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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Kevin David Kane entitled "Oakwood: Knoxville's Industrial Suburb of the Labor Aristocracy, 1902-1917." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Geography.

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OAKWOOD: KNOXVILLE'S INDUSTRIAL SUBURB OF THE LABOR ARISTOCRACY, 1902 TO 1917

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Science

Degree

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Kevin David Kane

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To my parents

Bernard and Renée Kane

To

Chris

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ABSTRACT

The study of an early twentieth century suburb of Knoxville reveals the extent to which residential suburbanization was, by the turn of the century, no longer the preserve of the middle classes, but rather an urban movement which encompassed the more skilled segment of the working class--the labor aristocracy. The study also reveals that suburbanization in turn-of-the-century America was not exclusively a residential phenomenon.

The suburb in question, Oakwood, was billed, at the time, as "Knoxville's 'magic' suburb." It was a skilled working class, industrial suburb and was adjacent to the large Southern Railroad Coster Works which employed the majority of Oakwood's wage earners. That this skilled segment of the working class chose to locate in Oakwood is an example of the value system inherent in the labor aristocracy. As developed by Hobsbawm, this labor aristocracy within the working class is more conservative and more inclined to associate itself with the dominant middle class values of the time. In the residential sphere, it is argued that the labor aristocracy moved to Oakwood not because of proximity to place of employment, but because the group desired to spatially reinforce its social distance from the remainder of the working class who continued to reside in the degraded central districts of the city.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY: OAKWOOD IN THE CONTEXT OF LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY SUBURBANIZATION

Introduction

There is a vast literature on the suburb; as idea and image (Tuan, 1974); as a failed solution to urban problems (Walker, 1978); as reflection of innovations in urban transportation technology (Ward, 1964; Warner, 1962). There have been studies of early suburbs in both northern cities (Miller and Siry, 1980) and southern towns (Riley, 1976), as well as comparative treatment of suburbs on both sides of the Atlantic (Ward, 1964). This interest in the suburb reflects many historical factors in the development of both geography and history (Wade, 1970; Stave, 1983), two academic disciplines which have extensively studied this settlement type that now dominates the geography of cities in the Western world (Vance, 1977).

Despite the vast and varied literature concerning the suburb, there still exist many misconceptions regarding both its contemporary nature and its historical development. These misconceptions are so entrenched that some have characterized them as a suburban 'myth' (Donaldson, 1969). This myth consists of two interrelated elements. First, suburbs are viewed as exclusively residential settlements. Images of tree shaded streets lined with detached family homes abound

in the popular imagination (Donaldson, 1969, pp. 24-25). Secondly, this popular myth sees suburbs as being the almost exclusive preserve of white, middle class America. From these two images come the attacks on the suburb from the social critics who see them as evidence of an increasing conformism within American society (Donaldson, 1969, pp. 108-109).

This suburban myth is one largely drawn from the post World War II era, a time in which most American cities experienced unprecedented areal expansions. The post-war housing boom, fueled by demand which remained unfulfilled during the war years, created huge new residential developments which sprawled across the landscape. It was not long before the academic and literary worlds began to probe this new phenomenon. The suburb was transformed into suburbia; at worst a pejorative term. Authors such as Cheever and Updike became the new novelists of manners of these large, curving, socially homogeneous residential developments (Cheever, 1957; Updike, 1968). Suburbia became the locale of the All-American family and soon replaced the farm as the modern ideal of American society.

Reading the popular literature of the day one is left with the impression of minutely differentiated ranch style homes set on their uniform lots providing shelter for middle class Americans who resided within in materialistic comfort. While this image is not altogether without historical antecedent, it is a caricature which at best obscures the variety which the suburb presents to us today and which it almost certainly presented to us in the past. That there are and were other

types of suburbs in the American city appears to have escaped the notice of the popular imagination and much of the academic work concerned with suburbanization. For example, studies of working class suburbs deal exclusively with the post-World War II era (Berger, 1960). The work on early twentieth century suburbs is scarce, save for the work of some contemporary observers (Taylor, 1915). Indeed historical research on the American suburb tends to reinforce the idea that suburbs have always been the exclusive preserve of white collar, middle class America.* This image is further reinforced in the 'streetcar suburb' approach to the study of suburbanization, an approach which is familiar in textbook treatments of the evolution of American city form (Yeates and Garner, 1980, pp. 192-198).

A Cultural or Economic Basis for Suburbanization of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries?

From an historical, humanistic point of view, Tuan perceptively notes that our "Images of the suburb arise in response to images of the city" (Tuan, 1974, p. 225). When the city is viewed as the center of all things civilized and sophisticated, the outer parts of the city are

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*Throughout this study "middle class" refers to both high and low white collar groups as indicated by Zunz (1982, Appendix 3, pp. 420-433). The "working class" refers to skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. "Proletariat" refers to unskilled and semi-skilled workers, while the term "labor aristocrat" is reserved solely for skilled workers. The term "blue collar" is used to discuss skilled, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, while "white collar" refers to both high and low white collar occupations.

considered places of vulgarity and ignorance. Likewise, when the city is viewed as the locale of violence and social threat, the suburb is viewed as a pastoral release, a realizable Arcadia (Tuan, 1974, p. 236). Such images are not unrelated to historical experience, and when such images change, as they have done, they reflect historical forces which shape the internal geography of cities.

It was the growth of industrial production that promoted the noted social and economic fragmentation of the nineteenth century city. The city, which had formerly been a center of mercantile activity and petty workshop production, became the location for large-scale factory-based industrialism. From being settlements in which social groups were residentially intermixed, cities increasingly became socio-economic mosaics. This change in urban residential morphology, while not strictly a product of large-scale industrialization, reflected the profound changes associated with the development of urban industrialism.

As both Vance (1966) and Walker (1978) have noted, when industry finally came to the city from its antecedent locations (in the case of the United States, from the mill towns of New England), it brought with it a labor process which was new to the city; the factory system. In two crucial respects urban-based industrialism was quite distinct from the industrialism of the early mill towns.

The concentration of many firms in the city promoted a 'free' market in labor, in which labor was transferable among firms. This job mobility freed laborers from being completely reliant upon a single

monopsonistic employer as was often the case in the mill towns of New England, and, later, the South.

Secondly, with the development of urban industrialism there was a noted decline in the paternalistic social relations which had previously been the hallmark of the mill town, and a factor which had kept working class housing conditions decent. This paternalism had seen morphological expression in the 'tied' housing which had surrounded the factory in mill towns. When industrialism came to the city it tended to leave behind it the idea of "tying" its workers with company-provided accommodation. This decline in paternalism is cited by Vance as a contributory factor in the creation of slums in the nineteenth century city. As he states, "overcrowding and debasement of the workingman's home came with the generalized housing market" (Vance, 1966, p. 324).

The creation and extension of the slum areas which surrounded the industrial districts of the nineteenth century city was exacerbated by the continual influx of new, and largely unskilled urban immigrants. These immigrants entered central city residential districts forcing either internal subdivision or external areal expansion, or both. This in-migration of unskilled groups into the city became a social threat to the more prosperous segments of the urban populace. The middle class began to relocate to the rapidly developing suburban districts in an attempt to residentially isolate themselves from both the environmental and social effects of urban industrialism. The environmental effects were the increasingly polluted and disease-ridden central city, while

the social effects were the creation of a new and potentially antagonistic economic class, the urban proletariat. What the middle class did, in effect, was to use space in order to reinforce their social and economic position with respect to the urban proletariat and to isolate themselves from the increasingly degraded physical and residential environment which urban industrialism had created. As such, the image of the suburb was a response not to the Arcadian lure of the bucolic but to the perception, by more mobile segments of urban society, of the moral and physical decline of the central city.

Walker argues that the Arcadian myth expounded by Tuan was nothing more than ideology; an idea which obscures the real social and economic bases of suburbanization. For Walker, suburban real-estate developers used this Arcadian ideal in their promotional literature in juxtaposition to the threats posed by a fluid and unruly proletariat which was crowded into the central city of the time. These developers played on the fears of the middle classes and offered them a chance to exit, not voice their concerns. It also provided capitalism with another market from which to glean profit (Walker, 1978).

Thus at the macro-scale, suburbanization was an adjunct of capitalist development which had created crowded central city districts, a degraded natural environment and a threatening urban proletariat. All of these played their part in the creation of suburbs in the period and the Arcadian image which became associated with them.

The Transportation Factor

The movement between core and periphery has been a major focus of much geographical research concerning the suburb. Suburbs have been viewed conventionally as dormitory settlements inhabited by white collar, or middle class employees who commute to their places of work in the downtown core. Since commuting became the bond between suburb and city, the nature of this transportation linkage has been the focus of both geographical and historical research (Ward, 1964; Warner, 1962).

Ward (1964) and Warner (1962) have sought to show that developments in urban transportation technology in the latter half of the nineteenth century were functionally linked with the creation of relatively large peripheral residential areas. Though these suburbs were by no means the first such developments in American cities, they did constitute the largest areal expansion of the city to that time.

The progressive development of faster, less expensive urban transport was a permissive force in suburbanization. It permitted the creation of many dormitory suburbs at the edge of the city and beyond. It did not, however, create these suburbs. The forces doing so were those previously discussed; the macro-geographical forces related to factory-based industrial development in the city, and its meso- and micro-scale effects which impinged upon individual households.

Were All Suburbs of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries Middle-Class Dormitory Settlements?

As noted above, two themes which have received extensive treatment in the literature concerned with nineteenth century suburbanization deal with residential sorting on the basis of social class, and, secondly, on the role of transportation innovations upon the size and shape of the city. These two foci of the literature lead to the impression that suburbs were, by definition, peripheral residential developments whose inhabitants were uniformly middle class. It is too often merely assumed that suburban residents used available streetcar services to commute to the central business district where they were employed in white collar occupations. Such a misguided conception of the past is further reinforced by our misconception of the present.

As Vance (1977) points out, the modern urban area is not focused on a downtown or even a central city, but is, rather, a functionally disaggregated settlement form. Though he makes the case for a model of urban 'realms,' his model is simply the reflection of an older idea encapsulated in the term 'conurbation.'

Muller, in his catholic survey of the historical evolution of the suburb, does note that this functional disaggregation had become a feature of the early twentieth century American city:

> By the eve of World War I it was possible to differentiate between sectors of 'bedroom' suburbs that housed middle- and upper-income city commuters, and industrial suburbs employing local working class populations (Muller, 1981, p. 37).

Muller does not, however, cite any concrete examples of such working class suburbs. Rather he references the work of two observers of the time; Graham Romeyn Taylor (1915) and Harlan Paul Douglass (1925).

Taylor's book, Satellite Cities: A Study of Industrial Suburbs, tends to analyze what we today would term exurbs. He does, however, alert us to the existence of industrial suburbs and provides a necessary antidote to the overutilized Burgess model of city development which many academicians (particularly historians) feel lingers within much of the geographical research on the city (Dauton, 1983, p. 212). What Taylor attempts to show is that industrial location within the city had changed in the years preceding 1915 and that this had led to the emergence of a complex city form in which suburbanized industrial production and such things as 'reverse'(city to suburb) journey-to-work patterns were not uncommon. With the development of large-scale industrial capacity at the edge of the city, there was an associated development of working class suburbs. Taylor cites examples ranging from the Pullman community, south of Chicago, to such cities as Cincinnati and Birmingham, Alabama. These examples are, Taylor claims, indicative of many such industrial movements within the American city in this period. This occurred during a period (the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) which saw the development of the large industrial combines and their much larger scale of individual plant operation (Taylor, 1915, p. 23; Gordon, 1984, pp. 39-42).

Douglass' contribution is that he explicitly distinguishes between residential, or dormitory, suburbs and industrial ones. As

with Taylor, he seeks to introduce a more complex urban schema than that of Burgess' concentric ring model of city development. Douglass suggests that neither the size of population, the degree of congestion nor the distance away from the central city can alert us to the different types of suburbs (Douglass, 1925, pp. 75-78). Under the heading of 'The Major Suburban Types' he states:

> Turning to the underlying philosophy of the matter, we are to distinguish one set of suburbs in which it is primarily the home which has separated itself from the city and which has settled down in specialized areas in which business and industry have little part. In another set of suburbs, industry has separated itself from the city and taken over suburban communities for its more or less exclusive and dominating use (Douglass, 1925, p. 84).

To distinguish such types he employs "the basic distinction of economic science" (p. 84) classifying suburbs into two types: consumption suburbs and production suburbs. As he says:

> The residential suburb represents the decentralization of consumption. Man creates wealth in the central city and spends it in the suburbs. He makes his living in the town but lives at home in an intentionally contrasting environment. Part of the pay which he receives for his work in the city he immediately pays out there in return for services or goods, but the goods which he buys are chiefly consumed at home, and in the suburb are his major expenditures--for rent and taxes, for most of his food, for doctor and dentist, for automobile, church and self-indulgence. There could hardly be a greater error than to think of the residential suburbs as mere dormitories. They are rather the realms of consumption as over production. . . . Only incidentally are they places of sleep (Douglass, 1925, pp. 84-85).

After describing the rationale of the residential suburb, and anticipating, in many respects, Vance's 'urban realms' model of the modern city, Douglass goes on to shed light on the industrial suburb. He appears to take the position that suburban location of industry

follows prior residential developments at the edge of the city. For him:

> The factory becomes suburban as well as the home. Production moves out as consumption has already done. Both halves of the city reestablish themselves in the country in a roomier environment (Douglass, 1925, p. 86).

This type of suburb is more independent of the city than the former, residential suburb. This independence is expressed in a variety of ways including the lack of daily suburb to city movements. The industrial suburb is, however, still dominated by the city in whose central districts are found the credit facilities, the major interurban transportation termini, and the primary labor markets.

Both Douglass and Taylor, observers of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries suburbanization processes, were aware of the variety of suburban experiences within the American city. For them the 'streetcar suburb' explanation propounded by many geographers would no doubt appear partial; tangential to the explanation of suburbanization in this period. Indeed, they could point to cases where suburban streetcar routes were filled in the mornings not with suburban residents headed for their jobs in the offices and stores of the city's central business district, but rather with central city residents headed for their suburban work places (Taylor, 1915, p. 95; Douglass, 1925, p. 92).

From the above literature one can isolate various themes related to suburbanization in nineteenth century America. At the macrogeographical scale the forces acting upon both industrial and residential suburbanization were related to the rise and development of

urban-based, industrial capitalism with its large scale of production and its centrally located factories which were surrounded by crowded working class districts. The progressive influx of in-migrants to the city led to the subdivision of central city residential property and an attendant rise in central city land values. This rise in land values, in turn, provided the middle class with an opportunity to realize a handsome profit on the sale of its central city residential property and thence to relocate itself on the edge of the city. The search for larger sites led industry to locate away from the congested central city industrial districts. Such a movement was coincident with the merger and acquisition activity within American industry at the time. This consolidation activity resulted in larger production units requiring correspondingly larger industrial sites. The actual location of such suburbanization was determined by such things as the physical environment, particularly topography, and by the preexisting inter- and intra-urban transportation networks--railroads, pikes and streetcar routes.

Late nineteenth century suburbanization, while by no means the first manifestation of the deconcentration of human activity within the city, had a profound effect on the areal expansion of the contemporary American city. The reasons for this were that over time residential suburbanization had progressively moved down the social hierarchy. From the Roman senators to the English aristocracy; from the Epsom merchants of early eighteenth century London (Tuan, 1974, pp. 230-234) to the 'solid' middle class of Philadelphia through the 1880's (Miller and

Siry, 1980). As residential suburbanization descended the social scale the areal effect on the city concomitantly increased. How far had suburbanization 'trickled down' by the beginning of the twentieth century in Knoxville, Tennessee? This question is addressed in the remainder of this thesis.

Purpose, Scope, and Significance

The study area chosen for detailed analysis of an early twentieth century suburb is Oakwood, Tennessee, billed as Knoxville's 'Magic Suburb' (Atkin, 1905, n.p.). It is located south of Sharp's Ridge and east of the Southern Railroad's Coster Repair Shops (Figure 1). Oakwood existed as a separate entity from 1902 until 1917, when it became part of the city of Knoxville. The purpose of this investigation is to analyze the extent to which Oakwood actually represented a middle class residential suburb of the city of Knoxville in the period which Adams (1970) has termed the "Electric Streetcar Era" (the late 1880s until 1920).

