

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN URBAN CORE:
The Implications of Newark's Late Nineteenth-
Century Housing and Population Patterns

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THE NINETEENTH CENTURY has been called the “Century of Cities.” During that century, technological innovations allowed cities to grow enormously, not only in size but in capacity for internal organization. At the same time, a new efficiency of food production allowed greater population concentrations than before.

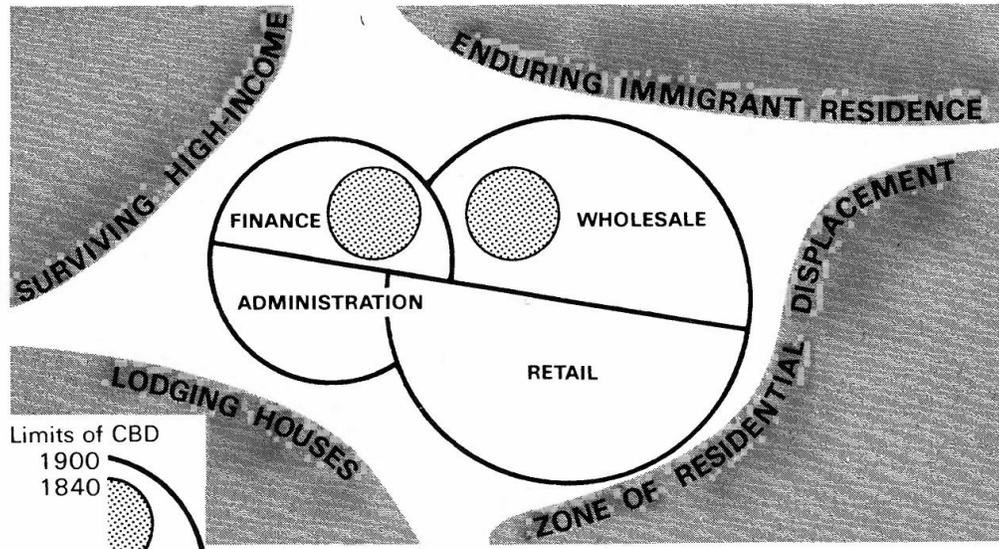
Although the city building that this encouraged was almost worldwide, nowhere was the process as dramatic as in North America. In 1899 Adna Weber called the United States “The Land of Mushroom Cities.”¹ In 1880 there had been five American cities with populations greater than twenty thousand; by 1890 there were 165, of which twenty-eight had populations that surpassed one hundred thousand.

The major cities of the United States in 1800 were port cities with mercantile rather than industrial economies. The first among them, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, made their livings on the wharves and in the countinghouses. Their industries were still organized along craft lines primarily meeting local needs.

The American city of 1800 was also a pedestrian city; internal circulation of goods and information was slow and expensive. This nearly universal condition had an enormous effect on the spatial arrangement of the city. Among other things, it made it difficult to live and do business in separate places. As a consequence, those whose wealth gave them the greatest freedom to live where they chose usually picked central sites, close to wealth- and power-producing activities. The public buildings, docks, churches, and affluent neighborhoods were likely to be drawn together in the center of a compact system. Those industries and citizens that occupied marginal economic positions in society were likely to be on the geographic margins of the city as well.

A century later, the American city had changed beyond recognition. The center of the city had become the central business district (CBD in planners’ parlance); urban rents were still higher there, but now the center was the site of an assemblage of commercial urban activities, primarily retailing but also professional service, finance, and business administration. It was still the most desirable location for urban economic pursuits, though not for urban residence.

Perhaps the most widely accepted model of the transformation of the preindustrial urban core into the CBD has been that presented by David Ward (figure 1).² According to Ward, the transformation began around 1840 for large American cities. Before that time the center had con-



SOURCE: David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants, A Geography of Change in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 119.

