FAMILIES, WORK, AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR CHILDREN IN WATERBURY, CONNECTICUT, 1900-1920

by

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INTRODUCTION

Situated in the Connecticut Valley, Waterbury, Connecticut, from the early nineteenth century served as a crucial center for the manufacture of brass and brass products. The city benefitted greatly from industrial innovations such as interchangeable parts, as well as from advances in metalworking techniques. By the 1870's, the city's industrial base had diversified to include a modern machine industry and several smaller industries, including those producing clocks, wire, nails, pins, and photographic equipment. As time passed and these industries became increasingly mechanized, less skilled workers from other countries began to replace highly skilled American and British craftsmen. By 1900, 404 industries operated in Waterbury, including Scovill, Benedict and Burnham, and American Brass companies, the largest of the brass manufacturers.[1]

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[1] Cecelia Bucki, Metals, Minds, and Machines (Waterbury, Conn.: Mattatuck Historical Society, 1980), 4-42; Jeremy Brecher, Brass Valley (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 65.

In the mid-nineteenth century, large numbers of Irish had arrived in Waterbury, and by 1900, Irish immigrants and their children constituted fully 44 percent of its population. French-Canadians followed the Irish in 1880. During the first decades of the twentieth century changes in European economies precipitated a surge in emigration from Southern and Eastern European countries. In this context, immigration to Connecticut's cities burgeoned. Lithuanian immigrants first began arriving in Waterbury in the 1890's, as many left their homeland to avoid service in the Russian army. Italians also began settling in the city in this period. By 1910, the state of Connecticut had the third highest percentage of foreign born inhabitants in the United States, following Massachusetts and Rhode Island.[2] World War I interrupted this flow, and the restriction movement of the 1920's brought it to an end.

This essay is a community study of Waterbury and its immigrants from 1900-1920. It focuses upon the ways in which European immigrants in this medium-sized brass industry city organized their economic and social activities within their families and neighborhoods, the interaction of immigrant groups with one another, and the perceptions about

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[2] Ruth O. M. Anderson, From Yankee to American: Connecticut, 1865-1914 (Chester, Conn.: Pequot Press, 1975), 2; Bucki, 71-73.

the newcomers among the city's native-born population.

Waterbury serves as an excellent case study in which to examine the current controversies in ethnic history. Since the publication of Oscar Handlin's The Uprooted in 1951, historians have debated whether immigrants and their children retained their ethnicity or adopted American values and practices. In particular, many have challenged Handlin's view of immigrants as alienated and psychologically dysfunctional. In doing so they have emphasized the adaptive nature of immigrants and have paid less heed to inhibitive factors such as nativism and work place discrimination.[3]

A re-examination of immigrant family has been an important part of the new interpretation. Recent historians have portrayed the family and community as agents in easing the process of relocation to American cities. They have introduced the concept of the family as an economic unit as a substitute for the traditional model, which viewed the head of household as solely responsible for economic productivity.

In his 1964 article, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of the Uprooted", Rudolph Vecoli asserted that the family and community essentially recreated itself in America. His

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[3] Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, 2nd ed. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973).

argument was the antithesis of Handlin's. Since then, other historians have seen cultural transfer as a more dynamic process, whereby immigrants retained some of their values and activities, while adapting others to suit changing circumstances. These historians, including Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, Tamara Hareven, John Bodnar, Elizabeth Ewen, Michael Weber, and Judith Smith, attribute the reasons for adaption to both economic and social circumstances.[4]

Social historians writing recently on the topic of immigrants have documented connections between the originating societies and new immigrant communities. Tamara

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[4] Rudolph Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of the Uprooted," Journal of American History, 51 (1964): 49; Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1800-1930 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977); Tamara Hareven, "The Dynamics of Kin in an Industrial Community," in Turning Points: Historical and Sociological Essays on the Family, ed. John Demos and Sarane Boocock (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978),157-182; John Bodnar, The Transplanted (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); Elizabeth Ewen, Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985); Michael Weber, "East Europeans in Steel Towns: A Comparative Analysis," Journal of Urban History 11 (May 1985); Judith Smith, Family Connections: A History of Italian and Jewish Immigrant Lives in Providence, Rhode Island, 1900-1940 (Albany: State University Of New York Press, 1985).

Although culture is by no means a definite concept, here I describe it as a shared system of beliefs and values among a group of individuals, which influence their actions. In this discussion, therefore, it would include: the division of labor within the family; the manner in which parents and children interact; attitudes toward marriage, education and religion; family economics and control of wages. In the context of community it would include the nature and intimacy of relationships, methods and extent of assistance, and attitudes toward institutions.

Hareven's work on the immigrant community in Manchester, New Hampshire, challenges the perception of an alienated and isolated immigrant, cut off from his or her culture or relationships. She portrays instead a tightly-knit network of community and relationships between the originating and immigrant communities. Immigrants were acquainted with the conditions awaiting them. They were not, as Handlin first asserted, "crowds of helpless people, moving in a disorganized fashion into a completely unknown territory". East European immigrant experiences were similar to those of the French-Canadians described by Hareven. Michael Weber suggests that "East European immigrants coming to Pittsburgh or Johnstown did not arrive in either place by accident." They learned of their future situation by correspondence through a quite sophisticated community network. Once an immigrant decided to move, he or she was not destined to live in an anonymous community, but instead was welcomed into an ethnic community by relatives or friends of friends. More established immigrants assisted those who had recently arrived in finding both housing and work.[5]

This ethnic community provided an essential network of job opportunities for immigrant men. Weber argues that immigrants learned how they could supply foremen with a

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[5] Hareven, 157; Weber, 291.

steady stream of immigrant workers, and thus they quickly procured jobs for recent arrivals. Hareven also demonstrates how relatives looked out for job openings in which to place their relatives. Ethnic newspapers, churches and mutual aid societies also proved important supports for immigrants. Mutual aid societies served as a form of insurance, paying for funerals and distributing sickness benefits. But there were also less formalized means of community assistance--for example, helping those evicted from their homes and visiting the sick.

For women, the ethnic community often replaced close female relatives, such as mothers or aunts, who passed on essential knowledge, including child care information.[6] In essence, this community "acted collectively as an agency of a foreign culture," as foreign-born women shared their knowledge of America with one another. For women outside the formal work force those ties became especially valuable. Kinship and community relations were educational as well as social and economic.[7]

This sense of community also extended to the commercial realm as immigrants patronized merchants of the same ethnic

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[6] Weber, 293, 303-310; Hareven, 157; Elizabeth Ewen, Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars, 202, 212.

[7] Elizabeth Ewen,"Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars" (Ph.D. diss., SUNY Stony Brook, 1979), 211.

group. Ewa Morawska describes the flourishing immigrant business community in Pennsylvania steel towns, which often served as the focal point for socializing. Moreover, Ewen demonstrates that midwives performed more than a service for Lower East Side women, because they also acted as social links among immigrant women.[8]

By the late 1970's historians had begun to focus on the ways in which immigrant families adapted to American realities while remaining influenced by past experiences and culture. These recent immigration historians examine culture not simply by focusing on old world values, but also by considering how economic opportunities in America affected it. In doing this, they increasingly viewed the economic role of immigrant women and children in addition to the heads of household, both in premigration settings and in their new communities.

In America, changes in the family economy precipitated transformations in the responsibilities of its members. Often the male head of household was unable to earn enough to provide for all of the family's needs. For Italians, this situation differed considerably from their former

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[8] See Ewa Morawska, "T'was Hope Here: The Polish Immigrants in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890," in The Polish Presence in Canada and America, ed. Frank Renkiewicz (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1982); Ewen (Ph.D. diss.), 161-164.

circumstances. As Elizabeth Ewen discusses, there was not a direct separation between work and home in the rural Italian economy. The male head of household grew crops for his family, as well as a small surplus for market or bartering. The female head of household produced all of her family's clothing. Moreover, in the rural Italian family economy rent did not constitute a substantial part of the family's budget as it did in America. Family work was also social, since women often conducted their work in a communal, outdoor environment. Increasingly, however, external economic circumstances, such as land scarcity and an expanding market economy made it difficult for contadini to maintain their positions in Italy. When the Italian family arrived in the United States, usually settling in an urban area, new economic situations forced family members to change their economic activities. Women could no longer produce much of the families' necessities, and thus the family became more dependent on the head of household's wages.[9]

Although old world values among some immigrant groups might have led them to object to women's working outside the home, other factors also influenced the decision to remain home. For instance, the presence of young children often

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[9] See Elizabeth Ewen, Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars, 20-74; Virginia Yans-McLaughlin.

prevented women from entering the wage force. Weber does an excellent job of emphasizing the interaction between culture and economic opportunities for women. In his view, East European women were not excluded from the work force merely as a result of their traditional values, but also due to the lack of opportunities encountered by married women in Pittsburgh and Johnstown. John Bodnar also asserts that women's employment opportunities were often limited due to discrimination against black and immigrant workers in general. Ellen H. Biddle illustrates the flexibility of traditional values to financial circumstances. She explains that due to cultural restraints, Irish women generally did not work after marriage. During 1865, however, up to a third of married Irish women participated in the work force when adverse economic circumstances prevailed. Thus, while traditional values played a role in determining economic activities, they were not immutable. The availability of opportunities and economic necessity, rather than traditional values, sometimes served as determining factors in women's work participation and in other economic decisions.[10]

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[10] Weber, 297; John Bodnar, Roger Simon, and Michael Weber, Lives of Their Own (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 101; Ellen H. Biddle, "The American Catholic Irish Family," in Ethnic Families in America, ed. Charles H. Mindel and Robert W. Halberstein (New York: Elsevier Press, 1976), 102.

Immigrant women's productive activities within the home proved critical to their families' economic well-being. Weber and Bodnar describe how boarders provided a crucial source of income for new immigrants, especially those with small children. Women prepared meals and cleaned for boarders in exchange for rent, thereby supplementing their families' income while remaining at home. Moreover, as Ewen emphasizes, "out work" became a practical way of earning money for many women, because it allowed them to work and to take care of children simultaneously. She notes that contrary to assertions by employers, this money was hardly "pin money", but was integral to the family economy. Artificial flowers and garment finishing are two examples of widely accepted means of earning additional income through out work in New York City. Families often learned to make use of installment plans in order to stretch out payment of expensive items for upwards of eighteen years. Weber describes how East European women cultivated gardens and raised chickens for food (although this was not possible in more densely populated cities.)[11] Some families supplemented their incomes by sending their children to work at an early age rather than having them continue with their education.

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[11] Weber, 300.

These historians demonstrate that the process of immigrant economic adaptation proved complex and dynamic. In fact, immigrant household adaptations were both novel and imitative. By relying on installment purchasing plans, for instance, immigrants took advantage of an accepted American practice. However, bargaining and raising chickens in urban areas served as extensions of premigration practices.

Virginia Yans-McLaughlin demonstrates that Italian women working in Buffalo canneries with their children made an important economic adaptation to American circumstances while adhering to traditional Italian views of sex roles. Italians engaged in cannery work in order to maintain control of the family structure, as well as to maximize wages by extracting work from children. Yans-McLaughlin asserts that this activity allowed immigrants to maintain a close relationship between work and family, as had been the case in Italy. In fact, Yans-McLaughlin documents that Italian women chose to forgo higher paid work for canning because it allowed greater family participation. Therefore canning served as a semi-traditional form of work that did not challenge assumptions about the family. Here, economic and cultural considerations combined to make cannery work an

attractive option.[12] Yet, Yans-McLaughlin remains vague in explaining how a dynamic relationship between indigenous culture and economic opportunities actually operates. Moreover, some studies of Italian women in other cities contradict her conclusions about Italian constraints against married women's participation in the formal work force.[13]

Extended immigrant family relationships often proved vital to immigrants and greatly influenced their adaptation to America. Hareven describes the process by which the extended immigrant family interacted, especially in the factory. From her research she concludes that upwards of 75 percent of Amoskeag workers had relatives working in the same mill. This network provided a variety of functions, both economic and social. Relatives were often responsible for training each other in the factory, and served as a safety net in times of sickness or layoffs; this network also helped with child-care responsibilities and house building. In addition, one relative sometimes assisted less productive relatives meet piece work quotas. Hareven,

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[12] See Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), passim.

[13] See Judith Smith, Family Connections: A History of Italian and Jewish Immigrant Lives in Providence, Rhode Island, 1900-1940 ; Miriam Cohen, "Italian-American Women in New York City, 1900-1950," in Class, Sex and the Women Worker, ed. Milton Cantor and Bruce Laurie (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977).

therefore, reinforces the idea that immigrants' experiences were not individual, but collective. Interestingly, she notes that kinship relationships were not monolithic, but appeared stronger under certain circumstances, such as in times of economic hardship, than under others.[14]

Judith Smith demonstrates how the proximity of extended kin in Providence partially compensated for the incompleteness of closer family groups among immigrants. She notes that of Italians with kin in Providence in 1915, three-fourths lived within one block of one another. This provided a "context in which traditional economic interdependence of family members could be recreated and new connections between families developed." Bodnar asserts that the kinship network was essential to migration, playing a "decisive role in adjustment by largely defining respective trajectories newcomers took into the industrial structure." He further discusses the importance of the family in immigrants' decision-making. Therefore, this process was not merely one of reconstitution but of adaptation.[15]

Relatives provided a system of reciprocity in a similar

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[14] Hareven, 162, 156-174.

[15] Judith Smith,"Our Own Kind: Family and Community Networks," Radical History Review 17 (Spring 1977): 106-107; John Bodnar, The Transplanted, 89.

manner as they had done previous to immigration. Those in need of loans or other assistance would much more likely turn to a member of the family before any type of welfare agency. Relatives often kept unemployed kin as boarders, without charging them, and provided short-term loans for one another. Hareven suggests that kinship affiliation not only served to facilitate migration, but "served as reminders and reinforcers of obligations and ties to premigration communities." These bonds also served as a way to preserve traditional values and keep activities within premigration cultural norms.[16]

Extended family and community networks served dual and seemingly opposite purposes: to preserve and reinforce traditional values; and to integrate immigrants into American society. Celebrations, church activities, and economic reciprocity all functioned as reinforcing agents in much the same way they had in Europe. Concurrently, however, these bonds acted as acculturating forces. In assisting immigrants to cope with the new industrial system and by providing jobs, and by training newcomers and helping them meet quotas, community members and relatives assisted each other in adjusting to the new society.

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[16] Hareven, 160.

CHAPTER ONE

A DISCUSSION OF METHODOLOGY

This essay examines Waterbury's immigrant population, their families, communities, and working lives between 1900-1920. The study incorporates an array of sources, including federal census data, oral histories, newspaper articles, company records, and unpublished materials and research. It further includes information on Waterbury's twenty-five immigrant groups, and especially the three largest--the Irish, Italians, and Lithuanians. In the period 1900-20, the Irish were an established ethnic group in Waterbury, while Italians and Lithuanians remained newcomers to the city. This study compares and contrasts demographic and economic patterns across those ethnic groups instead of focusing on one ethnic group in a single locale. A sampling procedure which uses information from the 1910 federal census allows one to assess whether certain economic activities were broad-based or confined to particular immigrant groups, and whether such proclivities differed

significantly from the native-born population.[1]

A community study offers the historian distinct advantages over other types of approaches. It allows the researcher to examine the interaction of a population within one local economy, thus eliminating differences in economic bases, housing options, ratios of native-born to immigrant populations, local laws, access to transportation, and other factors that can influence immigrants' experiences. One can therefore draw more accurate conclusions about why immigrants acted as they did, given the finite set of resources and circumstances before them.

This approach also contains certain limitations. While conclusions drawn from a sample for Waterbury can depict accurately the dynamics of immigrant life there, the researcher must be careful in generalizing such findings to immigrant populations in other cities. The fact that Waterbury's immigrant population comprised 35 percent of the total in 1910 certainly affected their experience, as did Waterbury's manufacturing base. Moreover, there were

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[1] I have classified inhabitants into various immigrant groups that differ slightly from those categorized in aggregrate data found for Waterbury in the print census. Often the census schedule contained more specific information on ethnicity than did the aggregate data. For instance, census takers distinguished between Lithuanians and Russian-Jews in the schedule, whereas the print census collapsed such differences into a general Russian category. I have, therefore, kept the schedule's distinctions in my study.

three immigrant groups whose members comprised over 5 percent of the city's population but blacks were few in number. Thus, the results pertaining to Waterbury might not prove comparable to Northern cities with larger economic bases or larger black populations, nor would it necessarily compare with a company mill town, for example, such as Manchester, New Hampshire, where the majority of workers were recruited from one immigrant group. Yet, while the historian must remain cautious in forming generalizations based on the results of a community study, such findings are important when used in conjunction with other community studies of the subject.

Within the general framework of a community study, I have used the concept of a family economy to explore the ways in which immigrants organized their household activities. I define the family economy in this study as the strategy whereby families earn, spend, and save their incomes. This concept presumes that the male head-of-household was not the sole economic producer in a family. Of course, the "family economy" is not an term which pertains exclusively to immigrants. Much of the literature on immigrant families, however, has concluded that, in the period 1900-1920, immigrant women were more likely than native-born white women to engage in paid formal work, and more likely to rely on out work for family income.

Moreover, poor pay in the occupations available to immigrant men often required that other members of the family engage in remunerative activities, whereas the easier access of native-born white males to higher skilled jobs and better salaries meant that fewer members in their families had to pursue additional income.

This concept of a family economy further acknowledges that women were essential contributors to families' livelihoods through participation in the formal labor force, non-enumerated labor, or non-remunerative household labor. Moreover, it recognizes that immigrant parents often sent their teenage children into the work force in order to contribute wages to the household, while younger children and elderly relatives often assisted their mothers in completing out work from factories. Some family members also assisted with child care in order to allow women to work outside the home. Within the immigrant family economy the responsibility of providing paid boarders with room and board, devolved largely upon women, but was a job for which they were not paid directly.

In this study, I discuss which immigrant groups followed various forms of the family economy, such as women's formal work force participation, teenage work force participation, and boarding. I also examine whether certain immigrant groups tended to choose these particular economic

activities to the exclusion of others. In addition, I analyze how adult male occupational participation and other economic factors influenced women's employment patterns within families.

The tendency of recent immigrant historians has been to emphasize the adaptable and innovative nature of immigrant economic activities; yet, one can not dismiss the impact of nativism and prejudice on immigrants, particularly as it occurred in the workplace, both in hiring and promotion practices and in exerting control over the work force. But in recent years, historians have pointed out that immigrants adapted and innovated in order to survive these impositions. Chapter Four of this study describes the ways in which Waterbury's manufacturers overtly used nativism and divide-and-conquer tactics to gain control over their work force; it also discusses the ways in which immigrants organized themselves autonomously along ethnic lines as well, and drew on their separate ethnic communities for support, and how this affected the brass mill strikes of 1919 and 1920.