The study has two significant aspects. The first is that the literature discussed has never been consciously applied to Knoxville. Secondly, there is a need to know more about the historical geography of Knoxville, a city which has, until recently, been the subject of little detailed investigation (MacArthur, 1976; McDonald and Wheeler, 1983).

The investigation will rely primarily on occupational information on the area's in-migrants over the period 1902 to 1917. Locational

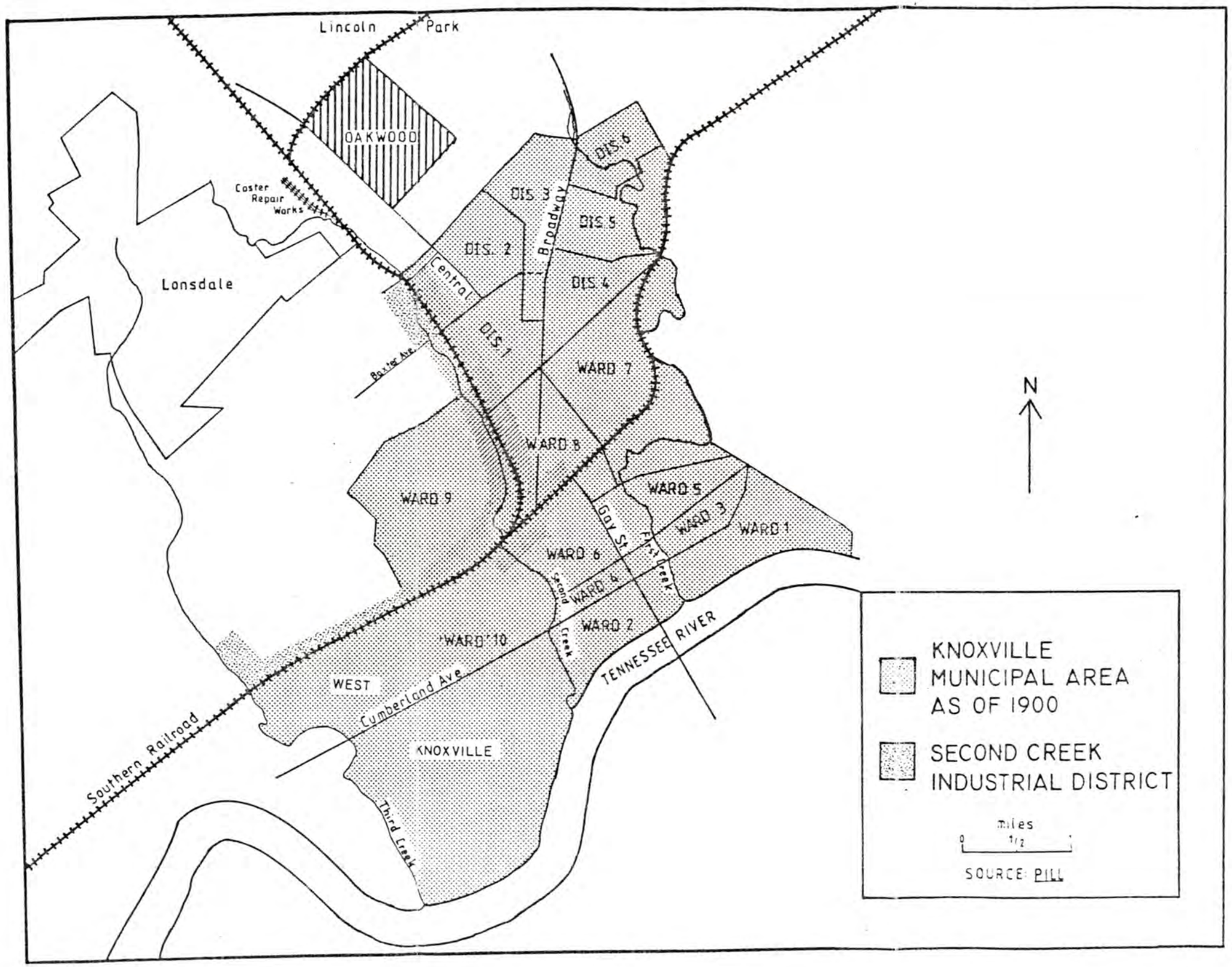

Figure 1. Knoxville: Districts and Wards as of 1900.

data on the source areas for in-migration to Oakwood can be obtained for approximately 40% of all in-migrants to the area over the fifteen-year period in question.

Data compiled from the manuscripts of the 1910 Census of Population provide useful cross-sectional information on Oakwood's residents. These descriptive data of Oakwood will be used, in conjunction with historical records and existing commentary about the city of Knoxville, to build up an accurate picture of the development of Oakwood, from which an attempt will be made to explain what the area represented in the Knoxville of the early twentieth century.

A history of Knoxville and Oakwood is presented in Chapter II. In Chapter III, occupational and locational characteristics of Oakwood's wage earners are analyzed. In addition, the actual physical development of the suburb is reviewed. Evidence presented in Chapter III is used in the final chapter to evaluate three hypotheses.

The first hypothesis is that Oakwood represented a railroading community in Knoxville. Such communities were a frequent sight on the American urban landscape of the nineteenth century (Litch, 1983, p. 228). This was partly a result of company dictates and partly due to the nature of the work--its long hours and relative isolation from other occupational groups.

The second hypothesis is that Oakwood is an example of an early twentieth century industrial suburb, a feature noted by contemporary observers (Taylor, 1915) but which has only recently attracted attention (Gordon, 1984).

The final hypothesis is that Oakwood was a suburb of the labor aristocracy. The labor aristocracy, as defined by Hobsbawm (1964, p. 273), is that segment of the working class in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain which aspired to the dominant values of the age. As such they attempted in many spheres of life to differentiate themselves from the rest of the working class (i.e., the proletariat composed of semi- and unskilled workers). In this study the concept is used with respect to the people who moved into Oakwood over the fifteen-year period in question, 1902-1917. This study concludes that the labor aristocracy is useful in explaining the social structure within American cities as well as within the cities of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain.

CHAPTER II

LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY DEVELOPMENT OF KNOXVILLE AND ITS "MAGIC" SUBURB, OAKWOOD

Introduction

Much of the literature in historical urban geography dealing with the dynamics of suburbanization is based upon the experience of the large nineteenth century cities of the American Northeast, particularly New York, Philadelphia and Boston (Jackson, 1975; Miller and Siry, 1981; Ward, 1969; Warner, 1962). Both smaller and more regionally distinct cities have received little attention. Much of the urban historical literature of the South, for example, focuses almost exclusively on racial residential segregation rather than residential segregation on the basis of social class.

A question to be asked in this study is whether Knoxville experienced the same forces that promoted suburbanization in Northeastern cities of the period. Was Knoxville, by the last two decades of the nineteenth century, an industrial city? Did it experience heavy population in-migration? In short, can the literature presented in Chapter I be realistically applied to the study of Knoxville's suburbanization in the late nineteenth, and early twentieth, century?

Knoxville's Development by 1900

Knoxville's most rapid period of growth and development occurred in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1880 and 1900 the population of the city increased by 237%, from 9,693 to 32,637 (MacArthur, 1976, p. 74). Though this increase was aided by the annexation of several adjoining towns--Mechanicsville (1883), West Knoxville and North Knoxville (1887) (Deaderick, Appendix B, p. 626)--such a rate of population increase highlights the extent to which Knoxville had become, by the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the preeminent urban center of the East Tennessee region.

It was during this period that the Southern Appalachian region was brought more fully into the American space economy. The region's abundant natural resources such as coal and timber, plus some locally important iron-ore and marble deposits, began to be exploited on a larger scale in this period. The progressive development of coal mining in the Cumberland Plateau and lumbering in and around the Great Smoky Mountains provided Knoxville with both a market to serve and natural resources to process. The former aided the town's early development of warehousing and other mercantile activity, while the latter stimulated the industrial sector which, by 1900, was the city's larger employer (Brownell, 1975, Table 1, p. 5; McDonald and Wheeler, 1983, p. 22).

The industrial sector of the city was intimately linked to the exploitation of the region's resources. The lumber trade stimulated

the development of planing mills and furniture companies which supplied the growing residential demand in the city and the region. Regionally mined coal and iron ore were processed in the city's iron works and used in its foundries and machine shops. The nearby deposits of marble were used in some of the city's public buildings and the residences of some of its more affluent citizens, but most of it was exported to cities outside the Appalachian region; cities such as Washington, Boston and Philadelphia.

The twenty-year period from 1880 to 1900 spawned many of the city's large industrial companies. Such firms as the W. J. Oliver Company, the Fair-Day Foundry Company, and the Sanford-Day Iron Works joined the preexisting Knoxville Iron Works as some of the city's larger, heavy-industrial employers. This period also saw the further development of the wood products industry. The early sawmilling and planing capacity of the city was augmented by the development of a furniture industry with such firms as the Knoxville Furniture Company and the Davis Furniture Company being established in this period (Deaderick, Appendix N, p. 617). The other major industrial employer in the city was the textile industry which was based on the growing city's most abundant resource, cheap unskilled labor.

All the large textile mills located in Knoxville were established during this twenty-year period between 1880 and 1900. Two of the largest, Brookside Mills and Knoxville Woolen Mills, began operation in 1887 and 1884, respectively. By 1905 these two mills employed over 2,100 people

making them some of the largest employers in the city (Rothrock, 1946, pp. 220-225).

By 1900 Knoxville was, therefore, very much an industrial city with 30.6% of its labor force employed in industry (McDonald and Wheeler, 1983, p. 22). Indeed, its level of industrialization distinguished it from other Southern cities such as Atlanta, Memphis, Nashville and even Birmingham (Brownell, 1975, Table 1, p. 5). As Brownell notes, Knoxville was atypical of many Southern cities in many crucial respects. It was very heavily involved in industrial production, more so in proportionate terms than even Birmingham, and its demography was markedly more native white American and less Black than other Southern cities. In 1900 it had the largest proportion of native-born white Americans of any of the aforementioned southern cities. This was even more true of the first three decades of the twentieth century (Brownell, 1975, Table 5, p. 15). Of the city's population of 32,637 in 1900, 24,380 or 74.7% were native-born white Americans.

With respect to the level of industrial activity Knoxville was, though a smaller city than the great urban centers of the Northeast, at least as heavily dependent upon this sector for employment. In its demographic aspects, however, Knoxville could hardly have been more different from its Northern counterparts. At a time when Northern cities were experiencing very heavy rates of foreign-born in-migration, Knoxville was attracting native whites from its predominantly Appalachian hinterland (McDonald and Wheeler, 1983, p. 24).

The relevance of this difference between Knoxville and the Northeastern cities with respect to suburbanization is debatable. The immigration of large numbers of non-Northwestern European immigrants into Northern cities has been noted as a subsidiary stimulus to the outmigration of the middle classes from the central city (Walker, 1978, p. 194). This foreign immigration was also an element in the further subdivision of the working class which was increasingly being divided by the rise of monopsonistic skill unions (Ward, 1969; Walker, 1978, footnote 187, p. 202). This division of the working class was related to the different cultural attributes of these Eastern and Southern European immigrants who were culturally quite different from the earlier migrants from Northwestern Europe.

Though Knoxville had predominantly Appalachian immigrants, not foreign-born ones, it is questionable whether they were any less exotic. Though the Appalachian immigrants arrived in an Appalachian city where other Appalachians already lived, their rural habits were perhaps as great a barrier to their incorporation into the rigors of city life as foreign nationality was to Northern immigrants (McDonald and Wheeler, 1983). Both groups represented a threat to the middle class to the extent that these new urban immigrants were unfamiliar with the rhythms and discipline of an urban lifestyle. This unfamiliarity was often expressed in high levels of social violence and in such things as lack of sufficient hygiene standards necessary for high density urban living.

It is argued that Knoxville's suburbanization can be usefully studied with reference to the factors outlined in Chapter I because, by

the turn of the century, Knoxville was a growing industrial city. Despite the fact that the vast majority of its in-migrants were poor, rural white Appalachian hill farmers, not Southern or Eastern Europeans as was the case in cities further north, their impact on housing conditions, on the internal subdivision of residential property, and on the areal expansion of central city working class districts was largely the same.

Knoxville's Industrial and Residential Geography: 1880-1900

The core of Knoxville's industry by the 1880s was situated adjacent to the railroad right-of-way of the Southern Railroad system (Figure 1, p. 14). These tracks define the northern boundary of the city's central business district, and in the latter half of the nineteenth century provided the northern limit of then independent West Knoxville, the area now commonly known as Fort Sanders. This agglomeration of industrial capacity along the tracks and up Second Creek was the second such concentration of manufacturing capacity in the city's history. Formerly First Creek, to the immediate east of the central business district, had been the town's area of 'manufactures.' First Creek was used as an energy source for the area's small firms and as an inexpensive means to transport their bulk commodities. Such manufacturers were small-scale concern engaged in the processing of lumber and grains particularly. Though the First Creek area

continued to exist as an area of small-scale manufacturing, it was the Second Creek area and the western extension along the Southern Railroad tracks which increasingly became the location of large-scale, factory-based industrial production. In this Second Creek area were located many of the much larger scale mills, iron-works, and machine shops mentioned earlier (Figure 1, p. 14).

Immediately surrounding this industrial district were the residential areas of the factory workers and their families, plus some localized proprietors such as grocers and druggists. In this period there was an intermixing of classes. Proprietors, engineers, and laborers could be found on the same streets. It is, however, most likely that there were micro-scale concentrations of middle class residents and working class residents within these central city districts. The reason why many have believed that no such concentrations occurred in the period has been because agglomeration by class occurred at a scale greater than the street scale but below the census ward scale (Zunz, 1980). Though Knoxville has not been properly analyzed for such block-level clustering it is presumed, drawing on Zunz's recent study of Detroit, that such micro-scale clustering did in fact exist (Zunz, 1982).

Assuming such clustering did exist in this working class residential area, somewhere between the street and census ward scale, quite distinct middle class suburbs were to be found at the edges of the city and beyond. The major such suburb before the turn of the century was

West Knoxville, which was incorporated into the city in 1889. The northern section of Old West Knoxville is now known as Fort Sanders, while its southern section comprises the large campus of the University of Tennessee. The development of the area into a high status residential area of nineteenth century Knoxville is briefly sketched by Bing (1981).*

By the turn of the century, as MacArthur comments:

> Knoxville, however, certainly looked like a city. . . . The large suburbs of North and West Knoxville had been annexed in 1898, and outside the new limits other developments were growing. Park City, Lonsdale, and Lincoln Park vied with each other as residential satellites on the fringes of town, and beyond these Fountain City was rapidly becoming a pleasant village (MacArthur, 1976, p. 45).

The location of these suburbs was influenced by many factors. The topography imposed broad limits to the spatial expansion of the city. By 1917, for example, the city had developed as far north as Sharp's Ridge, the high, steep ridge approximately two and a half miles north of the city. It appears logical in hindsight that the city would eventually expand on an east-west axis, as it had expanded up to Sharp's Ridge by the end of the first two decades of the twentieth century. Gray and Adams note, however, "Within the limits of its natural features,

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*I would, however, disagree with Bing's assessment that all suburbs of the period necessarily required streetcar service, a viewpoint expressed in the following remark, "The suburban character of West Knoxville was indicated by the orientation of the streetcar route to the central business district" (Bing, 1981, p. 24). Simply because an area had a streetcar service does not necessarily mean it was a 'streetcar suburb,' a major theme underlying the present study.

Knoxville was shaped by man" (Gray and Adams, 1976, p. 111). They go on to comment, quoting from the 1930 Bartholomew report, A Comprehensive City Plan for Knoxville, that it was in this streetcar ear (1880-1920) that:

> land subdividers unwittingly laid out streets according to their own ideas and did not realize that they were building the framework for a city (Gray and Adams, 1976, p. 111, quoting Bartholomew, 1930, p. 99).