FIGURE 1. WARD'S SPATIAL MODEL OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

tained a small financial precinct and a warehousing district surrounded by a fine-grained mix of residences, service establishments and public buildings. After 1840 the financial precinct expanded spatially as it increased in specialization and became more important to the urban economy. At the same time, new urban manufacturing activities settled into the loft space of the warehousing district, partially transforming it into a manufacturing district and initiating its expansion.

After the Civil War, the expanding economic core became more clearly organized. Retailing became distinct from wholesaling and took over the most frequentable locations. Professional and personal services multiplied and concentrated. Manufacturing activities frequently moved to the edge of the city, leaving their administrative offices downtown. With this differentiation the CBD continued to expand over more and more of the old core. This physical expansion frequently left churches and public buildings standing, if emptied of function, but it usually obliterated residential neighborhoods.

In Ward's model, different changes occurred on different sectors of the perimeter of the growing CBD. On some sectors, business facilities directly replaced residences, engulfing neighborhoods a block at a time. On other sectors, residence showed great resistance to commercial encroachment. On still others, change came when residents abandoned their neighborhoods to speculators in advance of engulfment; in some areas, for example, single-family houses were replaced by tenements for

the families of immigrants with low-paying, uncertain jobs near the center of the city. Dwellings in other areas were recycled, after the flight of the original residents, into boardinghouses and lodging houses that provided, primarily, a temporary housing option for middle-class native-born out-of-towners establishing themselves in white-collar jobs downtown.³

Ward's model is intuitively appealing; it has nice dichotomies. Either a point is within the CBD or it isn't. On the CBD's periphery, Americans live in boardinghouses and immigrants live in tenements. The model posits an expanding economic core with a distinct frontier of obliterative power. It ought not to matter that Ward developed the model from a narrow data base gathered mostly in Boston, for he was basing the model on surface-transforming forces which had profoundly affected all American cities and which had operated regardless of local varieties of site and history.

This paper will look at nineteenth-century Newark to see whether it conforms to the model. There are some reasons why perhaps it may not. First, Newark was one of the mushroom cities of the period; its nineteenth-century growth was nearly exponential. Thus it was almost purely a child of the industrial revolution (figure 2). It had no mercantile phase to speak of, and even its earliest industrial activity, shoemaking, was an "advanced" industry in its level of capitalization and labor organization. Possibly this lack of a preindustrial cityscape to build upon may have affected the evolution of the center. Secondly, Newark throughout the nineteenth century was a manufacturing city in New York's orbit and it depended on New York for many of its marketing and business services. This dependence certainly introduced distortions into Newark's occupational and capital structure, and perhaps into its core morphology as well.

On the other hand, there are many reasons to expect Newark to conform to Ward's model. As I have said, the general rules by which nineteenth-century cities arranged themselves were universal. Once Newark had become a city, many of its characteristics were typical for the period. Its rate of growth, although rapid, was not extraordinary. Like other large cities, Newark was a labor sink, not only for Americans but for immigrants. Among the nation's fifty largest cities, Newark in 1870 had about average percentages of German- and Irish-born inhabitants; later, it received its share of the new southern and eastern European immigrants.

It is also evident that national trends of economic reorganization had their effect on Newark's economy. City directories show that fabrication, wholesaling, and retailing were being disaggregated and recom-

bined along modern lines as the century progressed.⁴

Perhaps most important, Newark saw the introduction of all those transport facilities which changed the time and money cost of moving about American cities.⁵ In 1834, a rail line connected Newark to Jersey City. Other rail lines followed shortly. In the 1860s and 1870s horsecar lines were put into operation on the main thoroughfares, and later the electrified trolley was introduced. Overall, when presented in such general terms, the argument for Newark's conformance to the model seems to be stronger than the argument against.

But let us look first at Newark in 1860. By then, Newark was a big city, among America's dozen largest, with a population of over seventy thousand. If Ward's model applies to Newark, the census manuscripts should show traces of new patterns in central residence—perhaps a boardinghouse district, a zone of residential displacement, and a high-density concentration of immigrants.

