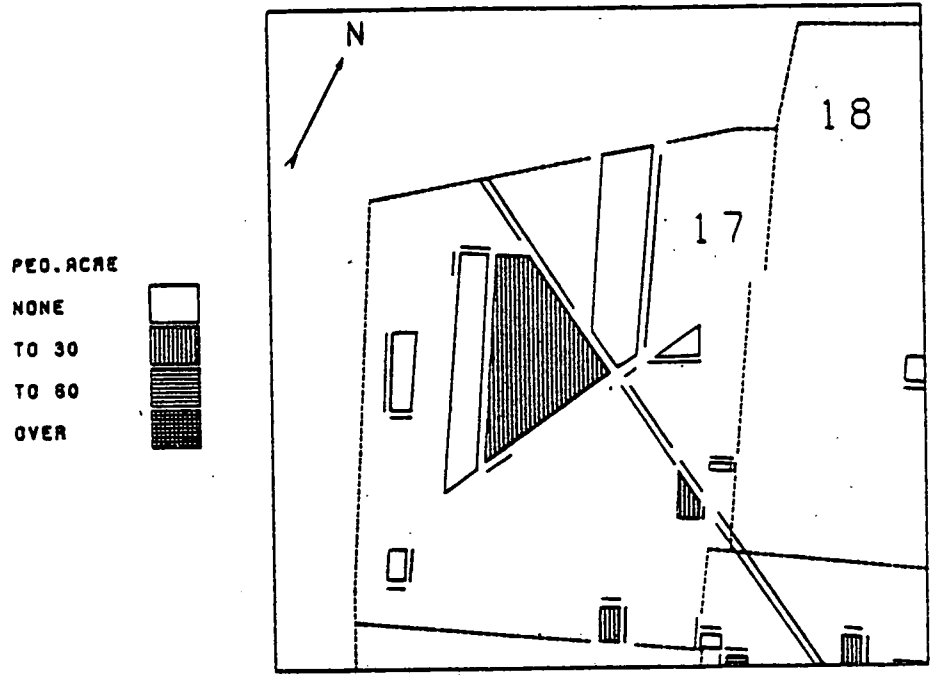
city's population as a whole. The rich sociological image of the city divided into physical zones, each representing a step in the assimilation process of immigrants, is very provocative. The ghetto, circumscribed in the dense center of the urban territory and inhabited by ethnic minorities, is viewed in this sense as a closed space, a conservatory where the common effects of immigration and discrimination crystallized for a few months or a few years or a life time.[10] Yet many studies have shown that immigrant quarters were not necessarily slums with high mortality rates, ghettos in which families were broken.[11] Taking an extremist perspective, some studies have even proposed, although very questionably, that a residential mixture of immigrant and Yankee populations was the rule in nineteenth century urban America.[12] Concentration and dispersion are phenomena that one evaluates differently depending on the theoretical perspective as well as important technical issues such as the statistic used, the size of the spatial units studied and the distance between them. In the process of assessing the type and importance of Detroit's ethnic pattern, the loose and somewhat imprecise concept of the neighborhood that connotes relative concentration, relative cohesiveness, social interaction, and commonality of institutions is more indicative of the real patterns than the more totalitarian concept of the ghetto.

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[10] E.W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City," in E.W. Burgess and R.D. McKenzie, The City, (Chicago, 1925). R.E. Park, "The Urban Community as a Spatial Pattern and a Moral Order," Human Communities, The City and Human Ecology (Glencoe, Ill.; 1957) 165-177.

[11] D.Ward, Cities and Immigrants, A Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America, (New York, 1971).

[12] S.B. Warner, Jr. and C. Burke, "Cultural Change and the Ghetto", Journal of Contemporary History, 4(1969), 173-187.

The ethnic neighborhoods of Detroit were areas of family residences, located in the large residential zone of the city. They were not exclusively inhabited by members of any one group. Usually a group dominated an area or several small areas within a larger region of the city, though members of other groups, related or not, lived there too. Two related aspects must be considered here. The first aspect concerns the proportion of people in one area that belongs to one ethnic group; this figure tells us how dominant a given group is in one area. The second aspect concerns the proportion of an ethnic group membership in an area to the total population of that group in Detroit; This tells us how important a particular area is for the group, whether or not a large fraction of the group is living there. Often these two figures are related, yet they may differ substantially. For instance, it is conceivable that while a group may make up only 20% of any block in a region of the city, 90% of this group might live in this region.

To trace out these relationships accurately, we must solve a problem of measurement. We must define a geographic unit of analysis within which to measure concentration of ethnic groups. To define ethnic neighborhoods in advance as a unit of measurement is hazardous because geographic boundaries are vague, defined simultaneously by objective criteria, the perceptions of the inhabitants, and physical boundaries. Given these problems, many scholars examine administrative or electoral units. This often is artificial but generally is done because official data is accessible and already aggregated at the census tract or the ward level. The nineteenth-century electoral wards were large, and their boundaries changed from one election to another. Indices used to measure segregation in many nineteenth-century American

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cities, including Detroit, reveal that immigrants of all groups lived in all wards and one is tempted to conclude too quickly that there was residential integration.[13] The problem is not easily solved. If one goes to the other extreme and studies smaller geographic units such as the block, additional problems arise. As two prominent ecologists have noted: "If all non-whites resided on alleyways and all whites in street-front structures, then even a block index would fail to reveal the high degree of segregation".[14] If one chooses an even smaller unit, one misses concentration patterns that clearly appear only in large areas; this is especially true in a city like Detroit with a generally low population density.

Clearly a unit larger in size than the block but smaller than the ethnic neighborhood or administrative unit is needed. I have tried to solve this problem by selecting as a sampling unit a cluster of six block frontages as represented in graph two. This includes all fronts in one randomly selected square block plus two randomly selected fronts across the street.[15]
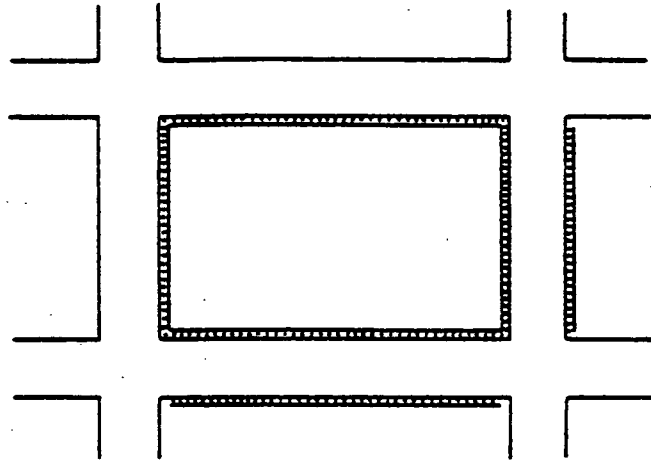
Each sample unit is small enough for the observation of people, houses and activities on the individual level, yet large enough to capture clustering of ethnic populations. In 1880, the mean number of inhabitants per inhabited unit of six fronts was 117 (minimum 3, maximum 412), The addition to the primary block of two randomly selected adjacent opposing fronts permits us to represent both sides of streets

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[13]J. Vinyard, <u>The Irish on the Urban Frontier: Nineteenth Century Detroit</u>, (New York, 1974), pp. 174-175.

[14]O.D. Duncan and B. Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes", <u>American Sociological Review</u> XX, 2(April 1955), 210-217.

[15]The samples include 127 such clusters for 1880 and 178 for 1900.

without including all opposing fronts. We thus get a better picture of

neighborhood composition than from one block alone.

*   *   *   *   *

TOURING ETHNIC DETROIT

The maps of ethnic concentration that we are to look at now have been constructed using a statistical procedure that measures the degree of concentration of each ethnic group in each spatial unit studied while taking into account the proportion of each group in the city at large.[16] For each ethnic group, we identify the areas of relative concentration and study within them the housing characteristics of single family homes. Detroit was, by and large, a city of single family dwellings. With the exception of the Poles and the Russians, all the other groups in 1900 counted from 70% to 87% of their population as living in such individual houses. Multiple dwellings are considered afterwards.

Leaving the city center in 1880 and taking Woodward Avenue north one would have entered a residential zone, largely inhabited by families headed by white-collar working Americans, native born of native born parents. In 1880, this area was primarily confined to a region along Woodward Avenue, starting approximately 3/4 of a mile from the river. Outside this "center residential" area, there was also in 1880 some

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[16]Olivier Zunz, "Detroit en 1880: espace et ségrégation" _Annales E.S.C._ 1 (Janvier-Février 1977), 106-136. The statistical analysis consists of interpreting the proportion of each group in each geographic unit in the light of a standardized chi-square:

$$X^2_s = [X^2 - b(K - 1)] / \sqrt{V(X^2)}$$

computed for the city as a whole, and

$$X^2_{is} = [X^2_i - (K-1)] / \sqrt{V(X^2_i)}$$

computed for each unit, where K is the number of ethnic categories and b the number of geographic units.

concentration of Americans on the West side, mainly around the Irish dominated settlement of Corktown. In some blocks, Americans were mixing with Irish and with Canadians. There were also some very residential blocks near the river on the West side and on the East side south of Jefferson which were inhabited by American families that often were adjacent to blocks of much poorer and ethnically mixed people. Occasionally, an abnormally high concentration existed in a block or a cluster for two groups at a time.

In 1880, close to 40% of the households headed by a person native-born of native-born parents lived in these designated American central areas. Twenty years later, the Yankees remained anchored in the original neighborhoods of the "walking city" but also expanded in four directions: moving into the vacant areas of the West Side, settling around Grand Boulevard, settling along the river on the East Side in newly acquired land, and consolidating their position into the traditionally Irish dominated area.[17] In 1900, 51.5% of the Yankee families were located in areas that they dominated numerically.

Houses in these areas were very large and often made of brick. In 1900, as many as 16.23% of the American houses of the city were made of brick and over 18% were brick in the designated Yankee areas. Most brick houses were in the "residential center" area while houses in newly developed zones were built of wood. The land use of American neighborhoods was very residential with large backyards and stables in each lot. Often a church was built at the intersection of Woodward and

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[17]This geographic distribution approximates the distribution of "substantial families" in 1900, "defined by R.D. McKenzie as those names appearing in Dau's Blue Book"; see M.G. Holli, ed. Detroit, (New York,1976), 141-142.

AMERICAN
YR1880 .

AMERICAN
YR1900
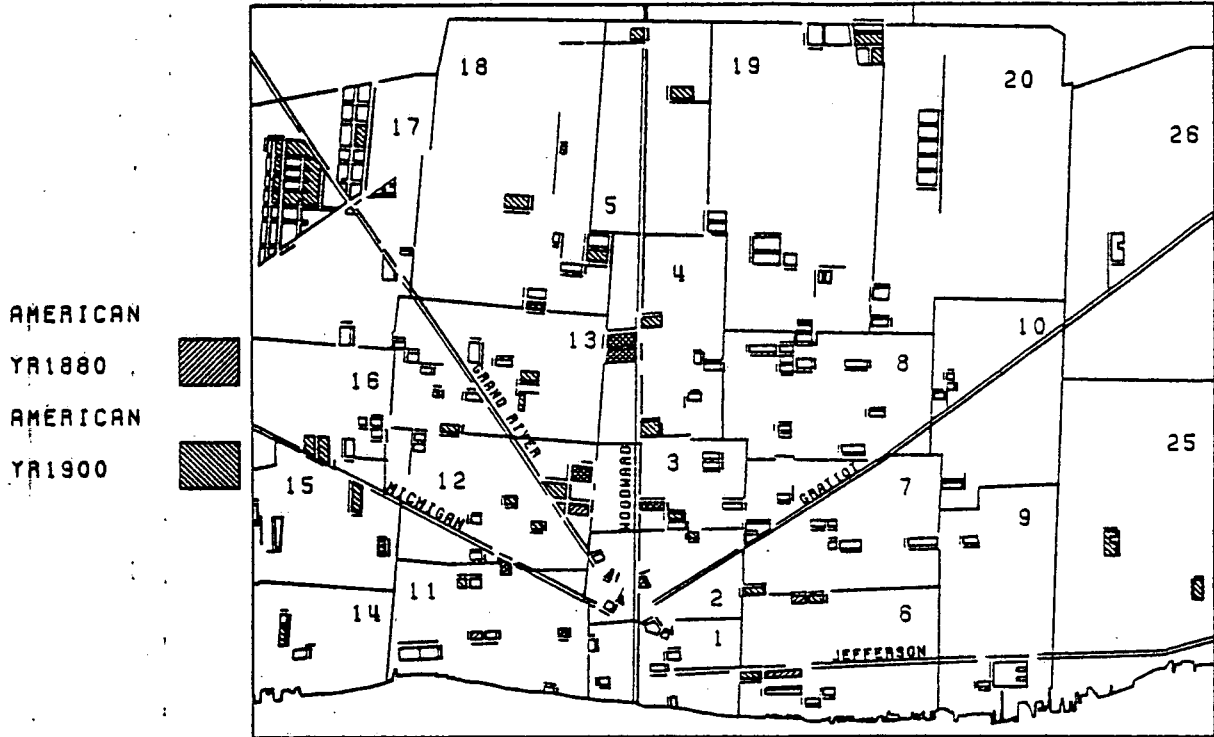
a side street. The population density was relatively low: 48.02 people

per acre and only 4.60 people per house on the average in these large

houses. Surprisingly, not many of these houses were owned by their

occupants, only 27% as opposed to much higher rates in other parts of

the city.

