

Working Men in Uniform: The Early Twentieth-century Toronto Police

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This article examines the composition and sociability of the early XXth century Toronto police force. Clear patterns emerge from the analysis of variables such as ethnicity, birthplace, previous occupations, salary, housing and family. The author concludes that members of the police force occupied an ambiguous class position. While the rank and file (recruited from the transient working class) sought bourgeois respectability, they did not become safely ensconced in the middle class. The Toronto police culture retained a certain roughness resulting from class origins, educational levels, work activities and leisure pursuits.

Dans cet article l'auteur étudie la composition sociale et la sociabilité des policiers torontois au début du XX^e siècle. L'analyse de variables comme l'origine ethnique, le lieu de naissance, l'emploi occupé antérieurement, le salaire, le logement et la famille, a permis de dégager des caractéristiques précises. L'auteur en conclue que, malgré leur position socialement ambiguë, les policiers n'étaient pas exclus de leurs communautés et reflétaient les valeurs et les aspirations de leur classe.

Canadian historians are only beginning to pay attention to the municipal police. The emphasis to date has been on the class instrumentality of nineteenth-century police reform, enforcement patterns and police-community relations.¹ Legal historiography, in the words of the British historian Carole Steedman, has portrayed police as "shadowy and passive", the impersonal and faceless enforcers of law.² Given the class biases of the law many historians tend to picture policemen as stock characters in the service of the ruling class or stress the personality of a particular police chief as an embodiment of the institution. Yet policemen were workers, community residents and family men. The present study explores the social composition and sociability of the early twentieth-century Toronto police, arguing that the police occupied an ambiguous position.

The first half of this paper examines the job tenure, ethnicity, nativity, religion, occupational background, military experience and residential condition of personnel in

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1. Examples include J. Turmel, *Police de Montréal, historique de service: premières structures et évolution de la police de Montréal, 1796-1971*, 2 vols. (Montréal: Service de la Police de la C.U.M., 1971-74); Nicholas Rogers, "Serving Toronto The Good: The Development of the City Police Force, 1834-1884", in *Forging a Consensus: Historical Essays on Toronto*, ed., Victor Russell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 116-140; T.W. Acheson, *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), chapter 11; Greg Marquis, "'A Machine of Oppression Under the Guise of the Law': The Saint John Police Establishment, 1860-1890", *Acadiensis*, XVI, 1 (Autumn 1986): 58-77. The author is indebted to his thesis supervisor Prof. G. Joy Parr. The support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada is acknowledged, gratefully.

2. Carole Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community: The Formation of the English Borough Forces, 1856-1880* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 158. A recent anthology edited by Louis Knafla, *Law and Justice in a New Land: Essays in Canadian Legal History* (Toronto: The Carswell Company Limited, 1986) conforms to this pattern.

1910, 1920, 1930 and 1940 and recruits in 1912, 1920 and 1928. The second half, inspired by working-class and women's history, discusses police culture and leisure. Urban policemen, although subjected to considerable disciplinary constraints and the internal pressures of an increasingly-defensive subculture, reflected the values and goals of other workers. These goals included domesticity within the nuclear family, home ownership in residential neighbourhoods and participation in fraternal societies. Toronto constables were working-class aspirants to middle-class independence and respectability who were not socially isolated from the 'civilian' population. A slight majority were British immigrants who with their Canadian-born colleagues chose policing as their life's work. Their class background and occupational socialization, however, most evident in the rough culture of the station house, inhibited the full attainment of middle-class status.

The Toronto police constituted an important body of public sector employees. During the first four decades of the twentieth century the police department was supervised by three chief constables: Colonel Henry G. Grasett (1886-1920), career policeman Samuel Dickson (1920-1928) and Brigadier-General Dennis C. Draper (1928-1946). Of the three, only Dickson had worked his way up from the ranks. General policy and financial liaison to the taxpayer came under the jurisdiction of a non-partisan board of police commissioners consisting of the mayor, the senior police magistrate and a county court judge. On a day-to-day basis, authority rested in the chief constable and a small number of senior officers, mainly divisional inspectors. The department's non-partisan image was enhanced by a reputation for general honesty, efficiency and discipline. An important characteristic of the force until the late 1920s was its steady rate of growth, which resulted in an increasingly-younger rank and file and high expectations of promotion. The addition of new personnel during the first quarter of the century reflected the considerable expansion of the city through population increase, immigration and annexation. Existing suburban police forces were absorbed between 1909 and 1914 when the city annexed West Toronto, Earls court and Dovercourt, North Toronto and several other communities. The department, one of the largest and most influential law enforcement agencies in Canada, grew from 432 men in early 1910 to 773 in 1920 and reached a pre-World War II peak of roughly one thousand in 1929.³

On the basis of salary and residential condition, policemen can be grouped with the lower middle class whose ranks included skilled workers. The year-round nature and relative permanency of police work gave policemen an economic advantage over workers in manufacturing and the building trades, sectors subject to seasonal lulls. Mark Haller describes early twentieth-century American policing as "a high status blue collar occupation" while a study of the mid-Victorian Lancashire constabulary hypothesizes that policing was "an acceptable occupational alternative for workingmen".⁴ Sidney Haring, interested in

3. *Annual Report of the Chief Constable* (Toronto: 1910-1940). Data on personnel is derived from the nominal roll printed in the annual department reports, reflecting the composition of the force in late December of any given year. The nominal roll included name, rank, age, birthplace, marital status, religion, height, weight, military and other police experience, date of recruitment and date of appointment to present rank. Recruit registers, a limited number of which are available at the Metropolitan Toronto Police Museum, listed the name, age, local address, birthplace, marital status, military and police experience, height, previous trade or occupation and fraternal affiliations of recruits. Other useful sources were city assessment records located in the City of Toronto Archives and Planning Department and Toronto directories.

4. Mark Haller, "Historical Roots of Police Behaviour: Chicago, 1890-1925", *Law and Society Review*, X, 2 (Winter 1976): 305; W.J. Lowe, "The Lancashire Constabulary, 1845-1880: The Social and Occupational Function of a Victorian Police Force", *Criminal Justice History*, III (1983): 42.

portraying the splintering of the American working class by the labour aristocracy (which in his analysis includes the police), does not dwell on the working-class nature of policing. Haring notes that the police, despite their class origins and cultural and ethnic affiliations, were ultimately loyal to their masters; yet by failing to account for the ambiguities of the police position in the class structure he offers a one-dimensional analysis of the police worker.⁵

The rate of personnel turnover in the Toronto department, with the exception of the volatile decade before World War I, was relatively low. It was reported in 1913 that the equivalent of one-third of the force had resigned in the past three years. Most voluntary resignations took place in the probationary period, before men reached the rank of second or first-class constable. Recruits and junior constables, dissatisfied with their prospects and usually not encumbered by wives and children, sought alternatives beyond Toronto. Many, it appears, migrated to more lucrative and less exacting positions on Western Canadian police forces. The muckraking journal *Jack Canuck* blamed the high attrition rate on poor remuneration and militaristic discipline, declaring that authoritarian senior officers threatened the 'manhood' of employees by drilling them until they functioned as machines.⁶ Others pointed to the monotony of the beat and poor promotion prospects or simply a sense of wanderlust that took British recruits to the West. The fact that constables could be summarily dismissed for no stated reason and denied their substantial pension contributions added to a recruit's sense of vulnerability. In the years prior to World War I a further discouraging factor for ambitious younger men was the high percentage of senior first-class constables over the age of forty.