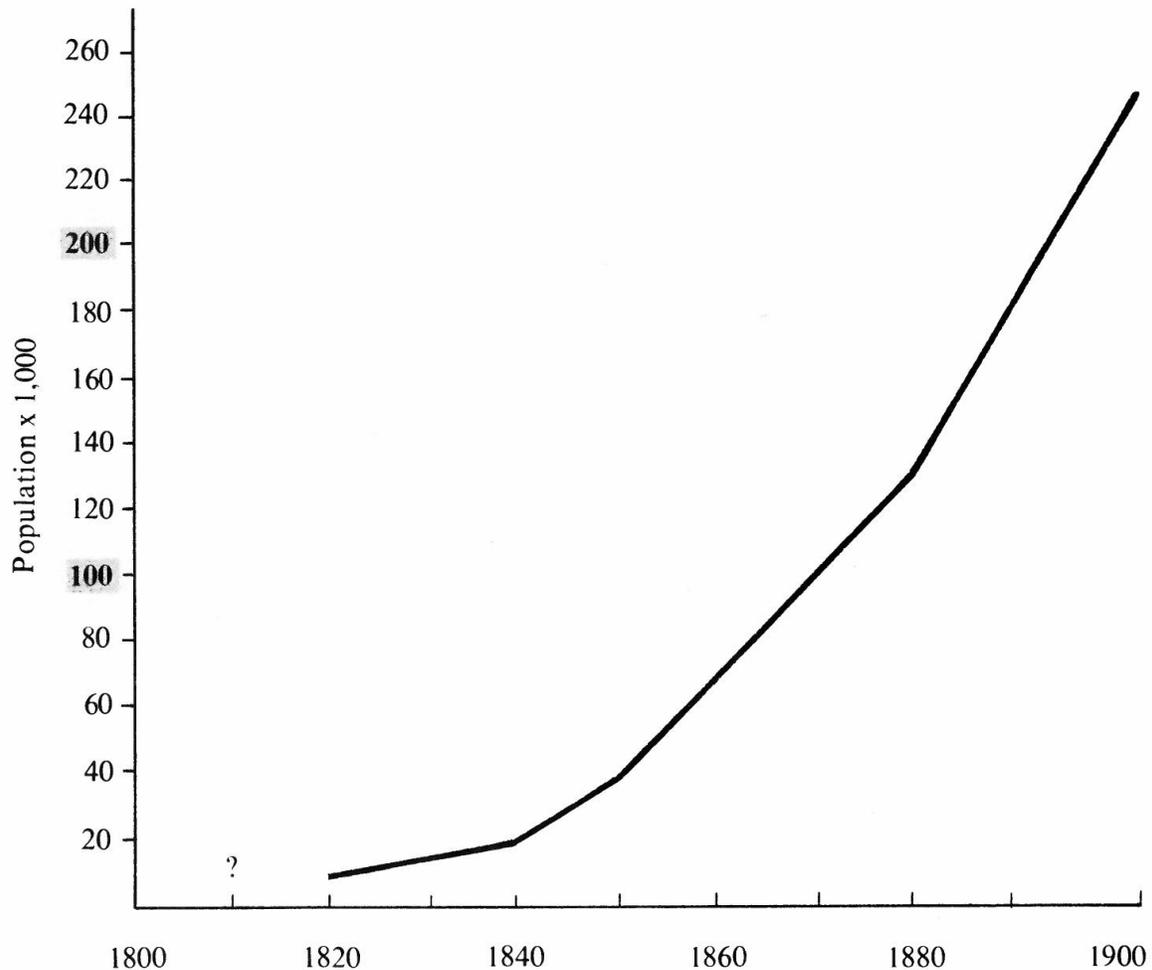


FIGURE 2. THE GROWTH OF NEWARK'S POPULATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Fourth Ward is a good area to examine. Close to the center of the city, it had a population in 1860 of over seven thousand, a tenth of Newark's total. In 1836 Newark had included almost all of the Fourth Ward (figure 3); therefore by 1860 most of the ward was at least twenty-five years old, and its layout reflected earlier transport and economic regimes. Also, the Fourth Ward's patterns of property ownership show evidence of core transition. In the preindustrial city, one would expect to find a preponderance of the largest property owners near the center of the city. Susan Bloomberg has found that in 1860, the Fourth Ward indeed contained a disproportionate share of the large property owners among the eight occupational groups covered by her study. However, it also contained a disproportionate share of those without any real property.