These "land subdividers" acted in concert with the operators of the city's streetcar system, a fact that is mentioned in the literature (Warner, 1962, pp. 29-34 et passim). In the case of Knoxville, this collusion between developers and transit operators is corroborated by the representative of the bondholders of the Knoxville Electric Street Railway Company during that firm's bankruptcy in 1895 (Patton, 1976, p. 219).

Knoxville's Streetcar System to the Turn of the Century

Knoxville's first streetcar service began on April 14, 1876. It was a muledrawn service which ran along Gay Street between Main and Jackson Avenues. It remained a rather technologically primitive and spatially limited service until the late 1880s when three companies were granted franchises by the city council to operate services to West Knoxville and the eastern residential development of Edgewood (Patton, 1976, pp. 216-217).

In May of 1890 a steam railroad link was established between Knoxville and Fountain City, a small country town eight miles north of

the city. The railway link, known as the Fountain City 'Dummy Line,' began to transform Fountain City into a growing exurban residential and leisure community (Patton, 1976, p. 217). Such development of a railway-based exurban community is rather late in comparison to larger Northern cities (Muller, 1981, pp. 27-28). This delay in commuter lines may indicate the role of city size in the chronology of suburban and exurban growth.

The electric streetcar was introduced into Knoxville in 1890. With much fanfare the first electric streetcar transported the city's 'leading citizens' to Lake Ottosse (now known as Chilhowee Park) for supper and congratulatory toasts on May Day of that year. In sharp contrast to the Fountain City railway line, the introduction of the electric streetcar to the city, only two years after introduction of the first service in the nation in Richmond, Virginia, substantiates Ward's observation regarding the rapidity of the diffusion of this transportation innovation in the United States (Ward, 1964).

As Ward (1964, pp. 130-131) and Walker (1978, p. 200) have pointed out, these streetcar systems tended to overextend their services in an attempt to stimulate a demand via the provision of a transit supply. Many streetcar companies of the time, including The Knoxville Electric Street Railway Company, went bankrupt in the 1890s, partly as a result of this overextention of streetcar services. In Knoxville this bankruptcy occurred in 1895 (Patton, 1976, p. 219). During this period, when the company was being reorganized for subsequent resale in four

parts, Colonel Cornelius Columbus Howell (who represented the Company's bondholders) made a geographically candid observation regarding the mode of operation of the company:

> The mileage of the road is as great now as it should be, but some of the lines are not on the proper streets. The line has been built too much in the interest of real estate investors and not enough in the interests of the people. . . . (Patton, 1976, p. 219).

Such an observation highlights the extent to which streetcar investments were speculatively linked to suburban residential developments and not merely to the provision of urban transportation per se, a point already noted by Ward (1964) and Walker (1978). There was a noticeable paucity of service to the southeastern part of the city, the predominantly Black section (Figure 2). Likewise, Broadway and the area south of West Baxter Avenue were badly served, while lines in what was formerly West Knoxville continue on out into undeveloped land.

Despite the seeming misallocation of lines, by the turn of the century Knoxville had an extensive electric streetcar system serving an urban population of around 50,000, 22,637 of whom were located within the city's boundaries (Knoxville City Directory, 1900). Such a system was more evidence for the city's elite to present to potential investors in defense of their view of Knoxville's predestined position as the South's major industrial center (Chamber of Commerce, 1900). As both Brownell (1975), and McDonald and Wheeler (1983) have noted, the city faced the new century with the proof of a solid and hard-working past and a nervous hope for continued growth in the future. It was this

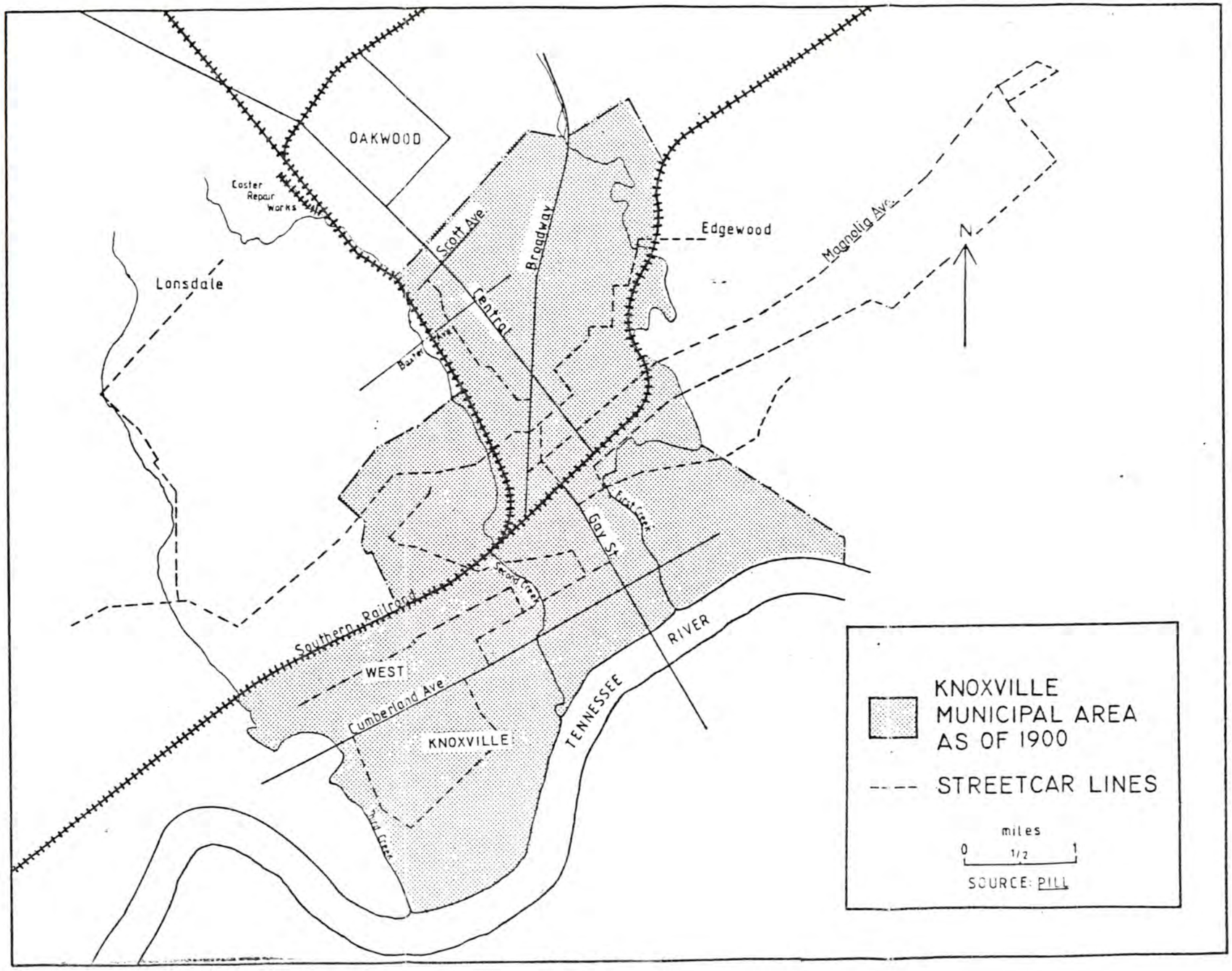

Figure 2. Map of Knoxville City Boundaries and Streetcar Lines as of 1900.

position which underlay the city's grandiose civic boosterism of the time, a boosterism which had the wholehearted support of Clay Brown Atkin, the developer of Oakwood (Hanlon, 1921, p. 71).

Oakwood and Its Developer Clay Brown Atkin

The residential development of Oakwood is approximately two miles north of Knoxville's central business district and immediately east of Southern Railroad's Coster Car Repair Shops (Figure 2). The Coster shops defined the northern limit of Knoxville's industrial zone at the turn of the century. The northern boundary of Oakwood was the then Knoxville, Cumberland Gap and Louisville Railroad, which by 1905 was under the ownership of the Southern Railroad system. To the northeast lay Lincoln Park, a suburb which had developed slightly before Oakwood. Immediately south of Oakwood lay the residential and industrial area of North Knoxville and the several streets to the north of the municipal boundary.

Oakwood, for the most part, lies on a flat area to the south of Sharp's Ridge. Its two southernmost streets--Columbia and Churchwell Avenues--are located toward the brow of a ridge which formerly represented the northern limit of Knoxville's built-up area. Churchwell Avenue is located at the crest of this ridge and looks down upon the rest of the subdivision which lies to the northeast. A map of the Oakwood development appears in a 1905 promotional brochure produced by C. B. Atkin (Figure 3). A photograph from the same brochure illustrates

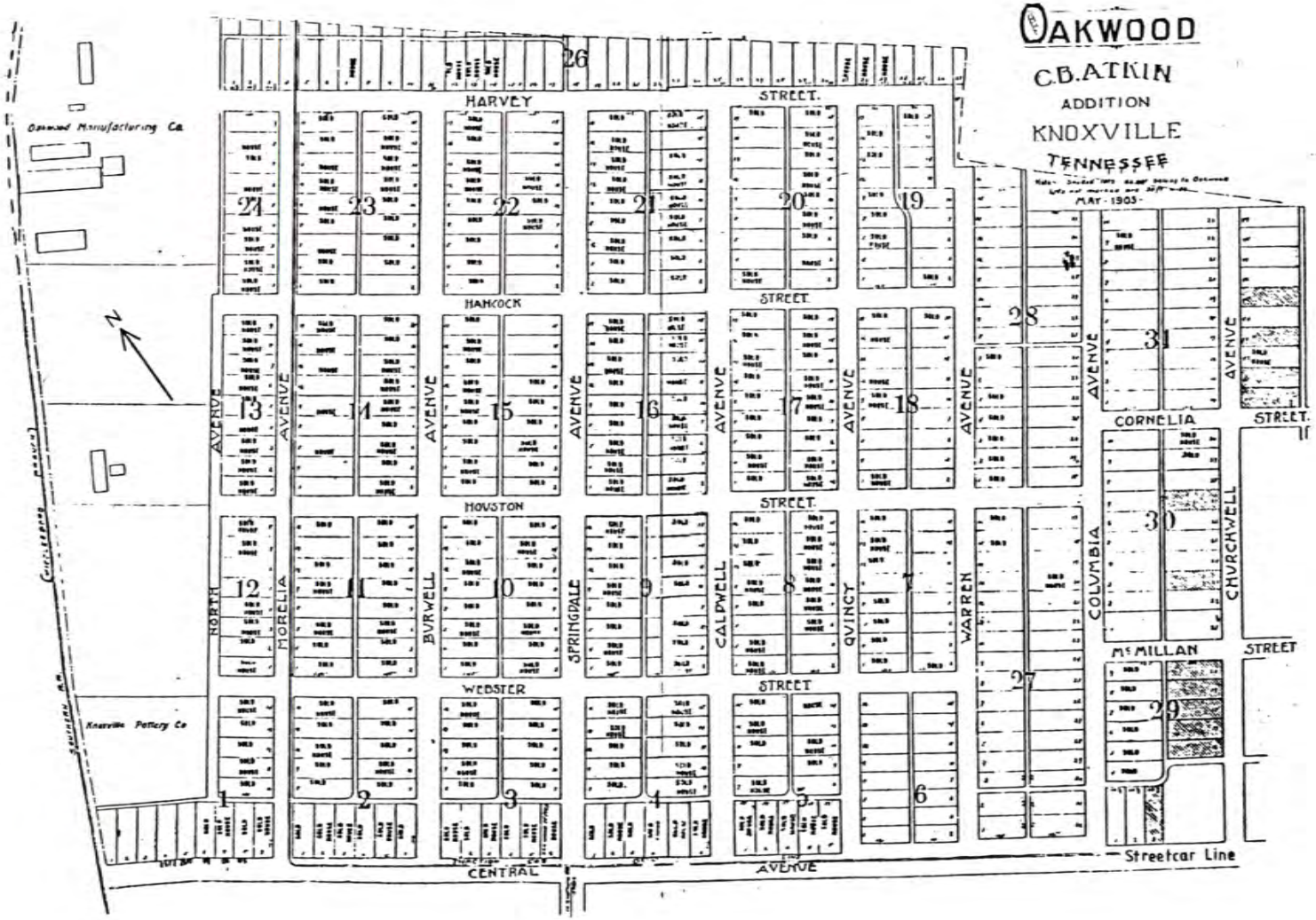

Figure 3. Map of Oakwood Addition, 1905.

Oakwood's layout as viewed from Churchwell Avenue, the highest part of the suburb (Figure 4).

The major part of the site was purchased on September 13, 1901, by Clay Brown Atkin, a manufacturer of furniture and hardwood mantels (Knox County Courthouse, Registrar of Deeds, Warranty Deed Book, No. 166, p. 416). Atkin purchased the property from the Trustees of the late Sophia M. Churchwell, who had subdivided the family property prior to her death (Knox County Courthouse, Probate Office, Will Book Three, 1895-1901, pp. 284-285).

The Churchwells were a prominent Knoxville family who owned a large amount of land north of the city. In the twenty years prior to the Atkin purchase they had sold a considerable amount of land to railroad companies and residential developers. In 1883 they had sold rights-of-way to the Knoxville and Ohio Railroad Company for one cent; in 1888 the Beaumont Real Estate Company purchased sixty acres for $2,500. Later still they sold several lots to the Lonsdale Land Company which developed a suburb to the west of the Coster shops (Knox County Courthouse, Registrar of Deeds, Warranty Deed Book No. 73, p. 478; No. 85, p. 541; No. 97, p. 142; No. 109, p. 61; No. 113, p. 59).

Clay Brown Atkin was an important businessman in turn-of-the-century Knoxville, even though today he rarely rates a mention in the city's historical literature. He took control of his father's various business interests in 1887, in partnership with his brother. Within two years this partnership was dissolved and Clay Brown took control of

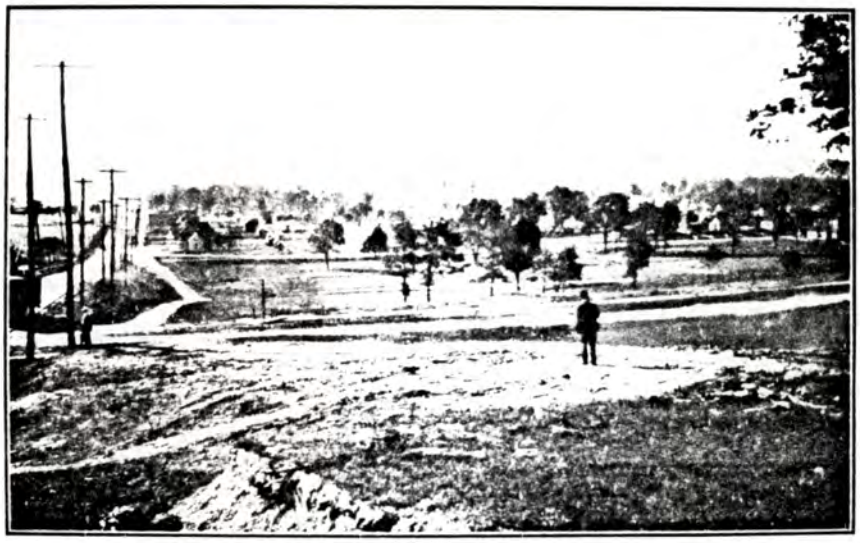

Figure 4. Oakwood from Hilltop, May, 1905.

Source: Atkin, 1905, n.p.

the furniture-making part of the business which had a plant at 206 South Gay Street. His firm, the C. B. Atkin Company, began to specialize in the manufacture of hardwood mantels. With the purchase of the property from the Churchwell estate (an area commonly known as the 'Flatwoods'), Atkin was able to eventually relocate the manufacture of these mantels to the Oakwood site (Howell, 1976, pp. 489-490). As well as being able to relocate his own business, Atkin developed a residential area consisting of 531 lots, plus some larger lots for industrial uses.