Table 1-A Age Distribution of First-Class Constables (%)

Years	1910	1920	1930	1940
24-30	16.1	21.5	19.6	9.7
31-40	29.3	62.0	51.4	33.3
40-50	45.4	6.8	24.9	42.4
51-	9.2	9.6	4.0	14.6
(N)	(174)	(408)	(643)	(671)

Source: Nominal Rolls, 1910-1940

Table 1-B Average Age of First-Class Constables

	1910	1920	1930	1940
Mean	42.9	35.8	36.9	36.9
Median	42.0	34.0	36.0	42.0
S.D.	34.2	8.5	7.6	8.6
(N)	(174)	(408)	(643)	(671)

Source: Nominal Rolls, 1910-1940

5. Sidney Haring, *Policing a Class Society: The Experience of American Cities, 1865-1915* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983), p. 4. See also, R. Reiner, "The Police in the Class Structure", *British Journal of Law and Society*, VI, 2 (1978): 168-184.

6. *Toronto Star*, 8 September 1913; *Jack Canuck*, 30 December 1911, 4-11 May, 1 June 1912. This pattern was repeated, to an extent, by experienced constables, sergeants and inspectors recruited as chief constables by towns and cities in Ontario and Western Canada.

Between 1910 and 1920 the average annual turnover rate, mainly from resignations but including dismissals, deaths and retirements, was 9%. Carole Steedman, in a study of Victorian British borough police, speculates that many recruits regarded policing as a form of shelter from the vicissitudes of the labour market. W.J. Lowe offers similar suggestions in the case of the Lancashire constabulary. Lowe attributes the force's relatively high rate of attrition — 44% of recruits in the period 1845-1870 quit before reaching the rank of second-class constable — to the "occupationally and socially distasteful" aspects of policing. The Toronto situation modifies this view. Average turnover in the 1920s, when the city was flooded with prospective recruits with military experience, was 4%. In the 1930s the average annual attrition rate was 3%. Although recruits may have joined the Toronto force for short-term considerations, most came to view policing as a career.⁷

In Canada as a whole, the stereotype of a policeman was the red-coated member of the North-West Mounted Police.⁸ In Toronto the stereotype was the rugged Irish constable, a familiar image in North America urban life, but one with a difference: the Toronto Irish patrolman was most likely Protestant. The early twentieth-century Toronto department, like many nineteenth-century American forces, was the preserve of immigrants. This was in marked contrast to the late nineteenth-century North West Mounted Police.⁹ Ulsterman had enjoyed a high profile on the Toronto force since the middle of the nineteenth century. Samuel Dickson, the first chief constable who joined the force as a patrolman, was a Belfast Presbyterian. Although there were continued references to a powerful Irish clique, nominal rolls reveal that the department's reputed Irishness was an exaggeration. In 1910, 1920, 1930 and 1940 natives of Ireland constituted one-fifth of personnel, a proportion similar to the English born. In comparison, the percentage of Irish born in the total Toronto population in 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1941 was 4.2%, 3.4%, 3.5% and 2.6% respectively. Including the significant minority of Scottish immigrants, the British always outnumbered Canadian natives on the force. In 1881, the latter had constituted only 28% of personnel. Most of the Canadians came from rural or small-town Ontario, reflecting the department's historic preference for outsiders. There is little evidence to suggest, in contrast to the NWMP, that patronage considerations governed hiring. The recruitment of men with few personal and familial ties to the community was an important attempt at police reform in Toronto and other Canadian centres.¹⁰

As Table 2 indicates, relatively more Canadians were recruited following World War I, but the force remained largely British in the 1930s. There were glimpses of tensions between the native-born and immigrants, but ethnic ties also helped reinforce the depart-

7. *Star*, 28 May 1910; *Toronto Star Weekly*, 1 April 1911; 10 August 1912; *Annual Report of the Chief Constable, 1910-1940*; Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community*, pp. 93-96; Lowe, "The Lancashire Constabulary": 54. Many of the recruits who left the force in the period 1910-1914 were expressing dissatisfaction not with policing, as Steedman suggests of her subjects, but with policing in Toronto. By 1920, three-fifths of the recruits of 1912, a group overwhelmingly British, had left the force.

8. Keith Walden, *Visions of Order: The Canadian Mounties in Symbol and Myth* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1982).

9. R.C. MacLeod, *The North West Mounted Police and Law Enforcement, 1873-1905* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 76-77.

10. Canada, *Census, 1911*, vol. II, Table 16; 1921, vol. II, Table 54; 1931, vol. II, Table 42; 1941, vol. IV, Table 22; *Saturday Night*, 4 December 1909; *Star Weekly*, 20 August 1913; Harry M. Wodson, *The Whirlpool: Scenes From the Toronto Police Court* (Toronto: n.p., 1917), pp. 21-22; Rogers, "Serving Toronto the Good", p. 129; J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company/National Museum of Man, 1984), p. 100.

ment's relative popularity in the community.¹¹ In 1930 English, Irish and Scottish immigrants comprised almost three-fifths of personnel, contrasting with Toronto's total 1931 population which was one-quarter British born. Within the British group, the Irish and to a lesser extent the Scottish were disproportionately represented. Rather than stressing a conscious 'attraction' based on cultural explanations, it is more probable that the ethnic composition of the force reflected both the preferences of the chief constable and commissioners and the types of immigrants passing through the Toronto area. According to Nicholas Rogers, nineteenth-century Toronto administrators made a conscious effort to recruit Britons. It is also highly likely, given the extent of chain migration from Britain, that prospective recruits had friends or family in the Toronto area. New men were not obtained through active recruitment in the form of advertisements in Toronto or Britain but were selected from candidates applying to the chief constable. In 1911 Chief Constable Grasett explained that active recruiting would damage the department's prestige and image as a force of picked men.¹² In an age before official acknowledgement of the multicultural nature of Toronto society, which by 1911 contained significant numbers of non-Anglo-Celtic 'foreigners', the 'Britishness' of the police was viewed as a source of prestige. Hiring British immigrants and Canadians of British descent was also designed to maintain public

Table 2-A Birthplace of Police 1910-1940

	1910 %	1920 %	1930 %	1940 %
Canada	45.1	43.4	40.6	46.0
England	21.1	22.0	21.8	21.2
Ireland	22.2	21.1	23.0	19.0
Scotland	9.9	11.0	12.8	12.0
(N)	(524)	(773)	(972)	(984)

Source: Nominal Rolls, 1910-1940

Table 2-B Birthplace of Recruits, 1912, 1920, 1928

	1912 %	1920 %	1928 %
Canada	20.1	53.7	50.6
England	28.3	19.7	15.0
Ireland	32.4	16.3	22.5
Scotland	16.4	10.2	11.2
(N)	(134)	(147)	(159)

Source: Recruit Registers, 1912, 1920, 1928.

11. As the Native Sons complained in 1930, civic employment was popular with British immigrants. See, *Star*, 3 December 1930. In the following year the press reported "a smouldering feud between the Canadian born and the Northern Irish citizens, each group jealous of advancement of any one in the other group". See *Toronto Globe*, 1 September 1931.