American families were solidly clustered in their neighborhood of

the "walking city". Yet they often shared their neighborhoods with

other English speaking groups, English Canadians and immigrants from

England who were also Protestants and frequently white-collar workers

as well. This also occurred in the move towards the new neighborhoods

in the expanded city. English Canadians and English immigrants tended
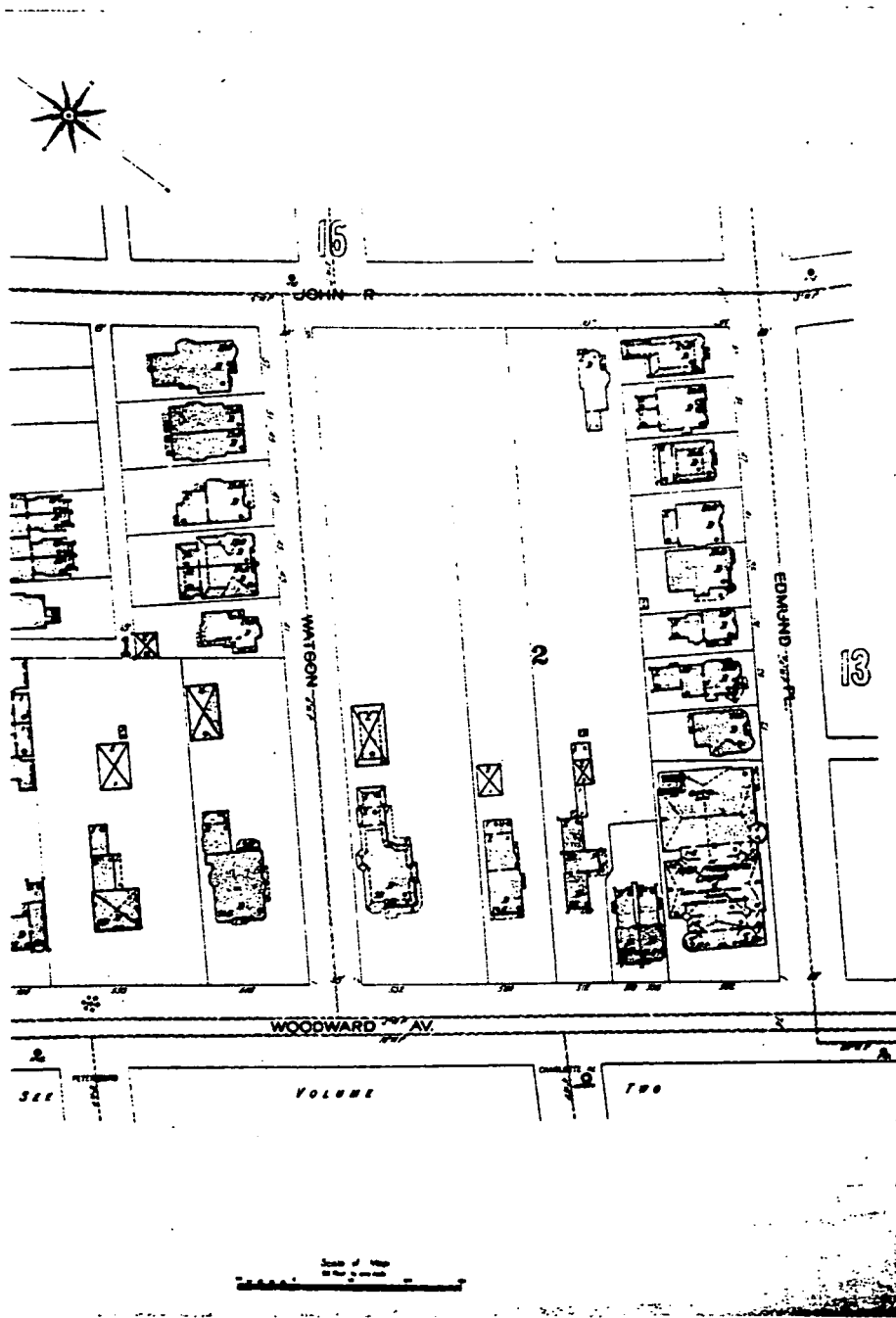
Sanborn Perris Maps of Detroit, 1897, Vol.4, Pl.15

Photograph two
First Presbyterian Church
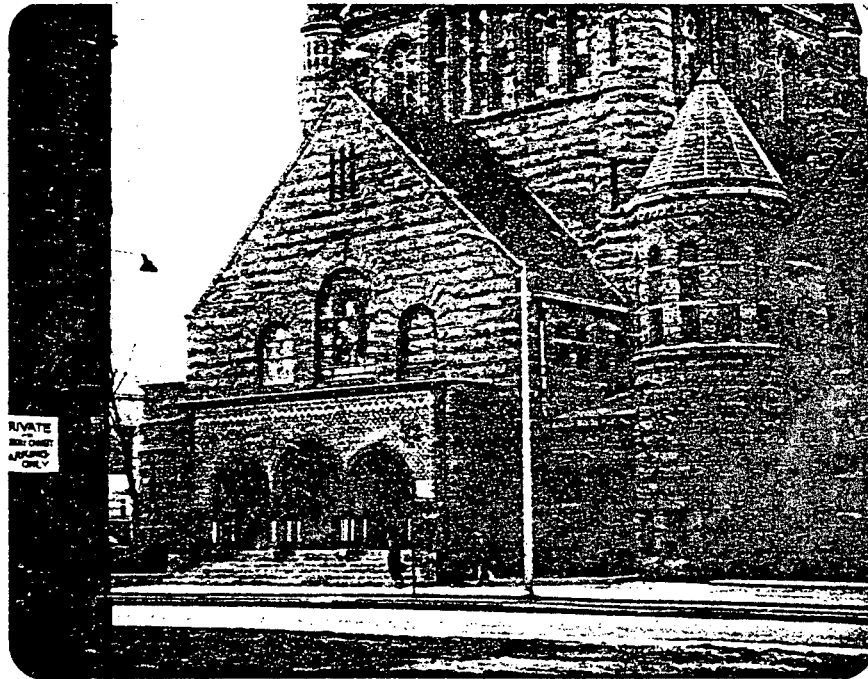
Church located at Woodward and Edmund Place (See Land Use Map two);
built in 1890.

to cluster only in the areas that contained these lower white collar

workers. In general English and Canadians were not heavily grouped

together. In 1880 and 1900, only about 17% of the Canadians and 14% of

the English were clustered in identifiable areas.

Thus, the residential center of Detroit, the West side in general

and some newly developed areas, were primarily inhabited by white-collar

Americans, the British and English Canadians. The great majority were

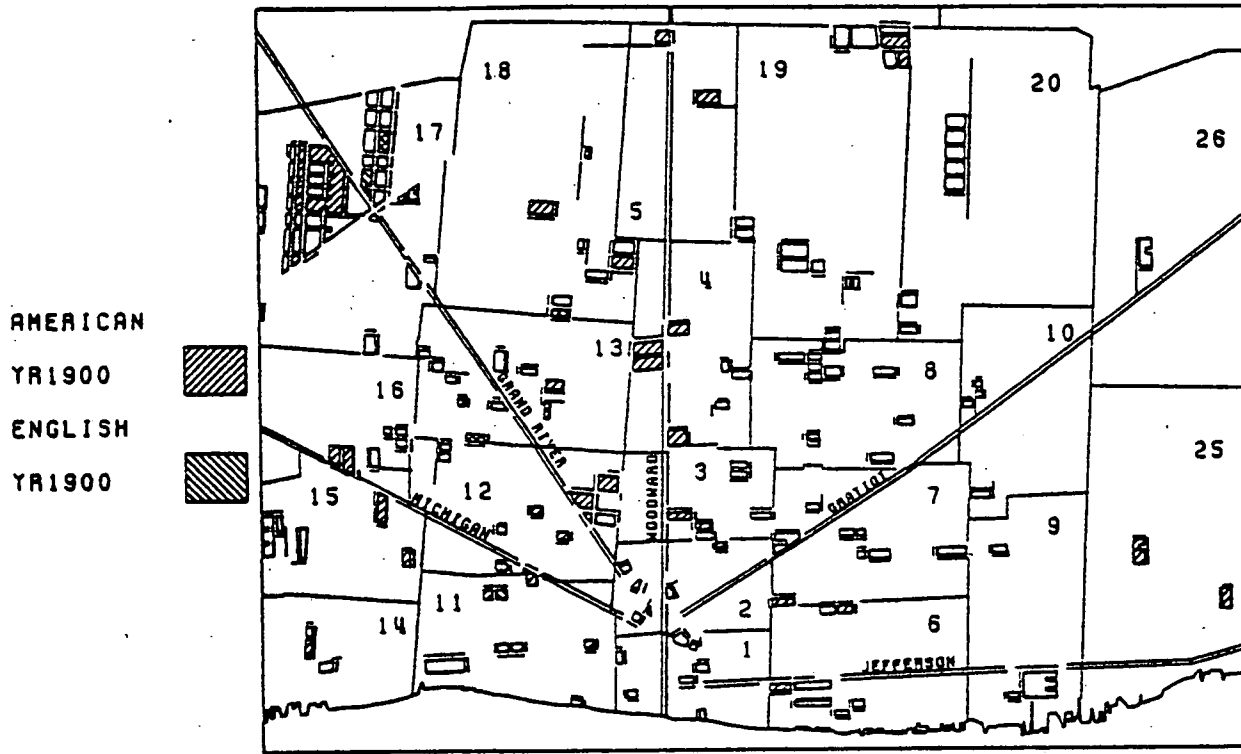Protestants, most often Episcopalians, Methodists or Presbyterians.