Discussion of Quantatative Methodology

This study of Waterbury focuses specifically on the ways in which ethnicity shaped communities and workplaces in Waterbury. Waterbury was a medium-sized city of 73,000, and

employing a sampling technique to survey the population through federal census data enables the researcher to compare occupational and demographic information for several immigrant groups, second-generation inhabitants, and those native-born whites with native parents.[2] This method allows the researcher to determine whether the types of economic activities and demographic patterns described by the authors discussed in the essay's introduction existed for immigrants in Waterbury as well, and to what extent. Moreover, because I focus on several groups which share similar economic opportunities, I can conclude whether or not rates of labor force participation differ for Italian women, for instance, from those for women in other groups. It thereby proves easier to isolate whether particular economic choices were made for reasons of cultural preference or due to the availability of employment opportunities. A comparative approach also allows me to compare several "new' immigrant groups with Irish, Swedish, and German immigrants, who are classified as "old" immigrant groups. I also use this quantitative approach to delineate whether second-generation

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[2] In this study, the native-born population is divided into three groups. A second-generation inhabitant is defined here as one who was born in the United States and whose parents were both immigrants. Another native-born group consists of those who had one immigrant parent and one native-born parent. Native-born individuals with two native-born parents constitute the third category.

Americans' economic participation follows a pattern similar to other native-born Americans of the same age.

Many historians writing on the immigrant family economy do not explore fully the extent to which certain practices differed from that of the native-born and second-generation population. For instance, if such activities as boarding or job recruitment occurred amongst native-born workers, they might more accurately be seen as a working class phenomenon rather than an immigrant one. In my chapter on family and community, I also focus on the relationships between various immigrant groups, and their perceptions of each other, both of which serve as an important aspect of their economic and social experience.

The aim of this census sample is to focus on households and neighborhoods within Waterbury. With this goal in mind, I have elected to sample city blocks rather than individuals. This enables me to determine how households functioned as units rather than focusing on individuals in isolation. As a result, the sample is technically not a composite of Waterbury's population, but a portrait of its households and streets. To achieve this I have used a stratified cluster sample approach of city blocks as

enumerated in the Federal Census of 1910.[3] This representative sample of Waterbury's population in 1910 consists of 1,805 individuals in 334 households residing on forty-five city blocks distributed among the city's five wards.

To insure that the sample was not skewed by the selection of unusually small or large blocks, each of the 1696 blocks enumerated in the census was categorized according to population size. The total estimate of the city's population derived from categorizing the enumerated blocks according to size concurs with the actual census total. It remains important to sample blocks proportionately according to size since such variations might reflect differences in economic and demographic circumstances. For instance, densely populated blocks might consist of types of housing different from those found on smaller blocks and, by extension, suggest differing economic levels of their residents. Failure to select block size proportionately might in turn lead to an unrepresentative sample.

In this sample, the 1910 population was equally

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[3] This approach is based in part on an approach described by Olivier Zunz, William Ericson and Daniel Fox in their article, "Sampling for a Study of Detroit in 1800-1885," Social Science History 1 (Spring 1977): 307-332. See also Graham Kalton, Introduction to Survey Sampling (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1983).

distributed among small, medium, and large blocks. Small blocks consist of one to ten people, medium blocks have 11-35 residents and large blocks have more than 35 people. In designing the sample, three blocks from each size category within each ward was chosen randomly for inclusion in the sample [See Appendix B]. Because the total population of the five wards was roughly equal, the sample reflects proportionately the number of people living on variously sized blocks throughout the city.

Once these forty-five blocks were selected, I recorded census data for each individual residing on those blocks. The census variables chosen include: name; address; ward; age; sex; whether the individual owned or rented his or her residence; household status (whether the individual was the head of household, a family member, a live-in servant, or a boarder); country of birth; mother's birthplace, father's birthplace, language spoken; his or her occupation; and the employment sector [See Appendix C for description of codes used].[4]

Combining the variables from the data base generates information that illuminates various patterns among ethnic groups in the city. This data base was designed to show the

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[4] The 1910 Federal Census is not in machine readable format, so I entered records by hand. I have used Mathplan, DBase III Plus, SPSS and BASIC computer programs to manipulate the census data.

tendency of women in each ethnic group to work in the formal labor force, which groups took in boarders and whether they did this to help meet their mortgage payments, and whether there existed in ethnic groups a relationship between men's occupational concentration and women's participation in the formal or informal sectors of the economy. It also indicates which groups owned their houses, which tended to fill which occupations within certain industries, and the types of occupations held by those in the second-generation. In examining these variables, one can view the extent of employment segregation or acculturation and determine how various ethnic groups varied in aspects of their family economies within one city. Thus, a cross-ethnic approach using one city can control for differences in economic base when examining ethnic patterns. While many studies of the family economy attribute particular patterns of immigrant life to indigenous cultural practices and mores, because they do not always examine different groups, they often do not consider fully the importance of available economic opportunities in such work choices. This study compares groups within a sector dominated by one industry, and therefore, can examine how particular groups respond to similar economic conditions, and how those in charge of hiring within manufacturing and other sectors respond to the pool of immigrant, native-born and second-generation labor.

This type of census sample approach, of course, cannot replicate fully the economic and demographic characteristics of Waterbury's population in 1910. Statistics for women's labor have been notoriously underreported in federal census data, because women have often worked outside of the enumerated work force. Yet, in 1910 enumerators achieved a more accurate depiction of women's economic activity than in previous censi.[5] The census might also prove inaccurate in its recording of people's ability to speak English, which could have been exaggerated easily; this might also have been the case with the reporting of ages of workers under age eighteen. Moreover, while the recording of language might provide some indication of the extent to which immigrants learned English, it fails to indicate how often and in which circumstances they actually used it. Thus, it is important to combine this census material with other sources to achieve a full portrait of immigrants in Waterbury. Yet, despite some weaknesses, the technique's potential is great.

Log linear analysis is another quantitative methodology that appears in this study. I have included this in my analysis of women and work in order to explain which of several variables affect the propensity of women to work.

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[5] Joan Dickenson Younger, The Role of Immigrant Women in the U.S. Labor Force (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 19.

This method of analysis allows the researcher to determine relationships amongst groups of selected variables and to conclude which interactions prove the most salient in explaining a particular phenomenon. Interaction effects can exist between two or more variables.

In addition to employing these techniques, I have used written and oral history sources from several collections to illuminate many other important issues regarding immigrant life. I have also consulted oral histories from the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration and from the Brass Valley Project, housed in the Connecticut State Library and the Mattatuck Museum, respectively. I have incorporated into my study materials from the Scovill Manufacturing Company Records at the Baker Library at Harvard University and newspaper articles from The Waterbury American from 1919-1920, as well as unpublished scholarly papers and government documents from the state of Connecticut.

Two histories have been written specifically on Waterbury and its workers. Cecelia Bucki's book, Machines, Metal, and Minds does not discuss the immigrant experience in great detail, but provides an excellent background on the brass industry, and the community at large. Jeremy Brecher's work, Brass Valley, details more fully the immigrant role in the brass industry in Waterbury and

surrounding towns. His book is intended for the community itself, especially workers, and deals with the brass industry. Through oral history interviews with second- and third-generation Americans, he elicits information regarding the type of work immigrants performed. Both sources provide good information about women workers and their earnings from out work. Brecher, like both Ewen and Weber, highlights the fact that food production and boarders provided immigrants with an added source of income.[6] While Brecher deals with the importance of ethnicity, noting the ethnic component in the brass mill strikes of 1919 and 1920, he does not explain in detail how workers construed their ethnicity in the workplace, nor does he discuss the ways in which employers sought to restore their authority by using the issues of ethnic loyalty and American allegiance.

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[6] Bucki, 70-73; Brecher, 56-64.

CHAPTER 2

IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORHOOD, COMMUNITY, AND FAMILY LIFE

Immigrants and their children had a formidable impact on Waterbury's demographic composition, neighborhoods, and work places. Immigrants in 1910 comprised thirty-five percent of Waterbury's population. However, immigrants and their children formed 74 percent of the city's population; thus, native-born inhabitants whose parents were both born in the United States accounted for just twenty-five percent of the population [see Table 1]. The Irish formed the largest ethnic group at this time: immigrants and their children formed 21 percent of the city's population. Italians followed in numerical strength, constituting 14 percent of Waterbury's inhabitants. Russians together comprised 7.7 percent of the population; French-Canadians numbered just under five percent, followed by Germans with four percent. English immigrants and their children comprised 2.7 percent; Swedes and Scots accounted for 1.4 and 1.2 percent of inhabitants, respectively.[1]

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[1] As noted in the previous chapter, Lithuanians and Poles appear separately in the census schedules, but not in the aggregate printed census data. The latter incorporated these nationalities into Russian immigrant figures.

TABLE I

WATERBURY--1910 Census Figures
(By Percent)

Native white--Native Parents: 24.9
Native white--Foreign or mixed parentage 39.1
Foreign Born 34.9
Black 1.1
Asian .054

FOREIGN BORN:

Austria .58
Belgium .02
Canadian (French) 2.60
Canadian (Other) .55
Denmark .09
England 1.60
Finland .00
France .31
Germany 1.96
Greece .06
Hungary .22
Ireland 7.98
Italy 8.98
Norway .05
Portugal .03
Romania .03
Russia* 7.66
Scotland .72
Sweden .85
Switzerland .26
Turkey/Asia .09
Turkey/Europe .05
Wales .09
Other .10

SECOND GENERATION:
Both Parents Born in:

Austria .31
Canada-French 2.35
Canada-Other .30
Denmark .03
England 1.09
France .17
Germany 2.23
Hungary .07
Ireland 13.09
Italy 5.11
Norway .03
Russia* 3.32
Scotland .46
Sweden .57
Switzerland .08
All Others 1.86

*Russian-born are not divided in aggregate data, but Lithuanians are distinguished individually in census schedule itself. Numbers rounded.

TABLE 2

CENSUS SAMPLE FIGURES

Native white--Native Parents 20.3
Native white--Foreign or mixed parentage 41.7
Foreign Born: 38.1
Black 0
Asian .1

IMMIGRANTS:

	Number	%
United States	1118	61.9
Ireland	160	8.9
Italy	146	8.1
Lithuania	121	6.7
England	30	1.7
French-Canada	51	2.8
English-Canada	2	.1
Germany	60	3.3
Scotland	19	1.1
Austria	1	.1
Belgium	5	.3
France	4	.2
Sweden	32	1.8
Denmark	3	.2
Jewish-Russia	9	.5
Hungary	1	.1
Poland	16	.9
Russia	5	.3
Romania	1	.1
German-Russia	11	.1
Jewish-Poland	2	.1
German-Switz.	3	.2
Japan	2	.1
Cuba	2	.1
Greek-Turkey	1	.1
Greece	1	.1

SECOND GENERATION: Both Parents born in:

	Number	%
Ireland	235	13.0
Italy	94	5.2
Lithuanian	45	2.5
French-Canad.	55	3.1
Germany	73	4.0
Sweden	33	1.8
German-Russ.	17	.9

Valid Cases: 1805 Missing Cases: 0

Table Two illustrates the ethnic composition of my sample of 1805 individuals compiled from the 1910 census. A comparison of the tables above demonstrates that the census sample percentages figure reasonably close to the actual aggregate of Waterbury's population in 1910. Overall, the sample contains about three percent more immigrants, one percent fewer blacks, and 4.6 percent fewer native-born whites with native-born parents than does the actual census. Excluding figures for Lithuanians, the percentages for the major immigrant groups compare quite closely, as do the percentages for second-generation inhabitants whose parents were both born in the same country. Thus, the sample depicts a fairly accurate portrait of Waterbury's population.

PATTERNS OF IMMIGRATION

Many immigrants arriving in the first two decades of the twentieth century settled in Waterbury after hearing about family members or others in their native communities who had arrived there previously. For some immigrants, Waterbury was not their original destination in the United States. Others, who came without their families in pursuit of the economic opportunities the city afforded, never intended the United States to be their permanent residence.

Like many Lithuanian males, Daniel Zuraitis's father emigrated to the United States to avoid service in the Russian Army. Arriving in 1907, he joined his uncle, who had arrived in America approximately fifteen years earlier. That uncle, who was an apprentice shoemaker in Vilna, had come under contract to an employer who paid for his passage and food and brought him to work in the Pacific Northwest. After serving the terms of his contract, his uncle worked an additional year to save enough money to travel to New Jersey with six others. Eventually he bought passage for another brother, and they in turn sent money for passage for their other brothers.

Many Lithuanians migrated to Waterbury from Pennsylvania. Most had entered the United States through New York, where agents representing anthracite coal mine companies had recruited them upon their arrival.[2] Such was the case with Peter Kukanskis's aunts and uncles. His mother's aunts had settled in Waterbury after immigrating to Pennsylvania. His mother joined them in Connecticut, working first as a domestic and then in her employer's drug

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[2] Daniel Zuraitis and Peter Kukanskis Oral History Interview by Brass Valley History Project, Interview 20, October 15, 1980; William Wolkovich-Valkavicius, "The Impact of a Catholic Newspaper on an Ethnic Community: The Lithuanian Weekly Rytas, 1896-98, Waterbury, Connecticut," Unpublished paper presented at the American Catholic Historical Association Meeting, April 1978, 2.

store, where many Lithuanians shopped. Kukanskis's paternal uncle who lived in Bridgeport, helped his father get a job on an oyster boat there. His father then began working on a farm in nearby Watertown, where some friends worked, and eventually entered the plumbing business in Waterbury. Thus, Lithuanians helped their relatives, who were often young, settle in their new-found communities and found jobs for them through a network of Lithuanian friends. It remains unclear why Lithuanians where first attracted to Waterbury, but as a small Lithuanian community and parish established itself in the 1890's, the community became part of an interstate network of Lithuanians who had worked initially in the coal mines of Pennsylvania. These immigrants might have learned of the city's economic and social opportunities through their church or the Lithuanian newspaper, Rytas, whose origins are described below.

The sex distribution of various ethnic groups in the sample indicates that immigration patterns varied for different ethnic groups in Waterbury. While the overall sex distribution for the city as a whole was almost even (skewed slightly toward women as occurs naturally in most populations), most ethnic groups in Waterbury had very

unequal sex distributions.[3]

TABLE 3
Sex Distribution of Waterbury's Population (Over 17) According to Selected Ethnic Groups, 1910. Census Sample

	Female (n)	Percent	Male (n)	Percent
United States	300	57.1	225	42.9
Ireland	92	58.2	66	41.8
Italy	45	35.2	83	64.8
Lithuanian	41	39.0	64	61.0

Adult Irish women comprised fifty-eight percent of the Irish immigrant population. This high ratio of Irish females to males been noted by several immigration historians, including Hasia Diner, who in her book Erin's Daughters in America, discusses how Irish women had few employment opportunities in Ireland, and often remained single. She maintains that they frequently immigrated alone because they could find work in the United States as

[3] In the sample native-born adult residents with native-born parents had a sex distribution of 59.4 per cent women to 40.6 per cent men, whereas the native-born population with foreign-born parents had 55.2 women and 44.8 men. Although the manuscript census does not break down the native-born population into second-generation Americans and those with native-born parents in their sex distribution figures for Waterbury, for Connecticut as a whole those native-born residents with native parentage had an almost equal sex distribution. For all native-born inhabitants of Waterbury, this figure was also equal. It is not clear why this figure is unequal within the sample.

teachers or domestic servants while single. Diner also asserts that while other immigrant groups had taboos against women's immigrating alone, the Irish did not.[4]

The unbalanced sex ratios for Lithuanian and Italian immigrants, which heavily favored men, reflects the fact that many immigrant males in these two groups came to the United States alone and returned to their native countries after saving much of their earnings. Just thirty-five percent of the adult Italian-born population in Waterbury was female; similarly 39 percent of Lithuanian immigrants were women.

This trend among Italians confirms the trend articulated by many historians of immigration as well as contemporary accounts which suggest that Italian men, dubbed "birds of passage", frequently arrived in the United States alone, and after saving a substantial portion of their wages, remigrated to Italy in order to join their families or marry. Many Italians, especially those from Southern regions, had left as a result of land scarcity, and came to

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[4] See J. D. Gould, "European Inter-Continental Remigration. The Road Home: Return Migration from the United States," Journal of European Economic History 9 (1980): 41-111; Deirdre M. Mageean, "Nineteenth Century Irish Emigration: A Case Study Using Passenger Lists," in The Irish in America: Emigration, Assimilation and Impact, ed. P. J. Drudy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1-37; Hasia Diner, Erin's Daughters in America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 33-42.

the United States for three to four years with the intention of saving enough money to return to Italy to buy a modest plot of land. J.D. Gould estimates that 57.9 of all Italians immigrants arriving to the United States between 1907 and 1914 remigrated to Italy.[5] Adult Lithuanian and Polish men also immigrated in disproportionately high numbers, comprising sixty-one percent of their groups' adult immigrant population.[6]

Although the extent to which remigration occurred among various immigrant groups in Waterbury during 1900-1920 remains unknown, it was not an unusual phenomenon. During Waterbury's 1920 brass company strike, John Jensaitus, the Lithuanian secretary of the North American Civic League for Immigrants[7] complained that federal authorities in New York

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[5] Gould, 86.

[6] Just as Italian men were more likely than women to emigrate to the United States by a ratio of more than two to one, they were also much more likely to remigrate. In fact the remigration ratio of Italian men to women was an estimated seven to one. See J.D. Gould, 53.

[7] The North American Civic League for Immigrants was first established in Boston in 1908 by several American businessmen concerned about the consequences on American society as a result of the influx of immigrants. According to John Higham, the group "combined aid with propaganda" by providing assistance to immigrants and sponsoring lectures on patriotism. Following the textile strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts, the Boston chapter became increasingly conservative. Others launched a New York branch in 1909, but split from the original group due to its more liberal direction. It is interesting, then, that John Jensaitis served as an advocate for immigrants in this dispute with

had demanded that five men returning to Lithuania from Waterbury pay their federal taxes, although these men insisted that they had done so while in Waterbury. The newspaper account further noted that during a recent ten week period, over 150 Waterbury Lithuanians had returned to their home country, and that most had planned to do so before the strike. This assessment is probably accurate: a return passage to Europe was expensive, and strikers would not have sufficient funds to return without having planned to do so. More likely, strikers facing economic hardship would relocate to another community in the Northeast than return to Europe on short notice. A newspaper article later that month, relating a change in Italian law which "might not allow them to return to the United States", observed that large number of local Italian citizens were returning to Italy. It further indicated that fifty local Italians had received passports within a two week period.[8] This male migration pattern was often a circular one, as Lithuanians

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federal policy. Higham also notes that Congress in 1918, required that non-resident aliens pay an income tax twice the rate of citizens and resident aliens. This law might have been the subject of this dispute. John Higham, Strangers in the Land, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, Second edition, 1988 originally published in 1955), 240-248.