Clay Brown Atkin was a character who embodied the entrepreneurial spirit of Knoxville in the final two decades of the nineteenth century. By 1908 he had built his mantel-making business into the largest such enterprise in the world (according to his own advertisements which appeared in the City Directory of the time). Later he was also to become a director of the East Tennessee National Bank and of the city's first large exposition, the Appalachian Exhibition of 1910. He was also the owner of two of the city's largest hotels, one of its theatres, and, from 1905 onwards, the Fountain City Land Company and its associated steam link to Knoxville. In short, he was a major figure in the economy of the city. By 1921 he was reputed to be the largest single taxpayer in Knox County and one of its largest landowners (Hanlon, 1921, p. 71). Why his position remains somewhat obscure today in the city's local history probably reflects the fact that he shunned direct involvement in the turbulent city politics of the period.

The Churchwell property, the land on which Oakwood was later to develop, was purchased for $1,500; $13.40 per acre. The property, as

described in the deed, had a 1,297 foot frontage on the northeastern side of Central Avenue, the city's major arterial route to the northwest (Knox County Courthouse, Registrar of Deeds, Warranty Deed Book, No. 166, p. 461). Atkin subdivided the property into 531 residential lots, with the industrial lots later becoming the sites of the Knoxville Pottery Company, W. O. Slane Glass Company, the Oakwood Coal and Fuel Company, as well as Atkin's own Oakwood Manufacturing Company (Sanborn Map, 1917, Plates 69, 70, and 72).

The subdivision was aligned with the major east-west streets to the immediate south, but grew from north to south, with Morelia Avenue being the first street developed (Figure 3). It was this street which was later to have an electric streetcar run along its entire length. This streetcar service, which was not present until 1903, was prominently featured in the promotion of the subdivision. Fortuitiously, a complete photographic record survives of the area's development from a densely wooded area, in 1902, to one of a Knoxvillian Arcadia in 1905 (Atkin, 1905, n.p.). This photographic record is contained in the City Directories of the early 1900s and in an intriguing pormotional booklet entitled, Oakwood, The Magic Suburb with All City Conveniences (Atkin, 1905, n.p.). As this booklet proclaimed:

> This little Booklet shows how a forest of One Hundred and Thirty-One Acres has been developed into a Beautiful Suburb of nearly Two Hundred Homes, inside of Three Years. Read it carefully. It is part of Knoxville's History and will interest you (Atkin, 1905, n.p.).

What is indeed interesting about the promotional literature concerning Oakwood was the way in which Atkin attempted to promote the

subdivision as the location of Knoxville's middle class. As the Knoxville Sentinel later commented in a column celebrating Atkin's birthday, the subdivision:

> . . . did not become Oakwood, the home of the men who worked in the [Coster Repair] shops [but] it is now the home of hundreds of business, professional and moneyed men. . . . (Knoxville Sentinel, December 27, 1913).

This promotional description of Oakwood can be challenged on the basis of the area's occupational composition. In the next two chapters evidence is presented which proves the contrary to be true; Oakwood was a working class industrial suburb. What Oakwood, in fact, represented was much more complex than the simple designation 'streetcar suburb' would suggest.

The second interesting thing about Oakwood's promotional literature is the way in which it consciously uses the language and the images of the Arcadian myth in order to attract potential buyers (Figure 5). Atkin's brochure (Atkin, 1905, n.p.) refers to a "thriving village" (presumably) 'hewn' from "acres of forest," the location of "cozy homes," "pretty homes" and "beautiful cottages" (Atkin, 1905, n.p.). Likewise the photographs which accompany his advertising in both his own promotional brochure and the various advertisements in the Knoxville City Directories of the time give the impression of small town America (Figure 5). A conscious goal of Atkin was to promote and sell his subdivision within the existing cultural paradigm within which residential locational decisions were made.

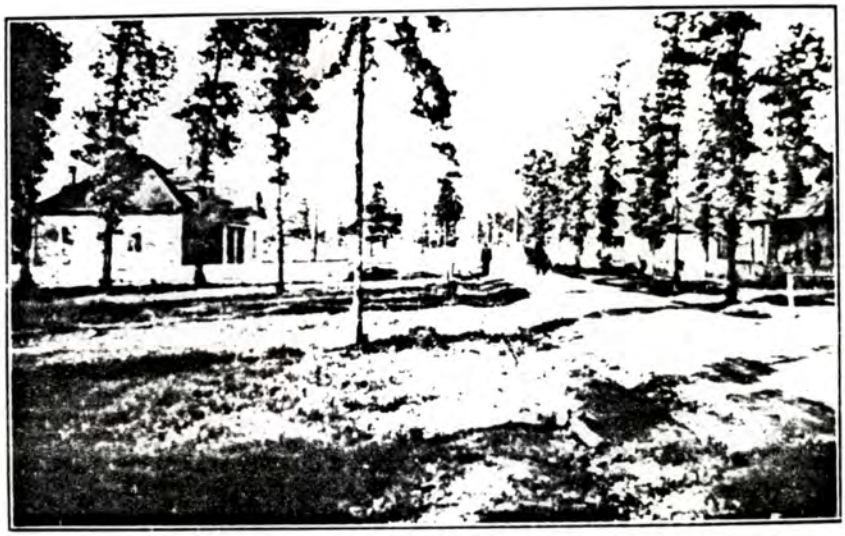

Figure 5. Burwell Avenue, Oakwood, 1905: "A beautiful shaded street . . ."

Source: Atkin, 1905, n.p.

Indeed, Oakwood was very much a planned 'suburb' and for its time must have been quite an attractive development standing in stark contrast to the conditions in and around the central city working district two miles or so to the south. These conditions were surveyed in 1918 by Welles who characterized many parts of this district as areas of "poverty, filth and squalor" (Welles, 1919, p. 5). Yet fifteen years previously Atkin could proudly boast in his own inimitible style:

> Oakwood is the only suburb Knoxville ever had where all the improvements were made before a single lot was ever offered for sale. Good streets, with water mains already laid. Electric cars every fifteen minutes. Electric lights and gas. No shacks will be allowed at Oakwood (Atkin, 1905, n.p.).

In many respects Oakwood was a pioneering suburb with its own private building regulations contained within the purchase agreement. All homes had to be set back at least twenty-five feet from the lot front which, according to the brochure, "protects your view" (Atkin, 1905, n.p.). Each lot was an almost uniform 50 by 140 feet and was to be used for no more than one dwelling. Another stipulation contained in the purchase agreement was the minimum value of the property to be built, which varied from a low of $250 to a high of $600 depending upon which street in the subdivision the lot was located (Knox County Courthouse, Registrar of Deeds, Warranty Deed Book, No. 175, p. 195 and various others). In its planned aspects, therefore, Oakwood was not unlike the vast residential developments that were to spread across the landscape of urban America in the post World War II era.

The following chapters will analyze to what extent Oakwood was what it claimed to be. Secondly, the way in which the subdivision was

promoted and how it actually developed will highlight the extent to which the noted Arcadian myth, so potent a force in suburban residential choice in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was one which transcended the class boundary between the middle classes and a particular segment of the working class, the aristocracy of labor.

CHAPTER III

A LOCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS OF OAKWOOD RESIDENTS: 1902-1917

Introduction

In the fifteen-year period, from 1902-1917, Oakwood developed from a "virgin forest" (Knoxville City Directory, 1904, p. 61) into an area of 330 homes, numerous local businesses and several large factories (Sanborn Insurance Company Maps, 1917, Plates 69, 70, and 72). Oakwood was an undeveloped parcel of land on the northernmost edge of Knoxville's built-up area in 1900. By 1917, however, it was part of the city proper having been annexed along with the northern suburbs of Lonsdale, Park City, and Mountain View (Deaderick, 1976, Appendix B, p. 626).

The questions to be asked about Oakwood and its residents fall into three categories. First are locational questions concerning the previous addresses of Oakwood residents within the Knoxville urban area. Secondly are questions concerning the occupational status of the area's residents both prior to, and after, their move to Oakwood. To what extent was residential relocation to Oakwood coincident with either employment change or changes in occupational status? Finally, questions pertaining to the actual development of the area over the fifteen-year period will be addressed.

The Locational Characteristics of Oakwood's Residents: 1902-1917

Between 1902 and 1917 approximately 1,000 families (and a few boarders) moved into Oakwood. Of these, 400 had previous Knoxville addresses that could be identified. Only 322 of the 400 could, however, be precisely located within the Knoxville area. This group of 322 residents will hereafter be referred to as the "mappable" group, while the 600 in-migrants who were not located in the Knoxville City Directory the year prior to their residency in Oakwood will be referred to as the "non-mappable group" (see Appendix A for details of data collection method, data coverage, and data comparability).

The mappable in-migrants were further subdivided into two groups based on whether they moved to Oakwood from a previous residence within, or outside, the city (Table I). Over the fifteen-year period (1902-1917) 59% of the mappable group came from within the city's municipal boundaries. When this figure is divided into three consecutive five-year periods, however, this percentage consistently falls and the percentage of migrants migrating from places outside the city concomitantly increases. Indeed, after 1912, more people were moving into Oakwood from outside the city than from within, mainly from areas which skirted Knoxville's northern boundaries.

If the locational data are rearranged into areas corresponding to the ward and district boundaries of the city in 1900, the concentrated nature of the source areas is readily apparent (Table II). Of the 193

Table I. Source Area of Mappable[1] In-Migrants to Oakwood; 1902-1917 (by Five-Year Intervals)

	1902-1907		1907-1912		1912-1917			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Total	Percent
City of Knoxville[2]	83	72	73	56	37	45	193	59
Outside of Knoxville	33	28	57	44	45	55	135	41
Total	116		130		82		326	

[1]For definition see text and Appendix A.

[2]Municipal boundaries as constituted in 1900 (Deaderick, 1976, Appendix B, p. 626 and Figure 2 in text.

Source: Knoxville City Directory, 1902 through 1917.

Table II. Source Areas of 193 In-Migrants to Oakwood from Knoxville, by City Ward and District; 1902-1917 (by Five-Year Intervals)

	1902-1907		1907-1912		1912-1917		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Ward[1]								
1	2	2.4	--	--	1	2.7	3	1.6
2	--	--						
3	1	1.2	2	2.7			3	1.6
4	--	--	1	1.4	2	5.4	3	1.6
5	1	1.2	2	2.7	--	--	3	1.6
6	5	6.0	1	1.4	2	5.4	8	4.1
7	14	16.9	12	16.4	4	10.8	30	15.5
8	14	16.9	8	11.0	1	2.7	23	11.9
9	17	20.5	13	17.8	5	13.5	35	18.1
10[2]	5	6.0	7	9.6	4	10.8	16	8.3
District								
1	6	7.2	7	9.6	4	10.8	17	8.8
2	12	14.5	15	20.5	7	18.9	34	17.6
3	3	3.6	2	2.7	4	10.8	9	4.7
4	--	--	1	1.4	--	--	1	0.5
5	3	3.6	2	2.7	1	2.7	6	3.1
6	--	--	--	--	2	5.4	2	1.0
Total	83	100	73	100	37	100	193	100

[1]Wards and Districts as shown on the Pill Map of Knoxville and Suburbs, 1895. This was two years prior to the city's annexation of West Knoxville (denoted above as Ward 10) and North Knoxville (Districts 1 to 6). Refer to Figure 1, page 14.

[2]Refers to the boundaries of West Knoxville as shown on the Pill Map of Knoxville and Suburbs, 1895.

Source: Knoxville City Directory, 1902 through 1917.

in-migrants who had previous addresses within the municipal boundaries of the city in 1900, 122 or 63% came from three of the city's wards and one of its districts (Figure 1, p. 14). All of these four major source areas--Wards 7, 8, 9, and District 2--are contiguous to either the city's industrial district which follows the Southern Railroad tracks north along Second Creek or the earlier district of manufacturers along First Creek. When the data are analyzed over time, there is a noticeable decline in the proportion of Oakwood in-migrants migrating from these areas. In the first period (1902-1907) these four areas (i.e., Wards 7, 8, 9 and District 2) provide 69% of all migrants whose previous addresses could be precisely located within the city. This figure falls off in the second period, 1907 to 1912, to 53%. This figure declines further to 45% between 1912 and 1917. Over time, therefore, there was a lowered concentration of migrants to Oakwood from these four areas within the city. In total, however, Wards 7, 8, 9 and District 2 remain the largest city source areas of Oakwood in-migrants.

Although the proportion of in-migrants to Oakwood from the city decreased over time with the city's outlying areas providing Oakwood with an increased amount of new residents, one must be careful in the interpretation of such data. These non-city source areas of Oakwood migrants are not proof of intra-suburban residential movement. Before intra-suburban movement can be inferred, the actual geographic location of these non-city source areas must be determined.

The 1900 ward and district boundaries are inadequate to identify people who reside in the built-up portion of the urban area outside of

the municipal boundaries. In order to more clearly identify the source areas of all migrants to Oakwood, the data were reorganized into six areas which include the entire Knoxville urban area (Figure 6). The number of areas into which the built-up area has been subdivided was arbitrary, but an attempt was made to assure that the boundaries of these six areas conformed as closely as possible to the 1900 ward and district boundaries in the portion of the built-up area which lay within the city limits. Area One is the area to the east of Gay Street and south of the western spur of the Southern Railroad, plus the area south of the Tennessee River. Area Two corresponds to the boundaries of West Knoxville before it was incorporated into the city. Area Three is the area which is bounded by the Southern Railroad tracks on both its southern and eastern sides, and which stretches as far north as West Baxter Avenue. Area Four is south of East Baxter Avenue, south of Broadway and north of the eastern branch of the Southern Railroad tracks. Area Five is north of Baxter Avenue and immediately south of Oakwood. The final area, Area Six, represents the two suburbs of Lonsdale and Lincoln Park which are, respectively, west and northeast of Oakwood.

This regionalization of the data is useful to the extent that it depicts all the source areas of the 322 mappable in-migrants over the fifteen-year period in question. The regionalization is further validated by its close correlation to the built-up areas of the city at the turn of the century as shown on the Pill Map of 1895. Another

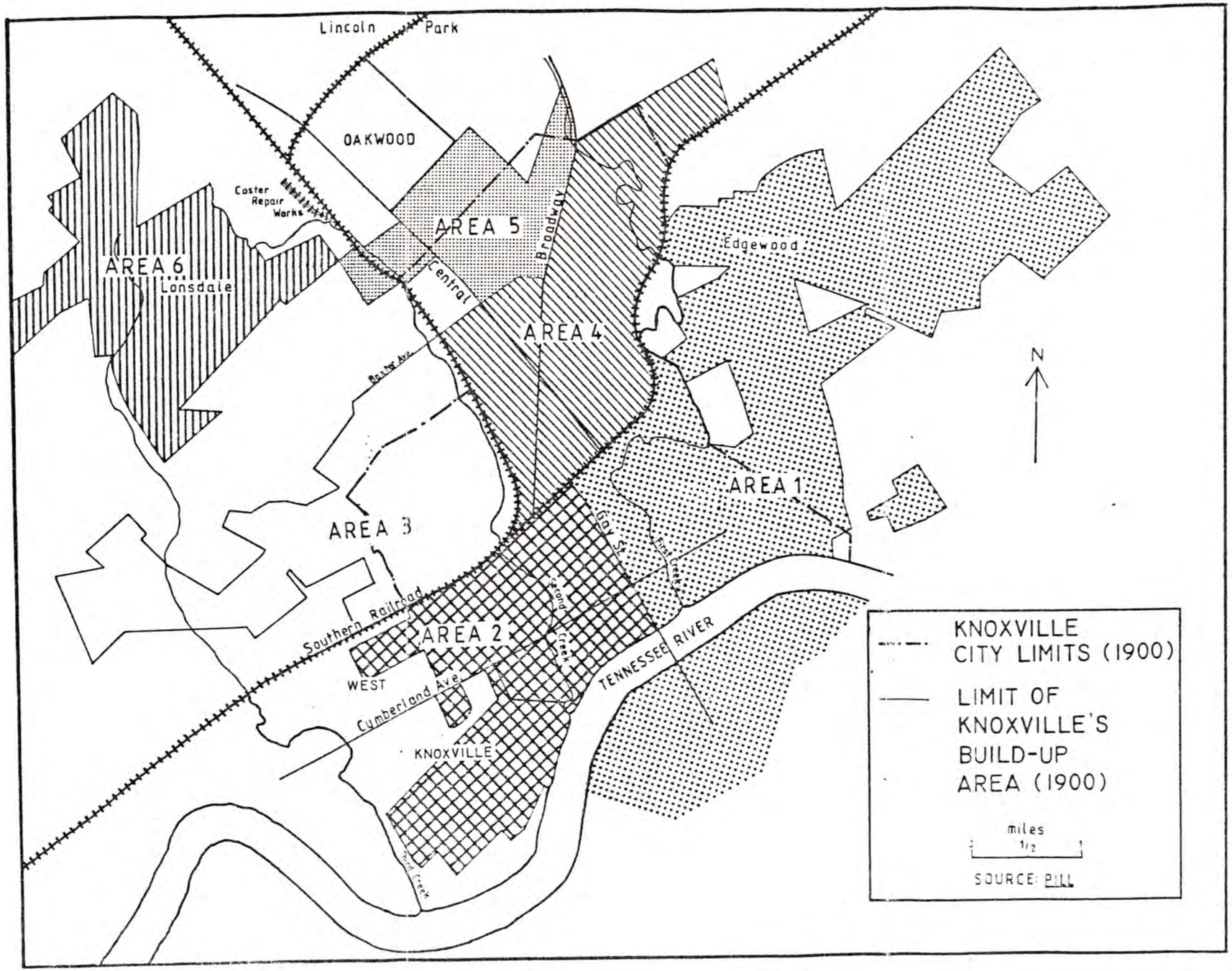

Figure 6. Areal Division of Knoxville's Built-Up Area as of 1900.

reason why the data are subdivided into six areas rather than using the previously presented ward and district regionalization is that Knoxville's internal population distribution, by ward and district, is not reported for the 1900 Census of Population. It was thus considered desirable to include all 322 in-migrants in the analysis rather than just those 193 migrants to Oakwood who came from within the city of Knoxville.