64 Edmund Place (30 before 1920), the home of a merchant, built around 1874.
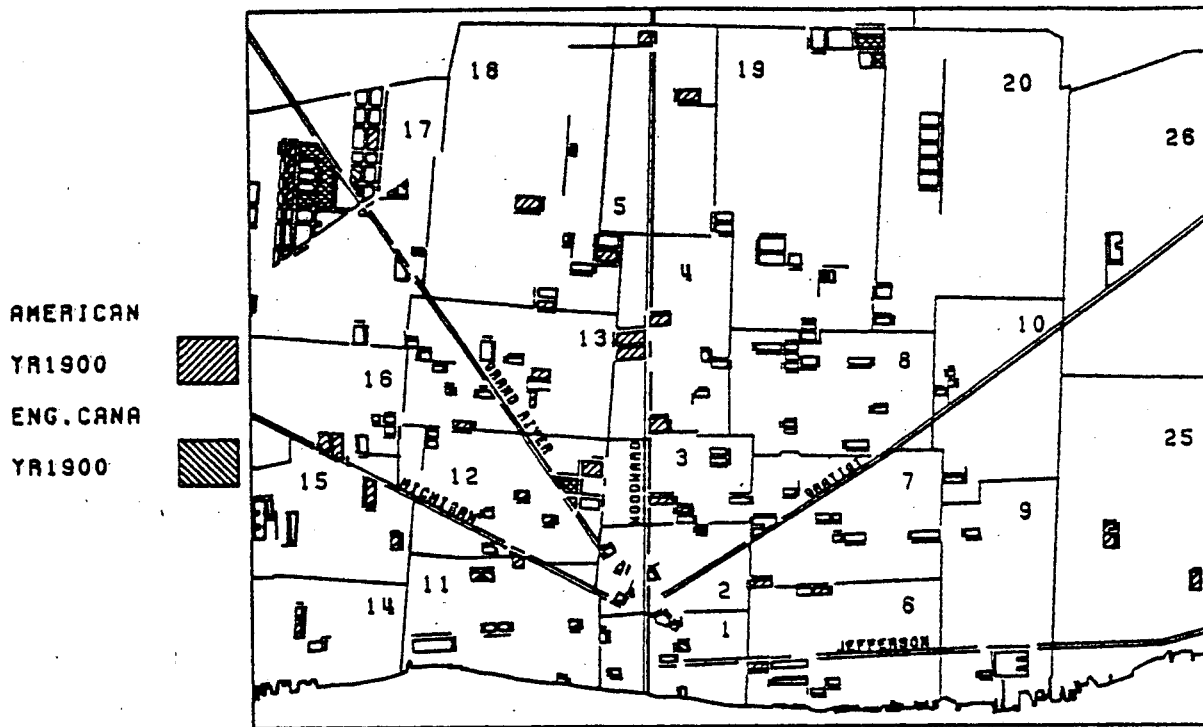
Land Use Map three
American Periphery
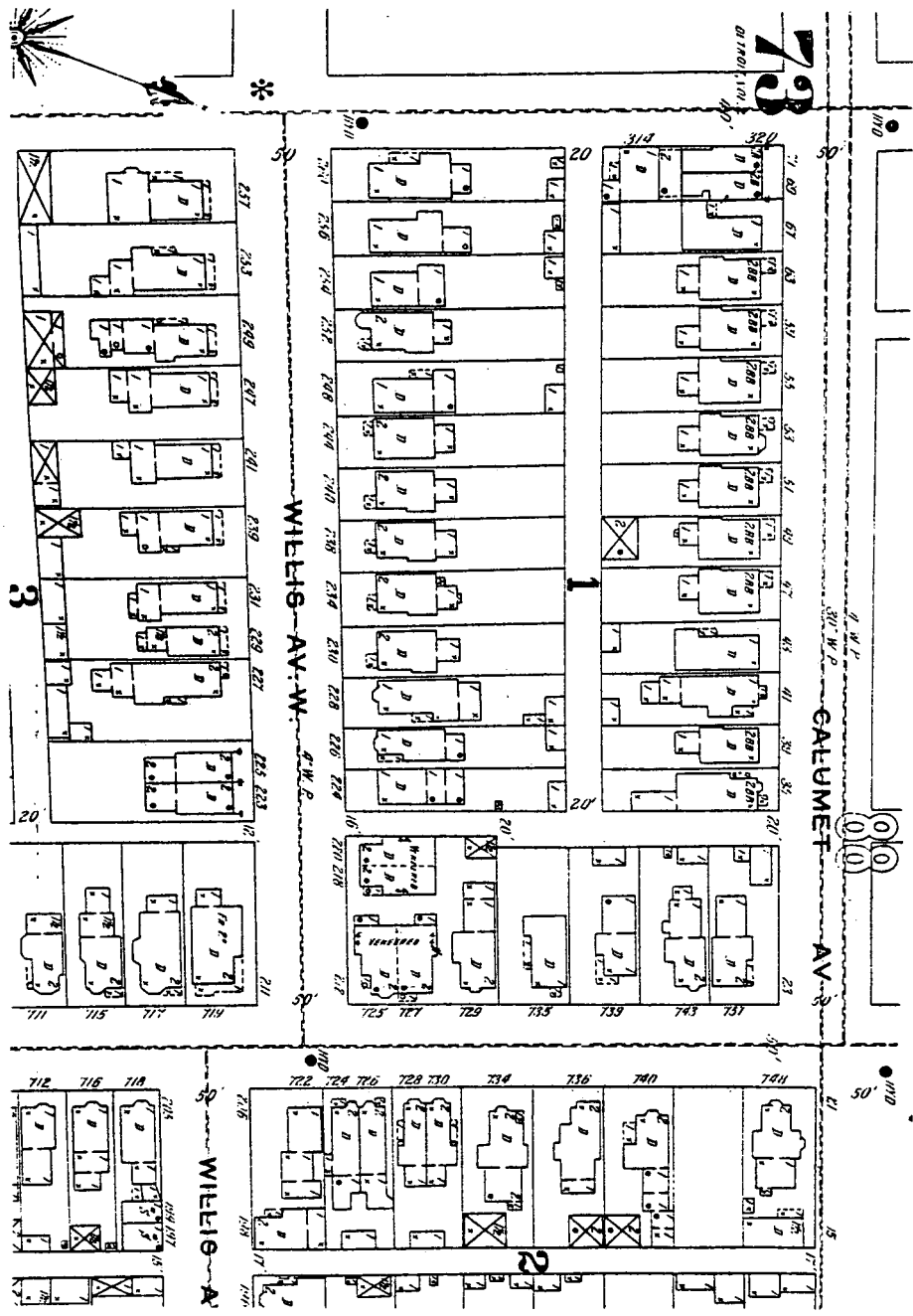
Sanborn Perris Maps of Detroit, 1897, Vol.2, Pl.73.

Map five
American and English
Clustering, 1900

Map six
American and English Canadian
Clustering, 1900


AMERICAN

YR1900

ENG.CANA

YR1900

The West Side was not entirely Anglo-Saxon, for it also housed Corktown, the large Irish Catholic neighborhood of Detroit. Centered around the first Irish church of Detroit, Most Holy Trinity, Corktown housed as many as 40% of the households headed by one Irish immigrant in 1880. The Irish houses were medium sized houses, 88% of them built of wood and packed one against another on a street front. Although the building density was very high, the population density was only moderate with 54.45 people per acre in 1900 and an average of 4.62 people per house, the same figure then as for the Americans although in smaller houses. In 1900, 31% of these modest but very decent houses of the Irish neighborhood were owned by their occupants, a figure significantly higher than the 25% of the American homes.

The percentage of Irish people concentrated in parts of the city in 1900 remained around 40, but more and more of the Irish shared their block with other groups.[18] Corktown, although keeping a strong Irish tone, became more and more Yankee, Protestant and wealthy. Consequently, more substantial homes were built in the 1890's.

One can see here a complex and intriguing process of one ethno-religious group, the Catholic-Irish of Corktown, slowly loosing some of its importance in the area. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, one may recall, the share of the Irish-born inhabitants in the population decreased substantially. These two processes are related. As the Irish community was growing old, receiving fewer new immigrants from Ireland, the area was also loosing some of its ethnic tightness as it became progressively invaded by

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[18] In 1880, Irish dominated clusters were 36 to 74% Irish, see "Espace et ségrégation" op. cit. In 1900, this figure dropped to 31% on the average.
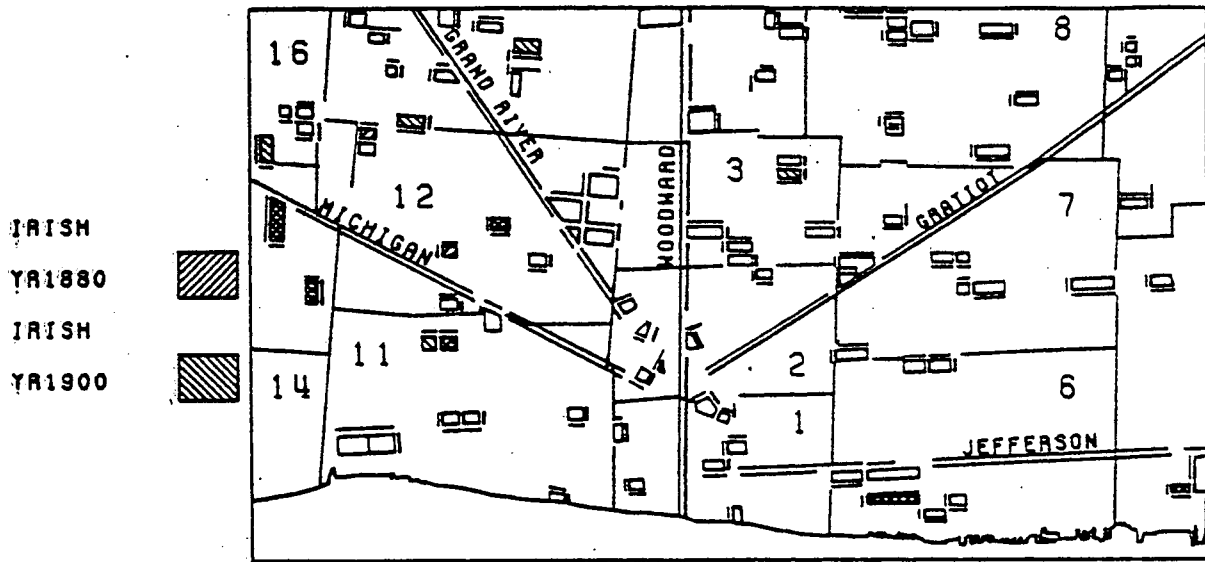
Protestant Yankees.

Traditionally, however, the Irish had not mixed with other Catholic groups, except in a few instances. For instance, Irish immigrants in 1900 were found in industrial areas along the river on the East Side. Only there did they mix with another working class Catholic minority, though a very small one, the French Canadians.

Land Use Map four
A Section of Corktown
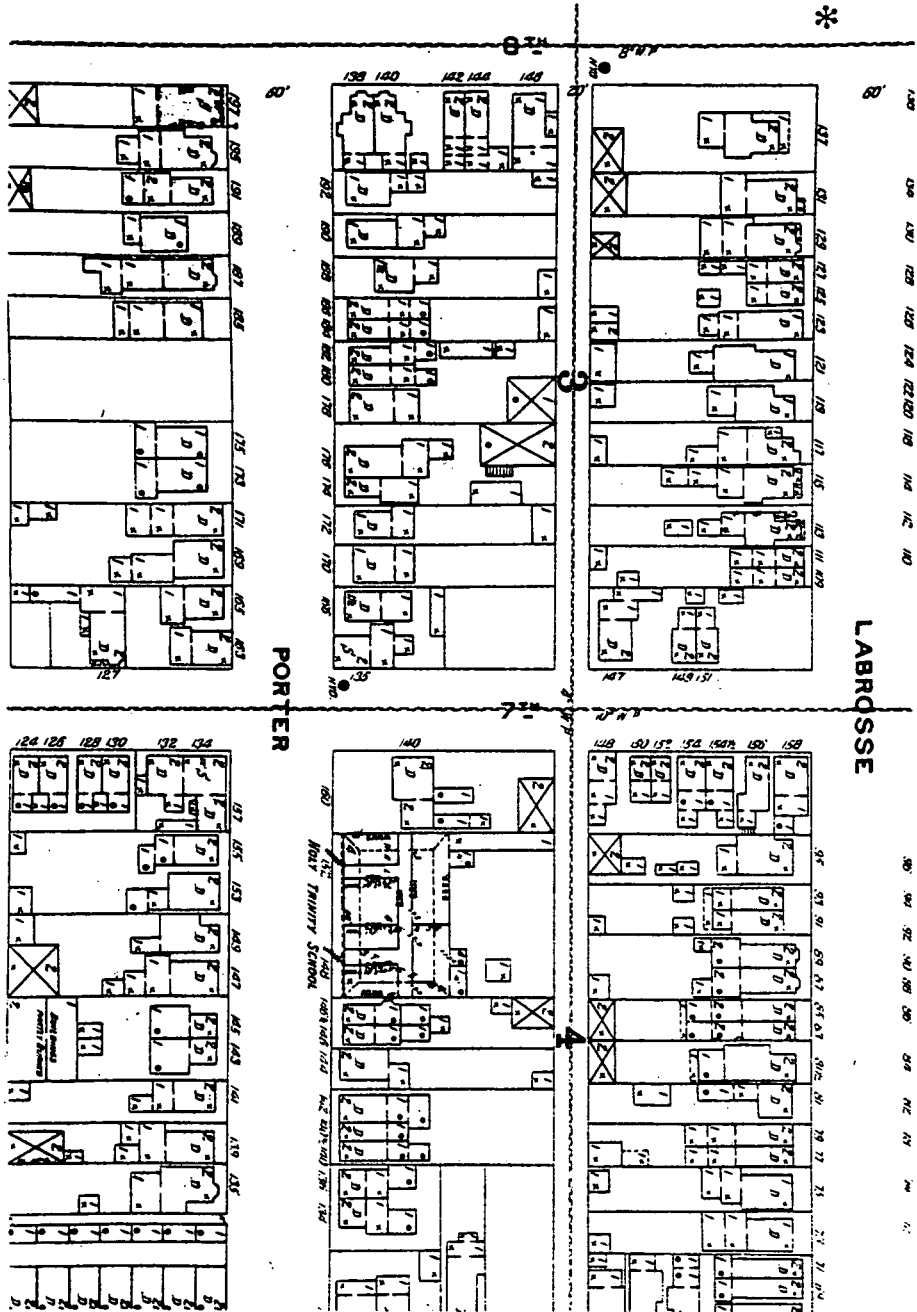
Sanborn Perris Maps, 1897, Vol.1, Pl.20
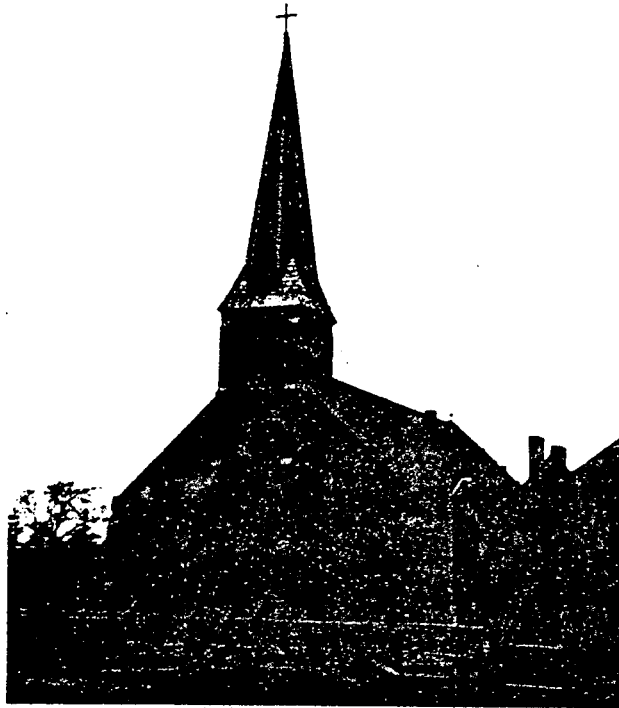
Catholic church built between 1855 and 1866.