12. Rogers, "Serving Toronto the Good"; *Annual Report of the Chief Constable*, 1910, p. 8; *Star*, 15 January 1911, Dennis Roussey is one many historians to stress cultural factors such as "the rough and tumble character of police work" in explaining the high profile of Irish policemen in America. See, "Hibernian Leatherheads: Irish Cops in New Orleans, 1830-1880", *Journal of Urban History*, X, 1 (November 1983): 61-84.

confidence in the department. Apart from a handful of Italian or German-speaking officers and police court interpreters, the police commissioners displayed little interest in broadening the department's ethnic base.¹³

The fact that until the late 1920s the chief constable's annual report listed religious affiliation of personnel suggests that, as in other Canadian cities, the religious composition of civic departments was of interest to the public. Members of Toronto's major denominations, Anglicans, Presbyterians Methodists and later members of the United Church, were well represented in the department. Baptists, a minority in the city, were under-represented. Given the prominence of Orangeism in political circles, Toronto was reputed to be difficult territory for Catholic seekers of civic employment. They were not, however, excluded from the police department. Although poorly represented in the higher ranks, Catholics formed one-tenth of personnel in 1910 and slightly less in 1920, roughly in keeping with their percentage of the city's population. In neither year was there a Catholic divisional inspector.¹⁴

Aside from information available from a number of recruit registers, little is known about policemen's former occupations. The registers recorded background information on prospective recruits who by departmental regulation were in their twenties. Many in this age group had been in the labour market for a decade. The 'previous trade' recorded at recruitment did not always accurately indicate a candidate's background. For example, most of those who described themselves as farmers had a degree of urban experience before reaching Toronto. Recruits in 1912, 1920 and 1928 (see table 3), included a large proportion of labourers and farmers, but also those from a wide range of the non-professional occupations. The pattern of roughly one-quarter of the 1796 men recruited between 1910 and 1940, is by no means conclusive, but it suggests an increasing tendency to recruit skilled and semi-skilled workers. Unfortunately, the registers made no mention of educational

Table 3 Occupations of Recruits, 1912, 1920, 1928

	1912 %	1920 %	1928 %
Labourer	29.8	20.2	21.2
Farmer	23.8	16.4	18.1
Skilled	9.7	12.4	12.5
Semi-skilled	11.1	23.5	40.0
Policemen	11.1	4.5	1.2
Other	5.9	9.8	3.7
None	8.6	13.6	3.3
(N)	(134)	(147)	(159)

Source: Recruit Registers, 1912, 1920, 1928.

Occupational divisions were adapted from the classifications of Professor Peter Toner of the University of New Brunswick, Saint John.

13. For the ethnic landscape of Toronto, see Robert Harney ed., *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

14. *Star*, 1 June 1929; Nominal Roll, 1910 and 1920; Canada, *Census*, 1911, vol. II, Table 6; 1921, vol. I, Table 39. See also, Murray W. Nicolson, "The Irish Experience in Ontario: Rural or Urban?", *Urban History Review*, XIV, 1 (June 1985): 42. Only 4 out of the 159 recruits of 1928 were Roman Catholics. See Recruit Register, 1928.

levels, although recruits were expected to display competence in reading, writing and basic arithmetic. The police commissioners, it was reported in 1912, favoured loyalty, character, obedience and physical prowess over examinations for "mental ability" since the hiring of better educated recruits would threaten both promotion by seniority and morale in the lower ranks. By the 1920s however, preferred candidates were those with secondary school experience or mechanical skills.¹⁵

One legacy of the nineteenth century was the recruitment of British immigrants with policing experience, particularly in English municipal forces and the Royal Irish Constabulary.¹⁶ One third of the recruits of 1912, for example, were former policemen, half of them Irish. In 1920, 1930 and 1940 roughly one-quarter of policemen born in Britain had served on Old Country constabularies. In the years 1910, 1920, 1930 and 1940 the incidence of former British policemen in the Toronto ranks was 11.4%, 11.5%, 14.1% and 11.4% respectively. In 1910 and 1920, there were three roughly equal groups of immigrant police: those from Scottish forces, veterans of the Royal Irish Constabulary and other Irish forces and men with experience in English civic, borough and county constabularies. In 1930, of 166 former British policemen, nearly half had served with the RIC or Irish municipal forces. The disproportionate Irish representation in the ranks of former policemen continued in 1940. In the decennial nominal rolls about one-fifth of men with former police service had worked on Canadian forces, mostly at the municipal level.¹⁷

Many Toronto policemen had spent several years in the British or Canadian armed forces, a trend that was most pronounced in the decade after World War I when the public sector was under pressure from the Great War Veterans' Association to hire veterans. According to some critics, the department's militaristic organization and tradition of leadership by ex-soldiers encouraged an inflexible and authoritarian style of management. In 1912, for example, *Jack Canuck* lampooned the force as "Grasett's English-Irish Highlanders" and ridiculed the police commissioners' militaristic pretensions.¹⁸ The architects of the early twentieth-century Toronto police department, Magistrate Col. George T. Denison and Chief Constable Col. Henry Grasett, were military men. In their younger days they had served in units mustered against the Fenians. Grasett became a British Army officer and later commanded an Ontario force during the 1885 Rebellion. Denison was an ardent Imperialist, a recognized expert on cavalry tactics and an advocate of preparedness and cadet training. The police authorities, who greatly admired British institutions, operated on the principle that British immigrants, particularly those with police and military experience, were superior recruits.

In 1910, 14.6% of the department had undergone military service, with veterans of British units three times as numerous as those who had joined the Canadian forces. The

15. *Star Weekly*, 8 May, 13 July 1912; Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO), RG18 B46, Royal Commission on Police Matters, 1919, Testimony, p. 1928; *Star*, 1 March 1928.

16. Toronto Police Force, *A Brief Account of the Force Since Its Reorganization in 1859 up to the Present Date* (Toronto: E.F. Clarke, 1886).

17. Nominal Roll, 1910-1940; Recruit Registers, 1912, 1928. In 1928, 33 out of 159 recruits had police experience, 16 in the Ulster Special Constabulary, a Protestant force organized during the Irish Civil War. For the influence of the RIC upon British colonial police, see Sir Charles Jeffries, *The Colonial Police* (London: Max Parrish, 1952), pp. 30-32. The RIC was disbanded with the founding of the Irish Free State but a section lived on as the Royal Ulster Constabulary. See, Edgar Holt, *Protest in Arms: The Irish Troubles, 1916-1923* (New York: McCann Ltd., 1961), p. 219, pp. 283-291.

18. *Jack Canuck*, 11 May 1912. In the early decades of the century recruits were drilled by a former British Army drill sergeant.

Table 4-A Recruits With Police and Military Experience

	(N)	Police %	Military %
1912	(134)	32.0	9.7
1920	(147)	8.8	67.3
1928	(159)	20.6	19.4

Source: Recruit Registers

Table 4-B Previous Police Experience by Rank

	1910		1920		1930		1940	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
Inspectors	(13)	23.0	(19)	26.3	(22)	27.2	(23)	30.4
Sergeants	(22)	18.1	(37)	10.8	(38)	21.0	(47)	21.2
Detectives	(12)	0.0	(26)	7.7	(20)	40.0	(26)	19.2
Det. Sgts.	—	—	—	—	(41)	12.1	(32)	15.6
Patrol Sgts.	(21)	8.3	(44)	13.6	(55)	27.2	(61)	18.0
Constables	(456)	15.1	(647)	16.8	(796)	15.3	(795)	15.0
Total	(524)	14.5	(773)	37.3	(972)	16.8	(984)	16.0

Source: Nominal Rolls.

Table 4-C Previous Military Experience by Rank

	1910		1920		1930		1940	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
Inspectors	(13)	0.0	(19)	5.2	(22)	36.3	(23)	26.0
Sergeants	(22)	9.1	(37)	16.2	(38)	26.3	(47)	29.7
Detectives	(12)	8.3	(26)	15.3	(20)	60.0	(26)	50.0
Det. Sgts.	—	—	—	—	(41)	19.5	(32)	59.3
Patrol Sgts.	(21)	9.5	(44)	34.0	(55)	40.0	(61)	49.1
Constables	(456)	15.5	(647)	41.2	(796)	37.8	(795)	35.2
Total	(524)	14.5	(773)	37.9	(972)	37.1	(984)	36.7

Source: Nominal Rolls.