The concentration of in-migrants to Oakwood from the area north of the Southern Railroad tracks and to the east of Second Creek is quite noticeable. This area was the eastern section of the working class residential district which was adjacent to the Second Creek industrial area. In part this concentration is to be expected as this district was one of the most densely populated parts of the city. This is shown on the Pill Map of 1895 where actual plot sizes in the differing areas of the city are shown. This residential area adjacent to the industrial district which comprises Areas Four and Five in Table III supplied, in each of the three five-year time periods, over 50% of all in-migrants to Oakwood whose prior addresses could be accurately assessed. The majority of this residential district (i.e., Areas Four and Five) lay within the city's boundaries, but three streets--Oldham, Emerald and Oak Avenues--were outside the city until they were annexed along with Oakwood in 1917. Though this part of the residential district was outside of the municipal boundaries of Knoxville and was only three streets wide, it provided Oakwood with 52 or nearly 16% of all mappable in-migrants between 1902 and 1917.

Table III. Source of In-Migrants to Oakwood by Areas; 1902-1917 (by Five-Year Intervals)

	1902-1907		1907-1912		1912-1917		Total	
Area[1]	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	12	10	17	13	12	14	41	12
2	10	9	9	7	8	9	27	8
3	20	17	23	18	12	14	55	17
4	36	31	32	25	16	19	84	25
5	27	23	35	27	25	29	87	26
6	12	10	13	10	13	15	38	11
Total	117		129		86		332	

[1]For areal definition see text or refer to Figure 6.

Source: Knoxville City Directory, 1902 through 1917.

When these migration data are analyzed over time, there appears to be no significant differences in origin areas, at least at the scale of the six areas chosen. When these migration data are mapped, it becomes clearer that Oakwood was primarily populated by people who were moving out from the older portions of the city (Figures 7, 8, and 9). The areas surrounding the Second Creek industrial district provided the majority of all these in-migrants, both 'in-city' and 'out-of-city' ones. Areas outside of the city limits, as demarcated in 1900, provided 41% of all migrants over the period. When a more geographically detailed examination of the patterns was conducted, it was clear that many of these 'non-city' migrants tended to come from areas which were just outside the city limits near the older residential neighborhoods that surrounded the Second Creek industrial district. For the most part, the in-migrants to Oakwood came from areas immediately to its south illustrating a definite directional bias in this intra-urban migration, a feature which has been noted in the urban geographical literature (Adams, 1969).

The corollary to this directional bias is the noticeable lack of migrants from areas in the part of the city between the southernmost extent of the Southern Railroad tracks and the Tennessee River. This area comprised the central business district of the city which, at the time, still had a residential, as well as a commercial, function. The nearby Black section of the city which was east of the central business district, across First Creek, is an area which produced no 'in-city'

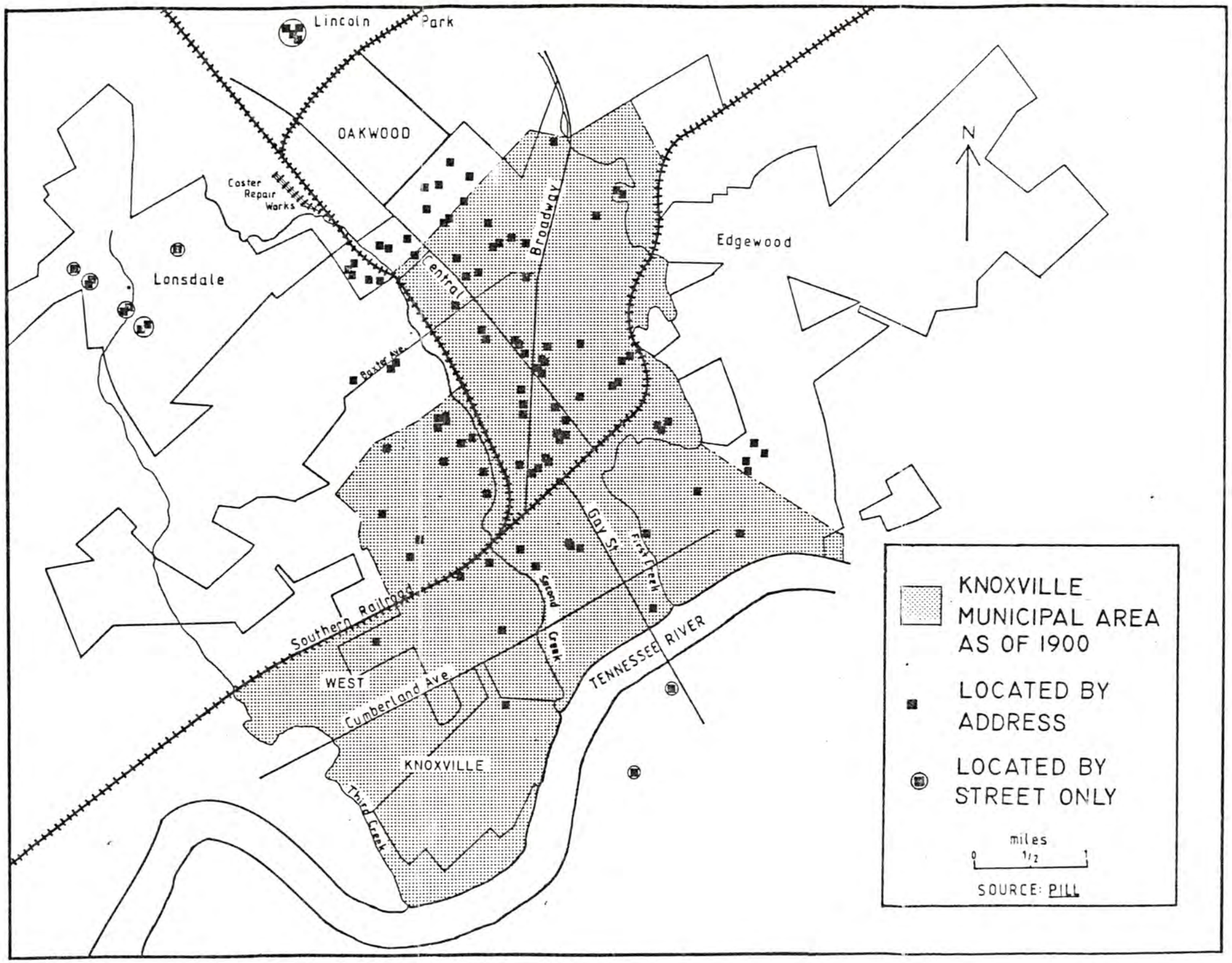

Figure 7. Source Areas of Migrants to Oakwood: 1902-1907.

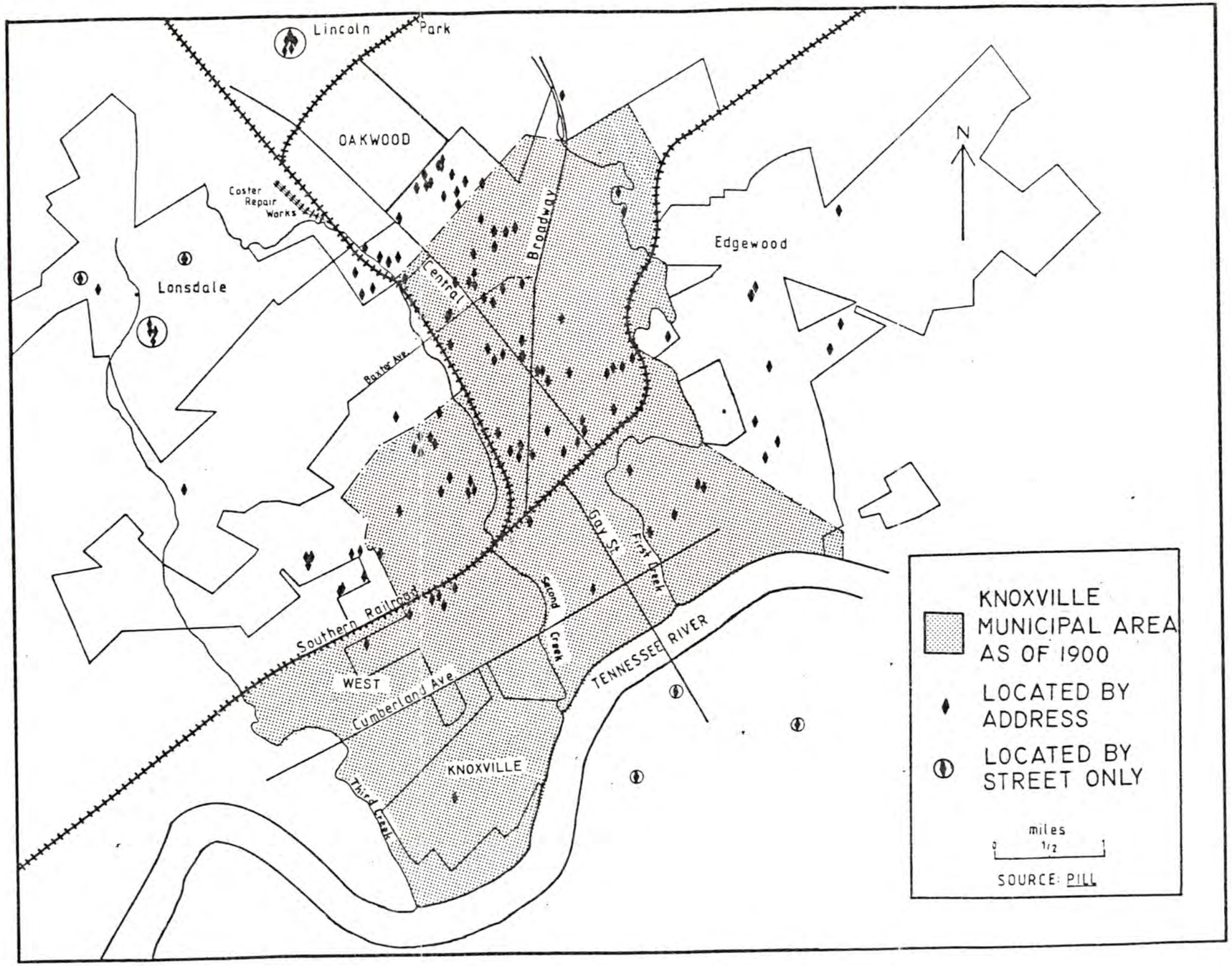

Figure 8. Source Areas of Migrants to Oakwood: 1907-1912.

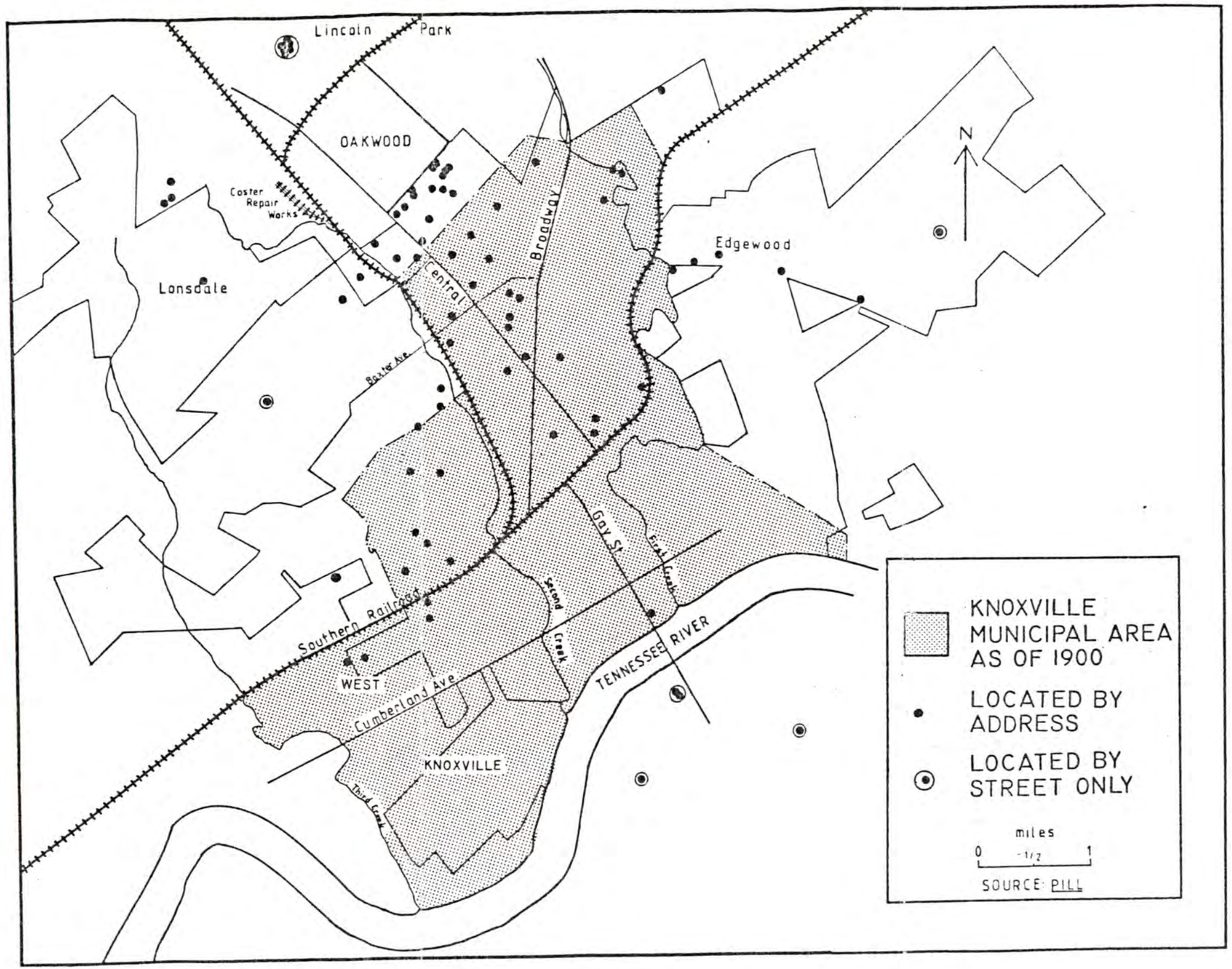

Figure 9. Source Areas of Migrants to Oakwood: 1912-1917.

migrants to Oakwood over the study period. This is also true for large parts of the suburbs to the northeast of the city, which were well developed by 1895 (Pill Map of Knoxville and Suburbs, 1895).