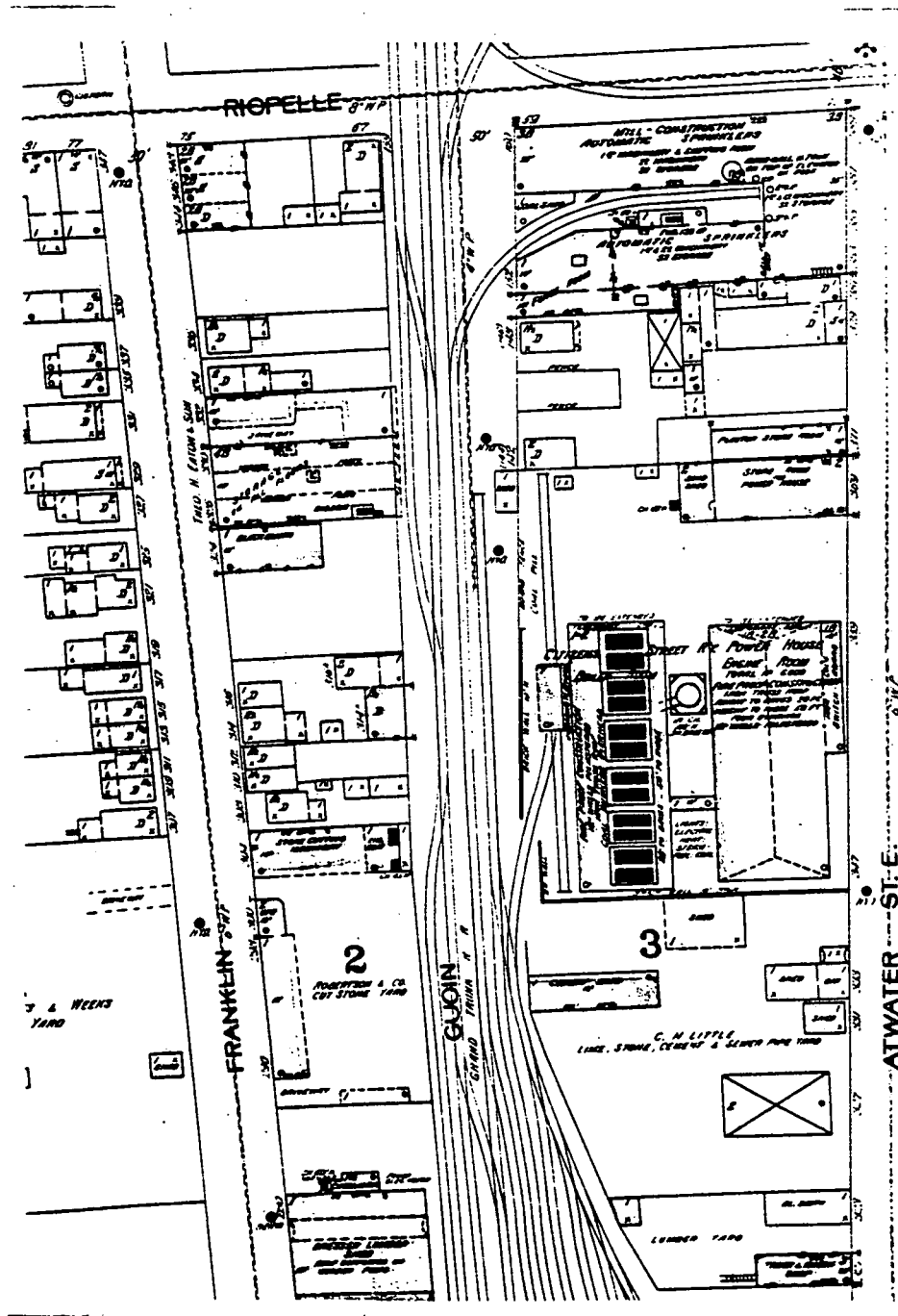1337 and 1339 Labrosse (125 and 127 before 1920), built in 1867 by an
Irish family living on the street since 1857. The family was still
living at number 125 at the time of the 1900 census.

Photograph six
A Large Home on Leverette

1670 Leverette, built in 1894; the house of John and Helen Mc Kerrow.
She was the principal of Tappan School.

Sanborn Perris Maps of Detroit, 1897, Vol.4, Pl.31.

The East Side of town was very different. Not only was it the main German area of the city, where 50% to 60% of households headed by a German born lived -52% in 1880, 58% in 1900- but it was also the area in which several smaller immigrant groups lived: Poles, Russian Jews, Italians, and immigrants from Austria, Hungary, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia. Though dominated by the Germans, the East Side served as a port of entry to many small groups. It was also the area of town where the early and small Black community developed.

The land use in the German area was quite different from that of the rest of the city. Catholic and Protestant churches were close to one another; the Lutheran churches were modest wooden buildings while the Catholic churches were large expensive brick buildings. There many industrial and craft activities were intermingled with the residences, making for a pattern of intensive land use. Most of the houses were made of wood and 8% of them were brick. They tended to be a little smaller than homes of the Irish neighborhood and yet housed more people on the average, 5 as opposed to the 4.6 American and Irish figure, with a general density in the neighborhood of 63.98 people per acre. More homes were owned in the German neighborhood (48.7%) than in either the American or Irish neighborhoods.

Map eight
German Area (East Side Only)
1880-1900

GERMANS

YR1880

GERMANS

YR1900
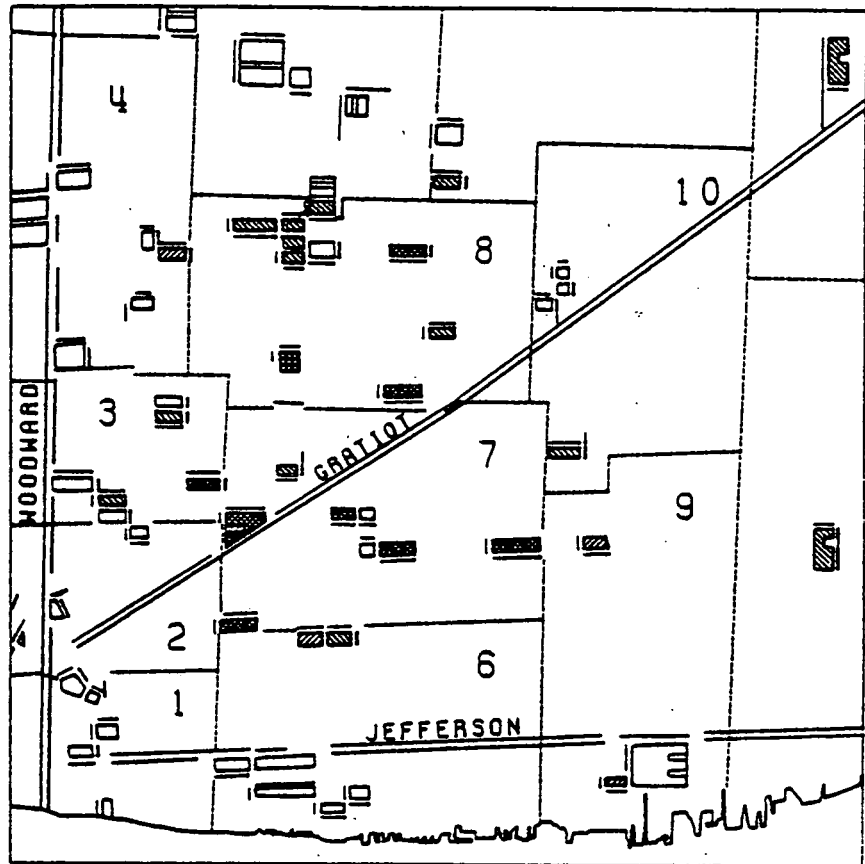
Land Use Map six
Blocks of the German Neighborhood
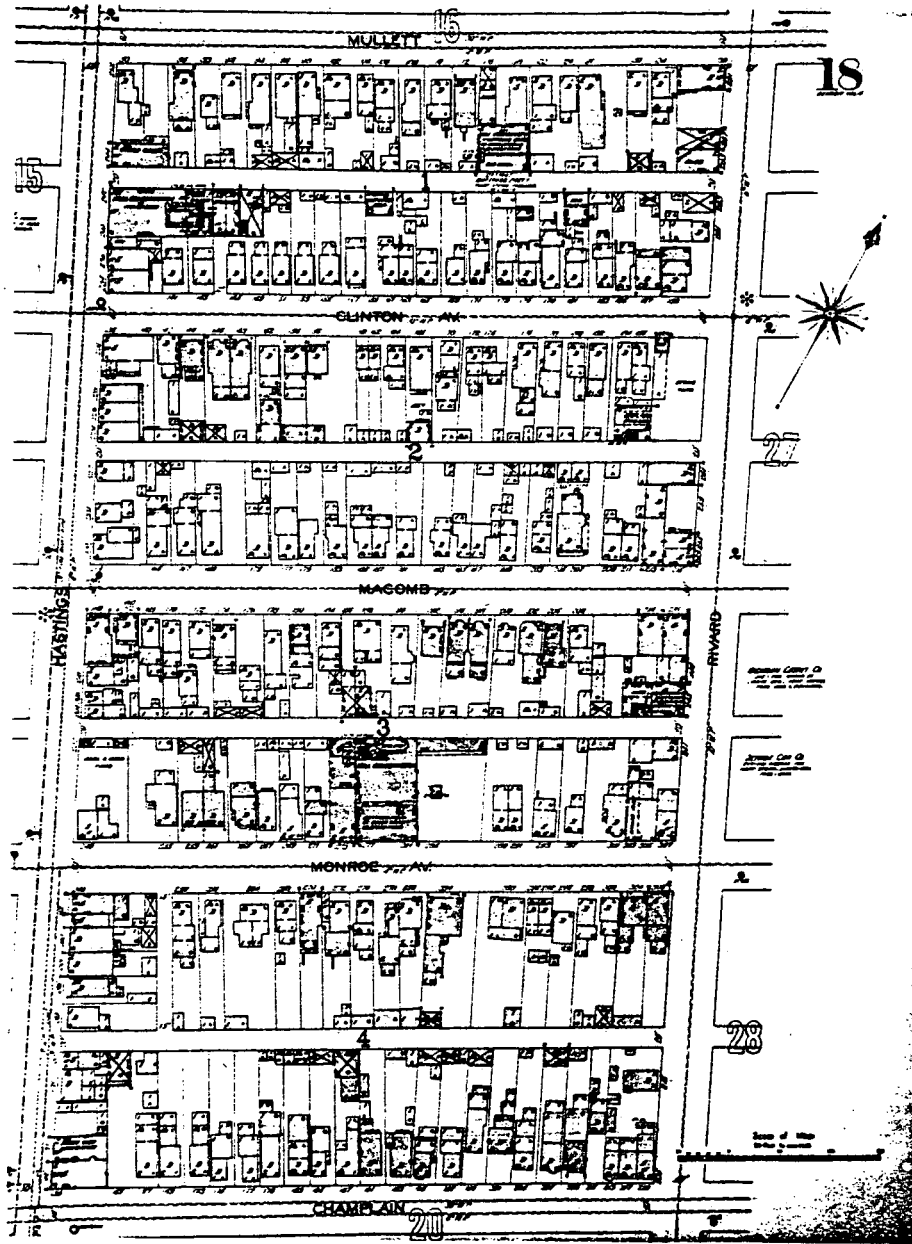
Sanborn Perris Maps of Detroit, 1897, Vol.4, Pl.18

Consecrated in 1873

Eckardt and Becker Brewery, at Winder and Orleans, built around 1891.