Great War reversed this situation, partly because of the rush of British immigrants to Canadian units. Roughly one-hundred and fifty Toronto policemen entered the forces during the war. In 1920, nearly one-tenth of all ranks had been in the British forces and almost a third had served in the Canadian military. Following the pattern of other branches of the public service, the department gave preference to veterans throughout the following decade; the 1930 nominal roll indicates that 37.1% of the force were ex-servicemen, two-thirds of whom had donned Canadian uniforms. Roughly the same proportion of former servicemen prevailed a decade later when Toronto policemen were once again granted leave

to defend the Empire. Militia experience was not as common as police or military service in the post-World War I era. Those who had been reservists or militiamen constituted 11.4% of the force in 1910, 10.6% in 1920, 7.5% in 1930 and 5.7% in 1940.¹⁹

Did policing offer immigrant and rural Ontario workers a comfortable standard of living? The first-class constable of 1921 earned roughly \$1800 a year following pension deductions. According to Michael Piva's study of real wages and the cost of living in early twentieth-century Toronto, this did not leave the average family man with much of a monthly surplus after paying rent and grocery and fuel bills. Furthermore, the police were refused salary increases during the 1920s. Yet policemen were well paid in relation to many skilled and most public sector workers. Data on police families in the 1931 census, although not differentiating between constables and better-paid sergeants and inspectors, allows for a partial measure of household wealth. In 1931, most families headed by policemen enjoyed an annual income higher than that of three-quarters of Toronto families. A decade later police personnel earned well-above what housing expert Humphrey Carver assumed to be the average salary for Toronto's 'middle income group', \$1200-1800. This was accomplished, according to the 1931 census, without policemen's wives working beyond the home — a sign perhaps both of the middle-class aspirations of police families and the rigours of departmental discipline which extended to employee households.²⁰

One of the major attractions of police employment was the promise of a pension. Moreover, men who retired in their late forties on pensions were able to pursue a second career, often in custodial or private security work or the building trades. Police pensions were unpopular with the public because they depended partly on public funds and in effect subsidized retired policemen who competed with resident job seekers. Some retired policemen went into retailing or farming; many simply lived on pensions and income from property. According to a *Star Weekly* reporter, the retired policeman in New York gravitated to the saloon business; in London, to custodial work; and in Toronto to building and real estate: "After being an 'authority' on the street corner, he prefers to be the master."²¹

In a city of home owners, policemen were portrayed in the press as thrifty and ambitious immigrants who often owned their own homes and the one next door, classic examples of the upwardly-mobile petty bourgeoisie. Home ownership, as a growing literature suggests, was an important objective of many North American working-class families. Workers aspired to freehold status both for social reasons and future economic security. Toronto houses, which were largely single-family residences at the turn of the century, were increasingly sub-divided into flats and apartments, providing owners with disposable income. Of 416 constables in the 1910 nominal roll, 357 can be located in the 1911 city directory. Of these, one-quarter were listed as roomers or boarders, three-fifths were de-

19. Nominal Roll, 1910-1940. See also, Table 4. As was the case with former policemen who had served on both British and Canadian police forces, a small number of men had belonged to both British and Canadian military units. Toronto firemen were more supportive of the war effort. In 1920 it was reported the 60% of fire department personnel had served overseas. See, *Toronto World*, 7 August 1920.

20. *Star*, 14 December 1920; *Globe*, 7 February 1930; Michael J. Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto, 1900-1921* (Ottawa: Ottawa University Press, 1979), p. 37; Canada, *Census*, 1931, vol V, Table 41; City of Toronto Archives (hereafter CTA), RG9 A11, Police Department Salary Account Book, 1915-1946; Humphrey Carver, *Housing For Canadians: A Study of Housing Problems in the Toronto Area* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), pp. 71-72, 142. In 1931, only 12 wives from 979 police families admitted to working beyond the home.

21. *Star Weekly*, 30 August, 19 May 1919. Policemen were eligible to retire on half pay after twenty-five years service.

scribed as occupants of houses and the remainder were described as 'living at' various addresses. Recruit registers and city directories for 1912, 1920 and 1928 indicates that most recruits were single and lived initially in boarding or rooming houses. In 1919 a police union spokesman claimed that most policemen were tenants and that one-sixth of the force were single men living in rooming houses, flats and boarding houses. Over the next decade the proportion of police lodgers and boarders declined.²²

According to the 1931 census, 59% of Toronto policemen were owner-occupants, a figure approximating the level of home ownership in the city. Table 5, tracing the household status of recruits who continued on the force, indicate the tendency of men to purchase houses once their careers were established. Able to accumulate capital before retirement, career policeman often speculated in real estate, a lucrative practice during building booms. The individual who owned the largest amount of residential property in early 1930s Toronto was a northern Irish immigrant who began his interest in apartment buildings as a young policeman on the beat. The organization of Toronto civic assessment records, unfortunately, precluded investigation into this area.²³ Table 5 suggests that the 101 recruits from 1928 who remained on the force a decade later either chose not to or were unable to enjoy the level of house ownership experienced by earlier recruits.

Policemen engaged in residential clustering to the extent that they lived in districts in proximity to the various station houses. This upwardly-mobile group naturally eschewed low-quality housing. Few, with the exception of boarders, lived south of Bloor Street in the downtown core. Ethnicity may have been another factor influencing residential clustering in boarding houses or specific blocks. With the expansion of public transit and automobile ownership following World War I, proximity to the work site as a determinant of police residence declined in importance.²⁴

With less turnover in personnel, a decreasing proportion of the constables did not have their own families. In 1910 40% of the force was single while the proportion of bachelors was 30% in 1920, 15% in 1930 and 13% in 1940.²⁵ Police families in 1931 were for the most part nuclear, with 484 'unknowns', either boarders or relatives, distributed among 979 households. In both 1921 and 1931 the average police household contained 3.8 persons including 1.6 and 1.9 children respectively. One sign of familial advancement was the education levels of high-school aged children living at home. In 1931 40.2% of police children aged fifteen and over attended school as compared to 16.6% in 1921. As was the case with many working and lower middle-class families, the bulk of police children of suitable age engaged in various forms of wage labour to augment household income. In 1921 the equivalent of 67% of children over fourteen reported earnings to census enumerators. A decade later the level had declined to 49.1%.²⁶

22. Gordon Darroch, "Early Industrialization and Inequality in Toronto, 1861-1899", *Labour/Le Travailleur*, XI (Spring 1983): 41-42; *Might's City of Toronto Directory*, 1911, 1912, 1920, 1928; Royal Commission on Police Matters, 1919, Testimony, p. 1963.

23. Canada, *Census*, 1931, vol. V, Table 41; *Toronto Telegram*, 3 April, 18 June 1936. Assessment records are organized by ward, district and street number, not by owner's name. In 1921, 46.8% of Toronto families owned their homes. In 1927, 61.8% of all single residences were owned by occupants. The level of homeownership declined in the 1930s. See, Canada, *Census*, 1921, vol. III, Table 19; Horace Brittain, *Local Government in Canada* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1951), pp. 170-171.

24. Ross McCormack, "Networks Among British Immigrants and Accommodation to Canadian Society: Winnipeg, 1900-1914", *Histoire sociale/Social History*, XVII, 34 (novembre-November 1984): 363-368; Robert F. HARNEY, "Ethnicity and Neighbourhood" in Harney ed., *Gathering Place*, pp. 11-24.

25. Nominal Roll, 1910-1940.

26. *Census*, 1921, vol. III, Table 41; 1931, vol. V, Table 41.