[8] Waterbury American. June 10, 1920, 6; Ibid., June 30, 1920, 13.

and Italians who returned informed friends and family members about the opportunities available in the United States and thereby influenced potential immigrants' decisions about where to settle.

NEIGHBORHOODS

While none of Waterbury's five wards was ethnically homogeneous in 1910, heavy concentrations of Italians, Lithuanians and Irish existed in particular wards. According to the census sample, Lithuanians had the most concentrated population of any ethnic group: eighty percent of Lithuanian-headed families lived in Ward Three, while they were absent entirely from Wards Two and Five [See Table 4]. Half of Irish-headed households lived in Ward Five, and nearly half of Italian households lived in Ward Four.[9]

The smaller immigrant populations were spread more evenly throughout Waterbury. Wards Two and Five each contained a fifth of French-Canadian families, while a modest percentage lived in the remaining wards. English families lived equally distributed in Wards One, Three, and Five. Most German households resided in Ward One, but they

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[9] From this point, all census figures will come from the sample, rather than from aggregate census data, unless otherwise noted. I am discussing wards as they existed in 1910. As Waterbury grew, wards lines were redrawn.

had a significant presence in all wards but number Five.

Overall, native-born heads of households and their families lived predominantly in Wards One Through Three. However, this distribution varied when this group was split into two categories: second-generation Irish-Americans and native-born with native parents. While both groups had a substantial presence in Ward Two, this was the only ward in which this proved true. Native-born heads of households tended most often to live in Wards One and Three, while native-born heads of households with Irish parents lived in primarily in Wards Two and Five.

Patterns of residence for second-generation Irish-American families also differed markedly from Irish-headed households at the ward level. While one half of Irish-born families resided in Ward Five, just 24 percent of second-generation Irish households did. Almost one-third of the latter chose instead to live in Ward Two, where only seven percent of Irish immigrant families lived. Here, they shared the ward with native-stock, German, and English families. Thus, by the second-generation half of Irish-descended families had left Ward Five and dispersed themselves throughout the city. This movement might have been for either social or economic reasons. The second-generation might have required less community support, since they comprised the largest segment of Waterbury's non-native

stock population. If the second-generation had achieved higher economic levels, as will be discussed in the following chapter, they might have moved to areas of Waterbury that proved beyond the means of Irish immigrants. In either case, the varying residential patterns between first and second-generation Irish in Waterbury suggests that ethnic ties and neighborhoods had become less central to the children of immigrants.

TABLE 4 Ethnicity of Head of Household by Ward, According to Census Sample Data

	# of Households	Percentage Living in Ward: 1	2	3	4	5
U.S.--total	126	28.36	26.98	24.60	8.73	11.11
native-born of native parents	65	35.38	27.69	30.76	----	6.15
native-born of Irish parents*	33	12.12	30.30	12.12	21.21	24.24
Ireland	55	7.27	7.27	9.09	27.27	49.09
Italy	40	10.00	____	30.00	47.50	12.50
Lithuanian	24	4.17	____	79.16	16.67	____
England	12	33.33	____	33.33	____	33.33
French-Canada	20	5.00	20.00	10.00	4.50	20.00
Germany	26	34.62	23.08	23.08	15.38	3.85
Sweden	15	8.30	80.00	8.30	____	8.30

*Note: Native-born head of households with Irish parents are the only substantial population of second-generation headed households in the sample.

Within wards, residents on blocks and in neighborhoods often shared the same ethnicity. For example, fifty Italians lived in the tenement building located at 113 Bank

Street, while just eight Lithuanians resided there. Ninety-six Lithuanians lived in nine residences along the 11-69 block of James Street; twenty-six out of the total sample of 160 Irish immigrants lived in seven houses located between 158 and 194 Mill Street.

Waterbury's inhabitants have traditionally seen the Brooklyn neighborhood in the fourth ward as the locus of the newer immigrant community. It was here, on North Riverside and Green Streets, that Lithuanian, Italian, and Polish immigrants congregated each Thursday morning at outdoor markets to buy fresh food and to exchange local news. Here, small farmers of these same ethnic groups sold produce popular in their indigenous countries, which they had grown on farms outside the city. Also, many ethnic businesses and organizations were centered here. According to Caroline Nardello, a second-generation Italian, many Italians lived near the bridge in the Brooklyn neighborhood, while Jews and Russians settled on Hill Street. Waterbury residents generally viewed Brandy Hill as an Irish neighborhood; many immigrants had moved there from Brooklyn following an influx of Lithuanians and Italians into that section.[10] Therefore, there seemed to have been some transience across wards and

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10 Waterbury American, June 28, 1919, 6; Daniel Zuraitus, in Brass Valley History Project Oral History Interview; Caroline Nardello, Oral History Interview by Brass Valley History Project, Interview 41, December 1, 1980.

neighborhoods among Waterbury's population; neighborhoods were not fixed: people moved as new influxes arrived, and as the children of immigrants grew to maturity.

CHURCHES

Although many of Waterbury's immigrant groups, including Irish, French-Canadians, Poles, Lithuanian, and Italians were Catholic and often resided in the same neighborhoods, they each belonged to separate churches. For instance, St. Joseph's served as the Lithuanian parish; Our Lady of Lourdes and the Immaculate Conception Churches were Italian, French-Canadians worshipped at St. Anne's, Germans attended St. Cecelia's church, and Irish-Catholics deemed St. Patrick's theirs.[11] Priests were, however, sometimes assigned to a church whose parishioners were not of their

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[11] The location of these churches did not always correspond to the neighborhoods in which the bulk of the parishioners' ethnic group lived. St. Patrick's was situated in the Brooklyn area within the fourth ward, where many Irish had settled originally. St. Joseph's and St. Cecelia's were both located in the fourth ward, Immaculate Conception was in the first ward, and St. Anne's was on the border of the fourth and fifth wards. Since many Irish originally lived in Brooklyn, it is clear that St. Patrick's was built in an Irish area. It is unclear why other Catholic parishes were not located where many of their parishioners lived, but it might have been due to decisions by church authorities outside of Waterbury. Such decisions might have been influenced by land prices or the church might have owned land in the city for building churches or using as cemetaries in the future.

ethnic background; such was the case with Monsignor Slocum, a second-generation Irish-American, who was assigned to an Italian parish because he spoke Italian. [12]

Southern Italian immigrants traditionally had an ambivalent and sometimes antagonistic relationship to the church and its clergy, because in Italy church authority was widely viewed as representing the landed aristocracy's interests rather than those of the peasant.[13] One priest in Waterbury, Father Lynch, was notorious for requesting that police round up Italian workers on Sunday to get them to attend church, presumably on the pretext that working on Sunday was illegal according to the state's blue laws.[14] Nevertheless, the church was an important community institution to many in the Italian community. According to one account, over 10,000 citizens of Waterbury attended the blessing of a new Italian church in 1903, including many

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[12] Reverend James Tyler, "Golden Jubilee, St. Thomas Parish, Waterbury, Connecticut, 1898-1948," pamphlet in the Silas Bronson Public Library Collection, Waterbury; Our Lady of Lourdes Church, Waterbury, Connecticut, "Golden Jubilee, 1899-1949," pamphlet in Silas Bronson Public Library Collection; Caroline Nardello, in Brass Valley History Project Oral History Interview.

[13] Harold Abrahamson, "Ethnic Diversity within Catholicism: A Comparative Analysis of Contemporary and Historical Religion," Journal of Social History 4 (1971):372-375; Rudolph Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of the Uprooted," Journal of American History 51 (1974), 404-17.

[14] Caroline Nardello Oral History Interview by Brass Valley History Project.

from Italian and Catholic organizations.[15]

Churches served several social and educational functions alongside their larger religious purpose. For Lithuanians, their churches served an important role in the immigration process throughout the Northeastern United States. Joseph Zebris, a Lithuanian priest, became the parish priest of St. Joseph's Church in Waterbury. He arrived in Pennsylvania in 1893, and visited a friend, also a priest. While there he traveled to various Lithuanian communities. The Catholic church soon dispatched him to Waterbury, where for several years he served as the sole Lithuanian priest in New England. As such, he travelled throughout the region's smaller Lithuanian communities, helping establish several parishes, including a large one in Lawrence, Massachusetts. During the depression of 1893, Zebris publicized employment opportunities in the region through his newspaper Rytas, the only Lithuanian newspaper in New England at that time. His newspaper's readership grew rapidly in Waterbury, as well as in Lithuanian communities throughout the United States. Zebris's newspaper also found its way to Lithuania where it probably informed potential immigrants to the United States of economic opportunities and communities. By 1905, there was

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[15] Our Lady of Lourdes Church, Waterbury, Connecticut. Golden Jubilee, 1899-1949. Pamphlet in Silas Bronson Library.

a greater freedom of the press in Lithuania, thereby permitting newspapers from the United States to be sent to Lithuania more freely, and allowing for the flow of information that encouraged more Lithuanians to emigrate. Thus, the religious community, while far from being universally accepted by all Lithuanian immigrants, played a role in immigration and migration by encouraging links between Lithuanian parishes, and by providing immigrants with information on America and its Lithuanian communities.[16] St. Joseph's parochial school taught Lithuanian to its students, although English was generally spoken there. In its early days under Father Joseph Zebris, the parish bought a farm, and opened a bakery and grocery cooperative. With these resources he was able to provide food to jobless Lithuanians during the economically troubled 1890's. He also provided advice to other Lithuanian parishes in New England on how they could embark on such ventures. In his articles in Rytas he regularly exhorted Lithuanians to purchase goods from their fellow natives.

Zebris, however, faced considerable controversy within Waterbury's nascent Lithuanian community due to his

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[16] William Wolkovich-Valkavicius, passim. Frank Cooper "Racial Elements" in Federal Writers Project Collection, Record Group 30, Box 72, Connecticut State Library.

activities and beliefs. He was a fervent advocate of temperance and regularly defended Catholicism in the midst of critiques against the religion by Lithuanian socialists and other anti-clerics. Some Lithuanians charged that he had acted in collusion with Irish church leaders against the interests of Lithuanians. Others objected to his strong opposition to alcohol or accused him of benefitting personally from his community ventures. Eventually, Bishop Tierney transferred him to a New Britain, Connecticut, parish. In 1915, he was murdered in an apparent robbery attempt by two Lithuanians.[17]

Highly segregated by ethnicity, churches encouraged divisions within Catholicism rather than unification under it. Therefore, instead of encouraging acculturation, Waterbury's churches allowed immigrants to retain many of their cultural traditions. Americanization efforts and tensions over values did exist, however. In the case of Italians, authorities such as Father Lynch administered church rules which effectively tried to impose American ideas of Catholicism on those who resisted attending church.

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[17] Wolkovich-Valkavicius argues in his essay that Zebris's activities were both culturally retentive and acculturating forces, because they eased the transition for immigrants and assisted them during a period of economic hardship. I would argue instead that because he did so from very ethnically-based parameters, he encouraged ethnic retention rather than acculturation while encouraging adaptation only in economic terms.

Father Zebris's stance on temperance and his antagonism to socialism did not stem from a desire to Americanize his parish, per se. Nevertheless, his conservative stance on these two issues created contention within the Lithuanian community, but generally found favor among native-born population.

Although the city's Catholic churches assisted in immigration and initial settlement and provided assistance with food and other services, and tried to impose some of their values on parishioners, they did not favor all forms of acculturation. In fact, they clearly discouraged integration. This resulted in part from the fact that many church leaders in the region were of Irish descent, including Bishop Tierney, and proved reluctant to embrace the "new" immigrant groups into what they had perceived traditionally as their unique domain. Caroline Nardello asserted in her oral interview that, due to the authority of a particular priest, "we [Italians] couldn't go to St. Patrick's in those days." In this way the Irish could retain leadership in one of the few institutions in which they had exercised autonomy. Yet, ethnic churches in Waterbury were not founded solely as a result of these exclusionary practices or in quiescence to clerical authority. Immigrants also viewed churches as institutions in which they could communicate in their native languages,

practice their distinct forms of Catholicism, and educate their children. The building of their own churches was a source of pride in many immigrant communities, monuments to the fact that they had established their presence in the city.

ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS

Fraternal institutions and women's auxiliary associations provided other services to immigrants, and several general community organizations had ethnically-based chapters. In 1910, there were seventeen Italian societies alone in Waterbury. By the 1930's, Lithuanians had established over twenty organizations, including a Lithuanian Girl Scouts organization, political clubs, choirs, and a chapter of the Chamber of Commerce. The Foresters of America organization had chapters named America, Guisseppe Verdi, Richard Wagner and Wolf[e] Tone.[18] Some immigrant clubs became involved intensely in the politics of their native country, while others did not.

Waterbury's associations provided an array of social services to its members, including insurance, parks, cemeteries, and cooperatives. Italian and Lithuanians also

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[18] Waterbury City Directory (New Haven: Price and Lee Co., 1907), 480-485.

had their own banking services; informally, saloonkeepers would serve as bankers for their ethnic clientele. Women also joined in ethnic community organizations, and organized popular events such as dinner dances and theatrical productions. Informally, Lithuanian women would gather to make feather bedspreads as gifts for newlyweds in their community.[19] Italians each year marked Cristoforo Colombo Day with a parade, emphasizing their pride and their belief that Americans should hold Italians in high regard. This was an important public display of ethnic pride in the face of the general nativist sentiment of the day. Germans and Swedes each had their own organizations, as did the Irish, but these formal ethnic affiliations were not as widespread or as specific as those of the Lithuanians or Italians.

The fact that Lithuanian and Italian immigrants had such a large number of social organizations is especially interesting in light of the fact that they had higher rates of remigration than many other groups. This situation might have stemmed from the fact that these later immigrant groups were newer and less established than either Germans or Irish immigrants, and that the economic positions of their members

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[19] Giovanni B. D'Ausilio, ed., "History of the Italian People of Waterbury" in Columbus Day Souvenir, October 12, 1492-1910, pamphlet, Silas Bronson Library; Frank Cooper "List of Organizations and Societies" in Federal Writers Project Records; Daniel Zuraitis and Peter Kukanskis Brass Valley History Project Oral History Interview.

made such social services more attractive to them. Germans and Irish who held craft positions might have received more benefits through labor unions affiliated with nationally-based organizations such as the American Federation of Labor. Moreover, since Lithuanian and Italian immigrants frequently arrived without their families, and often boarded, such social and psychological contacts remained vital.

Ethnic newspapers proved another important source of community identity among immigrants. In the period from 1890-1920, Waterbury's ethnic community launched at least eight secular ethnic language newspapers, some of which served the entire Connecticut or New England population. Many of these lasted for just one year or less, presumably due to financial constraints. These included German and French-Canadian weeklies, as well as several Italian newspapers, such as Il Patriote and Il Progresso.[20] These newspapers allowed immigrants to keep informed of events in their ethnic communities, in their native countries, and through advertisements provided them with important information on ethnic business, organizations, and economic opportunities in the area.

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[20] William J. Pape, History of Waterbury and the Naugatuck Valley (New York: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1918), 310-311.

This autonomous growth of community-based organizations suggests that immigrants were not simply pushed into segregated communities through discrimination or financial constraints, but that they sought out some degree of ethnic insulation for social and economic purposes. But, just as ethnic groups developed strong ties with one another for social and financial support, so too were they perceived as clannish by other ethnic groups. Caroline Nardello, a second-generation Italian criticized Lithuanians because, as she saw it, "They're always for themselves." Frank Keane, a second-generation Irish-American acknowledged in a similar vein that the "Irish have always been accused of taking care of the Irish." Yet, within their social organizations, churches, and neighborhoods, ethnic groups could take advantage of financial and other services that might not be available otherwise, remain distinct from other ethnic and native-born inhabitants, and preserve their culture and language.

Household Composition

Households in Waterbury had an average of 5.3 individuals. As would be expected, males served as the head for all but 12 percent of Waterbury's households. In 31 percent of Irish households, women served as heads, indicating that they had high rates of widowhood, or perhaps

abandonment. Native-born women headed eleven percent of households, while there were no female Lithuanian or Italian heads of household.

In Waterbury as a whole, just 22 percent of families owned their own homes. In the sample, residents of Ward Two, were the most likely to own their own homes. Almost half of the households there owned their residences, compared with Ward One, where only ten percent of all households owned the houses in which they resided. This stemmed in part from the fact that native-born individuals, many of whom were second-generation Irish-Americans, comprised over half the heads of households in Ward Two. In contrast, just one of the twenty-three Lithuanian families sampled owned their own home.

TABLE 5 HOMEOWNERSHIP BY ETHNIC GROUP (According to Birthplace of Head of Household).

Country of Birth:	Number	Percentage
United States--total	24	20.3
native-born, native parents	13	20.0
native-born, foreign parents	51	23.2
native-born, Irish parents	7	21.1
Ireland	17	27.8
Italy	7	17.5
Lithuania	1	4.2
England	1	8.3
French-Canada	6	31.6
Germany	8	30.8
Sweden	3	20.0

A higher percentage of Irish-headed, French-Canadian, and German-headed households (the latter two with small sample sizes) than native-born headed families owned their homes. This was true for second-generation Americans as well as for native-born with native parents. For Irish, French-Canadian and German immigrants this situation probably resulted to some degree from the fact their head-of-households had higher mean ages than most other groups.[21] For all heads-of households the mean age was eight years higher for owners than renters. The mean ages of heads of households was: 46.8 years for Irish-born, 45 years for Germans, and 48.6 for French-Canadians. Lithuanian and Italian heads of households had means of 34.4 and 35.7, respectively. Female-headed households also had a very slightly higher rate of homeownership than males, which stems both from the fact that many were Irish and because, on the average, female heads of households were almost a decade older than their male counterparts.

The homeownership rate for second-generation Irish heads of household was 21.2 percent, compared with a slightly higher rate of 27.8 for Irish immigrants. The mean age for head-of-households in this small group was 42.2.

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[21] However, since Irish immigrants arrived in the United States at older average ages and without industrial experience, their age alone might not have caused an increase in wage levels.