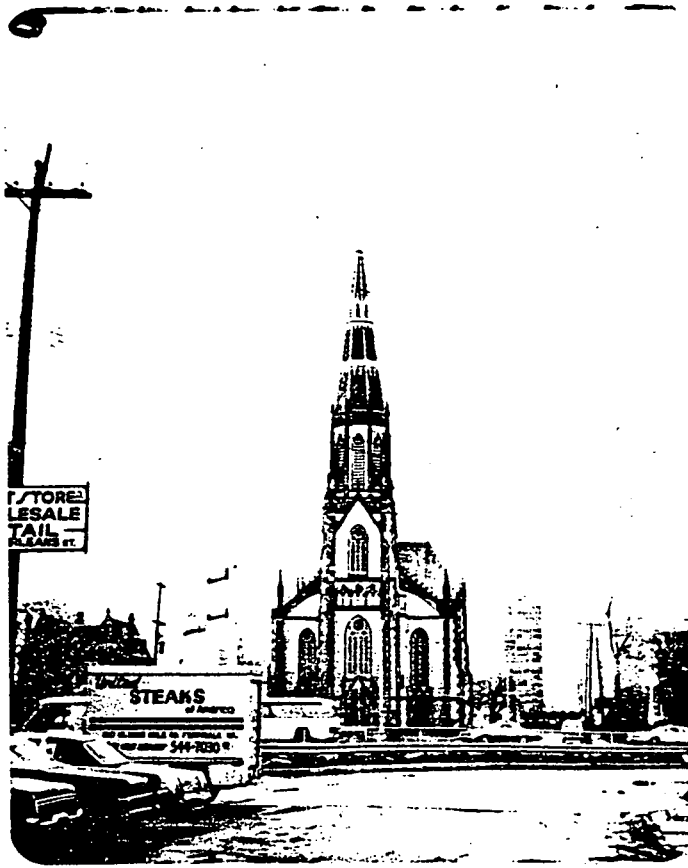448 Montcalm (146 before 1920); a building in the German style built before 1889.

The establishment of the Polish neighborhood and of the first Russian Jewish settlement are typical of the way in which other groups entered Detroit through the German-dominated neighborhood. In 1880, the Poles were a tiny minority and had settled among the Germans. As their numbers grew, they moved further north to locate around Russell Street and the Catholic church of the Sweetest Heart of Mary.[19]

By 1900 the developing Polish neighborhood was already well established and had become very cohesive containing 82% of the Polish population of the city. The few Germans living in the Polish neighborhood were Catholics. It was an entirely residential neighborhood with very small houses— 97% of them with wooden frames and 67% owned by their occupants.[20] Contrary to other groups, only a minority of Polish immigrants, 31%, lived in single family dwellings. On the average these houses were only one story high yet they housed as many as 5.95 people. The density of the neighborhood was 72.3 people per acre, the highest density in Detroit.

Following a similar process 20 years later in 1900, one could observe the Russian Jews settling in Detroit in the heart of the German quarter, sharing a few blocks with the German Jews.

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[19]This is the second Polish Church. The oldest one, established in 1870, is Saint Adalbert.

[20]The very high rate of home ownership for the Poles is partially due to the fact that only single family dwellings are considered here. A significant percentage of the Poles were living in rented apartments in multiple family dwellings; see infra.

Map nine
German and Polish Settlement (East Side), 1900
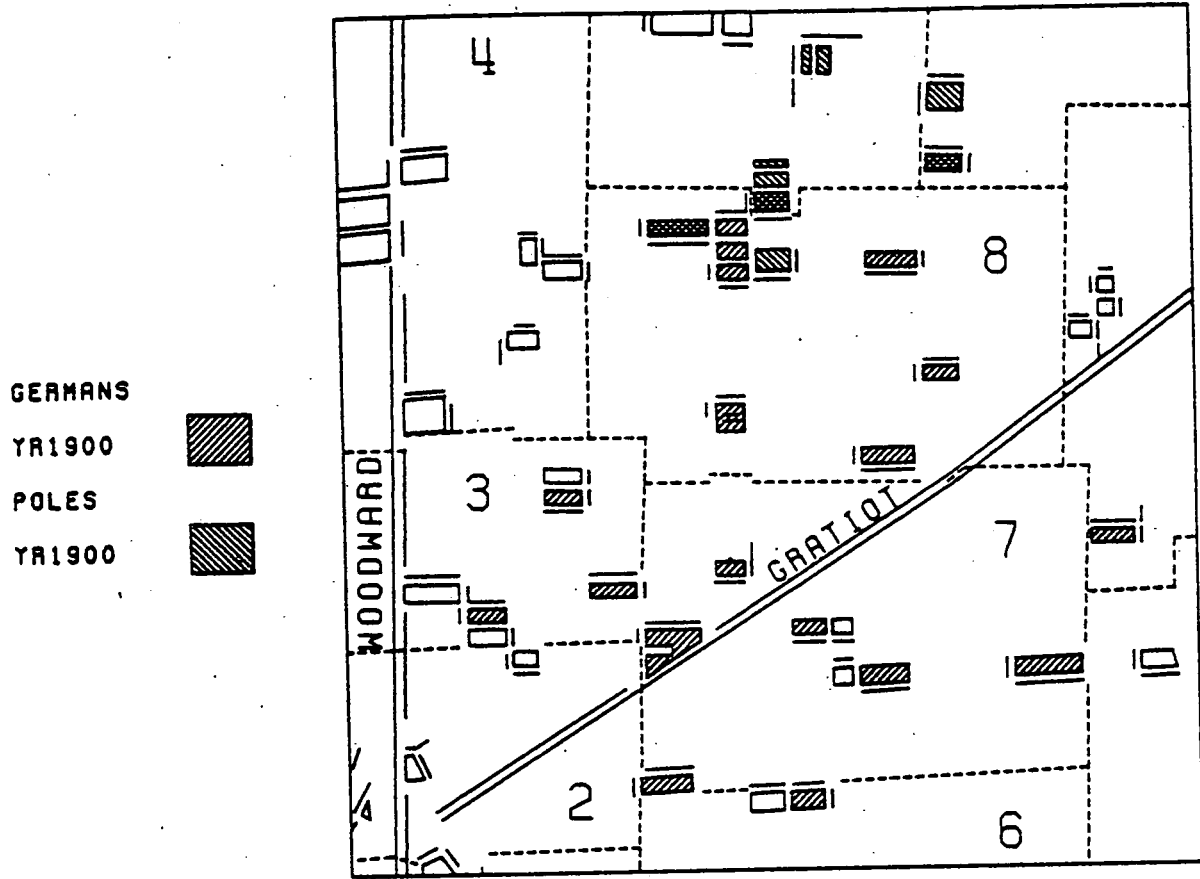
Land Use Map seven
Polish Neighborhood
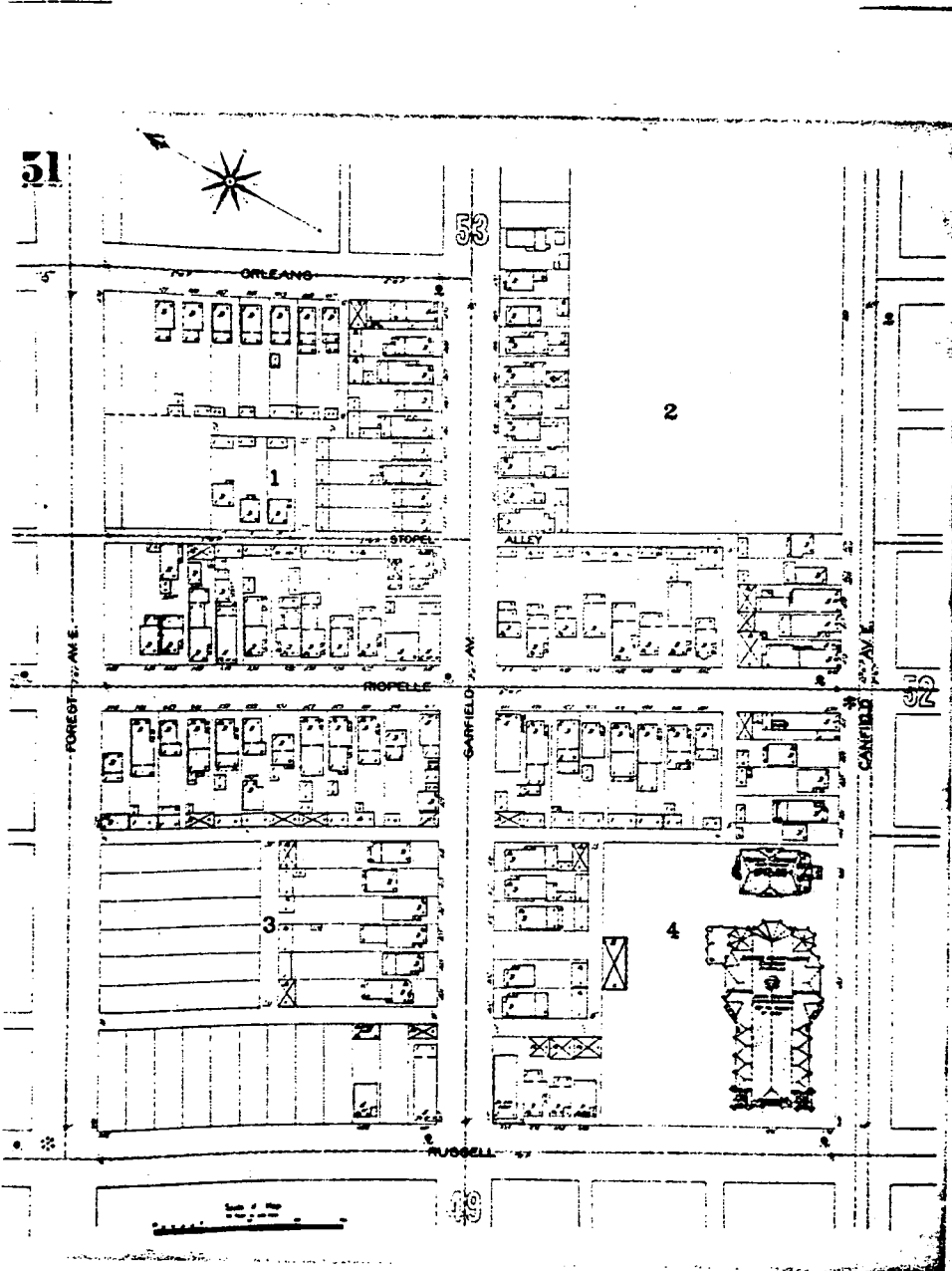
Sanborn Perris Maps of Detroit, 1897, Vol.3, Pl.51
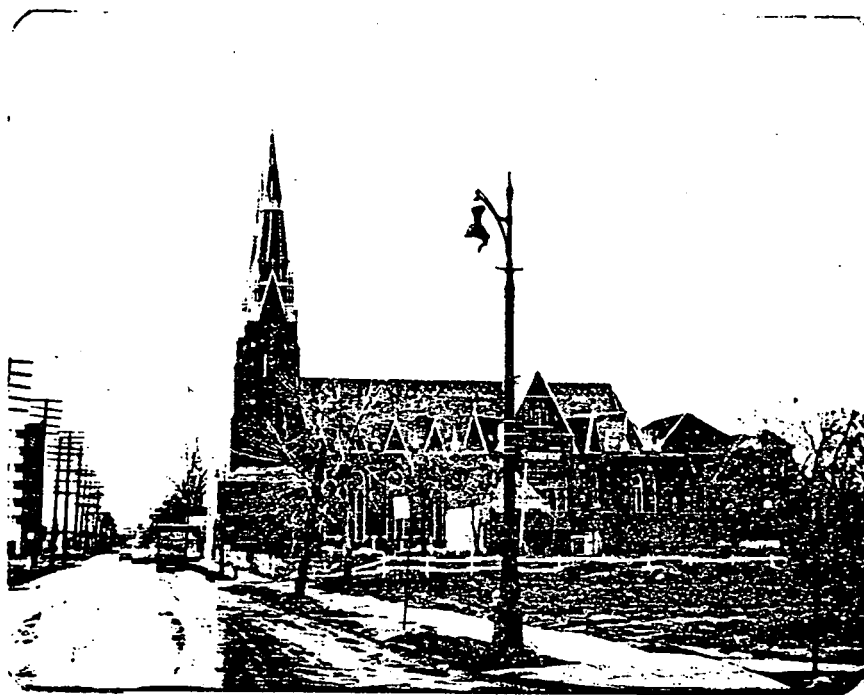
built around 1890