Table 5-A Household Status in Later Years of Recruits from 1912

Year	(N)	Boarders %	Tenants %	Owners %	Unknown %
1920	(53)	24.5	24.5	37.7	13.3
1928	(47)	—	23.4	61.7	14.8
1938	(34)	—	16.1	80.6	3.3

Source: Nominal Rolls, City Directories and Assessment Records.

Table 5-B Household Status in Later Years of Recruits from 1920

Year	(N)	Boarders %	Tenants %	Owners %	Unknown %
1928	(86)	13.9	18.6	54.6	12.9
1938	(78)	1.2	23.0	58.9	16.7

Source: Nominal Rolls, City Directories and Assessment Records.

Table 5-C Household Status in 1938 of Recruits from 1928

	(N)	Boarders %	Tenants %	Owners %	Unknown %
1938	(101)	3.1	52.4	19.8	24.7

Source: Nominal Rolls, City Directories and Assessment Records

Most sociologists and many historians tend to stress the garrison mentality of police, as reflected in their social activities and occupational identity. One view is that policing evoked working-class suspicion and hostility, fostering the alienation of the policeman from "his own class and culture".²⁷ It is generally proposed that policemen, as a result of community alienation, departmental policy or a police 'personality' become socially isolated from the general public. This in turn is thought to foster police 'deviance' or disrespect for the rule of law. Discussions of insular police subculture are abundant in both British and American history and social sciences. American studies, however, focusing on civic politics, often stress the ambiguous role of police in working-class life.²⁸ The Toronto

27. Patricia Morton, "The New New-Police Historiography", *Historical Reflections*, XII, 2 (Summer 1985): 310.

28. See, Wilbur H. Miller, *Cops and Bobbies: Police Authority in New York and London, 1830-1870* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Tom Bowden, *Beyond the Limits of the Law: A Comparative Study of the Police in Crisis Politics* (Bungay, England: Penguin Books, 1978), pp. 25-38; Stuart Bowes, *The Police and Civil Liberties* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1966), pp. 20-21; Robert Reiner, *The Blue Coated Worker: A Sociological Study of Police Unionism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 39; Cyril D. Robonson, "The Deradicalization of the Policeman: A historical Analysis", *Crime and Delinquency*, XIV, 2 (1978): 129-151; Robert Fogelson, *Big-City Police* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. viii-ix; Bruce Johnston, "Taking Care of Labour: The Police in American Politics", *Theory and Society*, III (Spring 1976): 102-105; John Burpo, *The Police Labour Movement: Problems and Perspectives* (Springfield, Illinois: Charles

experience suggests that despite the importance of police subculture, the rank and file were not ostracized by their community nor were police unique in that they socialized with fellow workers. Police social activities, however, were within the matrix of working-class culture. It was the very working-class origins of the police and the roughness of their culture that disturbed, and continues to disturb, liberal critics and police reformers.²⁹

The decision to join a police force entailed a considerable surrender of independence. Even in their leisure moments policemen were subjected to standards of discipline alien to most civilian workers. As a Toronto constable explained in 1919, a policeman was expected to keep his wife and children respectable and live in a respectable area: "he has to be a sort of example." Departmental discipline, the result of nineteenth-century police reform, prohibited attendance at entertainment facilities such as taverns and racetracks, yet by the 1930s such restrictions were more practised in the breach.³⁰ The atmosphere of the police station was akin to that of the military barracks where job socialization and the camaraderie of the all-male group interacted with working-class culture to produce an exaggerated masculinity. This ambience is still evident in modern police stations.

The rough culture of the station house partly explains rank-and-file suspicion of moral reformers, social workers, lawyers, legal reformers, minorities and intellectuals. Toronto's small force of policewomen, introduced in 1913, was never accepted by male officers as an active part of the department. As Jerome Skolnick acknowledged two decades ago, the policeman's culture was that of "the masculine workingman". The same observation had been made by a 1962 judicial inquiry into Metropolitan Toronto police irregularities. The commission report explained that police culture manifested in the maintenance of a bold front with the public, feats of physical courage, support of fellow workers, direct action and the use of colourful language. These traits were often revealed, to the delight and at times disdain of newspaper readers, in policemen's courtroom testimony. The military background of many Toronto recruits no doubt enhanced this rough culture.³¹ The militaristic management practices of police administrators, who scheduled regular drills, encouraged physical fitness. The image of patrolmen as exercising restraint yet able to take care of themselves in the rough and tumble of the beat, an image in keeping with the working-class concept of 'manliness', did much to maintain popular admiration of the department. For example, it was considered unmanly for an arresting officer to draw his service revolver. Violent interaction between the police and those who broke the law was

Thomas, 1971), pp. xiii-xiv. The insular and conservative nature of career policemen is an important theme in criminology and sociology. For example, see Jerome Skolnick's influential *Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967).

29. A point made in Marquis, "A Machine of Oppression Under the Guise of the Law": 71.

30. Lowe, "The Lancashire Constabulary": 57; Royal Commission on Police Matters, 1919, Testimony, p. 2025; *Rules and Regulations of the Toronto Police Force* (Toronto: Copp Clark Company Limited, 1890); *Star*, 25 October 1921. A curious novel by journalist Augustus Bridle, *Hansen: A Novel of Canadianization* (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1924), set in 1890s Toronto, has the hero invited to the main police station to play cards, attend to the horses and wrestle and exercise with the policemen, a highly unlikely scenario given the strictness of departmental discipline. In 1935 Mayor James Simpson, a temperance advocate, complained of excessive police drinking both on and off duty. Policemen were urged to exercise moderation when frequenting taverns. See, *Telegram*, 28 September 1935.

31. Skolnick, *Justice Without Trial*, p. 82; *Report of the Royal Commission Respecting the Arrest and Detention of Rabbi Norbert Lerner by the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 8. See also, Susan Ehrlich Martin, *Breaking and Entering: Policewomen On Patrol* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 90-91; Johnston, "Taking Care of Labour": 113; Barbara R. Price, "The Rhetoric of Professionalism: A comparative Study of Police in Three Historical Periods" (Ph.D. dissertation: Pennsylvania State University, 1974), pp. 5-6.

reported in the press as a form of sporting news. In 1944 journalist John Vernon McAree recalled that the late Inspector Frank Crowe, once "rated as one of the toughest men in Toronto", preferred to distribute "welts" as opposed to summonses in the red light and bootlegging districts.³²

Both inside and outside the station house, the policeman's world was structured by what Kathy Peiss has termed 'homosociability', the separation of masculine and feminine leisure. According to Peiss, male camaraderie, "to which women had marginal and problematical access", was central to working-class leisure.³³ Policemen moved in a largely masculine milieu. Although women were encountered on the beat, the most frequent and important interactions occurred with male individuals or groups, often in the context of masculine leisure activities. In this respect there were few differences between work and leisure hours. In addition to masculinity, police sociability had a strong association with athletics. Many policemen were well acquainted with the sporting crowd and in off-duty hours constables earned extra money for security work at lacrosse matches, wrestling bouts, boxing contests, soccer fields, racetracks, baseball diamonds and hockey rinks. Although members of all classes engaged in and followed athletic activities, the sporting interests of policemen had more in common with the working class than the bourgeoisie.³⁴

Policemen also participated in athletics. An important social organization was the Police Amateur Athletic Association, founded in 1883 as a means of instilling *esprit de corps* and encouraging physical fitness. The fact that one-third of the association's executive were divisional inspectors suggests senior officers maintained a considerable level of supervision of its activities. Deputy Chief William Stark, the 'father' of the Athletic Association and an important member of the Chief Constables' Association of Canada, was president of the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union in the first decade of the century. The annual police games, staged at Hanlan's Point, were a major summer event featuring track-and-field competitors from Canadian and American police departments, a tug-of-war battle, civilian contests and, eventually, a popular beauty pageant. The 1908 games, for example, attracted four thousand spectators to view field sports, a caber throwing competition, a "fat man's race" and a performance by Canadian marathon runner Tom Longboat. When police athletes vanquished the champions of cities such as Detroit, Montreal, Hamilton and Ottawa, the "Queen City" department was the focus of much civic pride.