Therefore, while second-generation Irish-Americans were moving out of traditionally Irish wards and neighborhoods, they were not doing so necessarily because of homeownership goals, or because they desired to purchase houses that their parents could not have afforded.

Stephan Thernstrom in his book, The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970, has suggested that Irish immigrants living in Newburyport, Massachusetts valued highly the security of homeownership, and tended to invest in property more frequently than in other goals that would result in upward mobility (such as education for their children). He suggests that they did not attain higher status jobs, and preferred instead to save for a house rather than risk the capital investment necessary to begin a small enterprise.[22] Many Irish families seemed to have seen the economic possibilities of owning one's home by buying a two or three-family dwelling and renting out part of it to other families, thereby pursuing a personal goal while earning additional income. In fact, in the sample just under half of Irish homeowners shared their residence with one or two (and in one instance,

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[22] Stephan Thernstrom. The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

three) other families.[23] Frank Keane noted that some friends' parents bought three-family dwellings and rented them.[24] Unlike taking in boarders, this arrangement allowed a family to maintain a degree of privacy, while freeing members of the household from the additional work required from boarders.

Boarding was a important housing arrangement for Waterbury's inhabitants. Boarders residing in private family residences accounted for eleven percent of the population, and twenty percent of the households in Waterbury contained at least one boarder. These boarders received room and board in exchange for rent, and were usually unrelated to the family with which they resided. [25] Forty-five percent of households with boarders had just one, but the sample indicates that a few households took in as many as seven or nine boarders. Those with over six boarders might have established rooming houses, rather than

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[23] In the sample, renting did not predominate among owners in any particular ward in which Irish owned homes. While six of the ten Irish homeowners in Ward Five did not have renters, those who did rented out as many or more units as in other wards. This discussion pertains only to owners who rent out buildings in which they reside, it does not include absentee landlords.

[24] Frank Keane, Brass Valley History Project Oral History Interview, Interview 18, October 20, 1980.

[25] Census takers made distinctions between extended family members who did not pay board and those who did.

engaging in the more prevalent practice of taking in boarders into private homes. In some cases, boarders themselves constituted a family unit, such as a young couple, or two unmarried siblings.

Although adult women family members in households with boarders often had no formal occupation listed in the census, they held the primary responsibility for preparing food, cleaning, and performing other chores associated with this income-producing activity. From the census sample it is clear that those who took in boarders did not do so primarily in order to meet mortgage payments. Instead, rental households took in all but seven percent of boarders. Over half of all boarders lived in Ward Three; conversely, fewer than three percent of boarders resided within Ward Two, where the highest percentage of homeowners resided. Thus, the practice of taking in boarders in Waterbury does not seem to be a way in which residents could obtain upward mobility, but a way in which they could meet their most basic requirements. Those who straddled between the working and middle-classes might have instead sought homeownership in buildings with rental possibilities.[26]

Boarders were predominantly native-born (41 percent), but they comprised one-third of the Lithuanian-born

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[26] Boarding information from census sample.

population. Lithuanians accounted for 21 percent of the boarder population as a whole, although overall they represented just seven percent of Waterbury's population. Twenty percent of the Italian-born population lived as boarders; they comprised over 15 percent of the boarding population. Thus, while native-born Americans formed the bulk of the boarding population, just under seven percent of them boarded in private homes. In contrast, for Lithuanians and Italians, who often arrived in the United State without their families, boarding served as an indispensable housing option which allowed them to save money and to obtain meals and personal services from women who needed to earn additional income for their families without entering the formal work force. Daniel Zuraitis noted that two Lithuanians working opposite shifts in the same factory would sometimes share a room in a house in order to save on expenses. In addition, this arrangement allowed many immigrants to live in a family setting rather than an institutional one.

Interestingly, women formed the majority of native-born boarders, and comprised about one-quarter of all Lithuanian boarders, although there were no Italian women boarders in the sample. Women formed just one-eighth of Irish-born boarders, despite the fact that there were more Irish women than men. Since the Irish had a longer history as residents

of the community, female Irish immigrants who remained single might have had more opportunities to live with relatives than other immigrant women, or preferred to live in the households in which they worked as domestics.

Boarders lived predominately with families who shared their own ethnicity. In fact, 82 percent of boarders lived in households whose heads were born in the same country as they were. In Waterbury, this situation tended further to reinforce ethnic ties within the home and to allow for the retention of customs and language.

In 1910, many teenagers aged sixteen through eighteen were employed in the formal labor force and contributed to their families' income while they lived at home. Of all females in this age cohort, exactly two-thirds worked, compared with 78 percent of males. Yet, except for native-born children of Irish parents, there were relatively few children of immigrant children in this age group. This undoubtedly reflects the fact that "new" immigrants had migrated to Waterbury only recently and their children would either have been immigrants or when native-born, tended to be younger than sixteen. Of all native-born children with foreign-born parents, 60 percent of the females worked in the formal work force, as did 77 percent of males. 52.9 percent of native-born females and 71 percent of native-born males with two Irish parents were employed in the labor

force, while the number of sons and daughters of Lithuanians and Italians in this cohort was too small to draw any conclusions about their patterns of labor participation. This compares with 53.8 of native-born females and two-thirds of males with native-born parents. All immigrant males and 86 percent of females in this age group worked in the labor force.

TABLE 6 Percentage of Teenagers Aged 16-18 in Enumerated Work Force, According to Ethnicity.

	Male		Female	
	#	%	#	%
Total	29	78.3	40	66.6
Native-born of native parents	4	66.6	7	53.8
Native-born of foreign parents				
Foreign-born	5	100.0	12	85.7
Native-born of Irish parents	5	71.4	9	52.9

Although females comprised 62 percent of those aged sixteen through eighteen they worked in fewer positions than males, and they were concentrated in different occupations. Men and women worked alongside one another in only eight of the total of twenty-eight positions filled by those in this group. The three most common positions in which females this age held were: bench workers, foot press operators, and box makers. One male worked as a bench worker, but none

worked in the two other positions. Instead, males concentrated as laborers, non-office clerks, and sales workers. Two females of this age worked in sales, but none worked in the other two positions. Thus, at a young age, men and women entered largely segregated occupations. Because of this segregation, women and men most probably would not have shared the same interests in the workplace.

INTERMARRIAGE

In Waterbury in 1910, intermarriage between ethnic groups was still an exceptional phenomenon. Of the 1805 individuals sampled, 633 were native-born children of two foreign-born parents, while 119 had one foreign-born and one native-born parent. Of these 752 individuals, just 159 had parents who were born in different countries. In this group, intermarriage was most frequent among native-born women who married Irish-born males. Native-born males were also more likely to marry Irish immigrants than any other non-native-born women. While Irish-born couples produced 235 individuals in the sample, seventy-three people had one Irish and one native-born parent. There were seventeen individuals who had one Irish-born parent and one English-born parent and one was born to Irish and Romanian parents. Therefore, intermarriage had begun occurring primarily among

native-born Americans and Irish immigrants.

Among the 97 native-born individuals born into families with at least one Italian parent, all but three had two Italian-born parents. The remainder were children of native-born mothers and Italian fathers. A similar situation occurs with French-Canadians, where 55 native-born individuals had two French-Canadian parents, and three had one native-born and one French-Canadian parent.

Much of this exclusivity in marriages reflect the fact that many of these individuals' parents had already married in their native-countries, immigrated together as young couples, and had children soon after moving to the United States. Thus, rates of intermarriage remained low partly because many of marriages occurred prior to immigration, or because immigrants who arrived alone were often already married or engaged prior to their arrival.

Particular groups, such as French-Canadians and Italians, had very low rates of intermarriage. French-Canadians tended to immigrate as complete families, and experienced less difficulty in immigrating as a group due to the relatively short distance between New England and Quebec Province. For Italians, this situation might signal more deeply-held cultural constraints against intermarriage than were held by other groups, or the fact that many did not speak English. Considering that men immigrated alone in

larger numbers than any other immigrant groups, one might expect them to marry native-born women or women from other Catholic immigrant groups in greater numbers. Yet, this low rate of intermarriage might also stem from many Italians' intentions to remigrate to their native village. Thus, these men might not have sought out potential spouses from non-Italian groups due to the often temporary nature of their settlement in the United States.

This tendency to marry within one's ethnic group is echoed in oral interviews of second-generation Americans of Irish, Lithuanian, and Italian parents. By the 1930's, according to Daniel Zuraitis and Peter Kukanskis, many second-generation males had returned to Waterbury after served in the Army in Europe, and began to intermarry outside of their ethnic groups, but still within the Catholic religion. This practice occurred slowly, and only for a minority of the Lithuanian-American population. Those couples who chose to marry outside of their ethnic group often encountered protestations from both families. Caroline Nardello dates the occurrence of intermarriage among Italians in the 1940's and 1950's. Frank Keane noted that Waterbury early in the century "was no melting pot" and that people married within their own ethnic group. In fact, he notes that even within particular ethnic groups, there were regional rivalries, such as that which existed between

immigrants from County Kerry and those from the Northern counties, who were known as "Queenies".[27]

In Waterbury, Brooklyn served as the center of the immigrant community, where many immigrants lived, shopped, worked, worshipped, and socialized. But in many ways immigrant communities were geographically inseparable from Waterbury itself, as its members blanketed the city's five wards with their presence, and entered the city's many industries while their children attended its schools. Yet, while immigrants mingled with one another in neighborhoods, outdoor markets, and factories, there remained distinct lines demarcating one community from another by language, social organizations, churches and parochial schools, working associations, festivals, newspapers, and ultimately, marriage. In Waterbury, immigrants' institutions remained segregated from one another while their spacial relations did not.

While financial constraints might have served as a de facto segregating force due to the fact that inexpensive rental housing was available only in particular neighborhoods, other factors were also crucial to the formation of various immigrant communities in Waterbury.

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[27] Daniel and Peter Zuraitis, Caroline Nardello, and Frank Keane, Brass Valley History Project Oral History Interviews.

Migration patterns influenced the sex ratios of various groups, and thus their family composition and boarding practices. Different conceptions of Catholicism, and strong ethnic church leaders contributed to the lasting segregation of churches and other institutions according to ethnic group. While some of this community consciousness was based on pride and the desire to preserve language, cultural institutions, and practices, some of it also emanated from animosity. For the Irish, who had borne the brunt of nativist sentiment in the mid-nineteenth century as the first large group of non-Protestant immigrants, the church was one institution in which they could remain autonomous; thus, they proved unwilling to incorporate other groups into their church. Instead its leaders, who were often Irish or of Irish descent, favored instead establishing ethnically-based parishes. Other immigrant groups resented the positions these earlier immigrants, especially the Irish, had obtained in the city's institutions, even if they had not attained nearly the social or economic power of native-born groups. These segregated institutions, the high remigration incidence, coupled with the fact that immigrants and their children formed the bulk of Waterbury's population allowed for cultural retention rather than promoting acculturation and assimilation of American values and practices in the first two decades of the twentieth

centuries. Yet, those Irish in the second-generation had begun increasingly to move outside of traditionally Irish neighborhoods, and had begun to intermarry into the native-born population.

CHAPTER THREE

WORKING LIVES

Although Waterbury was not a company town in which one manufacturer employed the vast majority of the work force while other businesses performed only ancillary functions, the brass industry had dominated and structured the city's economy from the early nineteenth century. There were fifteen factories engaged in the manufacture of brass products in 1910, and 154 additional manufacturers of other goods.[1]

In 1910, brass factories relied heavily upon immigrants for the bulk of their work force. According to census sample data, sixteen percent of all residents of Waterbury aged sixteen years and older were employed in brass factories and almost one-quarter of those in the enumerated[2] work force were employed in this sector. Of these brass

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[1] U. S. Bureau of Statistics. Thirteenth Census of the United States. Manufacturing Statistics, 2, 1910, 154.

[2] Enumerated workers here refers to those individuals for whom census takers recorded occupations. This, however, underestimates those individuals, many of whom were women, who worked for remuneration outside of the formal economy.

factory workers, sixty-nine percent were immigrants. An additional nineteen percent consisted of native-born workers of foreign or mixed parentage and the remaining twelve percent was comprised of those with native-parents. For the native-born population with native parents, the ratio of brass factory workers to their representative percentage in Waterbury's population was 1 to 1.65; for immigrants this figure was 1 to .554, and for native-born of foreign-born parents, this ratio was 1 to 2.75. Therefore, foreign-born inhabitants were overrepresented among brass mill employees in comparison to their overall presence in Waterbury's population as a whole.[3]

OCCUPATIONAL TRENDS ACCORDING TO NATIVITY AND ETHNICITY

Both nativity and ethnicity[4] emerge as important differentiating factors in patterns of participation within several occupational categories throughout Waterbury's

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[3] From sample census information. For details on methodology see Chapter One.

[4] The concept of nativity here refers to the population categorized according to one of four groups: native-born workers of native parents; native-born workers with two foreign-born parents (or second-generation Americans); native-born workers with one foreign-born and one native-born parents, and immigrants. Since native-born workers with mixed parentage forms a small segment of the sample, it will not be used in this section. Ethnicity here refers to distinctions among the entire population according to country of birth.

economy.[5] As might be expected, immigrants had significantly higher rates of participation in manual labor jobs than did native-born workers with either foreign, mixed, or native-born parents. In a sample of all workers aged 16 or more, 17.6 percent of all immigrants were employed as manual workers compared with less than one percent of native-born inhabitants with native-born parents, and 2.6 percent of native-born inhabitants of foreign-born parents. At the higher-skilled levels of industrial work, craft workers' backgrounds differed only slightly in terms of nativity. The percentage of those laboring as craft workers was only one percent higher among native-born of native parents than the other two major categories, including immigrants. This suggests that there was substantial diversity in skill level among the various immigrant groups.

Particular immigrant groups had heavy concentrations of craft workers, while others were predominantly clustered in manual worker positions [See Table I].[6] For instance 26.3 percent of Swedes, who had a relatively small sample size of enumerated workers, were craft workers, while none were

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[5] For a detailed breakdown of occupations and their occupational categories see Appendix D.

[6] For a breakdown of occupations within these categories see Appendix D.

enumerated as laborers. Thirteen percent of Irish workers were involved in craft production while 14 percent worked as manual laborers. No Lithuanians were employed as crafts workers, but a large majority of employees, 63 percent, worked as manual laborers. While 45.5 percent of Italian-born workers were concentrated at the manual labor level, their occupational distribution differed from Lithuanians in that ten percent of their enumerated workers held craft positions. The majority of Poles in the formal sector were employed as manual workers with a figure of 64 percent. Therefore, Poles and Lithuanians had the highest concentrations of manual laborers of all the ethnic groups.

Oral interviews reveal a widely-held perception that in the period prior to 1920, the Irish dominated foreman positions in brass factories, and hired other Irish for coveted factory positions, while limiting the job opportunities of other ethnic groups. This view portrays the Irish as gatekeepers who had risen up from lower-level positions only to discriminate against newer immigrants in favor of workers of their own ethnicity. Yet, the census sample indicates that this might not have been as prevalent a pattern as was generally perceived. In fact, while fifteen percent of all foremen were Irish, 60 percent were native-born. Of those native-born foremen, 42 percent had native-born parents and a quarter had Irish parents. Thus,

together Irish immigrants and Irish-Americans held 30 percent of foremen positions.

However, foremen positions were sharply limited to those who were native-born, Irish, German or Swedish, or to those second-generation workers whose parents were descended from these groups. So, while the perception that most foreman were Irish might be overstated, the fact that immigrants such as Lithuanians, Italians, and Poles did not have access to foreman positions remains accurate. This, in turn, undoubtedly affected hiring practices throughout the brass industry, and may account for the absence of Italians, Lithuanians, and Poles in even mid-level manufacturing jobs. In fact, only one percent of Lithuanians in the work force worked at a semi-skilled position--this proved the highest manufacturing position that any worker from this group held.

While the Irish had a far broader occupational distribution than many immigrant groups, they still had a relatively substantial proportion of manual workers in their ranks. At fourteen percent, their participation rate in this category trailed well behind that of Italians, Lithuanians and Poles. But given the fact that Irish had no language barriers and that they remained the majority immigrant group in Waterbury, their involvement at this level contrasted markedly with native-born workers, who had a participation rate of just 2.79 percent, as well as with

TABLE I Adults in Enumerated Work Force Employed in in Occupational Sectors According to Selected Ethnic Groups (data from census sample).

Country of Birth	1 Professionals		2 Office Work		3 Mid-level Government Employees		4 Supervisory	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
United States	11	2.8	27	5.9	31	7.9	13	3.1
Ireland	0	0	1	1.0	1	1.0	3	3.0
Italy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lithuania	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
England	1	6.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
French-Canada	0	0	1	3.3	0	0	0	0
Germany	1	3.3	0	0	0	0	1	2.8
Scotland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10.5
Poland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	5 Small Business Owners		6 Crafts Worker		7 Trade Worker		8 Retail	
United States	23	5.9	46	11.7	16	4.1	20	5.1
Ireland	3	3.0	13	13.1	5	5.1	1	1.0
Italy	3	3.4	9	10.2	8	9.1	1	1.1
Lithuania	2	2.6	0	0	0	0	7	9.0
England	2	12.5	2	12.5	1	6.3	0	0
French-Canada	1	3.3	5	16.7	4	13.3	2	6.6
Germany	5	13.9	6	16.7	3	8.3	6	16.7
Scotland	0	0	3	25.0	2	16.7	0	0
Sweden	0	0	5	26.3	2	10.5	0	0
Poland	0	0	1	9.1	0	0	0	0

	9 Semi skilled		10 Less Skilled		11 Personal Services		12 Manual Labor	
United States	71	18.1	78	19.8	16	4.1	11	2.8
Ireland	15	15.2	22	22.2	14	14.1	14	14.1
Italy	6	6.8	16	18.2	0	0	40	45.5
Lithuania	1	1.3	16	20.5	2	2.6	49	62.8
England	2	12.5	4	25.0	1	6.3	0	0
French-Canada	6	20.0	4	13.3	1	3.3	1	3.3
Germany	3	8.3	1	2.8	3	8.3	1	2.8
Scotland	3	25.0	0	0	2	16.7	1	8.3
Sweden	3	15.8	2	10.5	4	21.1	0	0
Poland	0	0	1	9.1	1	9.1	7	63.6

	13 Farm Workers		14 Brass and Clock Workers		99 Miscellaneous (Unspecified)	
United States	1	0.3	16	4.1	13	3.3
Ireland	0	0	1	1.0	6	6.1
Italy	0	0	4	4.6	1	1.1
Lithuania	0	0	0	0	1	1.3
England	0	0	0	0	1	6.3
French-Canada	0	0	2	6.7	2	6.7
Germany	0	0	3	8.3	4	11.1
Scotland	0	0	0	0	1	8.3
Sweden	0	0	0	0	1	5.3
Poland	0	0	0	0	1	9.1

English and Swedish employees, who had no manual workers among them. Considering they had the highest rate of home ownership rates in Waterbury at this time, Stephan Thernstrom's assertion that the Irish centered their

economic goals on property ownership rather than on other activities representing upward mobility (such as small business ownership or perhaps, education) seems accurate for Waterbury's Irish population as well.