1356 Leland (232 before 1920);   a   house on a German-Polish frontage, built around 1890.

GERMANS

YR1900

RUSSIANS

YR1900
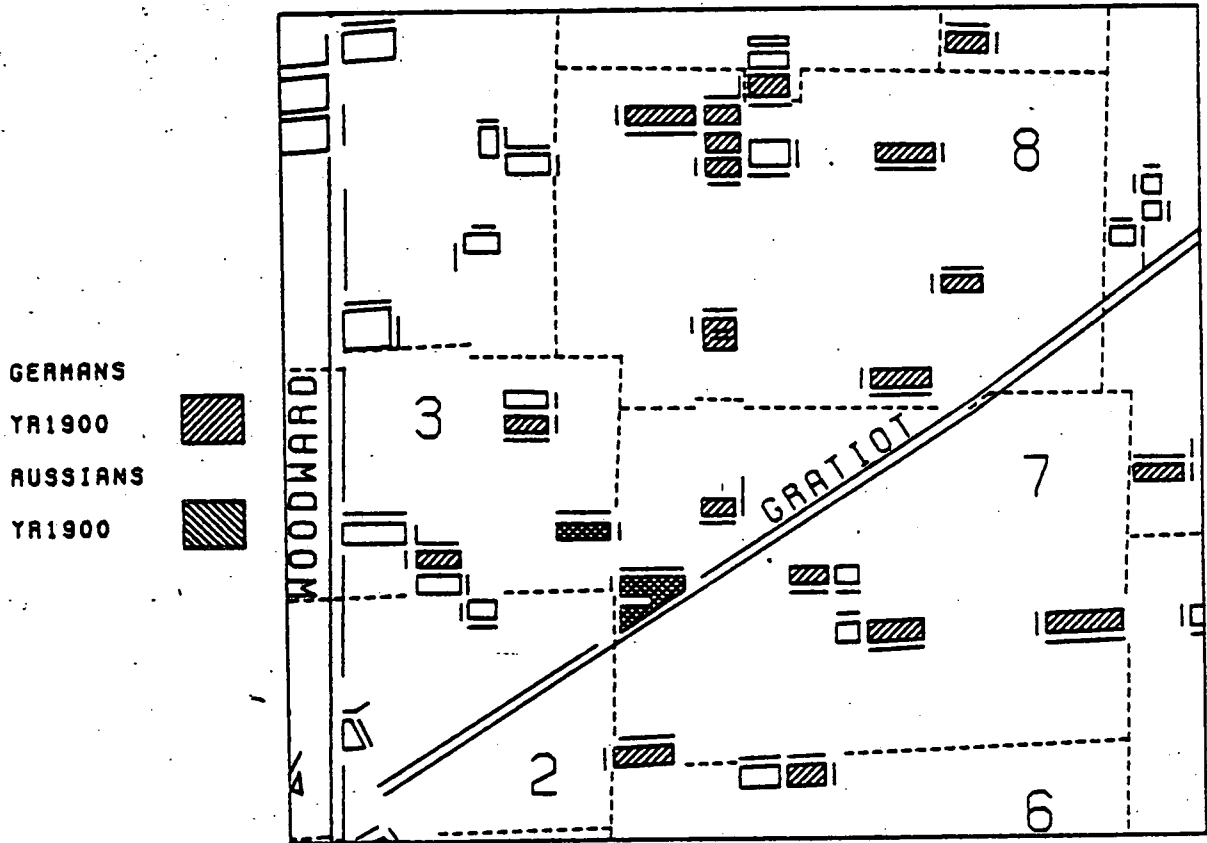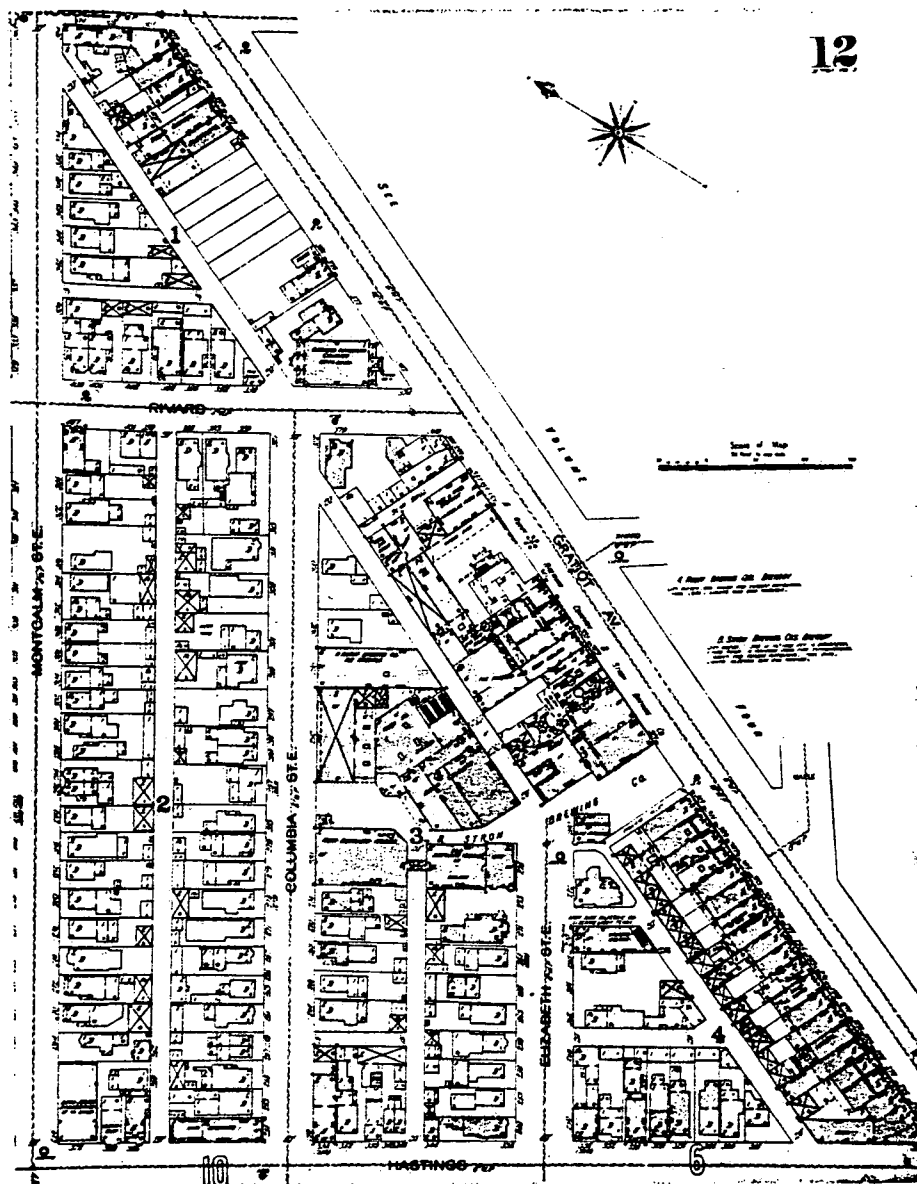
Sanborn Perris Maps of Detroit, 1897, Vol.3, Pl.12 Today, the Strohs
brewery remains; the houses have been replaced by the freeway.

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Table six
Estimated Percentages of Ethnic Populations
Clustered in Ethnic Neighborhoods
1880-1900 (1)

	1880 %	1900 %
American	37.61	51.50
Canadian (unspecified)	17.47	----
English Canadian	----	20.08
French Canadian	----	30.76
British	13.73	12.39
Irish	40.74	40.56
German	52.43	58.62
Polish	70.49	82.10
Russian	----	57.50

(1) Source: U.S. Census, 1880 and 1900, manuscript population schedules.
     sample data.
     Each neighborhood was identified by locating a high concentration
     of the population belonging to the particular ethnic group. "American"
     means born in the U.S. by U.S. born parents. "German" means born in
     Germany of German born parents. etc.

Table seven
Housing Statistics for Ethnic Groups, 1900
Single Family Dwellings Only (1)

	American %	English Canada %	French Canada %	Great Britain %	Irish %	German %	Polish %	Russian %	Black American %
HOME OWNERSHIP									
Own [2]	22.55	9.80	22.86	31.49	34.62	46.28	40.15	8.61	25.16
Mortgage	12.09	11.84	21.80	15.16	18.28	19.96	33.47	5.53	11.44
Rent	65.35	78.35	55.30	53.34	47.09	33.75	26.37	85.46	63.39
BUILDING STRUCTURE									
Brick	16.23	9.71	3.82	7.53	3.54	5.45	0.0	8.53	9.47
Wood	74.92	83.63	88.65	85.02	93.06	89.98	98.25	79.06	80.92
Stone	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.09	0.0	0.0	0.0
Brick & Wood	8.19	5.73	7.82	7.01	3.39	4.34	1.75	12.39	9.59
Other Combination	0.65	0.91	0.0	0.42	0.0	0.12	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mean Number of People per House	4.36	4.35	5.31	4.51	5.02	5.31	6.56	5.24	4.19
Mean Number of Stories per House	1.41	1.39	1.08	1.34	1.26	1.17	1.04	1.33	1.26

[1] Source: U.S. Census, 1900, manuscript population schedules, and Sanborn-Perris Atlases of Detroit, 6 vols., 1897; weighted sample data. "American" means born in the U.S. of U.S. born parents; "German" means born in Germany of German born parents, etc.

[2] Own free or unspecified.

Table eight
Housing Statistics for Ethnic Neighborhoods, 1900 (1)

	American %	Irish %	German %	Polish %
HOME OWNERSHIP				
Own (2)	26.20	24.60	35.60	41.30
Mortgage	10.40	6.90	13.10	25.40
Rent	63.40	68.50	51.20	33.30
BUILDING STRUCTURE				
Brick	18.30	6.40	7.50	0.0
Wood	73.30	88.10	88.00	96.6
Stone	0.10	0.0	0.0	0.0
Brick & Wood	7.90	5.50	4.40	3.40
Other Construction	0.40	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mean Number of People per House	4.60	4.62	4.99	5.95
Mean Number of Stories per House	1.47	1.32	1.20	1.08
DENSITY				
Mean Number of People per Acre	48.02	54.45	62.83	72.30

(1) Source: U.S. Census, 1900, manuscript population schedules, and Sanborn-Perris Atlases of Detroit, 6 vols., 1897; weighted sample data.

Each neighborhood was identified by locating a high concentration of the population belonging to the particular ethnic group. "American" means born in the U.S. of U.S. born parents; "German" means born in Germany of German born parents etc. Of course, these neighborhood figures include all the inhabitants of the neighborhood, not just members of the dominating ethnic groups.

(2) Own free or unspecified.