West Knoxville, the city's first suburb, did not produce many Oakwood in-migrants. What migrants it did produce came mostly from its northernmost streets, and not the more prestigious addresses which lay to the south.

Another area which did not produce many Oakwood in-migrants was the area around Knoxville College. This area, located north of Asylum Street, to the west of the city, was a predominantly Black residential section: over the entire fifteen-year study period not one of Oakwood's thousand or so in-migrants was Black.

The final part of the city which produced no migrants was that part of Area One to the south of the Tennessee River. This area, now known as South Knoxville, had hardly developed by the turn of the century and was, therefore, largely a low density non-urban area.

In summary, the mapped data presented on Figures 7, 8, and 9 substantiate that Oakwood primarily attracted people who lived within a corridor or sector of the city, an area which corresponded to the residential districts that lay between First and Second Creeks and north of the Southern Railroad rights-of-way which defined the northern limit of the city's central business district.

The Significance of Oakwood Residents Who Could Not Be Located by Previous Address

Approximately 670 families (heads-of-household and a few boarders) were identified as having had no previous address in the city. That is, the year prior to their residency in Oakwood, they were not listed in the appropriate City Directory. It is unlikely that so many people had never been resident in the city at some point in their lives. What these people may represent are those who made frequent movements between their rural 'home-place' and the city. This rural-urban linkage would have been particularly significant in a city like Knoxville where the vast majority of its urban immigrants came from the adjacent rural areas of Appalachia. This movement in and out of the city may have reflected either fluctuations in the local economy or the extent to which the urban populace had not fully settled into a stable urban lifestyle, or some combination of the two.

Another reason that these Oakwood residents could not be identified by their previous city address may be related to the occupation of the residents of Oakwood and the degree of geographic mobility associated with their employment. To answer these questions, attention now turns to an occupational analysis of Oakwood in-migrants.

The Occupational Characteristics of the Source Areas of Oakwood Migrants: 1902-1917

What were the occupational compositions of the areas which the migrants left in order to move to Oakwood? Had these migrants left

neighborhoods in the central city which had significant occupational status intermixing at the streetfront scale? Or, were these migrants' new Oakwood neighbors much the same as the neighbors that they had left behind in the central city?

Table IV indicates the occupational composition of the six areas which are shown on Figure 6, p. 45. A ten percent random (spatial) sample was taken from each area, proportional to the number of migrants that left the area for Oakwood over the study period. The occupational status of the neighbors on the same streetside, and in the same block, was compiled for each of the sample streets in the year that the move took place. These data were then collated for the area as a whole in order that a generalized occupational mapping could be presented for the city as a whole over the fifteen-year period in question. Since streetfront information was collected for the year in which the migrant moved, the data present an accurate assessment of the occupational composition of pre-move neighbors.

What Table IV shows is that in-migrants to Oakwood left a variety of areas in which occupational status varied quite sharply. Some areas, like Area One, had relatively large high white collar groups while others, Area Three for example, had very large semi- or unskilled populations. The major observation, however, is that no source area had as large a skilled labor force as Oakwood, nor as small a semi- or unskilled population. Though these data should be taken as quite impressionistic, it does appear that Oakwood represented for many of its in-migrants, a

Table IV. Occupational Status of Streetside Neighbors of In-Migrants to Oakwood Prior to Their Move[1]

Occupational Status	Areas[2] 1	2	3	4	5	6[3]	Oakwood[4]
% High White Collar	13.3	7.7	2.8	6.5	7.2	--	3.4
% Low White Collar	6.7	15.4	25.0	28.3	14.5	--	9.8
% Skilled Labor	53.3	61.5	38.9	37.0	54.5		77.4
% Semi- or Unskilled Labor	26.7	15.4	33.3	28.3	23.6	--	9.4

[1]Data based on a ten percent random sample of all migrants per source area. Neighbors refer to persons on the same street frontage as that of the migrant in the same year as the move to Oakwood took place. The table thus reflects the occupational status of the neighbors whom the migrant left and time periods from which migrations to Oakwood took place.

[2]Areas, as shown, in Figure 6, p. 45.

[3]Information for both Lonsdale and Lincoln Park was not given by street address for the sample group.

[4]Refers to data collected from the manuscripts of the 1910, Census of Population.

Source: Knoxville City Directory, 1902 through 1917.

very different sort of neighborhood than the one from which they had just come.

An Occupational Analysis of Oakwood Residents: 1902-1917

Regardless of whether the previous residence of an Oakwood in-migrant could be located or not, post-move occupational data are available for approximately 1,000 Oakwood in-migrants. These data allow the development of an accurate picture of the occupations of people who moved into Oakwood in the first fifteen years of its existence (1902-1917). The data which are available for those 40% of migrants who had a previous address allow us to gauge the extent to which a residential move to Oakwood was coincident with a change in place of employment or occupational status. A change in place of employment is self-explanatory; an increase in occupational status can, however, be either an increase in status within the same company or industry, or an increase in status associated with becoming self-employed rather than being an employee. For example, a man who before his move to Oakwood was a wood-worker, and after his move was a cabinet-maker would be an example of a person whose residential move was coincident with his occupational status increase. Another example would be the case of a person who opened up a grocery store in Oakwood, and who had previously been a grocery clerk.

If the occupational status of all Oakwood heads-of-household is analyzed (Table V), it is apparent that, in total, Oakwood was populated

Table V. Occupational Status for All Oakwood In-Migrants; 1902-1917

Blue Collar					
Southern Railroad Employees[2]		Non-Southern Railroad Employees[3]		White Collar[1]	
Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
504	51.1	331	33.6	151	15.3

[1]Occupations include the following: agents, barbers, boarding house keeper, bookkeepers, brokers, clerks, collectors, contractors, doctors, engineers (civil and mechanical), lawyers, managers, mine foremen, ministers, pharmacists, photographers, presidents, salesmen, self-employed, stenographers, storekeepers, students, theatre operators.

[2]Occupations include: baggagemen, blacksmiths, boilermakers, brakeman, carpenters, conductors, engineers (locomotive), firemen, flagmen, helpers, inspectors, laborers, machinists, oilers, pipe-fitters, policemen, porters, steamfitters, switchmen, watchmen, weight masters, yardmen.

[3]Occupations include: bartenders, blacksmiths, bricklayers, butchers, cabinetmakers, carpenters, contractors, drivers, farmers, machinists, marble-cutters, moulders, painters, paperhangers, polishers, sawyers, shoemakers, tinners, watchmen.

Source: Knoxville City Directory, 1902 through 1917.

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Source: Knoxville City Directory, 1902 through 1917.

by working class wage earners (84.3% in all). Of these working class wage earners, over 50% were employed by the Southern Railroad Company which operated one of Knoxville's largest engineering shops located less than half a mile from Oakwood itself. These data represent the composite effect of post-move occupational status change for both the mappable and non-mappable groups. If these data are divided into the mappable and non-mappable groups, some differences between the two may be noted (Table VI). When comparison is made between the mappable group of migrants and all migrants, they are found to be statistically dissimilar (Appendix B). This result means that one must be cautious not to assume that information gleaned from the mappable group is strictly applicable for all in-migrants to Oakwood.

The majority of Oakwood's working class residents consist of skilled craftsmen such as carpenters, blacksmiths and machinists, as well as skilled railroad personnel such as firemen, conductors and locomotive engineers. This grouping also includes semi- and unskilled occupations such as baggagemen, laborers, and persons whose occupational status, as reported by the appropriate City Directory, was simply denoted by 'works' or 'employee.'

Only 16% of all in-migrants to Oakwood could be classed as white collar workers or members of Knoxville's middle class. There were a few professional men; physicians and lawyers. The majority of this white collar group, however, consisted of clerks, petty contractors, and local proprietors such as grocers. Thus, even within this presumably more spatially mobile, white collar group, a number lived and

Table VI. Post-Move Occupational Status; A Comparison Between "Mappable" and "Non-Mappable"[1] In-Migrant Groups

Mappable						Non-Mappable					
Blue Collar				White Collar		Blue Collar				White Collar	
Southern Railroad Employees		Non-Southern Railroad Employees				Southern Railroad Employees		Non-Southern Railroad Employees			
Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
222	55.5	113	28.3	65	16.3	282	48	214	36.5	90	15.4
				Total = 400						Total = 586	

Source: Knoxville City Directory, 1902 through 1917.

worked in Oakwood, and not in the shops and offices of Knoxville's central business district. This juxtaposition of workplace and residence was, of course, true as well for the vast majority of Oakwood's blue collar workers who worked in the nearby Coster Car Repair Shops of the Southern Railroad Company which was "Knoxville's largest employer of skilled mechanics and laborers" (Briscoe, 1976, p. 413).

A more detailed occupational classification is presented in Table VII. This classification is an adaptation of the one used by Zunz in his study of Detroit (Zunz, 1982, Appendix 3, pp. 420-433). It shows that the majority of both groups--65% of the mappable group and 54.4% of the non-mappable group--are composed of skilled workers such as locomotive engineers, railway carpenters, firemen, and conductors, plus house-carpenters, cabinetmakers and machinists.

These occupational data give a static picture of the types of wage-earners who moved to Oakwood between 1902 and 1917. More important than simply the occupational status of the area's residents is the extent to which the residential movement to Oakwood was coincident with either a change of employment or an increase in occupational status. As Muller has noted with regard to middle-class streetcar suburbs:

> Any major salary increase or promotion was immediately signified by a move to a 'better' neighborhood as families always searched for means of demonstrating [their] improved social standing (Muller, 1981, p. 35).

Did Oakwood manifest this kind of social sifting? Table VIII provides a partial answer to this question. The occupational status of the members of the mappable group were divided into white collar and

Table VII. Post-Move Occupational Status; A Comparison Between Mappable and Non-Mappable Groups (After Zunz, 1982)*

Occupational Status	Mappable		Non-Mappable		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
High White Collar	7	1.8	13	2.3	20	2.1
Low White Collar	61	15.4	79	13.7	140	14.4
Skilled Labor	258	65.0	313	54.2	571	58.6
Semi- or Unskilled Labor	71	17.9	172	29.3	243	24.9
Miscellaneous	(33)		(46)		(79)	
Total	430		673		1053	

*Appendix 3, pp. 220-233.

Source: Knoxville City Directory, 1902 through 1917.

Table VIII. Pre- and Post-Move Occupational Status of the Mappable Group

	Blue Collar				White Collar	
	Southern Rail Employees		Non-Southern Employees			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Pre-Move	237	52.7	160	35.6	53	11.8
Post-Move	260	59.6	113	25.9	64	14.4

Source: Knoxville City Directory, 1902 through 1917.

blue collar categories. The blue collar category was further subdivided into employees of the Southern Railroad Company and others. These occupational data were examined for both pre- and post-move periods. There was a slight increase in the occupational status of post-move mappable migrants. The white collar proportion increased from 11.8% before the move to 14.4% after taking up residence in Oakwood. The proportion of blue collar groups decreased (post-move) but within this group there was an increase of 23 persons in the employ of the Southern Railroad Company.

A much more finely grained analysis of occupational status change is presented in Table IX. For every member of the mappable group occupation the year prior to the move, and in the first year of residence in Oakwood was scrutinized to determine if there was any occupational status change associated with the move to Oakwood. In the majority of cases (70.4%) there was no status change associated with the movement to Oakwood (Table IX). The majority of in-migrants, therefore, changed residence not only without changing their jobs but also without increasing their occupational status within their place of work.

The status increases which occurred are analyzed in Table X. The status increases most prevalent were from either a semi- or unskilled worker to a skilled worker, or, from a skilled worker to a low white collar occupational position. The table shows that for a minority (24%) of Oakwood migrants status increase was expressed in a residential move.

The identification of status increases was, in many cases, quite simple to determine. In others, however, it was necessary to have some

Table IX. Occupational Status Change Coincident with Move to Oakwood

Increase		No Change		Decline (Uncertain)[1]	
Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
82	24.0	240	70.4	19	5.6

[1]In some cases declines were noted (e.g., from machinist to watchman), however, the majority of cases were the result of movements from one type of employment to another in which the status change was uncertain (e.g., a farmer to a Southern Railroad employee).

Source: Knoxville City Directory, 1902 through 1917.

Table X. Pre- and Post-Move Occupational Composition of the Status-Increase Group

Occupational Status	Pre-Move		Post-Move	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
High White Collar	0	1.0	1	1.5
Low White Collar	5	6.1	17	20.7
Skilled Labor	50	61.0	62	75.6
Semi- and Unskilled Labor	27	33.0	2	2.4
Total	82		82	

Source: Knoxville City Directory, 1902 through 1917.

idea of the status differences within different industries. Since many of the in-migrants to Oakwood were railroad employees, the status hierarchy was inferred from both contemporary commentaries on the division of work in the railroad industry and recent historical research on the organization of railroad work in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Bell's Railroad Recollections for Over Thirty Eight Years (1896) provides a contemporary account of railroading life in the South of the late nineteenth century. From it, one can infer the occupation hierarchy of the railroad industry. The hierarchy was as follows: a passenger locomotive engineer had more status than a conductor who had more than a fireman. The fireman had more status than a brakeman, who had more than a flagman. He, in turn, had more status than a baggage-master who had more than a porter, who had more than a track laborer or helper (Bell, 1896, Chapter XII). This hierarchy of work is corroborated by Licht (1983) who studied the organization of railroad work in the nineteenth century. Such status differences were reflected not only in the railroad workers' pay but, more importantly, in the regularity of the men's employment (Goforth, 1980).

A further indicator of status differences within the railroading workforce was the presence of various railroad brotherhoods which were organized along skill lines rather than on an industry-wide basis. It was from these sources that status increases within the railroad industry were determined for the in-migrants to Oakwood who were railroad employees and for whom previous addresses could be accurately located on the Pill Map of 1895.

In summary, Oakwood was a skilled working class suburb whose residents worked, for the most part, locally in the large Coster Repair Shops of the Southern Railroad Company. Other places of employment tended to be located along the banks of Second Creek and the tracks of the Southern Railroad. Some men were employed at Brookside Mills, others in furniture factories and some in marble works. Some even worked in Oakwood itself in Atkin's Oakwood Manufacturing Company which was a sizeable employer of labor (Tennessee Department of Labor, Division of Workshop and Factory Inspection, 1927).

Some of the relatively few white collar workers worked locally either in the area's small shops and businesses or in office employment in the Coster Works. This was also true of some of the high white collar group, particularly the physicians. It cannot, therefore, be assumed that even the area's small white collar middle class population worked exclusively in Knoxville's central business district.

It would appear that the electric streetcar service which ran the entire length of Oakwood's 2,500 foot frontage with North Central Street, as well as the entire length of Morelia Avenue, was little used for journey-to-work purposes. In this crucial respect, Oakwood cannot be considered an example of a streetcar suburb, even though it was admirably served. The question, to be addressed in the next section, is what was the nature of Oakwood, and what did it represent for Knoxville?