TABLE 2 SECOND-GENERATION WORKERS: Native-Born Adults with Foreign-Born Parents in Enumerated Work Force Employed in Occupational Sectors. (data from census sample).

	1 Professionals		2 Office Work		3 Mid-level Government Employees		4 Supervisory	
Parents Born In:	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Ireland	0	0	4	4.3	11	11.8	3	3.2
French-Canada	0	0	1	8.3	0	0	0	0
Germany	0	0	2	6.1	1	3.0	2	6.1
Sweden	0	0	1	9.1	3	27.3	0	0

	5 Small Business Owners		6 Crafts Worker		7 Trade Worker		8 Retail	
Ireland	8	8.6	7	7.3	8	11.83	7	7.3
French-Canada	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Germany	1	3.0	7	21.2	0	0	0	0
Sweden	3	27.3	0	0	0	0	0	0

	9 Semi Skilled		10 Less Skilled		11 Personal Services		12 Manual Labor	
Ireland	11	7.5	21	22.6	1	1.1	6	6.5
French-Canada	4	33.3	4	33.3	0	0	1	6.3
Germany	7	21.2	7	21.2	3	9.1	0	0
Sweden	0	0	3	27.3	1	9.1	0	0

	13 Farm Work		14 Brass and Watch Workers		99 Miscellaneous	
Ireland	0	0	3	3.2	3	3.2
French-Canada	0	0	1	8.3	0	0
Germany	0	0	3	9.1	0	0
Sweden	0	0	3	27.3	0	0

Second-generation American enumerated workers with Irish parents had a different occupational distribution than did Irish immigrants [Table 2]. The largest difference between these groups was their propensity toward employment in personal service occupations. While fourteen percent of Irish enumerated workers held such jobs, just 1 percent of the second-generation did. The second-generation was also less likely to work as either craft workers or manual laborers. But, the second-generation was eleven times more likely to hold mid-level government jobs than were Irish immigrants. However, whether Irish or not, second-generation Irish workers remained excluded from professional occupations.

Rates of participation for retail positions were

virtually equal according to nativity. Since retail trade depended heavily on the ability to communicate with customers, this situation might reflect the existence of a healthy immigrant-owned retail trade in Waterbury, or the fact that sales occupations were less socially desirable than office work, a sector in which a negligible number of immigrants worked. While the percentage of small business owners was almost two percent higher for native-born workers with native parents than for immigrants, this is a surprisingly small difference, considering the capital necessary to begin an enterprise of even modest levels. As evident from Table 1, a moderate number of Italians, Lithuanians, Germans, French-Canadians, English and Irish joined native-born small businessmen.[7]

On the whole, a very small percentage of Waterbury's population worked in professional occupations. Employment

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[7] It is interesting to note that small business owners comprised eight per cent of the enumerated second-generation Irish-American workforce, and three percent of immigrant Irish workers. Waterbury's Irish homeownership rates seem to affirm Stephan Thernstrom's findings in his study on the Irish in late nineteenth century Newburyport, Massachusetts in which he discovered that the Irish tended to favor the economic security of homeownership over less secure economic activities. Yet, the fact that a small percentage of Waterbury's Irish, and a larger percentage of their children, also engaged in business suggests that some of them also chose to engage in less secure economic activities. This difference could stem from a change in perceptions of economic mobility between first and second-generation Irish, or from the fact that as an established ethnic group Irish immigrants had easier access to credit than they had had in previous decades.

in this sector was limited mainly to 2.8 percent of the native-born population who had native parents. Professionals accounted for fewer than one percent of either immigrants or second-generation workers. Immigrants were also conspicuously absent from mid-level government jobs; one Irish-born resident served as the sole immigrant in this sample. In contrast, 5.6 percent of native-born workers with foreign-born parents and 6.3 percent of those with native-born parents worked in this sector, which included public school teachers. Overall, four percent of the enumerated work force held jobs in this sector. This situation mirrors the employment trend in office work, where a minuscule .3 percent of immigrants worked. In the second-generation, over ten percent of Waterbury's Irish work force had moved into the government's mid-level ranks, however, suggesting that they had carved a niche out for themselves in local government. Over half of this still modest sample worked as public school teachers, 28 percent worked as police officers or firefighters and under 20 percent were in semi-professional governmental positions (such as office work). Thus, the second-generation generally filled those civil service positions which were perceived as

traditionally Irish.[8] Moreover, they had not equaled the native-born with native parents' rate of participation in office work.

Another unexpected pattern occurred among workers in personal service positions. In this sector, native-born with native-born parents had an participation rate virtually identical to immigrants--about 4.3 percent of these two groups worked in this category. In contrast, native-born workers of foreign parentage had a participation rate lower than 2 percent. But, after breaking down these figures according to ethnicity, it becomes clear that Irish-born immigrants and Swedes--the latter group constituting but a small part of the sample--prevailed in this sector. This seems to concur with conclusions reached in several studies of domestic workers, such as that of Hasia Diner, who found that native-born workers generally shunned domestic servant positions in favor of factory jobs, even if they proved lower-paying, while unmarried Irish women viewed them as an attractive employment option. This, she asserts, is due to the fact that Irish women often immigrated as young unmarried women while Italian women and other female immigrants arrived in family units, and because most

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[8] Teaching was a popular occupation among Irish women, especially for the second-generation. Hasia Diner, Erin's Daughters in America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 73, 96-99.

immigrant groups had taboos against females working in another's household.[9]

In Waterbury over 60 percent of women working in personal service occupations lived in their employers' household. This fact might explain why no Italian women worked in personal service occupations. However, considering that many Lithuanian women lived as boarders, unaccompanied by family members, only two in the sample worked in personal service, both residing in their employers' residences. This could signal that there might have been an employer as well as an employee preference along ethnic lines in the area of domestic service, given the fact that there was a diverse ethnic pool from which to draw. The fact that Irish women spoke English, and that Swedes as an immigrant group came from a higher economic level than others might have led employers to prefer these immigrant women over Lithuanians for work in their private households. For other single women, especially native-born and Irish, the fact that they could receive board as well as pay for their job made domestic work an important work option.

Diner notes that second-generation daughters of Irish immigrants also found domestic work unappealing. In

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[9] Diner, 33,42, 80-94.

Waterbury, native-born women of foreign-born parents preferred to avail of the many factory opportunities at lower-skilled levels, such as bench work, and hand packing factory goods. As young, unmarried adults they perceived this work as a more attractive option than domestic work, which often required that the worker live in the employer's household, and remain available for chores constantly. Over 60 percent of women working in personal service occupations lived in their employers' household. Second-generation women in Waterbury, unlike their immigrant counterparts, often had the option of staying in their parents' households and contributing to their families' incomes, while still retaining a portion of their income for discretionary use. While Diner asserts that Scandinavian women worked as domestics in the Midwest, where few Irish women lived, the sample suggests that Swedish women also worked alongside Irish women in Waterbury.[10]

The percentage of women enumerated as non-working differed substantially according to both by nativity and by ethnicity. Just over half of native-born women of foreign parentage women aged sixteen years and older were in the enumerated work force while just under half of those with native-born parents were in the work force. This rate

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[10] Diner, 80-84.

differed by less than 5 percent. In contrast, just 28.67 of all immigrant women sixteen and older were enumerated as workers. Thus, American-born women had a relatively high rate of labor force participation compared with other ethnic groups.

The fact that native-born women with native-born parents had such a high labor force participation rate contrasts with other figures suggesting that this group was the least likely to work for remuneration. Italian-born women had very low rates of participation; just over 10 percent of them were in the enumerated work force. Swedish women had a similar rate of non-participation, while German women also remained outside of the formal sector more often than average. The high rates of non-participation for the latter two groups might be explained by the fact that as a whole, Swedes and Germans were generally distributed within the higher levels of the work force, and few worked as manual labors. Thus, men or older children could often provide sufficient wages to allow these women to remain outside of the work force.

Lithuanian women had much higher formal work force participation rates than Italian women, despite the fact that both populations had similar sex ratios and were generally concentrated in lower skilled sectors of the economy. This can not be explained readily by age, since

TABLE 3 Adult Women Enumerated as Non-Working By Selected Ethnicity

	Number (n)	Percent
United States	167	50.3
Ireland	58	62.4
Italy	42	89.3
Lithuania	28	66.6
England	7	63.6
French-Canada	15	62.5
Germany	21	75.0
Scotland	4	66.6
Sweden	13	86.6
Poland	2	66.6
All Ethnic Groups:	376	60.2

the mean age of Italian and Lithuanian women differed by only 1.5 years. However, their household situations did vary. Lithuanian women sometimes lived apart from their families while Italian women did not. While each of the 57 Italian women in the sample was a member of a household, eleven percent of Lithuanian women either boarded or worked as servants, living with families other than their own. In fact, while Lithuanian brothers occasionally boarded in the same household, each of the Lithuanian women boarders in the sample lived apart from relatives, whether siblings or husbands. This indicates that there might have been less of a familial constraint keeping Lithuanian women from immigrating alone, pursuing jobs, and living outside of family structures than was the case for Italian women.

The fact that over half of women in all but one ethnic group remained out of the formal labor sector in 1910 confirms the need to examine closely their informal economic activities.

WOMEN'S NON-ENUMERATED LABOR

In Connecticut, women comprised one-third of the factory work force from 1902 to 1910. Of these, the majority of women workers were foreign-born or daughters of immigrants. In Waterbury, women workers were concentrated in various metal industries; 35 percent of the total enumerated female working population worked in this sector.[11]

According to the sample results, exactly one-third of all adults aged sixteen and over in Waterbury were not enumerated within the formal labor force--of these over ninety percent were women. In fact, sixty percent of women were not enumerated in the formal work force. Of those who were, eighteen percent worked in the brass industry, making it the largest formal employer of women in Waterbury at this time. However, this figure proves incomplete since a large segment of out work performed by women, an activity which

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[11] Cecelia Bucki, "Women at Work: Connecticut, 1900-1980" (pamphlet, 1985); This figure incorporates all metal working industries, not simply brass.

was not counted by census-takers, involved brass products. The next largest formal occupational category of women's work was in the private households of others, where they generally worked as domestic servants. Watch and clock factories also employed many women--just under ten percent of employed women worked in this segment, while an additional ten percent of women workers were employed in unspecified factories. Seven percent were employed by small manufacturing firms producing pins, buttons, buckles, and related goods.

Census information does not provide nearly as accurate a portrait of women's economic activities as it does of men's. Women in Waterbury, as elsewhere, engaged in non-enumerated activities that allowed them to combine their childcare responsibilities with their need to provide families with income. Often census-takers indicated that male head-of-households owned small businesses such as groceries, saloons, or drug stores, while classifying their wives as non-working. However, it is highly probable that a majority of these women was involved in the running of these small enterprises, performing such tasks as ordering goods, serving customers, hiring personnel, and perhaps performing bookkeeping duties. Without assistance from family members, many modest enterprises with limited capital would not prove viable. Thus, while the census did not describe

them as such, many Waterbury businesses were actually family enterprises in which women made essential economic contributions. As discussed in Chapter Two, many women worked within their homes to earn income by performing work associated with boarding--cleaning, cooking, and perhaps laundering. While this was not expressly recognized as remunerative work in the census--instead it was assumed to be part of a women's traditional functions--the extent to which this activity occurred can be gleaned from census records. Laura Anker, in her study of immigrant women's work in other Connecticut cities, asserts that an analysis of WPA interviews indicates that over forty percent of immigrant women from Italy and Eastern Europe earned income through economic activities performed outside of the formal labor force.[12]

Industrial out work served as a crucial economic activity that allowed immigrant women in particular to care for their children and to earn income in Waterbury. During the period 1910-1920, the Connecticut state government became increasingly involved in welfare issues for workers, including immigrants and women. This participation resulted

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[12] Laura Anker "Women, Work and Family: Southern Italian and Eastern European Immigrants in Industrial Connecticut," Unpublished paper presented at the Eighth Annual Lowell Conference on Industrial History, October 1987, 7. Used with permission of the author.

in an expanding number of reports on women's out work, factory conditions, employment agencies, as well as on Americanization and factory education programs; many of these illuminate the working conditions and circumstances of female immigrants and their families. The study demonstrates that the percentage of foreign-born women engaged in out work was high. In fact, very few native-born women, or even those of Irish or Scottish descent were involved in out work, according to state investigations. By 1920, Italians, Polish, Swedish and Lithuanians comprised the largest group of Connecticut home workers; Jewish women were less likely to perform home work. In Connecticut, factories typically hired women to: card hooks, eyes and safety pins; assemble sectional parts; stitch tabs for hose supporters; and assemble puzzles. This variety of work reflected the nature of the industries in cities such as Waterbury, Bridgeport, and New Haven. However, by 1908, industries began to mechanize work formerly performed by out workers, decreasing the availability of this type of employment. In 1912, three factories in Waterbury and a neighboring town provided 433 workers with home work, but by 1918 just one Waterbury factory hired eighty-four women to

perform home work.[13]

The author of the 1920 report on industrial out work observed that this type of labor allowed women to contribute to their families' incomes, provide clothing for themselves and for their children, and pay for educational expenses, while caring for their families. She noted further that over a third of the women out workers had from three to eight children; some cared for disabled or elderly family members. Frequently, widows and older unmarried women were among those engaging in out work.[14]

In 1920, the state labor report estimated that the wage differential between factory work and out work was 30-40 percent. Given the significantly lower pay scale of out work, family considerations must have strongly influenced women's decisions to opt for it. Another important factor that made this option attractive to some women was that it allowed them to retain some flexibility in their schedules; this is highlighted by the fact that half of workers performed out work for only a fraction of the year. In this way, women were able to work on farms during the warmer

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[13] Connecticut. Department of Factory Inspection. Report. Hartford, Conn. (in Public Documents of the State of Connecticut. 1918), 33-34; Connecticut. Department of Factory Inspection. Report. 1912, 19; Connecticut. Department of Factory Inspection. Report. 1920, 41-46.

[14] Ibid. 1920, 42.

months, or to use out work as a temporary device while another family member was ill or laid-off. Laura Anker maintains that mothers often worked when the income they could generate was essential to their family's well-being, a situation which occurred most often when children were small.[15] Another reason women chose to engage in out work was so their older children could assist with it following school and at night, thereby establishing the family as a collective work force.

The informal labor sector might have served as an important source of income for widows and other female heads of households as well. Sixty-eight percent of all female heads-of households and 74 percent of who were Irish-born remained outside of the formal economy. Thus, they must have relied on other sources of income, either their children's wages, rental or boarder income, or out work. Of those who did work in the formal sector, 39 percent worked in personal service occupations.

LOG LINEAR ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S WORK PARTICIPATION

In order to determine which factors led women to work in the formal labor force or to remain outside of it, I

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[15] Anker, 7.

used log linear analysis to produce a model that would best explain women's propensity to work. In the model as a whole, which included all women sixteen years and older, I used the variables that would most likely affect a woman's decision to enter the work force: marital status; age; whether she was an immigrant, a second generation American or a native-born of native parents; whether or not a women had children; whether or not her family took in boarders.

The final results indicated that the most important variable in determining a woman's propensity to work was her marital status; women who were married remained outside the labor force whether or not they had children. These results suggest that white women, whether immigrant, second-generation, or native-born of native parents, or second generation tended to leave the work force for cultural reasons that cut across ethnic lines. In general, participation by married women in the work force was discouraged. Women did not exit the work force only when the necessities of child care rendered labor force participation difficult. This cultural pattern suggests that employers may have had formal or informal policies against hiring or retaining women who were married, or that husbands may have viewed outside work by their wives as a threat to their socially defined roles as breadwinners. Women, too, may have left the work force on the assumption

that they would begin bearing children soon after marriage. Unless this choice was dictated solely by employer's hiring practices, women and their husbands made economic sacrifices in the form of women's wages for cultural reasons.

In using these log linear analysis results to pursue the relationship between work and marriage in further detail, I performed cross tabulations on work rates by marriage and for married women of particular ethnic groups. Over three-fourths of all unmarried women worked in formal sectors, as compared to 27 percent of all widows and under seven percent of all married women. While married women with children proved less likely to work than those as a whole, widows with children were more likely to work than

TABLE 4 Women's Marital Status by Labor Force Participation Total and Those with Children

Total Women

	Work		Non-Work	
	#	%	#	%
Married	20	6.8	275	93.2
Widowed	15	26.8	41	73.2
Unmarried	209	78.3	58	21.7

Women with One or More Children

Married	8	3.7	206	96.3
Widowed	10	32.3	21	67.7
Unmarried	--------		---------	

those without children. Thirty-two percent of widows who

were mothers worked, compared with 20 percent of those who were not.

I discovered that married immigrant women who spoke English had a higher propensity toward labor force participation than did other groups of married women. This can be illustrated by dividing married women into four groups; Irish and English immigrants, Americans born of foreign parents, native-born women of native-born parents, and all remaining immigrants. The first group had the highest rates of participation in the formal sector, although the number remained small in relative terms. Whereas three percent of other immigrant married women, 5.2 percent of second-generation married women, and 10.7 of native-born women of native-born parents were employed, 14.6 of Irish and English married women worked. The differences in participation rates according to ethnic group increased for those married women with children. Widowed female heads of households also tended to have significantly lower rates of work force participation than unmarried women. This situation occurred despite the fact that 55.4 percent of these women had children[16] living with them as dependents. Interestingly, only 26 percent of all working widows took in

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[16] In this section when I refer to children, I discuss those children as dependents, not those adult children who had widowed mothers as members of their households.

boarders, and just 17 percent of non-working women had boarders. This figure was 17 and 20.4 percent for

TABLE 5 Married Women's Work Force Participation by Ethnic Group--Total and those with children

ALL MARRIED WOMEN

	Work		Non-Work	
	#	%	#	%
Native-born of native parents	6	10.7	50	89.3
Second-Generation American	3	5.2	55	94.8
English Speaking Immigrants (Irish and English)	7	14.6	41	85.4
Other Immigrants	4	3.0	129	97.0
MARRIED WOMEN WITH CHILDREN				
Native-born of native parents	1	3.1	31	96.9
Second-Generation American	1	2.4	41	97.6
English Speaking Immigrants (Irish and English)	4	11.4	31	88.6
Other Immigrants	2	1.9	103	98.1

married women, respectively. Only one-fourth of female widowed homeowners gained income by renting out part of their houses to other families.