Despite the official ban on political activity by policemen, the Amateur Athletic Association's annual banquet was an important forum for municipal politicians. Toronto's several hundred 'non-political' policemen were regarded as an important electoral force, much like volunteer fire companies of an earlier era or the street railway workers, and newspaper publishers, civic politicians and members of the social elite took part in their

32. John Vernon McAree, "An Old Irish Gentleman", *Culled From Our Columns* (Toronto: Longman, 1962), pp. 21-24. In 1919 Chief Constable Grasset boasted to royal commissioners that his men were physically "unbeatable". See, Royal Commission on Police Matters, 1919, Testimony, p. 523.

33. Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), pp. 17-18.

34. Sports were an important part of neighbourhood working-class life. Significantly, in 1908 the Labour Temple stages wrestling matches and lent its facilities for meetings of the popular Toronto Lacrosse League. See, *Star*, 7, 18 May 1908. For the role of sports in working class culture see Francis Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City, 1877-1919* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984).

festivities. Additional organizations endorsed by the police commission were a Scottish pipe band, a choir and a brass band, all useful for public relations purposes.³⁵

In terms of characteristics such as age, birthplace, religion, occupational experience and education levels, there were few differences between the upper and lower ranks of the Toronto force. The internal operations of the department produced a natural tension between the chief constable, inspectors and sergeants on the one hand and constables on the other. Patrol sergeants, who functioned as foremen, were in an ambivalent position. Senior officers reached a superior socio-economic level, but they were not selected on the basis of class, education or social connections as were NWMP officers. In this sense promotion on the basis of seniority bound the force together. Yet by the turn of the century tensions between officers and men were evident in police sociability, which gradually nurtured rank-and-file solidarity. Sociability gave rise to discussion of mutual aid which in turn produced support for police unionism.³⁶

Prior to the formation in 1918 of a police union in Toronto, there was no organization approximating the patrolmen's benevolent associations which challenged the authority of police executives in the United States and elsewhere in Canada. The only mutual aid organization was a benefit and pension fund to which all ranks contributed. The organization of a pensioners' association in 1910 and eventually a war veterans' association reflected both a growing sense of occupational solidarity and a desire to escape from the control of senior officers. The avowed purpose of the pensioners' association was to present a solid front against "unjust criticism from the public or any other quarter" on the issue of police pensions.³⁷ The organizational tensions within the department combined with the inflation of World War I eventually produced a short-lived police union. In 1918 the Toronto Police Federal Union, representing the constables, engaged in a four-day strike following the dismissal of union officers by the Toronto Board of Police Commissioners. A resulting provincial Royal Commission on Police Matters chaired by Ontario Chief Justice Sir William Meredith ruled against police affiliation with organized labour. Yet the union continued in another guise, the Toronto Police Association, which attempted to safeguard the interests of the lower ranks and functioned as a social organization. The rank and file, following the example of trade unions, ethnic associations and lodges, organized smokers, dances and public concerts. Dances and concerts involved wives and sweethearts, but policemen were most comfortable at homosocial gatherings where social graces could be ignored.³⁸

Other social activities revolved around churches. As Nicholas Rogers suggests, many policemen in 'Toronto the Good' no doubt saw themselves as 'muscular Christians'. One of the earliest police social organizations, for example, was a bible class, reflecting the importance of evangelical religion in sections of the working and middle classes. Policemen,

35. *Star*, 20 August 1908, 28 May 1910, 7 January, 25 October 1921; *Telegram*, 26 July 1934; *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 2 August 1937. The records of the Toronto Police Amateur Athletic Association are in the Baldwin Room of the Metropolitan Toronto Library. Policemen also organized baseball and bowling leagues.

36. The issue of police unionism is explored in Greg Marquis, "Police Unionism in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto", unpublished paper, 1987.

37. *Star*, 27 August 1910. See also Fogelson, *Big-City Police*, p. 100; George T. Denison, *Recollections of a Police Magistrate* (Toronto: Musson Books, 1920), pp. 32-35.

38. *Star*, 2 March 1920; 21 August 1921; 23 March 1928; *Telegram*, 26 July 1934; Royal Commission on Police Matters, 1919, Testimony, p. 139. A rare glimpse of rank-and-file sociability was afforded by the 1918 police strike. Out of gratitude to a woman reporter who wrote pro-union stories, the men chivalrously doffed their hats, extinguished their cigars and cheered their "fair champion". See, *Star*, 19 December 1918.

as with other urban dwellers, derived social as well as spiritual rewards from church activities. Recruits, who were almost always from Ontario or the British Isles, probably found church-sponsored activities helpful in adjusting to Toronto and meeting prospective spouses. Regulations encouraged officers to attend divine service and many recruits used ministers as character witnesses, however, given the nature of police shift work, few had the opportunity to attend church on a regular basis. The local branch of the British-based Christian Police Association, formed in 1890 and traditionally supervised by a woman, held weekly prayer meetings in the central Young Men's Christian Association building. In 1927, mimicking the military, the department instituted an annual church parade. It is important to remember, however, that a preoccupation with viewing police as agents of moral reform obscures the many rough edges of the rank and file.³⁹

Despite the department's increasing size, strict discipline and the evolution of occupational identity, Toronto policemen were not isolated from the community. While patrolmen were discouraged from engaging civilians in friendly conversation on the beat, many officers were in fact well-known local figures. An important link with civilian life was participation in fraternal associations such as Orange lodges. The Loyal Orange Association, a militant Protestant organization introduced to early nineteenth-century Ontario by British soldiers and Irish immigrants, functioned as an informal political machine in Toronto, earning the city the sobriquet 'Belfast of North America'. In 1923 local historian Jesse Middleton described lodge activities as "a popular evening entertainment for thousands upon thousands of men and not a few women." The annual Orange celebration, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne on July 12, was a civic holiday that also paid tribute to wartime sacrifices in defence of the British Empire.⁴⁰ Orangemen generally supported the Conservative party, but the order was not regarded as a disciplined political force. Orange power, according to Cecil Houston and William Smyth, "continued to be manifested in the city until after the Second World War."⁴¹

Historians have demonstrated that the Orange order, originally an immigrant organization distrusted by the province's elite on account of its violent rhetoric and political ambitions, developed a wide following among the Ontario-born rural and urban working class. The movement's sociability, loyalty to the British Crown and devotion to constitutionalism engendered considerable popular support. In theory, lodge meetings brought together the rich and poor, the educated and the uneducated, in the name of Protestant democracy or 'equal rights for all, special privileges for none'. Although the LOA was

39. Rogers, "Serving Toronto to the Good", p. 129; *Toronto Police Force: A Brief History of the Force Since Its Reorganization in 1859 to the Present Date* (Toronto: E.F. Clarke, 1886), p. 133; *Star*, 16 May 1927; *Globe*, 9-11 October 1928.