Oakwood's Residential Development: 1902-1917

Oakwood developed rapidly in the first few years of its existence according to data collected from the advertisements in the various City Directories of the time (Table XI). These data, however, were conscious overestimates, on the part of Atkin, of the actual number of homes in the area. When reference is made to both the map included in Atkin's own publication (Atkin, 1905, n.p.) and to the 1917 edition of the Sanborn Insurance Company's maps (Plates 69, 70 and 72), this overestimation becomes quite apparent. According to the advertisement in the City Directory of 1905 there were 200 homes in the area, yet when one looks at Atkin's own map (Atkin, 1905, n.p.; Figure V), the figure is only 149. Likewise, by 1913, there were 500 homes in the area, according to the Directory data. Inspection of the appropriate Sanborn maps, on the other hand, shows there to be only 330 homes in 1917. What this overestimation perhaps reflects is the boosterism which affected the city in the early twentieth century. The rapid economic growth that had taken place in the city in the final two decades of the nineteenth century began to slow down considerably. Boosterism was an expression of optimistic hope that Knoxville would soon experience a resurgence in that growth. Brownell has noted that this boosterism was "nowhere better portrayed in all its typical dimensions" than in Knoxville where local business leaders sponsored an advertisement in the Journal and Tribune of 1920 which asked the city's populace if they could not:

Table XI. Residential Growth of Oakwood; 1902-1917

Year	Number of Houses*	Number of Tennessee Migrants*
1902	--	6
1903	80	35
1904	150	36
1905	200 (149)	77
1906	--	93
1907	300	122
1908	310	104
1909	400	87
1910	400	83
1911	450	95
1912	500	74
1913	500	78
1914	--	74
1915	--	62
1916	--	77
1917	-- (330)	80
	Total	1,183

*Reported in the various Knoxville City Directories, under the name of the suburb in the section entitled "A Householder's Directory of the Suburbs." Figures in brackets (1905, 1917) refer to the number of houses reported by Atkin (1905, n.p.) and the Sanborn Maps (1917, Plates 69, 70 and 72).

> Visualize Knoxville with neighborly houses following one another closely until they press upon the ridges to the north and east, can you see an expansion far into the country in the west. . . . (quoted in Brownell, 1975, p. 153).

Knoxville had, by the time this advertisement was published, expanded until it pressed 'upon the ridges to the north.' Knoxville's urban growth like that of Oakwood's was, however, becoming more apparent than real. The fact was the Oakwood had, even after fifteen years of its development, approximately forty percent of its residential lots bereft of any dwelling. This vacancy rate was not, however, distributed evenly within the subdivision.

Oakwood developed from north to south, with Morelia Avenue, which had the electric streetcar service along its entire length, developing first (Figure 5, p. 36). This early development can be attributed to the infrastructural development along Morelia Avenue. Water mains and electric cables were laid before the streetcar service was inaugurated; an enticement to residential development.

As Atkin had boasted (Atkin, 1905, n.p.), Oakwood was the first subdivision in the city to have utilities laid before a single lot was even offered for sale. This infrastructural development is portrayed in Figures 10 and 11 where one can see Morelia Avenue when the water mains were laid (Figure 10) and then as it was (including the streetcars) three years later (Figure 11). The photographs also indicate the type of residential structures constructed in the area. The houses were mostly "simple clapboard frame house[s]" (Goforth, 1980, p. 61) with front and back porches. All the homes were set back the uniform twenty-five feet from the lot front.

Figure 10. Morelia Avenue, May, 1902: "Showing the grading of the street and the laying of the eight inch water main."

Source: Atkin, 1905, n.p.

Figure 11. Morelia Avenue, May, 1905: "Shows the rapid development of Oakwood."

Source: Atkin, 1905, n.p.

Within three years of Oakwood's inception, all the streets down to the southernmost one of Churchwell Avenue had been platted. Churchwell Avenue was on the crest of the hill overlooking the rest of the subdivision which lay to the northeast. Table XII summarizes the degree of this development for the years 1905 and 1917, and may therefore be used to identify streets in which residential development was below average.

By 1905 five streets had over 75% of their total lots sold, though the proportion of lots with houses was lower, ranging from 17% to 34%. At this point the lots on Churchwell and Columbia Avenues, the most expensive and prestigious lots in the subdivision, were just coming onto the market (Atkin, 1905, n.p.). By 1917 there were seven streets, out of a total of ten, which had more than 68% of their total lots with houses on them. In addition to these 330 houses there were two churches, a repair shop and a few stores. The latter were located on North Central Street (later called North Central Avenue) which became Oakwood's main shopping area. Three streets had less than 36% of their total lots with dwellings. These streets were Warren, Churchwell and Columbia Avenues. The first one was the least prestigious address in the area while the other two were the most prestigious ones.

Atkin had attempted to internally differentiate Oakwood by means of 'minimum value' clauses in the purchase agreements. These clauses set a minimum value on the house to be built on the plot. A cursory analysis of such clauses for each street was undertaken using data from

Table XII. Number of Lots Sold and Houses Built by Street in Oakwood; 1905 and 1917

Streets	Number of Lots	1905		1917
		Percent Sold	Percent with House	Percent with House
Burwell Avenue	62	98	34	69
Caldwell Avenue	62	84	22	76
North Central Street	34	76	17	88
Churchwell Avenue	24	9	2	25
Columbia Avenue	56	14	2	23
Harvey Avenue	37	19	7	78
Morelia Avenue	62	82	34	87
Quincy Avenue	65	68	24	69
Springdale Avenue	62	82	20	68
Warren Avenue	65	18	--	36
Total	531			

*Available only for 1905 from map in Atkin (1905, n.p.) shown as Figure III.

Source: Atkin (1905, n.p.) and Sanborn Map Company (1917, Plates 69, 70 and 72).

the appropriate Warranty Deed Books in the Knox County Courhouse. It was found that the most expensive clauses ($600) were for the plots located on the crest of the ridge, in the southern part of the subdivision. This included both Churchwell and Columbia Avenues, and these two streets overlooked the least expensive street--Warren Avenue--in which the minimum value was between $375 and $400. The rest of the streets 'minimum value' clauses ranged between $450 and $500. It would appear from the evidence shown on the 1917 Sanborn Map (Plates 69, 70 and 72) that it was homes in the middle price range that were most popular and that the upper and lower extremes were either avoided or the last to be developed.

This geographic pattern of residential build-out may explain why the socio-economic profile of the area was so markedly homogeneous. By 1917, 77% of the area's heads-of-household were skilled working men living in homes that ranged in value from $450 to $500.

Using data collated from the actual manuscripts of the 1910 Census of Population, Oakwood residents were split into renters and owners by occupational group (Table XIII). In Oakwood as a whole there were as many owner-occupiers as there were renters. When this figure is analyzed by occupational status groups, however, high white collar groups were more often homeowners than renters, while semi- and unskilled working groups were more likely to be renters. The skilled occupational segment tended to be only slightly more predisposed to home ownership than to renting their accommodation.

Table XIII. Oakwood Home Owners and Renters by Occupational Group; 1910

Occupational Group	Owners		Renters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
High White Collar	7	5.9	1	0.9
Low White Collar	8	6.7	15	12.9
Skilled Labor	97	81.5	85	73.2
Semi- or Unskilled Labor	7	5.9	15	12.9
Total	119		116	

Source: Manuscripts of the 1910 Census of Population.

When ownership and rental status is analyzed by occupation, as it is in Table XIV, only one occupational group, carpenters, stands out as having a definite preference for one form of residential status (i.e., ownership) over another. This may be attributed to the fact that some carpenters were not employed by the Southern Railroad Company. Rather, some of them operated as self-employed 'house' carpenters. These carpenters acted as small-scale merchant builders in the area. This impression is corroborated by the fact that, in three cases, house carpenters purchased more than one plot in the subdivision. The assumption is that they did so in order to build homes for speculation and, in the process, realized enough capital to build their own home.

From inspection of the manuscripts of the 1910 Census of Population Oakwood's occupational composition can be firmly established (Table XV). The largest group of wage earners in the area were the skilled workers of the working class: the labor aristocrats. The railroading occupations such as locomotive engineers, conductors, and firemen were heavily represented, as were the shop occupations such as carpenters and machinists. The question to now be addressed is what Oakwood represented as a part of Knoxville's urban fabric in the first few decades of the twentieth century.

Table XIV. Ownership and Rental Status for Selected Occupations in Oakwood; 1910

Occupation	Number of Owners	Number of Renters
Carpenter	16	4
Conductor	16	17
Locomotive Engineer	15	13
Fireman	14	11
Flagman	6	9
Laborer/Helper	6	9
Machinist	5	7
Car Repairman	5	4
Salesman	2	7
Switchman	2	2
Brakeman	2	1

Source: Manuscripts of the 1910 Census of Population.

Table XV. Number and Occupations of Oakwood Heads-of-Household as Listed in the Manuscripts of the 1910 Census of Population

	Number	Percent
Fireman	27	11.1
Locomotive Engineer	26	10.7
Carpenter	25	10.2
Conductor	23	9.4
Flagman	15	6.1
Machinist	12	4.9
None	12	4.9
Laborer	12	4.9
Car Repairman	9	3.7
Salesman	8	3.3
Switchman	7	2.9
Own Income	6	2.5
Brakeman	3	1.2
Blacksmith	3	1.2
Cabinet Maker	3	1.2
Helper	3	1.2
Collector	2	0.8
Electrician	2	1.8
Engineer	2	0.8
Physician	2	0.8
Sawyer	2	0.8
Barber, Bookkeeper, Boarding Home Owner, Car Inspector, Contractor, Cutter, Dealer, Dressmaker, Drill Foreman, Launderer, Lawyer, Lumber Inspector, Meatcutter, Minister, Moulder Order Clerk, Packer, Painter, Paperhanger, Pharmacist, Printer, Retail Merchant, Sander, Seamster, Shoemaker, Stove Molder, Teacher, Teamster, Telegrapher, Timekeeper, Track Foreman, Watchman, Weaver, Yard Clerk, Yard Foreman	1	16.8
		Total = 244

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

The data presented in Chapter III provide evidence with which to compare the "image" of Oakwood as presented by its developer, Clay Brown Atkin, in his promotional literature (Atkin, 1905, n.p.). Oakwood was not a white collar, middle class residential suburb; it was a skilled, working class industrial suburb. Its population lived and worked locally and only a minority of its residents commuted to Knoxville's central business district to work in its offices and shops.

In two crucial respects Oakwood is quite distinct from the "streetcar suburbs" of the literature. Oakwood's journey-to-work patterns prevent it from being considered a streetcar suburb; the way people got to their places of employment in this suburb was by foot, not by electric streetcar. Secondly, the area's residents were not the white collar middle class, but a particular segment of the working class: the labor aristocracy. This segment consisted of members of the skilled and highly unionized occupations in turn-of-the-century Knoxville.

In other respects, however, Oakwood exhibits many features which are associated with the 'streetcar suburbs' which have received extensive treatment in the literature. Oakwood was primarily populated by households who were relocating themselves away from the central city. In many streetcar suburbs there was a close association between the

developer and the streetcar company. This is also true in the case of Oakwood's development.

There was some association between Oakwood's developer, Clay Brown Atkin, and the Knoxville Traction Company which operated the city's streetcar lines. This collusion between real estate interests and the operators of the streetcar system was verified, in Knoxville's case by Colonel Howell (Patton, 1976, p. 217). In Oakwood such collusion can be inferred from the fact that as soon as Atkin began to develop the area a streetcar line was placed through his subdivision. The inferred collusion between developer and streetcar company is further reinforced when one realizes that one of the streets in Oakwood--Harvey Avenue--is named after the man who became the Knoxville Traction Company's general manager the very year Oakwood was created (Howell, 1976, pp. 531-532).

The presence of a frequent electric streetcar service through the subdivision--one left every fifteen minutes from the Southern Rail Depot (Atkin, 1905, n.p.)--did not attract those occupational groups in the city who used the streetcars to commute to work. Oakwood's wage earners walked to work, though Oakwood households would have no doubt used the electric streetcars to go downtown where Knoxville's major commercial and shopping facilities were to be found.

What follows is an evaluation of three possible conclusions that may be drawn from the preceding analyses of Oakwood. Each proposition will be evaluated in turn and a final conclusion will be drawn with

respect to what Oakwood actually represented as part of the urban form of early twentieth century Knoxville.

Three Hypotheses

1. Oakwood represents a distinct railroad community within the city in which most residents work for the Southern Railroad Company's Coster Repair Works.
2. Oakwood is an example of an early twentieth century industrial suburb.
3. Oakwood is a suburb of Knoxville's labor aristocracy.

Oakwood: A Knoxville Railroad Community?

It was been previously noted that the majority of all in-migrants into Oakwood, between 1902 and 1917, were employees of the Southern Railroad Company (Table V, p. 57). This company operated one of Knoxville's largest engineering shops--the Coster Repair Works--which was located to the immediate west of Oakwood. For the majority of the area's households who had wage earners employed in the "shops" their place of work was less than a five-minute walk away.

According to Licht (1983), railroad communities were a frequent sight on the urban landscape of nineteenth century America; a fact that was, in part, explained by the nature of railroad work. As Licht notes:

> The work also tended to foster social isolation. Forced by company decree or sheer necessity to live near stations, shops and engine houses, railwaymen often resided in segregated communities near their work. Physical separation and the transient and time-consuming nature of the work limited contact and involvement with the larger community (Licht, 1983, p. 228).

Yet as Licht goes on to note, this residential segregation was more true of:

> Railroad workers living in small-to-medium sized railway-shop towns . . . [rather than] in large, sprawling, economically diverse cities [where] railwaymen neither formed, or were forced to form, easily identifiable enclaves (Licht, 1983, p. 229).

Can Oakwood be considered a railroading community on the outskirts of Knoxville in the first few decades of the twentieth century? There is no doubt the people who lived in Oakwood considered themselves as belonging to a railroading community. As a child who grew up in Oakwood in the 1920s, Amy Goforth wrote:

> My Daddy was a reilroad [sic] shopman, and he had roots in our community of railroad folks. Grandpa's house was the first one built in Oakwood and Daddy's first school was Oakwood School. He was a charter member of the Oakwood Baptist Church, and Daddy never allowed me to feel less than proud about my heritage, my community, and the Southern Railroad (Goforth, 1980, p. 40).

The question to be addressed is what sort of "railroad folks" actually lived in Oakwood. Goforth would have us believe that it was anyone who worked in the "shops." In another description she was more precise, if less personal, in her recollections. As she noted, "We were a railroad family, and Oakwood was a community of Southern Railroad engineers, conductors, firemen and shopmen" (Goforth, 1981, p. 438). Such railroad personnel had the most prestige and were the most highly paid segment of the railroad workforce (Licht, 1983, Table 4.1, p. 126). At a time when the railroad employed many grades of personnel, the above mentioned occupations constituted only 19% of all the skilled and

non-skilled workers on the railroads (Licht, 1983, Table 2.2, p. 34). As Wilson noted:

> In those days [1920s] the railroad employed many people in different categories of work. On the trains, there were engineers, firemen, conductors, flagmen, brakemen and baggagemen. In the depots, there were the agents, operators, clerks, and warehousemen. In the track department, there were the section workers, extra gangs that maintained the tracks, and signal men, telephone repairmen, carpenters, and painters (Wilson, 1981, p. 107).

In Oakwood the majority of heads-of-household over the fifteen-year study period were skilled workers--engineers, conductors and firemen--not semi- or unskilled men. The actual occupations of Oakwood heads-of-household are shown in Table XV (p. 79). The majority of residents were employed in the high skill occupations just mentioned, plus others such as firemen, carpenters and machinists. Yet, as Briscoe notes, the Coster plant was "Knoxville's largest employer of skilled mechanics and laborers" (Briscoe, 1976, p. 413). In the absence of any data which reveal the precise occupational breakdown of the Coster plant, Briscoe's observation is assumed to be correct. Certainly the Coster Works were among the largest employers of both skilled and unskilled male labor in Knoxville (Tennessee Department of Labor, Division of Workshop and Factory Inspection, 1927). Where did all the track laborers and unskilled shopmen, who were employed at the Works, live within the city? One thing is quite clear; they did not live in Oakwood!

Many of the semi- and unskilled railroad workers probably continued to reside in the residential areas of the central city to the south of the Coster Shops. Indeed, these semi- and unskilled workers

workers may constitute, in the case of Knoxville, the "reverse migration" of which both Taylor (1915, p. 95) and Douglass (1925, p. 92) speak. The streetcar service which linked Oakwood to the city likewise linked the city to the Coster Works and the other large industrial plant to the north of the city, Brookside Mills. It is not altogether unrealistic to suggest that these streetcars were taking central city residents out to their places of employment on the northernmost edge of the city rather than transporting suburban residents to jobs in Knoxville's central business district. This is a reasonable suggestion since there was a preexisting streetcar line on North Central Street as far north as Scott Avenue (City Directory, 1902, p. 19). It was only when Oakwood was developed that this line was extended. This extension of the line brought the streetcar service closer to the Coster Shops, as well as linking Oakwood with downtown Knoxville.