Instead, many widow heads of households who had children relied on them to bring in income. Of widows in this category who worked, 62.5 (n = 5) percent had at least one child in the work force; of those women who were not employed in the formal labor sector 90% (n=18) had children who worked. Five of these 28 widowed head-of households with children neither worked in the formal work force or had children who did. All of these rented their homes.

Inasmuch as the mean age of women whose children did not work was eighteen years younger than those whose did, it seems that many of the former group's children were too young to work and perhaps required child care.

Younger widows with children who were not in the formal work force might have turned to out work or other types of income generating activities to earn enough to support their families. Women with older children sent them into the work force. Boarding was one way of way bringing in income into widows' households: widowed head of households took in boarders at a six percent higher rate than did the population as a whole. However, this was not a primary method for widowed women to earn income.

Rates of labor force participation among women varied most significantly according to marital status, and differed only slightly by ethnicity. Ethnicity did influence the types of employment in which both men and women engaged, however. As might be expected, newer immigrants largely remained at the lower rungs of the occupational ladder, especially in manual labor jobs. However, while both Italians and Lithuanians predominated in these lower level positions, twenty percent of Italian working in the enumerated labor force held craftsworker and trades positions, while those sectors employed no Lithuanians. As a more established, English-speaking group, Irish immigrants

had made some occupational gains, but remained more concentrated in lower level positions than those workers from other "old" immigrant groups. Yet, second generation Irish-Americans, who comprised the bulk of Waterbury's second-generation population, had begun to make inroads into those administrative positions from which their immigrant parents had been excluded.

CHAPTER FOUR

STRIKES: ETHNIC ACTIONS AND COMPANY RESPONSE

In 1919 and in 1920, employees undertook major strikes at one of the largest brass manufacturers, the Scovill Manufacturing Company. At the time, company records indicated that 60 percent of the work force of 7,071 was immigrant; Italians constituted 18 percent of the work force, and comprised the largest group of immigrant workers. At eight percent, Irish workers comprised the next largest group of immigrants, followed by English and Russian workers (6 percent each), and Lithuanians (5 percent). Company records indicate that unskilled immigrant workers were most likely to strike, accompanied by a small group of highly organized mechanics.

Those workers least likely to strike were in departments where women comprised the majority of the work force.[1] While it is unclear why women did not participate

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[1] "Nationality Report and Illiteracy, 1918-1919," Employment Series I-III, March 18, 1919, Case 33, Scovill II Records, Baker Library, Harvard Business School; "Strike of 1920," Case 33, Employment Series I-III, Scovill II Records, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

in the strikes in significant numbers, this situation might have emanated from the fact that they tended to be segregated from male workers, and thus were perhaps not included in their strike organizing efforts. Since many male strikers were Italian, and few Italian women worked, Italian men might not have approved of these women factory workers, or might not have appealed to them effectively. Moreover, since much the strike rhetoric was heavily laden with appeals both to ethnic loyalties and on behalf of the family wage-earner, these men might not have seen their interests as similar to that of non-Italian, largely single women. Perhaps, as single women, many felt that they could not support themselves if they lost their factory jobs, or felt that as women employees, their positions were less secure than men's. Their younger mean age (24.3 versus 32.1 for men) might have also led them to take less active role on the whole, as was the case for younger males.

Both of Waterbury's brass company strikes were driven by ethnicity. First, a large proportion of its participants were immigrants, especially Italian, Lithuanian and Russian workers. Moreover, the unskilled workers' unions were both segregated by ethnicity, meeting as separate groups and arriving at decisions according to particular ethnic interests. Further, the Scovill Company used tactics which appealed to patriotism, and consciously tried to divide the

work force on the basis of ethnicity. While immigrant workers were crucial to Scovill and other manufactures at this time, this era was also one in which nativist sentiments were heightened sharply by a fear of communism.

"New" immigrants comprised the vast majority of the strikers. Of unskilled Irish and French-Canadian workers, just three percent and two percent respectively went on strike. There was also an inverse proportion of unskilled to skilled strikers for each ethnic group. While only four percent of unskilled American-born workers participated in the strike, 57 percent of skilled American-born employees did. Conversely, while a third of Italian-born unskilled workers struck, just eight percent of skilled Italians joined the strike effort. This situation, in part, seems to stem from the fact that many skilled workers, especially Americans, were active in the AFL and felt they could safely risk a strike in anticipation of better wages and working conditions. Italians had few members in the skilled ranks, however, and their position were more tenuous as ethnic minorities at this level. Instead, it appears that these skilled Italians chose to preserve their recent gains, and were unlikely to have been members of the AFL.

The shorter 1919 strike began on June 18 and lasted only until the beginning of July. The strikers' demands, including a call for forty-four hour week, higher wages and

better overtime pay were influenced by those of strikers in the nearby manufacturing town of Ansonia. Two days after the start of the strike, a policeman suffered a blow resulting in a fractured skull following an outbreak of violence at a gathering of an estimated five-hundred Italian, Russian, and Polish strikers at North Square. Police immediately arrested over thirty protesters, most of whom were Eastern European, and shut down twenty-five saloons. The unrest further resulted in four resignations by auxiliary policemen who were of Lithuanian and Russian descent. On June 26, Police arrested Steve Kaminsky, a member of the strike committee, who had been active in the I.W. W., but they filed no charges against him. They alleged that he was a communist seeking to subvert the strike by exerting undue control over Lithuanian strikers.

The police's pretext for shutting down saloons might have been articulated as a fear that widespread intoxication would further fuel violence. In Waterbury as elsewhere, however, saloons were a vital social gathering place for workers in general and immigrants, in particular. During the strikes, they would have served as places where strikers could gather before or after union meetings to garner support for certain positions, to plan ex-officio actions or to propose alternatives that might not be supported within the union leadership. Roy Rosensweig and other social

historians have described the saloon as a place where ward politicians campaigned for votes.[2] It is likely that socialists and members of the I.W.W. also frequented saloons in search of support from immigrants.

In closing down Waterbury's saloons, authorities sought to contain the potential for violence, but they also attempted to limit strike and political activity. By arresting Steve Kaminsky, they attempted to shroud all strikers and their organizers, especially those from Eastern Europe, under a cloud of communism. Moreover, they might have intended to subvert the union's influence by attempting to make the Italian strikers suspicious of the East Europeans.

The management of at least one brass company, Scovill Manufacturing, seized immediately on the issue of ethnicity in the strike, and tried to cast the strike's major issue as not simply one of loyalty to the company, but of loyalty to the country as well. A year prior to the first strike, they had instituted a series of voluntary educational classes for immigrants in which they taught them English, encouraged them to file citizenship papers, and reinforced factory rules and regulations. Henry Ford had developed the

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[2] Roy Rosensweig, Eight Hours For What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

›f industrial Americanization programs in 1915 by ...g English classes and emphasizing citizenship among his factory's immigrant workers.[3] In internal memos, the Scovill program's director noted that it aimed to decrease employee turnover rates and to increase individual productivity. In addition, the company established other welfare capitalism programs to decrease labor turnover, including subsidized housing, and social organizations. But a corollary function of these programs was to Americanize the company's foreign-born workers, to insure that they would not join socialist or communist organizations, including radical labor unions.

The Scovill Manufacturing Bulletin in May of 1920 emphasized that the strike was primarily one involving unskilled, foreign-born workers. A short article on the strike stated that while 55 percent of the payroll consisted of immigrants, 96 percent of those absent during the strike were foreign-born. In addition it noted that while one-third of all male employees went on strike, just one-seventh of females had left work. A bar graph representing the percentage of strikers according to ethnicity accompanied the article. It highlighted the fact that fifty percent of

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[3] John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 244.

were absent as of April 27, compared with 70 .cent of Lithuanians and 90 percent of Spanish and Portuguese workers. "On the other hand", the article concluded, "although about 45 per cent of our employees are American born, less than 4% were absent." In an effort to placate workers who complained about the high cost of living in Waterbury, the Bulletin stated that the company had arranged to begin selling grocery staples, coal, and other goods to employees at cost. In another attempt to use ethnicity to splinter workers, the management at American Brass and Chase Brass companies hired Spanish and Portuguese immigrants as strikebreakers.[4]

During the 1920 strike, the Scovill Company kept a file of strikers, noting their ethnic backgrounds, and any complaints they had made individually regarding issues such as working conditions and pay. In addition, the company monitored closely these individuals' labor or political activities, as well as any ethnic affiliations. One Italian man appeared in company records because he owned a shoe

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[4] Scovill Manufacturing Bulletin, May 20, 1920, 4 in Folder III A, Case 33, Employment Series I-III, Scovill Records II, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. There is no evidence as to why the company recruited Spanish and Portuguese immigrants in particular as strikebreakers. As Scovill workers, they had the highest participation rates in the strikes of all ethnic groups, probably because as unskilled immigrants they worked under the worst conditions. However, in general, they probably had the fewest economic opportunities.

which served as a meeting place for Italians; the company opened a file on another worker because he was a leader at the Russian Club, and on another because he had been a delegate to a communist convention in Chicago. The company investigated several individuals simply because they participated in the strike, while others were described as draft evaders. One man's file had one simple notation: "Father German [,] looks suspicious." Moreover, several activities were accompanied by an alphabetical code, suggesting that these activities were graded according to their perceived gravity. Therefore, the company combined overt means of welfare capitalism with the covert methods of surveillance within and outside of the company's grounds to limit workers' organizing activities.[5]

These corporate tactics encouraging Americanization did not succeed, however, since immigrant workers had built strong and self-reliant ethnic communities within the city. While workers did enroll in Scovill's English language programs and began procedures for obtaining citizenship, such actions were not necessarily reflective of acquiescence. Rather, many immigrant workers hoped that a knowledge of English would increase their job opportunities,

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[5] "Card Record, A-L, of Employees Involved in Labor Union and Strike, 1919-20," Box 33 A, Scovill II Records, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

nat citizenship was important to secure their positions in America. In effect, many complied nominally with demands that they conform to American standards in a time of intensified nativism, but did not necessarily alter their behavior or attitudes.[6] Moreover, the fact that the brass companies tried to introduce competition among immigrant groups based on their degree of patriotism and loyalty proved unsuccessful because immigrant groups had never conceived of themselves as united across ethnic lines.

Throughout both strikes, there existed substantial autonomous ethnic divisions within the unskilled strikers' ranks. Each ethnic group within the Waterbury Workers' Association had a separate delegation, and each perceived their interests differently. The Waterbury American on June 22 quoted Dominick Lucisano, the union's president and head of the Italian delegation, as threatening to withdraw from the Association as a whole along with other Italian members

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[6] One article in The Scovill Manufacturing Bulletin, (July 1919), 8, Case 33, Scovill II Records, noted that those currently enrolled in English classes had proved unlikely to participate in 1919 strike (3.5 percent versus 53 percent of all foreign-born employees). However, this group constituted a small percentage of all employees and this difference in participation rates might have been exaggerated to benefit the company's goals. Obviously those who had regularly attended classes when the strike began would have more direct pressure to continue working than those employees not enrolled at that time; but this does not necessarily indicate that as a whole any workers who participated in the program became more Americanized or less likely to strike.

in working "on behalf of the Italian strikers
c from what the delegation of other nationalities wished to do." Workers of particular nationalities had a fragile coalition based on their unskilled status, and knew that they needed to work as a unit in order to challenge the Brass companies. But this did not mean that they viewed their interests similarly. Just as they perceived their interests separately, so too did they vote on the issue of returning to work. Workers repeated this pattern of conceiving of economic interests separately in their larger strike in the following year.

On April 22, 1920, striking employees shut down production at three brass plants, demanding a minimum wage of 75 cents per hour and an eight hour day, as well as wage parity for women workers. Some strikers accused factory foremen of treating Italians, Lithuanians, Russians, and Poles unfairly, by giving them undesirable jobs in which they received piece rates. Unskilled, immigrant workers who were members of the New England Workers' Association comprised the bulk of strikers; the association was led by an Italian, Luigi Scalamana.[7] A core of skilled native-born workers, who were members of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) later joined the strike, and there was tension

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[7] Newspaper accounts provided little information on this union or its leader.

between the two groups.

As with the strike in 1919, the unskilled immigrant strikers, while nominally joined within one union, split into groups according to ethnicity, and held separate meetings to discuss strike issues within these smaller blocs. Moreover, women strikers formed their own branch of the Association.[8] The Waterbury American, analyzing the tensions arising from the strikers' inability to reach a settlement noted:

> The Lithuanian branch of the New England Workers Association is said to be particularly strong in its opposition to the shop committee plan. The Italians are more inclined to adopt the suggestion but the Lithuanians will not listen to such a proposition. They believe they are strong enough to eventually win recognition of their organization. It is known that Lithuanians as a whole are better prepared financially to endure the hardships of a long strike. Many of the Italian strikers, men with large families, have already appealed to their fellow strikers for help, and according to reports, there has been a generous response.[9]

While the article noted that Italian men with large families appealed to other strikers for assistance, its author did not mention whether they appealed primarily to those Italian men who might have had more savings, because

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[8] Again, it remains interesting that the strike demands included better pay for women, but that only a small fraction of women were active in the strike. Unfortunately, there is little information on their strike activities as a group.

[9] Waterbury American, May 3, 1920.

they were single or childless, or whether these men sought assistance from strikers of other nationalities as well. If the latter case proved true, it would highlight the fact that all strikers had an interest in assisting the cause as a whole, and were willing to assist others to insure that strike unity among all groups was maintained. The article further mentioned that many Lithuanians were unmarried, and had saved considerable amounts "in preparation it is claimed, for just such an event as the present strike." More probably, single Lithuanian men had saved money in anticipation of remigration, but discovered that they could better afford to sustain themselves through a strike than could their married counterparts.

According to Scovill company records, the overall percentage of married employees was 62 percent in 1918; During the strike, 55.2 percent of strikers were married. Among skilled workers, a disproportionate number of workers were married. Company records also indicated that while strikers' ages corresponded generally with the age of all employees, strikers were underrepresented among employees under 21 and those over 50. Proportionately, strikers were overrepresented in the age group 26-40; while skilled strikers were older on average than unskilled. Not surprisingly long-term employees, who had worked at the company for six years or longer were not likely to be among

one strikers. However, this situation probably had as much to do with the fact that members of "new" immigrant groups were less likely to have been in the country for many years as it did with the issue of company loyalty.[10]

Another strategy by which immigrants were able to keep the strike alive is by soliciting businessmen in their communities to make contributions to a strike fund for strikers' families. This activity occurred more frequently in the Italian community than in the Lithuanian. In another form of ethnically-based support, forty Italian landlords allowed their tenants to forego paying rent while they remained on strike. As the strike progressed into late May, strikers began to broaden their funding appeal to include American store owners. To insure that their requests would be heeded, the union sent registered letters to the merchants threatening to black list merchants who did not contribute funds or goods, indicating that sympathy was not foolproof incentive for the native-born segment of Waterbury.[11]

Italians predominated in the strike due to both their

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[10] From report entitled "The Strike of 1920", File III A, October 1920, Case 33, Employment Series I-III, Scovill Company Records II, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

[11] Waterbury American, May 6, 1920; May 7, 1920; May 27, 1920.

numerical strength, and because the Association's president was Italian. Throughout much of the strike, the Italian contingent served as a weathervane for the other strikers. By June 3, An association-wide vote on whether or not to continue with the strike was contingent upon the outcome of a vote by its Italian members.

Discontent occurred among unskilled workers when machinists voted to return to the factories, prompting unskilled workers to criticize them for their lack of commitment, especially given their higher wages.[12] By June 17, unskilled strikers began returning to work. On June 21, a riot erupted in which a striker, Liberto Tiso, was killed after allegedly wounding two policeman. Shortly following the riot, all strike mass meetings were banned. At Tiso's funeral, all ethnic branches of the Association sent representatives, as did the machinist's union. On June 22nd, the Waterbury American reported that Pasquale De Ciccio, an Italian consular agent based in New Haven spoke before the NEWA to propose a campaign allowing married men with large families to return to work.[13]

The writer noted that there were one hundred men in the

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[12] Waterbury American, June 3, 1920; Ibid., June 10, 1920.

[13] It is unclear from newspaper accounts why the consular agent spoke before the strikers, but perhaps he was acquainted personally with strike leaders.

Italian branch of the association with large families, whereas Lithuanian men tended to be single. Yet, according to the census sample of a decade prior to the strike, Italian male heads of households who worked in the brass factories did not have substantially larger families to support than their Lithuanian counterparts. While forty-four percent of Italian males in the brass industry were heads of households, 38.5 percent of Lithuanians were in this position. The average size of a Italian-headed household in which a male head worked in the brass industry was 7.2 members; the comparable figure for Lithuanians was 6.9 percent. A more accurate figure might result from eliminating boarders from the total, and focusing only on the relative number of family members in each group, since boarders were not dependent economically on heads of households. Here, Italian families whose head of household was in the brass industry had an average of 6.3 members; an average family size for Lithuanian in this position was six members. Thus, assuming that the demographics of family size did not undergo radical change in a decade, while more Italian men were heads of households than were Lithuanians, those who did have families did not have substantially larger families than did Lithuanians. Because of the Italian delegation's strength, however, Italian strikers were able to transform their needs into an issue of family

responsibility.

On July sixth, unskilled immigrants, many of whom were Italian, began returning to work. But the brass company management, according to the Waterbury American, stated that they awaited the return of Lithuanians and Poles to the factories, because while Italians predominated within the unskilled ranks, factory officials believed the Lithuanians to be the backbone of the strike. By July 19, the newspaper reported that the strike continued only technically, but that most brass company employees had returned to work.

While Lithuanian and Italian men who worked in the brass mills shared similar economic circumstances, they did not conceive of their interests similarly. Yet, such differences had been articulated by union leaders and by the workers themselves; they did not emanate simply from divide-and-conquer tactics by the companies.[14] Because each ethnic group had a strong autonomous community outside of the work force, they each wanted to advance their own views within the union as well.