40. Jesse Middleton, ed., *The Municipality of Toronto: A History*, vol. II (Toronto: Dominion Publishing Company, 1923), p. 7; Royal Commission on Police Matters, 1919, Testimony, pp. 283-284; *Orange Sentinel*, 29 December 1925; *Labour Leader*, 3 January 1936; *Telegram*, 12 July 1939; *Globe and Mail*, 12 July 1955; William Perkins Bull, *From the Boyne to Brampton, or John the Orangeman Home and Abroad* (Toronto: George McLeod Limited, 1936); Gregory Kealy, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 98-121; "Orangemen and the Corporation: The Politics of Class During the Union of the Canadas" in *Forging a Consensus*, ed., Russell, p. 41.

41. Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 158-159. Although candidates never campaigned openly on the Orange ticket, the county organization published an annual civic slate and politicians on all levels benefited from lodge membership. Affiliated organizations included the Ladies' Orange Benevolent Association, the Orange Young Britons, the Loyal True Blue Association and the Black Knights. In 1923 it was reported that Toronto's primary Orange lodges claimed 28,000 active and 8,000 certificate or non-active members. See, Middleton, *The Municipality of Toronto*, Vol. II, pp. 788-789.

subjected to constant turnover and internal tensions, its appeal continued throughout the 1920s, particularly in light of the political situation in Ireland. The lodge offered working-class Torontonians, young men from rural Ontario, and British immigrants a social network and a chance for respectability. Second to lodge social activities were mutual benefit and charitable schemes, important in an age of minimal government social policy. In Gregory Kealey's analysis, nineteenth-century Orangeism had an ambiguous impact on the working class. It not only antagonized Protestant-Catholic relations but also provided workers with a number of strengths, including direct action, indirect participation in politics and lessons in the power of organization. For example, there was a close connection between Toronto trade unionism and Orangeism.⁴²

Although police membership in 'secret societies' had been banned by nineteenth-century Toronto police commissions (and the North West Mounted Police) as an attempt to promote non-partisan administration, the rule was virtually a dead letter. Policemen, prohibited from participating in municipal, provincial or federal politics, flocked to fraternal societies, which often engaged in indirect political activity. Attendance at Toronto's popular ward meetings was a serious breach of discipline but attendance at lodge meetings was widespread. In 1913 an officer estimated that three-quarters of the department belonged to fraternal orders, primarily the Orange lodge and related societies. A fair percentage of recruits, many of whom came from the north of Ireland or small-town Ontario, arrived in Toronto as Orangemen. Many others enlisted in lodges once settled in the city. Police department register books for 1912, 1920 and 1928 indicate that of one-quarter of the 440 recruits admitting to fraternal affiliation, 69 were Orangemen. Policemen also belonged to 'loyal societies' such as the Sons of England, an important mechanism of adjustment to Canadian society for English immigrants.⁴³

The leaders of late nineteenth-century Toronto Orange lodges were not necessarily members of the elite but included a broad social base from the working and middle classes. This situation probably continued in the decades before the Second World War. In British origin working-class areas such as Cabbagetown the lodge was a vital social institution and police members often assumed prominent roles in lodge affairs. As an unwritten rule the chief constable did not participate in Orange activities. This was not the case with divisional inspectors and sergeants. In 1918 a correspondent to the *World* claimed that ten of the department's thirteen inspectors were part of "the sectarian and party machine" perpetuating "the worst influences associated with Ulster sectarianism."⁴⁴ The police and civic

42. Donald H. Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), p. 280; Kealey, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism*, pp. 98-110. For mutual benefit activities, see "Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies", *Ontario Sessional Papers*, 1911-1941. Wayne Roberts has argued that the LOA became more middle class during the 1920s. See, "Studies in the Toronto Labour Movement, 1896-1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1978), pp. 475-477.

43. CTA, RG9 D5.1, Police Order Book, 22 November 1911; *Star*, 1 October 1913; Recruit Registers, 1912, 1920, 1928; MacLeod, p. 99; Houston and Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore*, p. 159; McCormack, "Networks Among British Immigrants": 371-372. Rogers (pp. 123-124), citing no source, estimates that one-third of new recruits in the 1920s were Orangemen. In 1923 the Sons of England had 44 local lodges with 6,000 members. See, Middleton, *The Municipality of Toronto*, Vol. II, pp. 788-789.

44. Houston and Smyth, pp. 102-103; Kealy, *Toronto Workers*, pp. 107-110; *World*, 12 February 1918. Most of the 1918 inspectors were Irish-born Protestants. Irish-born Robert Browne, a policeman later appointed magistrate, was for three years Master of Enniskillen LOL 387. Browne, like many magistrates and judges, was also a Mason. In 1936 Inspector W.C. Johnston, Orangeman and Freemason, explained to a royal commission that the police commission did not consider fraternal orders 'secret societies'. The latter, he explained, were groups "subversive to society at large". See, CTA, Mayor's Papers, RG7 F, Testimony of the Royal Commission Relative to the Conduct of the Police Force, Box 7, pp. 2123-2125.

authorities treated would-be Sinn Fein speakers as they would Communists, by denying them the use of public halls, but given the popularity of Ulster in Toronto, this was hardly a conspiracy.⁴⁵

According to the *Catholic Register*, the small number of Catholic policemen was attributable to a "Lodge-ridden city government", but it is difficult to prove the degree to which Orange links influenced the workings of the department.⁴⁶ Sectarianism certainly had an impact on nineteenth-century Canadian law enforcement. Case studies of Victorian urban communities, Toronto included, suggest that Protestants tended to appear in court less frequently than Roman Catholics.⁴⁷ As early twentieth-century Toronto chief constables did not detail the religious background of those arrested and summoned, attempts at determining the sectarian nature of law enforcement can only be speculative. In terms of ethnicity, two points can be made. As Table 6 suggests, most of those arrested or summoned to court in the period 1910-1937 were Canadian or British born. The latter tended to be under-represented in relation to their representation in the post-World War I population. Although not broken down into national categories, the 'other' column in Table 6 represents 'foreigners', a term well understood in early twentieth century Toronto. This included persons born in Europe, principally Jews and Italians, and to a lesser extent Asians, chiefly Chinese, arrested and summoned for minor offenses. The clash between 'British' and foreign Toronto is best measured in the police magistrates' courts, where Jews and Italians were identified as the principal offenders under the Ontario Temperance Act. Members of these minorities would have fallen into the clutches of the police in disproportionate numbers even if the Orange lodge had not existed. Perhaps the most important aspect of police Orangeism was not the likelihood of constables exercising discretion against Catholics and foreigners and in favour of Protestants, but the fact that it brought policemen into contact with civilian Toronto, which was overwhelmingly Protestant and 'British'.

Thus, instead of being isolated from working-class life as Nicholas Rogers suggests, police socialized on at least one level with fellow Protestants, most of whom belonged to the working and lower middle class. Although less familiar with Roman Catholics and Jewish, Italian and Greek Canadians and other minorities, the police were not isolated from 'British' Toronto.⁴⁸ Secondly, Orangeism, much like Freemasonry in the post-World War II Toronto police force, was most important in influencing the internal affairs of the department.

45. Metropolitan Toronto Police Museum, Minutes of the Board of Police Commissioners, 23 September 1920; 7 September 1922. The Irish Self-Determination League was prevented by Mayor Tommy Church from staging a convention in Toronto in 1920. The convention was held under heavy police protection in Ottawa. In 1922 the County Orange lodge officially thanked the police commission for having prevented an Irish nationalist from speaking in public. In 1935 the County Master of the Toronto LOA queried the chief constable regarding the reinstatement of a Catholic policeman dismissed for conduct unbecoming an officer. See, Minutes of the Board of Police Commissioners, 5 March 1936.