55

With the increasing density of the Detroit settlement, multiple dwellings became more important. In 1880, only 7.3% of the population lived in houses divided into two or more apartments. By 1900, this proportion had risen to 13.1%. Two groups had an unusually high proportion of their households living in multiple dwelling structures, the Poles (69%) and the Russians (49%). Among the families who lived in multiple dwellings, 21.31% of them were Americans, 30.5% Germans, and 29.13% Poles in 1900. The great majority of the multiple dwellings had two apartments. In only 42% of the cases involving American families did American families occupy both apartments in the dwelling. On the contrary, this occurred in 75% of the cases involving Germans families and 91.5% of the cases involving Polish families. Needless to say, the highest concentration of multiple dwellings in the city was in the Polish neighborhood. For example, in the following cluster of 11 frontages in the heart of the Polish neighborhood -on Riopelle, Forest, Orleans, Garfield and Stopel Alley- 60% of the houses in 5 fronts were multiple dwellings (cluster 124 on map 11).

Table nine
Percentages of Ethnic Populations
Living in Single and Multiple
Family Dwellings, 1900 (1)

	Single Dwelling	Multiple Dwelling
American '/.	77.47	22.53
English Canadian '/.	78.80	21.20
French Canadian '/.	70.89	29.11
British '/.	86.28	13.72
Irish '/.	86.91	13.09
German '/.	74.33	25.67
Polish '/.	30.99	69.01
Russian '/.	51.00	49.00
Black American '/.	70.34	29.66

(1) Source: U.S. Census, 1900, manuscript population schedules;
    weighted sample data. "American" means born in the U.S. of
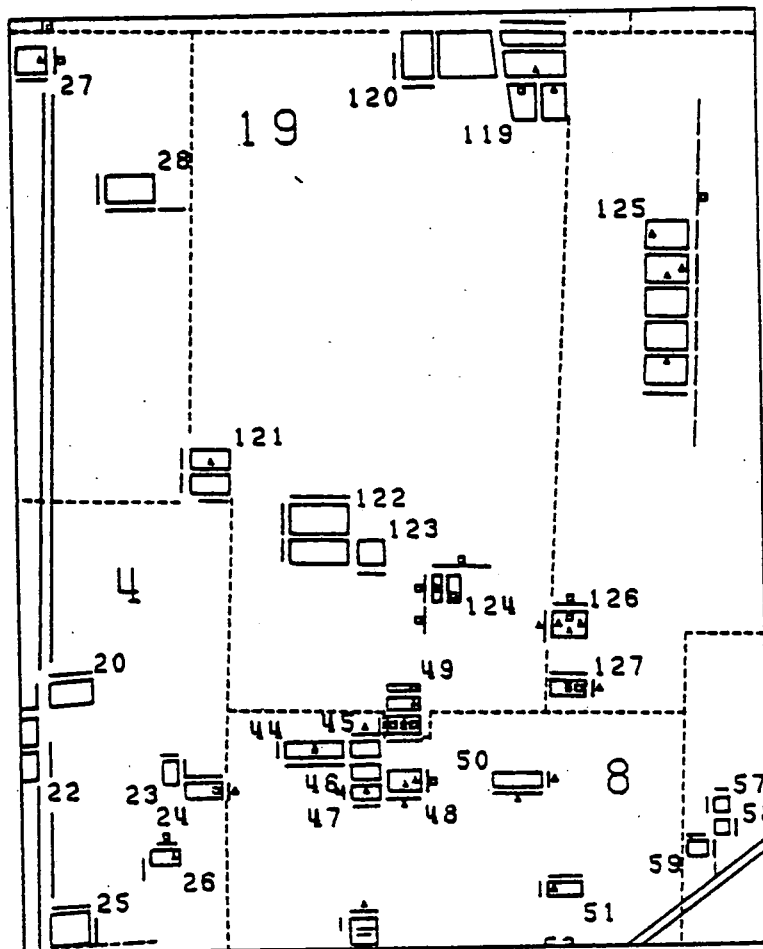   U.S. born parents; "German" means born in Germany of German
    born parents, etc.

541 Montcalm (171 before 1920), a double family dwelling built by two carpenters in 1881.

Map eleven
Multiple Family Dwellings
in the Polish Neighborhood
1900

MULT.DWE

30_60 △

OVER60 ▢

Detroit's ethnic neighborhoods differed in dominant population, in architecture, and in atmosphere. They displayed different landscapes. The ethnic map of Detroit at the end of the 19th century was complex. It was a dynamic map, heavily dependent upon the migratory flow and its impulses. It is easy to think schematically of the West Side and the "residential center" as primarily Yankee and Anglo-Saxon with a large Celtic enclave and the East Side as primarily German and Eastern European. Elsewhere there was the city center proper with its intense industrial, commercial and professional activities, and the newly developed fringe of the city inhabited by Yankees, English and English Canadians. Some neighborhoods were more crowded than others. In general the smaller the house, the more crowded it was and the more likely it was to be owned by its occupants. Mobile Yankees often lived in large expensive homes; they did not necessarily owned them. On the contrary small wage earners developed complex family strategies to purchase the small wooden houses of the newly developed neighborhoods. Acquiring the property gave a sense of real citizenship. It was part of taking root in the new country surrounded by one's fellow ethnics.

One can visualize the grid of Detroit as a quilt with a few primary colors and many shades. The areas of primary colors were inhabited by people who were similar enough to give an area a distinct tone. The many shades reflected the constant permeability, the easing of divisions, and the leveling of differences. The ethnic neighborhoods in Detroit where, depending on the group and the time period, a third to four-fifths of an ethnic community lived, were primary colors. They served as reference points to the overall ethnic community. Such high percentages of clustering seems enormous if one thinks of the many

factors that play a role in urban location.

Despite this heavy concentration in distinct areas, it was rare to see an area completely taken over by one group only. The Poles came the closest to this. The East side, though dominated by the Germans, was also the settling place of many immigrants from small groups who inserted themselves into the larger system established by the large German concentration. As soon as enough newcomers had poured into the German area, they separated out to develop their own neighborhoods. When the Poles moved away from the German neighborhood where they had originally settled, few streets remained with mixed Polish and German inhabitants. The Germans and Poles who continued to dwell in proximity were Catholics, and their religious membership was strong enough to maintain some of the ties that existed during the first wave of Polish immigration. By 1900, The Russian Jews occupied a place similar to that of the Poles twenty years earlier. Here too, a common religion provided the link between the Germans and the newly arrived Russians. When the Russian Jews first settled, their neighbors were German Jews. After 1920, the Germans decreased in number and in influence on the East Side. Another minority, the Blacks, who had been present in very small numbers for a very long time became the largest group of Detroit's East Side.

Several minorities developed large neighborhoods in Detroit's east side from the 1850's to the 1920's. A different logic operated on the West side, where, with the early decline of Irish immigration and of the Irish neighborhood, Irish Catholics immigrants soon came to live closer to other English speaking groups -the English, English Canadians, and Yankees- even though these groups were protestants. Only a handful of the Irish Catholics lived with the Catholic populations of French

Canadians, Poles or Germans on the East Side or in enclaves of the west. The Irish, isolated from the other immigrant groups, were more vulnerable to the Yankee extension into the western quarters of Detroit.

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ETHNICITY AND SOCIETY

We have examined the complex geographic distribution of people, discovered patterns of dominance and related large and small areas and large and small groups. We have assessed the existence of ethnic neighborhoods. Yet to recognize the existence of ecological units is still not enough. How did these neighborhoods function? How cohesive were they? Were neighborhood inhabitants separated from the society at large in the rest of the city. To give some answers to these questions, the last part of this booklet briefly explores three dimensions of ethnic life in Detroit: the language barrier, family composition, and the distribution of the working population.

A simple measure of the degree of isolation that members of ethnic groups may have experienced in ethnic neighborhoods is given by their ability or inability to speak English. In 1900, as many as 14.81% of the German-born immigrants over 10 years of age and 35.54% of the Polish natives over 10 did not speak English. These figures, valid for the city at large, also apply to the German and Polish neighborhoods themselves, though they are a little higher for the German areas -16.9%- and a little lower for the Polish areas -31.8%. In view of these statistics, it seems clear that the neighborhood had to provide a diversified environment to accommodate a sizable part of its population otherwise unable to deal with the society at large. Among the immigrants unable to speak English, the majority were women: 66.6% of the Germans who could not speak English and 57.8% of the Poles who could

not speak English were females. Therefore among foreign speakers social interaction was more likely limited to the neighborhood's social network and to the neighborhood's strongest institution, the family (table ten).

Table ten
Percentages of Ethnic Populations
Unable to Speak English, 1900

	French Canada %	German %	Polish %	Russian %	Austrian-Hungarian %	Italian %
Do not speak English: Total Population[2]	6.43	14.81	35.54	5.34	5.05	28.52
Do not speak English: Men	2.91	9.87	27.18	0.0	2.54	26.43
Do not speak English: Women	10.14	19.77	44.80	12.6	7.11	32.09

[1] Source: U.S. Census, 1900, manuscript population schedules; weighted sample data. "American" means born in the U.S. of U.S. born parents; "German" means born in Germany of German born parents, etc.

[2] Statistics based on population 11 to 98 years old.

It is possible to imagine a vivid picture of the households in each neighborhood as the census takers went from door to door recording the characteristics of each member of the household and their relationship

to the head of the household. A convenient and accurate way of describing the household unit is to reserve the word "family" for the blood relatives of a household and the word household to designate everyone "sharing the same table", that is, the blood relatives plus, in most instances, the boarders and servants.[21] Many dynamic and structural elements are combined to contribute to the organization of the household. It is difficult to isolate with any precision the effects of ethnicity on household structure, which also depends on such other factors as income, occupational status, and most important of all, the stage of the family's life cycle. Bachelors, young and old, are likely to be found living alone. Eighty per cent of the families in one enumeration are likely to be nuclear. The nuclear family may be extended in two basic ways: a simple expansion to relatives up, across or down the family tree (father, brother, nephew for instance), or the formation of a second kin nucleus, making a multiple family. The family unit may also be extended to unrelated members, most frequently boarders, often bachelors, and sometimes married couples. Eleven percent of Detroit's households had boarders in 1880, excluding hotels and boarding houses, and 12% of Detroit's households had servants in 1880, also excluding hotels and boarding houses.

Among ethnic groups, most families were nuclear. The extended family was more frequent among the Yankees (around 21%) than the Germans, Irish or Poles (around 11%). Family sizes also differed. Nuclear German, Irish, and Polish families were generally more numerous

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[21]The Bureau of the Census used the word "family" for our word "household", see Instructions to Enumerators, Tenth Census of the United States, June 1, 1880, (Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1880).

--about 5 people-- as opposed to American families -- about 4 people. Thus, the two extremes were, on one hand, large nuclear families of immigrants and, on the other, extended American families with a smaller primary nucleus. The family unit was often extended through the presence of boarders and servants. In 1880, 40% of the boarders lived in American households and 66% of the servants were employed by American households. The largest group of boarders were Americans; in 1880, 36% of the boarders were Americans, 22% were Germans, 16% Irish and 15% English. As has already been demonstrated for other cities , "Boarding was a migrant rather than a foreign immigrant practice".[22] As for the servants, Germans, Irish and Canadian girls and women furnished 75% of the domestics employed for the most part in American and English households.

Aggregate differentials in household composition and size by ethnic group are difficult to locate in the neighborhoods. Even in ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods, there was a great diversity of household structure due to the wide age distribution. Marital fertility is a better indicator than household structure and size of whether or not families who lived in geographic proximity shared similar demographic behavior.[23] A fertility ratio is in itself a fairly abstract quantity but compared to other such ratios, it takes on a

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[22]J. Modell and T. Hareven, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families", Journal of Marriage and the Family, 35(August 1973), 467-479.

[23]Marital fertility is measured as the age specific standardized child/woman ratio per 1,000 women with husband present aged 20-49 and children under 5 years old. See T. Hareven and M. Vinovskis, "Marital Fertility, Ethnicity and Occupation in Urban Families: An Analysis of South Boston and the South End in 1880," Journal of Social History, 9(March, 1975), 69-93.

social meaning. The following graphs indicate that the Irish, German, and Polish women had more children in each age group than the other groups. Also, their child bearing period was longer than that of the Yankee and English women. In the most fertile ethnic groups the period of high fertility lasted until women were 39 years old. It declined five years earlier among the American women. (The trend for Canadian women in 1880 is unclear due to the fact that the French and English are not differentiated.)

One measures here a fundamental difference in demographic behavior between Yankees and immigrants that has not yet been emphasized enough. When these aggregate differences are translated into the city's space, the map of marital fertility in Detroit approximates the map of ethnic concentration fairly well. One can easily find the German and Polish East Side, the Irish West and the American residential center (Although here again, Canadians with a low geographic concentration and a fairly high fertility rate blurs the picture a little.)