The second strike eventually died out, as immigrants began returning to work. While Lithuanians and Italians had demonstrated their ethnic solidarity within their own groups, they had never transcended ethnic lines, despite

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[14] Waterbury American, June 22, 1920; Ibid., June 23, 1920.

their shared economic situations. Fundamentally, both groups had the most to gain by a successful strike and the most to lose from a failed one. Those strikers who served as heads of families had little savings after meeting basic needs such as rent, food, and clothing. Most had no sons or daughters who were old enough to contribute to the family's income. Many took in boarders, and many of their wives performed out work. Yet, in neither group could families afford to survive without regular wages. Those Lithuanians and Italians living in the city without families could sustain themselves more readily in a strike. Many boarded at private houses, and had fewer living expenses, and many had saved in order to return to their indigenous countries. But at the same time, many had family in Italy or Lithuania or intended to purchase land upon their return, and thus were not free from financial obligations. This lack of collective action among ethnic groups emanated in part from management policy and police actions, which sought to emphasize loyalty among particular groups at the expense of others. Moreover, lower pay scales and piece rates bred resentment among workers. But, this divisiveness also resulted from community organizations outside the work place, where communities evolved separately, while social interactions occurred on differing ethnic planes.

CONCLUSION

Immigration patterns, household structures, and community settlement greatly influenced immigrant life in Waterbury from 1900-1920. Because Waterbury was comprised of a majority of immigrants and their children, and had heavy concentrations of three immigrant groups, immigrants permeated the city's structure physically, culturally, and economically. Moreover, the presence of several immigrant groups further allowed for a retention of inherent cultural values that would not have been possible had there been just one predominant ethnic group in an otherwise native-born community.

Italians and Lithuanians males arrived in the United States apart from their families in greater numbers than had previous groups, and looked toward community institutions for economic assistance and companionship. Moreover, the emergence of churches based on ethnicity strengthened these ethnic communities. The fact that many immigrants boarded with families in which the head-of-household shared the same ethnicity encouraged the retention of their native cultures

within the household and the continued use of their indigenous languages. The Catholic Church, however, while allowing for retention of languages and other native practices within parishes, also enforced some elements of Americanized Catholicism on Waterbury's immigrant population.

Among women, differing immigration patterns reflected varied cultural values and held implications for women's economic activities within the city. Many Lithuanian and Irish women immigrated to Waterbury outside of traditional family units, worked in the formal sectors of the economy, and boarded in the private homes of others. In contrast, Italian women, whose numbers were small compared with Italian men, lived exclusively as dependent members of families, and had lower rates of employment in the formal labor force than other women. As a result of these cultural constraints against women's independence from the family unit, these women did not immigrate as unmarried adults, and remained at home.

This situation among Italian women in Waterbury lends support to Virginia Yans-McLaughlin's findings for Buffalo. However, some of her findings can be generalized further. For instance, Italian men were not the only population to oppose married women's participation in the labor force for cultural reasons. In fact, across all ethnic lines,

including those with native-born of native-born parents, marriage, and not the presence of children, served as the strongest indicator of a women's propensity toward employment in the enumerated labor force. However, women also engaged in alternative income generating activities, including out work and taking in boarders. Women took on primary responsibility for the work associated with boarders. Twenty percent of Waterbury's households included at least one boarder, and most did this not to help meet mortgage payments, but in order to meet basic economic needs.

By 1910, some immigrant groups had begun attaining limited upward mobility, assisted by the fact that Waterbury's immigrant groups their children comprised a bulk of the population in 1910. Individuals from "old" immigrants, such as the Irish had begun to intermarry with native-born citizens, and moving into higher occupation levels. Along with a small number of German and French-Canadians, Irish immigrants bought their own houses at higher rates than did either native-born Americans with native-born parents or second-generation Irish-Americans. Many helped finance this purchase by renting out floors to other families. This situation would parallel Stephan Thernstrom's findings for Irish home ownership rates in Newburyport, Massachusetts in 1880.

Yet, while the Irish had been a formidable presence in the city for a half century, they had not attained the occupational status of other old immigrants, such as Germans and English, nor had they nearly the economic position or authority of native-born citizens. Like all immigrants, they remained excluded from administrative sectors of the economy. But, in contrast to other "old" immigrants, many continued to fill manual laborer positions. This suggests that when examining immigrant groups, one needs to look at measures of social and economic mobility in addition to those relating to occupations.

Second-generation Americans of Irish parents, who comprised the bulk of the second generation, reached higher economic levels than had their parents. They made some gains in the municipal and administrative employment sectors, even if they were concentrated in traditionally Irish jobs--those of policemen and teachers.

The brass industry undertook policies of discrimination and held nativist views towards its workers, especially East Europeans, by appealing to the need for Americanization. It employed welfare capitalism in an effort to decrease worker turnover, but couched these programs in rhetoric that would make these activities seem beneficial to the employee.

The industry's leaders turned to the police for help in curbing socialist activities, and used public relations and

patriotism to their advantage. While management's aims might have been the same as in prior decades--to suppress worker resistance and maintain profits--their tactics were decidedly different.

However, one must be cautious in attributing all ethnic labor activity to employer's divide-and-conquer techniques. To do so would suggest that ethnic workers simply reacted to company actions. During the strikes in Waterbury, the ethnic communities' cohesion first strengthened workers' efforts, but ultimately undermined their ability to sustain the strike sufficiently. The closeness of communities outside of the workplace allowed immigrants to ease their transition from one country to another, to resist efforts that would condemn them as "un-American", as well as to obtain financial and emotional support from members of the community at large. But this cohesion also incorporated elements of exclusion whereby immigrants, through resentment or mistrust, did not acknowledge other groups' circumstances. This lack of unity across ethnic lines did not occur simply because a more acculturated immigrant group resented the intrusion of newer groups, or because newer groups resented the position of older ones. In fact, the Irish and other established groups bowed out of the strikes in 1919 and 1920. Italians, Lithuanians, and other "new" immigrant workers initiated these strikes. However,

divisions grew between groups who were in similar economic positions, and could have benefitted from unification, but failed to see their interests similarly. This situation occurred partially because union leadership was concentrated among one ethnic group. However, it also resulted from the fact that each ethnic group had organized their community, religious, and commercial lives separately. Thus, while the industry's policies and attitudes played a significant role in labor activities, one must also acknowledge workers' autonomous actions in order to understand fully how ethnicity influences labor situations. By viewing the way immigrant workers organize their communities outside of work, one can appreciate how this affected their actions within it.

Waterbury's situation as a city predominated by immigrants and their children allowed them to retain much of their cultural values in a way that would not be possible in a city where immigrant families comprised a smaller percentage of the population. The immigrant populations were large enough to sustain an array of community activities, to divide the city into identifiable ethnic neighborhoods, to allow immigrant merchants to cater specifically to ethnic clientele, and to encourage the Catholic Church's decision to separate its parishes along ethnic lines. Because of their population's size,

immigrants were more insulated from nativist sentiment than those in other cities and regions during the early twentieth century. By 1910, the second-generation had begun moving up the occupational ladder, had begun to intermarry. This acculturation process would accelerate in the ensuing decades as the flow of immigration slowed considerably and as more immigrants' children entered school, and became exposed to American values and practices as well as those of other ethnic groups.

APPENDIX A

For a Map of Waterbury, please turn to the pocket in the back of this volume.

APPENDIX B

BLOCK SAMPLE SIZES

All Figures Represent Estimates from Census Sample, Not Actual Census Figures.

WARD I		13,105	
SMALL		Size	
51-51	Catherine St.	8	
138-140	Walnut St.	5	
16-16	Walnut Ave.	2	
		15	CATEGORY TOTAL: 732
MEDIUM			
126-140	Walnut St.	20	
96-101	Wood St.	30	
18-20	Violet St.	15	
		65	CATEGORY TOTAL: 2160
LARGE			
118-138	Locust St.	77	
130-158	N. Main St	65	
55-21	Catherine St.	120	
		262	CATEGORY TOTAL: 10213
WARD II		13,548	
SMALL			

87-95	Hillside	9	
121-133	Central	10	
166-166	Grove	4	
		20	CATEGORY TOTAL: 763

MEDIUM

38-40	W. Farm	16	
102-114	Grove St.	26	
2-1	Willow Ct.	28	
		70	CATEGORY TOTAL: 324

LARGE

100-148	Central Ave.	92	
118-204	Hall St.	64	
No#	Tutor	68	
		224	CATEGORY TOTAL: 9545

WARD III 14,025

SMALL

25-25	Summerset	8	
233-233	Hillside Ave	4	
No #	Seymour	4	
		16	CATEGORY TOTAL: 839

MEDIUM

16-16	West St.	12	
47-61	S. Wilson St.	28	
28-23	French St.	32	
		72	CATEGORY TOTAL: 3368

LARGE

8-64	State St.	128	
128-122	Russell St.	36	
109-29	James St.	172	
		336	CATEGORY TOTAL: 9818

WARD IV 14120

SMALL

7-11	Porter St.	4	
298-298	Mill St.	4	
159-153	S. Elm	4	
		12	CATEGORY TOTAL: 314

MEDIUM

74-84	Charles St.	28	
45-13	Pratt Place	12	
1353-1353	Bank St	12	
		52	CATEGORY TOTAL: 1898

LARGE

23-17	Third St.	64	
1079-1137	Bank St.	108	
158-194	Mill St.	104	
		276	CATEGORY TOTAL: 11908

WARD V 12,110

SMALL

?-?	Plank	2	
17-17	Sylvan St.	8	
16-16	Martin St.	4	
		14	CATEGORY TOTAL: 404

MEDIUM

148-136	E. Liberty	20	
16-16	Pleasant St.	20	
?-?	Pierpont Rd.	20	
		60	CATEGORY TOTAL: 1814

LARGE

505-315	Baldwin St.	128	
715-715	E. Main St.	36	
39-1	Sylvan	64	
		228	CATEGORY TOTAL: 9892

APPENDIX C

Occupational Codes

002 Toolmaker
003 Foreman
004 Patternmaker
005 Tailor
006 Die Sinker
007 Bench Worker
008 Nailmaker
009 Book ruler/binder
013 Turner
015 Time Keeper
018 Engineer/Assistant Engineer (Not Professional)
022 Small businessman
023 Tool Setter
024 Caster
025 Oiler
026 Blacksmith
027 Cigar maker
028 Errand Girl/Boy
029 Odd jobs
031 Foot Press
032 Press Hand
033 Linesman
034 Plater
035 Gardner
036 Machine Operator/Tender/Hand
037 Barn keeper
039 Boxmaker
041 Molder
042 Clerk (not in prof. office)
042 Utility man
043 Roller
043 Shipper
044 Brazer
045 Wire Drawer
046 Annealer
047 Stamper
050 Cabby
051 Tool Keeper
052 Newsboy
053 Piece Work
054 Stockkeeper
055 Solderer
056 Baker
057 Puncher

058 Brass Worker
059 Tacker
070 Farmer
095 Nurses

101 Physician
102 Dentist
103 Lawyer
105 Architect
106 Photographer
109 Operator

159 Teachers
164 Librarians
217 Draftsmen
230 Managers
265 Salespeople/general

314 Stenographers
337 Bookkeepers
368 Weighers
379 General Office clerks
403 Laundry/ironing
404 Cooks
405 Housekeepers/butlers/other domestic workers
417 Firefighters
418 Police/detectives
434 Bartenders
435 Waiters/esses
453 Janitor/Cleaners
457 Barbers
465 Public Transport

563 Masons
585 Plumbers,pipefitters, steamfitters, electricians
579 Painters
637 Machinists
666 Dress makers
669 Shoe Repair, makers
686 Butcher/meat cutter

703 Lathe and turning machine set-up
709 Grinding, buffers, polishing machine (or by hand)
734 Printers
747 Pressing Machines
805 Truck drivers

864 Contractors
865 Construction help
888 Hand packers
889 Laborers, except construct.

900 Clockworker/watchworker
901 Agents
902 Helper
903 Government Worker (semi-professional)
904 Corporate President
905 Inspector
906 Glacier
907 Apprentice

919 Unemployed
999 Miscellaneous

INDUSTRY

002 City/Federal govt.
003 Novelty Shop
004 Brass Shop
005 Tailor Shop
006 Spoon Shop
007 Machine Shop
008 Telegraph/telephone
009 Work at home
011 Pin Factory
012 Button Shop
013 Rolling Mill
014 Agar Factory
015 Foundry
017 Construction/Carpentry
018 Tube Mill
019 Unspecified Factory
020 Ring Shop
022 Silk Mill/Hosiery Mill
023 Sping Shop
026 Buckleshop
027 Silverware Factory
029 Casting Shop

100 Private School
101 Professional Private Practice (Medicine, Law., etc.)
102 Unspecified Office
106 Photography
120 Beverage
162 Paperboard, containers, boxes
172 Printing, Publishing, related industries
291 Metal forging and stamping
381 Watches, clocks
391 Misc. Manfacturing industries

400 Railroads
401 Buses, Urban Transit, Cabs
410 Trucking
442 Telegraph

460 Electric L&P
461 Gas/Steam/Plumbing Supply
462 Electric Gas

Wholesale Trade

502 Lumber/Construction materials
532 Misc. wholesale, durable

542 Apparel, fabric,notions
550 Groceries, related
560 Alcholic beverages
562 Misc wholesale, non-durable

Retail Trade

581 Hardware
592 Variety
600 General Merchandise
601 Grocery
610 Bakeries
630 Apparel, accessories, exc. shoe.
631 Shoe
641 Eating/Drinking
661 Sewing, Needlework, piece goods

700 Banking
712 Real Estate
713 Insurance/Advertising
761 Private Households
760 Boardinghouse
762 Hotel
771 Laundry, Cleaning, garment services
772 Beauty shops/Barbers
790 Dressmaking/tailor shop

802 Misc. Enter.

992 Unemployed
999 Miscellaneous

Nationality/Language

Nationality

01 U.S.
02 Ireland
03 Italy
04 Lithuania
05 England
06 French-Canada
07 English-Canada
08 Germany
09 Scotland
10 Austria
11 Belgium
12 France
13 Sweden
14 S. America (unspecified countries)
15 Denmark

16 Jewish-Russia
17 Hungary
18 Poland
19 Russia
20 Romania
21 German-Russia
22 Jewish-Polish
24 German-Russia
25 Japan
26 Cuba
27 Greek-Turkey
28 Greece

LANGUAGES

01 English
03 Italian
04 Lithuanian
06 French
08 German
18 Polish
99 None (infant)

OTHER CODES

Rentown
r = rent
o = own

Housestatus--Household Status
h = Head of Household
m = Family member
s = Live-In Servant
b = boarder

OCCUPATION Professionals

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Physician	101	2	12.5	12.5	12.5
Dentist	102	2	12.5	12.5	25.0
Lawyer	103	1	6.3	6.3	31.3
Engineer	104	1	6.3	6.3	37.5
Architects	105	5	31.3	31.3	68.8
Managers	230	5	31.3	31.3	100.0
	TOTAL	16	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 16 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Office Work 131

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Telephone Operator	109	1	3.3	3.3	3.3
Stenographer	314	11	36.7	36.7	40.0
Bookkeeper	337	10	33.3	33.3	73.3
General Office Clerks	379	8	26.7	26.7	100.0
	TOTAL	30	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 30 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Mid-level Government Employees 132

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Nurses (Hospital)	095	5	15.2	15.2	15.2
Teachers	159	20	60.6	60.6	75.8
Librarians	164	1	3.0	3.0	78.8
Firefighters	417	3	9.1	9.1	87.9
Police	418	2	6.1	6.1	93.9
Misc. Govt. Worker	903	2	6.1	6.1	100.0
	TOTAL	33	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 33 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Supervisor (Factory) 133

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Foreman	003	20	100.0	100.0	100.0
	TOTAL	20	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 20 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Small Business Owners 134

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Small Business (Misc)	022	29	65.9	65.9	65.9
Photographer	106	2	4.5	4.5	70.5
Barber	457	3	6.8	6.8	77.3
Contractor	864	1	2.3	2.3	79.5
Agents (Insurance, etc.)	901	9	20.5	20.5	100.0
	TOTAL	44	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 44 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Craftworker in Factory 135

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Toolmaker	002	23	24.5	24.5	24.5
Patternmaker	004	2	2.1	2.1	26.6
Die Sinker	006	2	2.1	2.1	28.7
Nailmaker	008	1	1.1	1.1	29.8
Caster	024	2	2.1	2.1	31.9
Blacksmith	026	2	2.1	2.1	34.0
Plater	034	4	4.3	4.3	38.3
Brazer	041	2	2.1	2.1	40.4
Wire Drawer	044	1	1.1	1.1	41.5
Annealer	045	5	5.3	5.3	46.8
Solderer	046	2	2.1	2.1	48.9
Machinist	055	1	1.1	1.1	50.0
Grinders	637	31	33.0	33.0	83.0
Buffers	709	16	17.0	17.0	100.0
	TOTAL	94	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 94 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Trades Person (non-factory) 136

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Tailor	005	3	6.8	6.8	6.8
Bookkeeper	009	1	2.3	2.3	9.1
Engineer (non-profess.)	018	5	11.4	11.4	20.5
Draftsman	217	1	2.3	2.3	22.7
Masons	563	6	13.6	13.6	36.4
Plumbers, Electricians, Steamfitters	585	8	18.2	18.2	54.5
Dressmakers	666	8	18.2	18.2	72.7
Shoe Repair/Maker	669	4	9.1	9.1	81.8
Printer	734	2	4.5	4.5	86.4
Glacier	906	6	13.6	13.6	100.0
	TOTAL	44	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 44 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Retail (Including Restaurant Work) 137

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Baker	056	4	10.0	10.0	10.0
Salespeople	265	13	32.5	32.5	42.5
Cooks	404	2	5.0	5.0	47.5
Bartenders	434	9	22.5	22.5	70.0
Waiters	435	2	5.0	5.0	75.0
Butchers	686	10	25.0	25.0	100.0
	TOTAL	40	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 40 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Semi-Skilled

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Turner	013	3	2.5	2.5	2.5
Timekeeper	015	11	9.2	9.2	11.7
Toolsetter	023	3	2.5	2.5	14.2
Oiler	025	2	1.7	1.7	15.8
Linesman	033	1	.8	.8	16.7
Clerk (non-office)	042	38	31.7	31.7	48.3
Stamper	047	4	3.3	3.3	51.7
Cabby	050	3	2.5	2.5	54.2
Toolkeeper	051	6	5.0	5.0	59.2
Puncher	057	1	.8	.8	60.0
Tacker	059	1	.8	.8	60.8
Weighers	368	2	1.7	1.7	62.5
Painters	579	9	7.5	7.5	70.0
Lathe Set-Up	703	3	2.5	2.5	72.5
Truck Driver	805	24	20.0	20.0	92.5
Inspector	905	7	5.8	5.8	98.3
Apprentice	907	2	1.7	1.7	100.0
	TOTAL	120	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 120 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Less-Skilled 139