Oakwood can be usefully thought of as a distinct railroad community of early twentieth century Knoxville. The community of Oakwood was, however, as much congregated around the skill levels of its inhabitants as it was by their link to the Southern Railroad Company. Oakwood was almost exclusively populated by the aristocrats of the industry.

Oakwood: An Industrial Suburb?

Although Oakwood was by 1917 the residence of approximately 330 families, it was by no means solely a residential development. The

very fact that Clay Brown Atkin built the second of his mantel factories in the subdivision and specifically platted industrial plots adjacent to the eastern spur of the Knoxville, Cumberland Gap and Louisville Railroad indicates that industry was important in the subdivision from the very beginning and not merely an evolutionary appendage.

Oakwood was planned as a mixed residential and industrial suburb. To this extent Oakwood can be thought of as a landscape that was planned to replicate the land use mix typical of the older, central parts of the city. Oakwood's land use mix was not, however, an exact replication of the central city environment. Oakwood's environment was both more spacious and pristine than that of the central city.

The movement of industry to suburban locations in the 1890s and the early twentieth century occurred at the same time, and was functionally linked to, the noted increase in scale of American industry (Gordon, 1984, pp. 39-42). The reason for this movement was not simply due to cheaper land and larger sites in the suburbs, but also a reflection of the increasing scale of production; a direct result of concentration in the ownership of American industry.

Another reason for suburbanization which is alluded to by both contemporary observers and by economic historians is that the development of relatively isolated suburban factories retarded the development of unionization (Taylor, 1915, p. 23; Gordon, 1984, pp. 41-42). The success of this approach to industrial relations is attested by Taylor (1915, p. 101). The suburbanization of industry can be thought of as

not simply a desire on the part of industrialists for more space, but as a strategy to control their workforces, a control that was threatened in the crowded central city districts.

Another feature of the industrial suburb, according to Douglass (1925, p. 86) is its degree of self-containment and relative economic independence from the city. In this respect, Oakwood's localized journey-to-work patterns and the development of a local business section on North Central Street provide evidence of the area's relative autonomy from the rest of early twentieth century Knoxville.

It would appear, therefore, that Oakwood is also an industrial suburb of Knoxville. However, the area's distinctive occupational structure prevents this designation from being a fully accurate analysis of the 'nature' of Oakwood and what it represented on the landscape of early twentieth century Knoxville.

Oakwood: A Suburb of the "Labor Aristocracy"?

The term "labor aristocracy" is one used by labor historians to denote that segment of the working class which was relatively prosperous, had a high degree of employment stability, and who aspired to the dominant social values of the time, values, which were largely the ideological products of the middle class.

Hobsbawn, in the seminal treatment of the concept of the labor aristocracy, lists six elements which distinguish members of this group from the mass of the proletariat.

> First, the level and regularity of a worker's earnings; second, his prospect of social security; third his conditions of work, including the way he was treated by foremen and masters; fourth, his relations with the social groups above and below him; fifth, his general conditions of living; lastly, his prospects of future advancement and those of his children. Of these the first is incomparably the most important. . . . (Hobsbawn, 1964, p. 273).

It is with reference to several of these diagnostic traits that the workers of Oakwood will be evaluated. Why should these elements be valid measures of membership of the labor aristocracy? Hobsbawn explains as follows:

> The man who earned a good regular wage was also the man who put enough by to . . . live outside the worst slum areas, to be treated with some respect and dignity by employers and to have some freedom of choice in his job [and], to give his children a chance of a better education. . . . (Hobsbawn, 1964, p. 273).

The majority of Oakwood's heads-of-household were employed by the Southern Railroad Company (Table IV, p. 55). The majority of these men were employed in the most prestigious railroad occupations (Table XV, p. 79). It should be borne in mind that almost all of the wage-earners in Oakwood were male. Only one or two widows are listed in the 1910 Census of Population having paid employment outside of the home. This is further evidence of the prestige of these labor aristocrats; their wives did not have to work. As such, the time-geographies of these women had much more in common with that of middle class women of the period than with the working class women who worked in Knoxville's large textile mills.

Railroad workers not only had well-paid employment but also regular employment. Lauck and Sydenstricker present data on the

regularity of employment for various industries and occupations in their book entitled, Conditions of Labor in American Industries (1917). These data are "as they have been found to exist in the period indicated as beginning with 1900 and ending with 1914 and 1915" (Lauck and Sydenstricker, 1917, p. xi). These data correspond, therefore, almost exactly with the period under consideration in this study.

In a table which shows the proportion of union members working year-round, railroad employees are among the most regular of all the groups presented. The average time lost per railroad employee, per annum, is only three weeks; 92% of all union members work year-round without any lay-off. Only seven occupational categories out of the thirty-five presented have more regular employment patterns (Lauck and Sydenstricker, 1917, p. 96). In terms of Hobsbawn's most important criterion--the level of earnings and the regularity of employment--the railroad personnel who lived in Oakwood were definitely labor aristocrats.

The men's social security (as Hobsbawn describes it) was reflected in their earnings, their regularity of employment, and their relatively long working life. The railwaymen of Oakwood had a lifecycle earning capacity which placed them well above other, less skilled members of the working class. This lifetime earning capacity is one of the reasons why not one Oakwood wife is listed in the 1910 Census of Population manuscripts as having any paid employment outside of the home. The lack of participation by Oakwood wives in the formal labor market lends credence to the view that the families who lived and worked in

Oakwood considered themselves to have more social status than the rest of the working class.

The social status of the skilled working men was assured by the rigid occupational hierarchy that existed in the railroad industry. This hierarchy was reinforced well into the twentieth century by craft-based unionism. Likewise, it was the more skilled occupations within the industry that were unionized. Unionization, which is in essence a form of monopoly control over the supply of labor, enhanced the earnings of organized groups over those of unorganized groups within the industry. Even though engineers, conductors, brakemen, carpenters and machinists constituted only 19% of the blue collar laborforce (Licht, 1983, Table 2.2, p. 34) they made up 37% of all unionized transportation workers in the first two decades of the twentieth century (Lauck and Sydenstricker, 1917, p. 14).

By inference the "conditions of living" of these skilled railroad workers were better than the mass of the working class. Licht notes that the more highly paid railwaymen were reported by census enumerators to have had amassed large amounts of what today would be termed consumer durables (Licht, 1983, p. 230). This was the result of their life cycle earning capacity and the geographic mobility associated with their employment. The former differentiated them from less skilled workers, whose earnings tended to decline with age after their middle years. The work-related mobility may also explain the apparent ambivalance of these skilled workers to owner occupation in Oakwood (Table XIV, p. 78). Only the final, and least important, criterion listed by

Hobsbawn, that of the likelinood of significant upward social mobility for the children of these labor aristocrats, remains unanswered for Oakwood's skilled working families.

The significance of the labor aristocracy for the labor historian lies in its role of preventing the rise of a politically radical working class. It is claimed that skilled workers allied themselves with the middle class and the dominant values of the time. There is considerable debate concerning the validity of the concept and how its role should be interpreted in the noted conservatism of the working class in the late nineteenth century. There is, however, some agreement on the point that there was an ideological link between the labor aristocracy and the middle class, a link so tight that the former were frequently referred to as the 'lower' middle class. As Gray notes in his comprehensive review of the concept:

> The concept [of the labor aristocracy] has alerted historians to the problems of subdivisions in the working class, and their consequences for relationships between classes, and [has] generated a good deal of fruitful research (Gray, 1981, p. 13).

A question to be asked is, did this social division translate itself onto the urban landscape? That is, is the concept of the labor aristocracy useful in detailed analyses of suburbanization in the 'streetcar suburb' era? The results from this study support an affirmative answer to this question. The social division of the working class explains the paucity of semi- or unskilled workers in Oakwood (only 9.4% of all Oakwood wage-earners in 1910; Table XV, p. 79) and likewise

suggests a reason why a relocation to Oakwood was considered so desirable by many of the area's residents. It is also suggestive of the extent to which the Arcadian ideal had descended the social hierarchy by the early twentieth century.

The concept of the labor aristocracy also alerts us to the fact that these divisions within the working class did indeed translate themselves into segregated residential patterns on the urban landscape and provides a coherent explanation of such residential concentration by occupational status.

Oakwood as an Amalgam of Urbanization Forces

It is in the late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century that saw the beginnings of the transfer of both population and industry, or consumption and production, to the suburbs. This movement, which has been termed the urbanization of the suburbs, has a longer history than many would suppose from reading the literature of the post-World War II period particularly with reference to the presence of working class groups in the suburbs (Berger, 1960; Levenstein, 1981).

What Oakwood represents is the outcome of many economic and social forces which have shaped the morphology of the American city. There is the influence of rapid factory-based industrialization which led to the creation of large densely populated, central city residential districts. This increase, in turn, was a signal to the middle

classes to relocate themselves to the suburbs which were environmentally and socially attractive.

Suburban relocation was not, however, limited to residence. Industry had also begun to move to larger, and cheaper, sites on the edge of the city. This movement of industry was not simply the result of cheaper suburban land. Rather, suburbanization of industry was the result of the increasing scale of industrial production which was the material manifestation of the creation of the great corporations and combines of the time (Gordon, 1984, pp. 39-42). The Coster Works could hardly have been a better example since it was the railways that were the first enterprises to become amalgamated into huge combines via merger and acquisition. As the concentration of the ownership of production increased so did the scale of production and the probability that newer plants would require correspondingly larger sites. It is, therefore, in this period of industrial concentration in American economic history that we witness the beginnings of the suburbanization of industrial production.

The development of Oakwood attracted a specific segment of the occupational hierarchy of Knoxville, Tennessee. Few upper- or lower-middle class households moved to the area. The same was true of semi- and unskilled workers and their families. The majority of the area's householders were members of the skilled railroad occupations; they were the aristocrats of the railroad industry. They resided in a socially homogeneous community which reflected their secure financial

basis. The reason that they were attracted to Oakwood was not only due to this financial advantage but also because this segment of the working class aspired to and, in effect, adopted the dominant values of the time.

Finally, Oakwood is evidence that there was a labor aristocracy within Knoxville. By the turn of the century, even medium-sized cities such as Knoxville had not only the conventional, and essentially residential, "streetcar suburbs," but also suburbs that were markedly more industrial and less middle class in nature. In no way could Oakwood be characterized as a "streetcar suburb," with all that term implies about the class composition of its residents, their journey-to-work patterns, and the area's land use mix.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

DATA COLLECTION AND SOURCES

Data on Oakwood residents both prior to, and after, their move to Oakwood were collected from the Knoxville City Directory Company's City Directory from 1901 through 1917. This source provided a comprehensive time-series data base for in-migrants to the subdivision. Cross-sectional data were taken from the manuscripts of the 1910 Census of Population. The latter resource is available on microfilm in the Main Library of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. It is also housed in the East Tennessee Historical Society's McClung Collection which is located in downtown Knoxville in the Customs House on Market Street. This latter library is better when one is dealing with historical topics specifically related to Knoxville's historical development. This is particularly true if one has to use population data at the household/street scale.

For every one of the heads-of-household (and some boarders) the following data were collected from the appropriate City Directory: the data of arrival in Oakwood; address within the subdivision; previous address; previous occupation; present occupation (and place of work, if given). Information was also collected on whether the individual was a boarder.

For the majority of all 'mappable' in-migrants all these data were successfully collected. Some individuals were, however, lacking

in one or more of the above information categories. This explains why many of the tables in the text have slightly different test-populations. These differences were never so large as to prevent honest comparison between different population groups.

In order to collect these data a running list of all in-migrants to Oakwood was compiled. Between 1901 and 1913 Oakwood heads-of-household were only listed alphabetically in the City Directory in the section entitled "Suburbs." From 1913 to 1917 they were listed by street, and no longer by name.

For a typical in-migrant the following represents how the data were actually collected. A new move into the area was identified by comparing the list of residents in the present year with the running list compiled from all the previous City Directory listings. When a new in-migrant to Oakwood was determined, his name was placed on a data card. Since only heads-of-household were listed in the Directory, very few of Oakwood's listed in-migrants were female, save for widows. Present occupation (and perhaps place of work) was then identified by reference to the appropriate City Directory. Previous residential and occupation data were compiled for the individual by using the previous year's City Directory. If the individual had a previous address within the city, and if this address could be accurately located on the Pill Map (1895), this individual became one of the 'mappable' group; if not, he became one of the 'non-mappable' group.

There are inherent biases within the City Directories. First, not all occupations are adequately described. Laborers, for example,

are often denoted as being "employed" or as "working," and frequently their places of work are not given. The opposite is true of the more skilled employees of the city's larger industrial concerns. Skilled employees in the textile mills, the various railroads and the larger stores located in Knoxville's central business district all have comprehensive data on their places of employment and their occupational position. In short, the Directory more fully describes the prestigious occupations in the city's larger factories and stores. This bias did not adversely affect this study. If, however, one were researching an area within the city whose inhabitants held only unskilled positions, the Directory would be an inadequate source for occupational information. The Directory's value for precisely locating individuals within the city would not, however, be diminished. This is perhaps the Directory's forte. This locational information may be augmented when it is used in conjunction with the Sanborn Maps which cover large portions of the city from the period of the late nineteenth century up to the mid twentieth century.

The Sanborn Maps are extremely useful for micro-geographical research. At the larger scale their limitations should, however, be noted. These maps do not cover the entire area of the city, and, perhaps more importantly, do not show the areal extent of the city even in the frontspiece locator map. This is certainly true for the 1903 Sanborn Map, when comparison is made with, for example, the Pill Map of 1895. The latter shows the city's outlying residential districts

whereas the former not only does not cover them at the micro (street) scale but does not even represent them on the locator map. This is the reason why the Pill Map was considered to be the best map for the maps presented herein. Interestingly, the Pill Map also identifies landowners at the edge of the city, and such things as the subdivision of properties within the central business district, a feature that could be used to advantage in other historical research on the city.

When the above resources are used with the data manuscripts of the Census of Population, an accurate picture of the geography of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Knoxville can be constructed. One should note, however, the limitations and values which each resource presents to the geographical researcher.

APPENDIX B

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF "MAPPABLE"

AND "ALL" MIGRANT GROUPS

Observed

	Blue Collar			
	Southern Rail	Non-Southern Rail	White Collar	
Mappable	222	113	65	400
All	504	331	151	986
Total	726	444	216	1386

Expected

	Blue Collar		
	Southern Rail	Non-Southern Rail	White Collar
Mappable	209.5	128.1	62.3
All	516.5	315.9	153.7

$$\Sigma x^2 = \frac{(222 - 209.5)^2}{209.5} + \frac{(113 - 128.1)^2}{128.1} + \frac{(65 - 62.3)^2}{62.3}$$

$$+ \frac{(504 - 516.5)^2}{516.5} + \frac{(331 - 315.9)^2}{315.9} + \frac{(216 - 153.7)^2}{153.7}$$

$$= 0.745 + 1.780 + 0.117 + 0.303 + 0.722 + 25.252$$

$$= 28.93$$

Critical x^2 value at 0.001 significance and 2 degrees of freedom = 13.82

VITA

Kevin David Kane was born on Jaunary 29, 1961, in Cardiff, Wales. From the age of two he has lived in Milngavie, a northern suburb of Glasgow, Scotland. He attended primary school in St. Josephs, Milngavie, and secondary school in St. Andrew's, Clydebank. He entered the University of Glasgow in 1978 to study Geography and Political Economy. He graduated in 1982 with a Joint Honours, Master of Arts degree in Geography and Political Economy (Upper Second Class Division). His minor subjects were Economic History and Political Science. While attending the University he was an active member of the Geography Society, an organization of which he was, respectively, Secretary and Vice President in his Junior and Senior Honours years.

He accepted a graduate teaching assistantship in the Department of Geography at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in September of 1982.

On graduation from The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, he shall be returning to Scotland to work with the Scottish Development Agency in his home city of Glasgow.