We may now say with some confidence that profound demographic differences existed in Detroit between Yankees and immigrants. The ethnic factor was not only responsible for a cleavage in social identity but for demographic behavior as well. In Detroit, the Yankee and Anglo-saxon areas of low fertility contrasted with the fertile communities of German, Irish, and Polish immigrants.

The description of ethnic Detroit in the late nineteenth century would be incomplete without briefly examining the world of work. The active working population was divided among ethnic lines. If we divide the occupations into four broad status categories -high white collar, low white collar, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled- we can observe

Figures three a, b, and c
Fertility in Detroit
1880
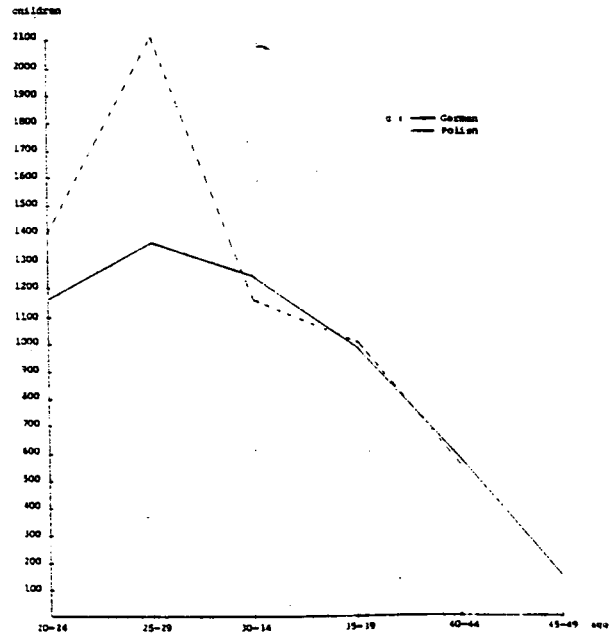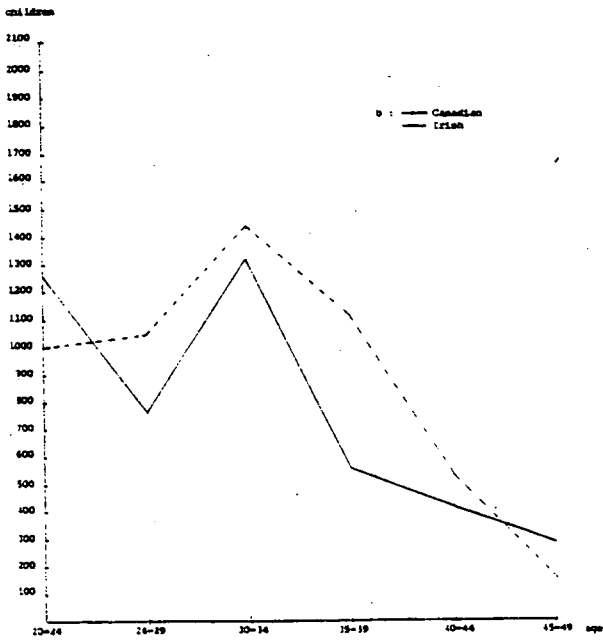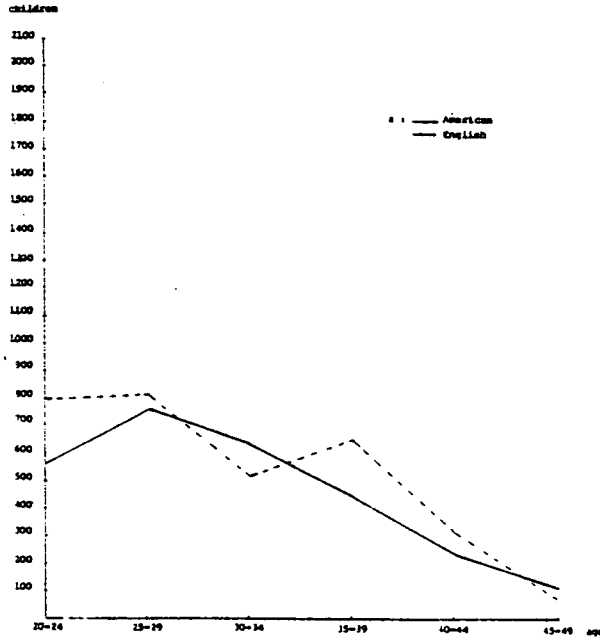
Number of children under five per thousand married women per age
group and ethnic group (unstandardized ratios).
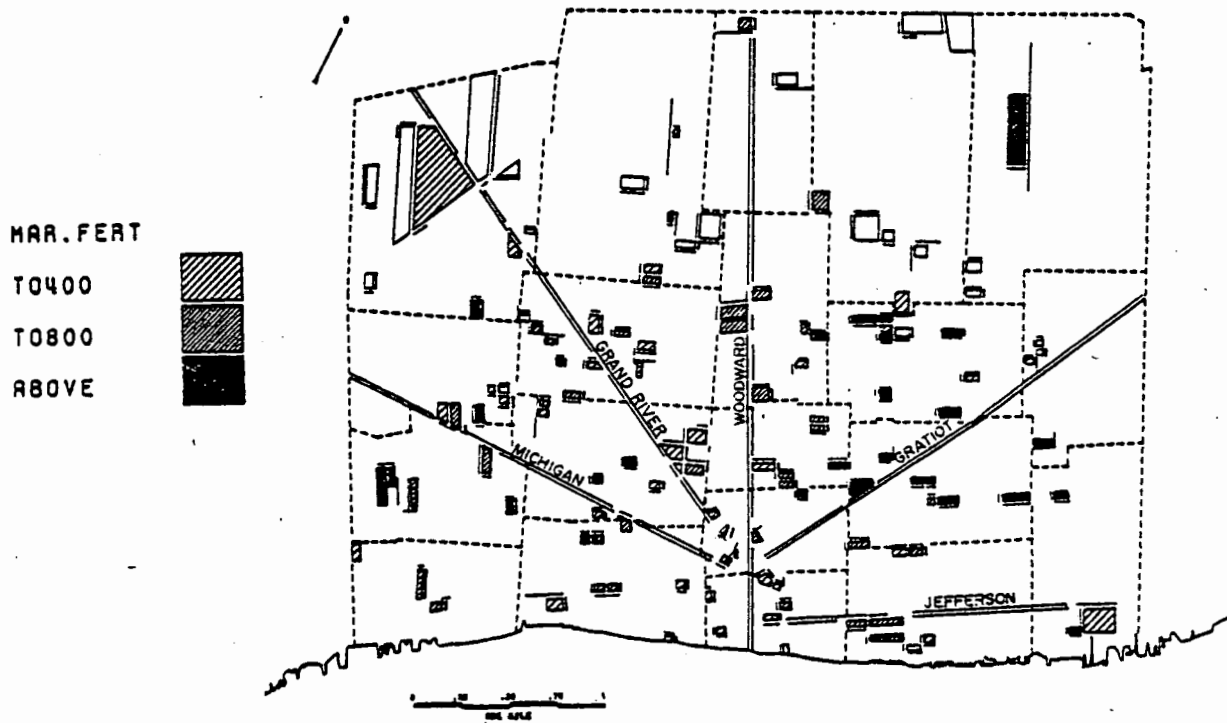
that the Yankees dominated the hierarchy of work. In 1880, American

households were headed by 66.4% of Detroit's upper white collar workers

and 39.8% of the Detroit's lower white collar workers. German

households were headed by 47.5% of Detroit's skilled workers and 40.8%

of Detroit's laborers. Counting differently, 84.6% of German heads of

households, 74.4% of Irish heads of households and 73% of Canadian heads

of households were skilled craftsmen or semi-skilled and unskilled

workers (table eleven).

Different segments of the population dominated different jobs. For

example, in 1880 the Germans were mostly occupied in the tobacco

Table eleven
Ethnicity and Social Status
1880 (1)

	High White Collar	Low White Collar	Skilled Labor	Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Labor
AMERICAN				
% Ethnic Group	11.4	39.5	30.9	18.2
% Occupational Group	66.4	39.8	20.2	16.4
CANADIAN				
% Ethnic Group	3.0	24.0	43.0	30.0
% Occupational Group	3.9	5.4	6.3	6.1
BRITISH				
% Ethnic Group	3.7	33.5	44.5	18.3
% Occupational Group	10.4	16.5	14.2	8.1
IRISH				
% Ethnic Group	1.6	24.0	29.1	45.3
% Occupational Group	5.7	13.8	10.9	23.3
GERMAN				
% Ethnic Group	1.6	13.8	52.2	32.8
% Occupational Group	13.0	19.5	47.5	40.8
POLISH[2]				
% Ethnic Group	1.8	40.0	10.9	47.3
% Occupational Group	1.3	5.0	0.9	5.3

[1] Source: U.S. Census, 1880, manuscript population schedules; sample data. "American" means born in the U.S. of U.S. born parents; "German" means born in Germany of German born parents, etc.

[2] The figures for the Polish immigrants may not be accurate due to the small sample size for 1880. The row percentages for the Poles in 1900 are: High White Collar: none; Low White Collar: 5.7%; Skilled: 32.5%; Semi-Skilled and Unskilled: 61.8%.

industry, marble and stone work, and to a lesser extent, the food and the metallurgy industries. They also ran the majority of saloons. The Americans and English tended to run the printing shops and taught in the schools. They also ran hotels and boarding houses, had the majority of jobs in railroad work, did plastering and painting. Canadians and Irish, without numerically dominating any sector, were fairly well represented in the wood and transportation industry. The Canadian and Irish women, along with the German women, were commonly employed in the domestic services. Of course, to dominate an industry numerically does not mean to control it. For instance, the Germans dominated sectors of industry through skilled work and general labor. The better positions of manufacturers and wholesalers were generally held by Yankees.

*   *   *   *   *

Detroit's ethnic neighborhoods did not consist of the total population of each group within strict boundaries. Some neighborhoods had more pronounced concentration patterns than others. Each group was always involved in a complex set of relationships with the others. Nevertheless, the characteristics of the neighborhoods always reflected and often amplified the characteristics of the ethnic group taken as a whole. Each neighborhood was a spatial reference point to the entire ethnic community including those outside of its boundaries as well as to the entire population of Detroit. The city's spatial arrangement reflected the diversity of its population.

Not only did Detroit's neighborhoods look different in their architecture and in their physical arrangement, but they were inhabited by people with different family structures, different jobs, and sometimes different languages. There was a large Yankee and Anglo-Saxon portion of the city with a low fertility rate and with households headed by white collar workers inhabiting large brick or wooden houses; the families were often extended, and often employed servants. On the other side there was a working class Celtic, Germanic and Slavic city divided into several neighborhoods. There, large households consisting of nuclear families lived in small wooden houses and occupied the few multiple dwellings of Detroit.

Many aspects of Detroit's ethnic neighborhoods were not considered in this booklet: patterns of social interaction, friendship networks, the workings of local associations, the atmosphere of neighborhoods schools, local political life and press circulation. These are subjects of another study currently in preparation. Here, instead, we gave priority to the study of tens of thousands of silent participants who

did not leave memoirs or the stories of their lives. From the records available, we examined some of their individual characteristics as well as those of the physical environment in which they lived. No study of the "ethnic factor" in the period of high immigration and industrial change can be significant unless it is based on an accurate picture of the social-spatial distribution of ethnic groups.

That a large industrial city of immigrants was both socially and spatially divided is a familiar picture. What is intriguing is how this developed. Detroit's ethnic groups did not cluster in a social quarantine in some downtown ghetto. The process of settlement did not consist of first inhabiting an abnormal area and then leaving it for a more normal place. In contrast to the classic description, Detroit's ethnic groups did not first settle in areas being abandoned by other groups. They took over different parts of the city as they were being built. They settled in different parts of an empty grid and contributed to filling it. Detroit's ethnic groups built neighborhoods that provided them with functional residences and social networks. They settled in areas that, because of the ethnic character they brought with them, were functional places to live. The ethnic neighborhoods were vital parts of the city's building process and life.

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REFERENCES

All the results presented in this booklet come from an ongoing study of Detroit's socio-ethnic and land use patterns in 1880-1900. The readers who wants to know more about the development of the study, its substantive results, methodological discussions and bibliography may wish to consult the following publications:

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