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Bench Worker	007	51	31.1	31.1	31.1
Cigar Maker	027	1	.6	.6	31.7
Errand Girl/Boy	028	5	3.0	3.0	34.8
Odd Jobs	029	3	1.8	1.8	36.6
Foot Press Operator	031	6	3.7	3.7	40.2
Press Hand	032	23	14.0	14.0	54.3
Machine Tender/Hand	036	18	11.0	11.0	65.2
Barn Help	037	1	.6	.6	65.9
Box Maker	039	12	7.3	7.3	73.2
Shipper	043	9	5.5	5.5	78.7
Newsboy	052	1	.6	.6	79.3
Piece Worker	053	2	1.2	1.2	80.5
Stock Keeper	054	1	.6	.6	81.1
Pressing Machine Operator	747	3	1.8	1.8	82.9
Hand Packers	888	19	11.6	11.6	94.5
Helper (misc.)	902	9	5.5	5.5	100.0
	TOTAL	164	100.0	100.00	

Valid Cases 164 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Personal Services 140

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Gardener	035	1	2.3	2.3	2.3
Launderer	403	3	6.8	6.8	9.1
Housekeeper, Butler, Maid	405	37	84.1	84.1	93.2
Janitor/Cleaner	453	3	6.8	6.8	100.0
	TOTAL	44	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 44 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Manual Laborer 141

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Construction Help	865	5	4.0	4.0	4.0
Laborers	889	120	96.0	96.0	100.0
	TOTAL	125	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 125 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Farmers 142

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Farmers	070	1	100.0	100.0	100.0
	TOTAL	1	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 1 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Miscellaneous Workers (Industrial) Unspecified Level

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Brass Worker	058	7	25.9	25.9	25.9
Clock/Watch Worker	900	20	74.1	74.1	100.0
	TOTAL	27	100.0	100.0	

Valid Cases 27 Missing Cases 0

OCCUPATION Miscellaneous Workers 144

	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Public Transport	465	4	12.1	12.1	12.1
Misc Occupations	999	29	87.9	87.9	100.0
	TOTAL	33	100.0	100.0	

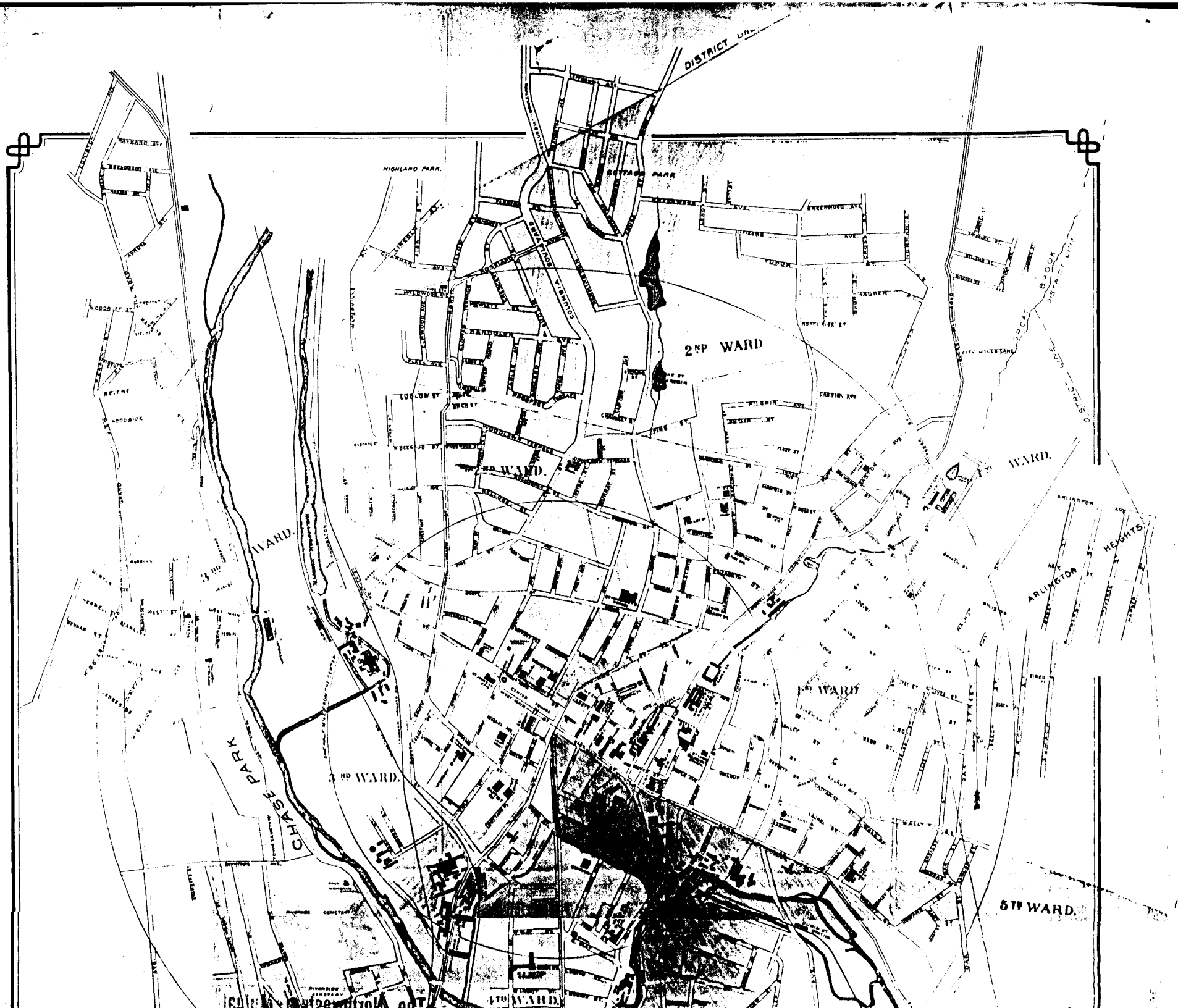
Valid Cases 33 Missing Cases 0

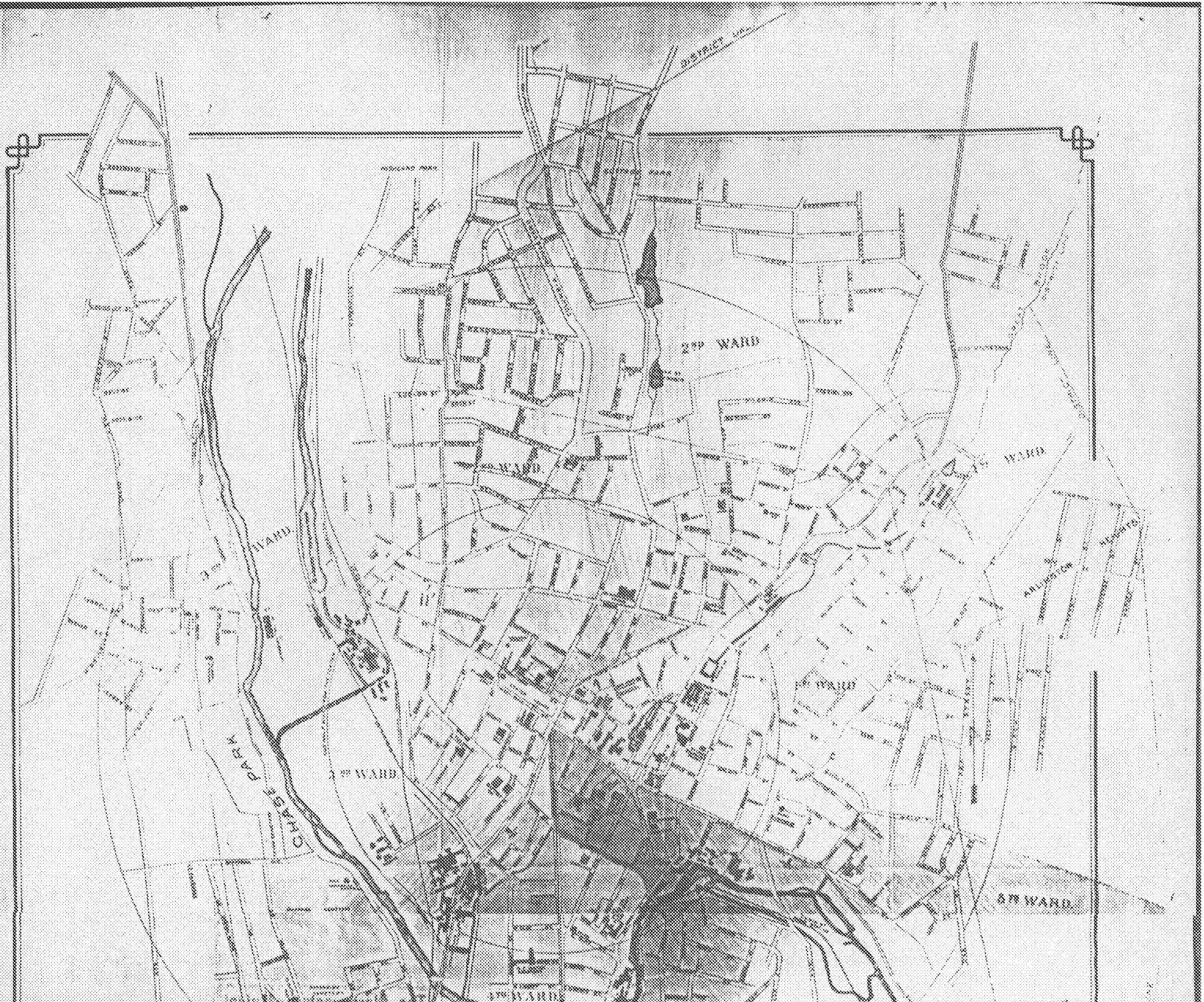
	Value	Frequency	Percent	
Adults Enumerated As Non-Working	919	409	100.0	100.0
TOTAL		409	100.0	100.0

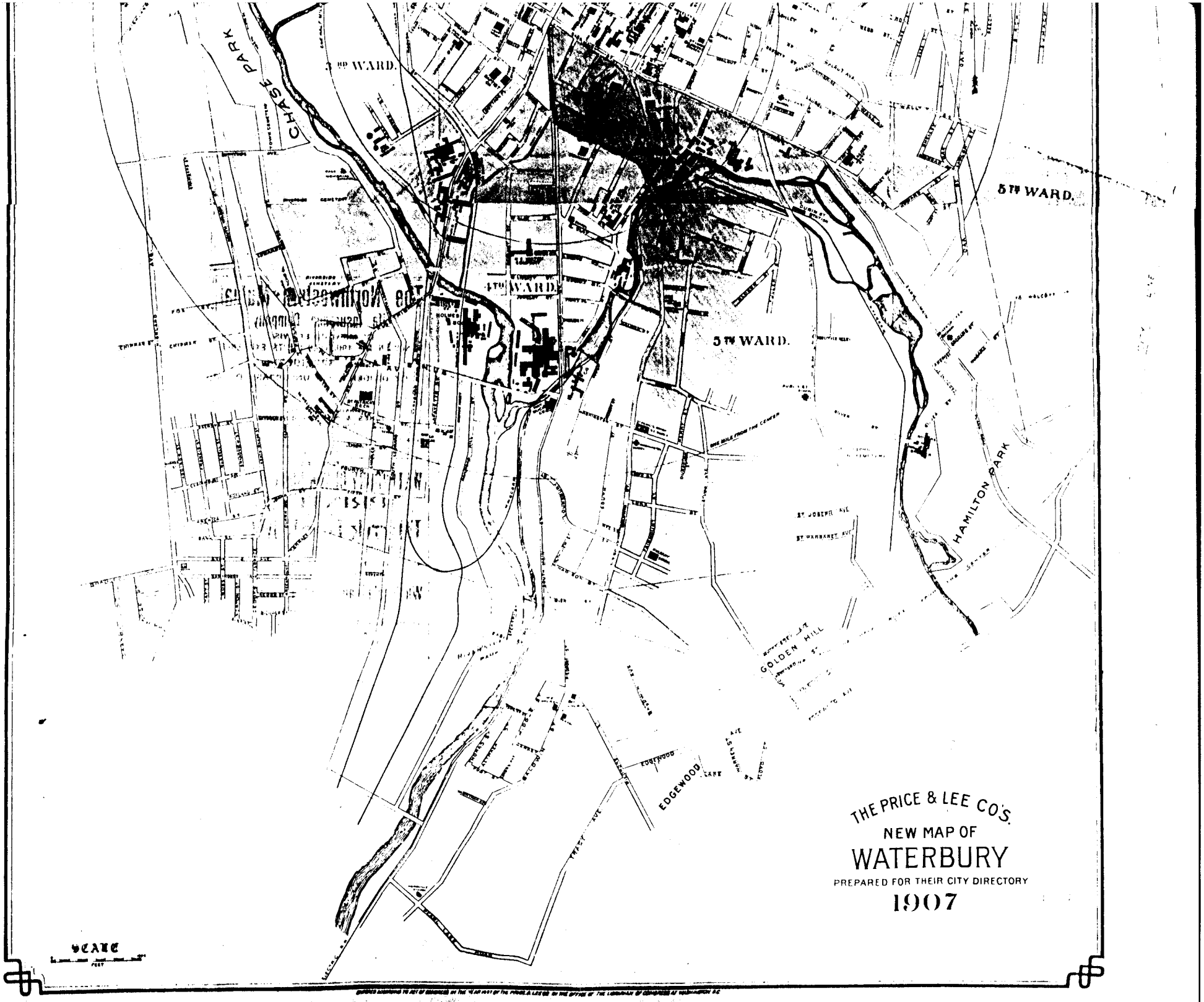
Valid Cases 409 Missing Cases 0

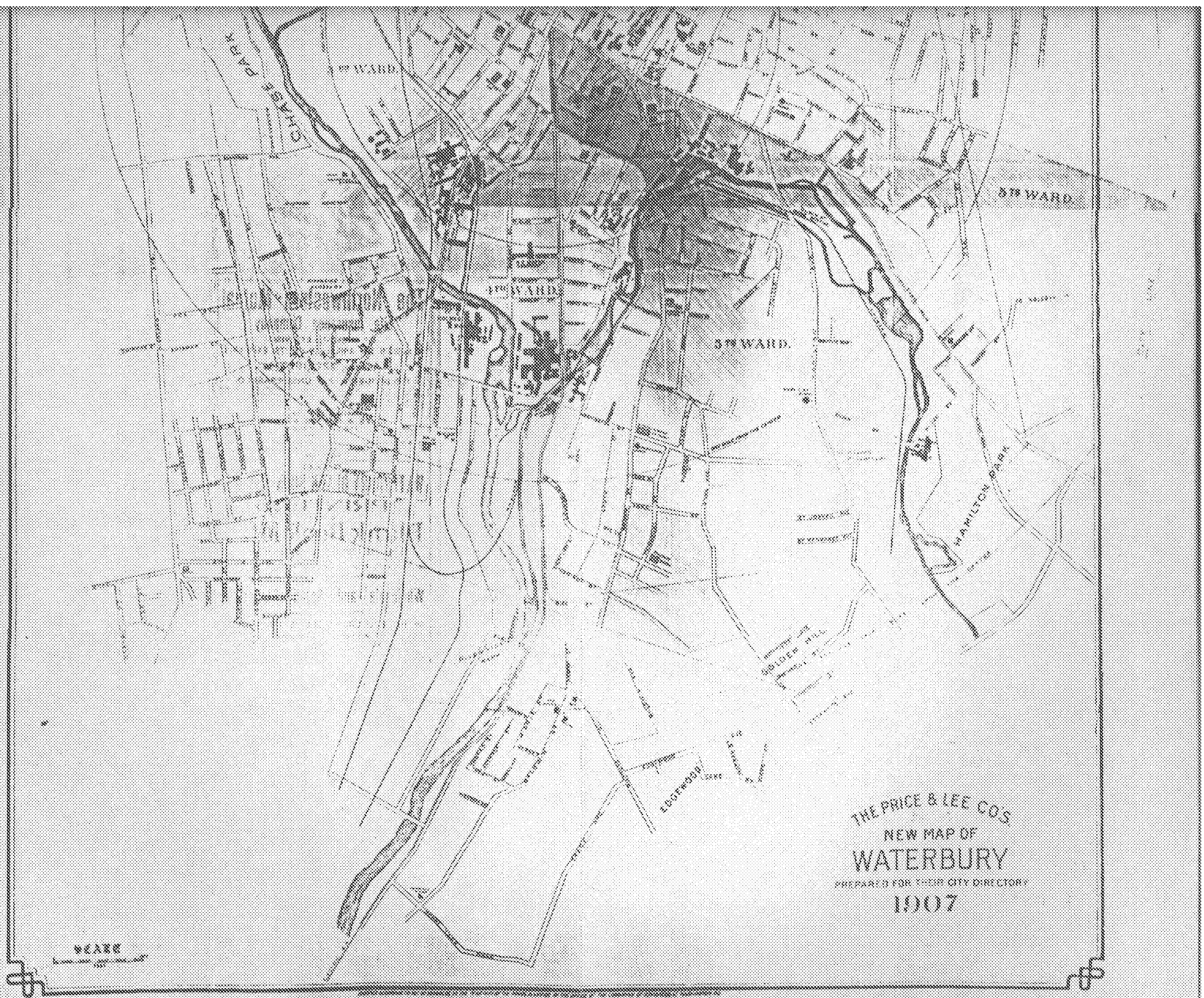
APPROVED Thomas J. Archdeacon

DATE 11 December 89


DISTRICT LINE
HIGHLAND PARK
SOUTH END PARK
2ND WARD
3RD WARD
1ST WARD
ARLINGTON HEIGHTS
CHASE PARK
3RD WARD
4TH WARD
5TH WARD


2ND WARD
4TH WARD
3RD WARD
1ST WARD
5TH WARD
PARK BOARD
ARLINGTON HEIGHTS


CHASE PARK
3RD WARD.
4TH WARD.
5TH WARD.
5TH WARD.
HAMILTON PARK
GOLDEN HILL
EDGEWOOD LAKE
THE PRICE & LEE CO'S.
NEW MAP OF
WATERBURY
PREPARED FOR THEIR CITY DIRECTORY
1907
SCALE


1ST WARD
2ND WARD
3RD WARD
4TH WARD
5TH WARD
HAMILTON PARK
BRIDGE ST
LEDGEWOOD
THE PRICE & LEE CO'S
NEW MAP OF
WATERBURY
PREPARED FOR THEIR CITY DIRECTORY
1907