46. *Star*, 8 January 1913; *Telegram*, 12 July 1926; 12 July 1934; *Catholic Register*, 21 February 1918. In 1953 journalist John V. McAree recalled that turn-of-the century policemen, sympathetic to Orangeism, were lenient towards the provocative actions of militant Orange Young Britons, "husky, strutting young men, mechanics and labourers". Yet the police and Orange youths clashed on several occasions. See, *Cabbagetown Store*, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1953), p. 94.

47. Rogers, "Serving Toronto the Good": 134; Marquis, "'A Machine of Oppression Under the Guise of the Law'": 62-63; Michael Katz, M.J. Doucet and M.J. Stern, *The Social Organization of Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 210.

48. Rogers, "Serving Toronto the Good", p. 129; Margot Gibbon Clark, "Orange Order Fades With Time", *Globe and Mail*, 12 July 1985. See also, Marquis, "'A Machine of Oppression Under the Guise of the Law'": 72.

Table 6 Birthplace of Persons Arrested and Summoned to Court by the Toronto Police, 1910-1937

	(N)	Canada %	British Isles %	USA %	Other %
1910	(24,826)	55.6	30.8	3.5	10.1
1911	(27,656)	52.8	31.6	3.2	12.3
1912	(34,656)	52.7	38.1	3.2	6.0
1913	(39,654)	50.1	22.9	3.0	24.0
1914	(39,816)	48.9	37.2	2.8	11.1
1915	(36,489)	53.0	25.0	2.6	30.6
1916	(29,993)	54.5	29.5	3.7	12.3
1917	(25,714)	57.1	21.8	3.9	17.2
1918	(28,206)	57.0	20.7	3.0	19.3
1919	(30,170)	60.5	15.7	3.1	20.7
1920	(36,804)	64.0	15.9	2.9	17.2
1921	(38,278)	66.2	14.6	2.9	16.3
1922	(45,614)	67.4	13.0	2.4	17.2
1923	(47,142)	68.3	12.8	2.2	16.7
1924	(54,007)	70.2	11.8	2.1	15.9
1925	(60,280)	67.5	14.0	2.1	16.4
1926	(67,173)	68.3	14.4	1.9	15.9
1927	(70,325)	69.3	13.5	2.0	15.2
1928	(94,448)	72.4	12.7	1.9	13.0
1929	(90,085)	71.3	14.6	1.9	12.2
1930	(87,897)	70.7	14.5	2.2	12.6
1931	(88,405)	70.1	13.4	1.8	14.7
1932	(79,641)	70.0	12.6	1.5	15.9
1933	(80,503)	72.0	11.5	1.2	15.3
1934	(83,150)	74.0	10.9	1.1	14.0
1935	(99,330)	73.6	10.2	1.1	15.1
1936	(104,200)	78.7	8.8	0.8	11.7
1937	(113,415)	80.9	9.0	0.7	9.4

Source: Chief Constable's Reports, 1910-1937.

Toronto policemen also joined the Masonic order, a secret society long neglected by Canadian historians. The exact number of police Freemasons is uncertain. Although there were more Orange lodges than Masonic lodges in early twentieth-century Toronto, Freemasonry was the oldest, most respectable and largest fraternal order in the province. In 1920, for example, the beginning of a decade of remarkable Masonic popularity, roughly 9% of Ontario's male population over nineteen years of age were Freemasons. This compared to 6% who were Odd Fellows and under 3% who were Orangemen.⁴⁹ Membership in this ubiquitous organization, which according to a recent American study reflected the values of the white, Protestant, native-born middle class, was for many a source of prestige and business and social contacts. It was also viewed as an asset for ambitious

49. *Star*, 1 October 1913; Canada, *Census*, 1921, Vol. I, Table 11; "Freemasonry in Canada" in Robert F. Gould and William J. Hughan eds., *A Library of Freemasonry*, vol. IV (Toronto: John Yorston Publishing Company, 1911), pp. 447-554; Walter S. Herrington and Roy S. Foley, *A History of the Grand Lodge A.F. and A.M. of Canada in the Province of Ontario 1855-1955* (Toronto: McCallum Press Limited, 1955); *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the Province of Ontario Independent Order of Odd Fellows* (Toronto: Maccoomd Press, 1921); Houston and Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore*, p. 86. Of 111 police recruits who listed fraternal affiliation in 1912, 1920 and 1928, 26 were Masons. See, *Recruit Registers*, 1912, 1920, 1928.

Toronto police officers. In 1934 Mayor W.J. Stewart, a Mason and Orangeman, indirectly acknowledged the extent of Freemasonry in civic departments by describing contributions to the unemployed by police and firemen as exemplifying Masonic virtues. Masonic celebrations usually involved men from all ranks of the police department.⁵⁰

Although often identified with the Orangeism because of overlapping membership, Freemasonry did not officially endorse militant Protestantism and it shunned political controversy. It shared with the Orange order, however, a strong devotion to the British connection, religious and civil liberty, probity in public life, and social stability. In the 1920s the American movement was strongly associated with nativism and the nascent Klu Klux Klan. Historically, the order's critics, (in Canada, largely French-Canadian journalists and clerics) suggested that Masons 'stuck together' and controlled public patronage and jobs at the expense of non-Masons, particularly Roman Catholics. In Toronto, Freemasonry was more a badge of Protestant respectability than membership in a semi-political order. Masons preferred to think that their order attracted the best men in the community. Freemasonry's obsession with rules and regulations and opportunities for upward mobility through a hierarchy of offices doubtlessly appealed to police members. Advancement through lodge offices, much like promotion through the police bureaucracy, was a sign of increasing respectability. Followers of the square and compass also partook in mutual benefit schemes and charitable activities. Most important of all, both Masonic and Orange lodges offered male-oriented social activities that provided an escape from women and domesticity, an added attraction in the masculine world of policing.⁵¹

The above evidence suggests that the Toronto police, despite the class instrumentality of their mandate, occupied an ambiguous class position. Unlike the military, the police were not members of a closed institution but civic employees who experienced a degree of personal and occupational autonomy. Although the force was divided between constables and non-commissioned officers and inspectors, occupational solidarity and promotion through the ranks countered internal class divisions. Police culture, expressed through workplace camaraderie and social organizations such as the Police Amateur Athletic Association, was inward looking. Yet ethnic ties and fraternal organizations such as the Orange order were important for defining social relations. The force was a vehicle of immigrants' adjustment and upward mobility; the police rank and file, recruited from the transient working class, sought bourgeois respectability. Yet, it is not certain that police families, however comfortable economically, were safely ensconced in the middle class. Much like soldiers, Toronto's 'finest' retained a certain roughness, a function of class origins, educational levels, station-house culture and leisure pursuits.

50. *Globe*, 9-10 October 1928; *Telegram*, 4 October 1934; Lyn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Dumenil estimates that in 1920 10.1% of native, white adult males in the United States were Masons. Inspector of Detectives A.J. Murray was a ranking Mason. His 1930 notebook indicates that certain lodges had 'police nights'. See, AO, RG18 B84, Royal Commission to Investigate and Report Upon the Events and Circumstances Concerning the Arrest of Albert Dorland and William Toohey, 1933, Box 4, Item 29, Diary of Inspector Murray.

51. Houston and Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore*, pp. 176-177. In 1938, Toronto's 76 Masonic lodges were attended by 26,000 members. See, *Star*, 20 July 1938. John Ross Robertson, founder of the *Telegram*, which closely followed Orange activities, was a leading Mason who wrote a history of early Ontario Freemasonry. See, *A History of Freemasonry in Ontario* (Toronto: G.N. Morang and Company Limited, 1900). For the relationship between Freemasonry and Orangeism in Ireland, see Terence De Vere White, "The Freemasons", in *Secret Societies in Ireland*, ed.: T. Desmond Williams, (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1973), pp. 46-57.