Figure 4 plots Bloomberg's data on property ownership for three areas of Newark: the Fourth Ward, the adjacent First, Second, Third and Ninth wards, and the city's outer wards. Along the horizontal axis is the value of real property held by individuals. On the vertical axis, shown in percentage figures, are the craftsmen in the eight crafts Bloomberg examined. The lines parallel to the horizontal axis show what percentage of these craftsmen resided in each of the three areas. The Fourth Ward contained 10 percent of these craftsmen. However, it contained close to 20 percent of the members of that group with no real property and over 25 percent of the ones who were worth over \$10,000. This pattern of extremes differs from the pattern of wealth found outside the center. These lines represent values that would be expected if property ownership were distributed within the city without regard to centrality. The pattern of deviation suggests that the preindustrial pattern was already being transformed in the core.

One of the most striking things that examination of the census manuscripts shows is the large number of boarders in the Fourth Ward. Close to 20 percent of the ward's inhabitants apparently lived in boarding or lodging arrangements; the census enumerator has designated most of them, and I have identified the rest. They were scattered throughout the ward, living most often in ones and twos with families but frequently in large groups in what the manuscripts denote as boardinghouses. The number of boarders shouldn't come as a surprise. As Stephan Thernstrom and others have pointed out, the interurban mobility of labor in the nineteenth century was very high.⁶ Those with the least property and the weakest local ties of kin were the most mobile of all. Boardinghouses close to employment would have been reasonable places for many in this group to live, especially considering the uncertainty of job tenure. Bloomberg has said of Newark during this period,

“Everyone was taking in boarders”; it is true that boarders are listed throughout the city, but they are found much more frequently near the center than on the outskirts.⁷

There were great numbers not only of boarders but also of dwelling units designated as boardinghouses on the census manuscript. The distribution of boardinghouses does not seem to conform to Ward’s model, either spatially or socially. Their distribution throughout the manuscript suggests a spatial scattering, and the national backgrounds of their inhabitants show that they were not a preserve of the native-born, either as keepers or guests. I will examine this bit of dissonance more closely.

For my purposes, I am defining a boardinghouse as any dwelling unit with a head of house, some elements of a nuclear family, and at least four adults who appear to have been unrelated to the family. Needless to say, I exclude jails, hotels, and the like. Following census and directory practice, I make no distinction between boardinghouses and lodging houses. I find seventy-nine boardinghouses in the Fourth Ward. Examination of them reveals several things of interest. First, the head of the house was usually a male whose occupation was something other than boardinghouse keeper. The head of house was more likely to be foreign-born than native-born; Irish and German names predominate in the census reports. Likewise, the majority of the guest population was foreign-born. The guests in an individual house were usually of mixed origins; 13 percent of the houses contained only American boarders, 35 percent contained only foreign-born residents, and 57 percent contained both. Neither was the boardinghouse a white-collar institution; only 15 percent of the guest population were what could be considered white-collar workers, clerks, salesmen, professionals, etc. Finally, there is little evidence that the boardinghouses formed a discrete district. Out of every one hundred consecutively numbered dwelling addresses in the Fourth Ward, between four and ten were boardinghouses. *Boyd’s Business Directory* of 1860 shows twenty-two boardinghouses in the ward—almost all of which are among my seventy-nine. When I plot the addresses of these twenty-two on a map of the ward, a diffuse pattern results (figure 5). The remainder of those listed in Boyd’s, mostly in the wards adjacent to the Fourth, also present a diffuse pattern (figure 6). Figure 7 compares the number of boardinghouses in the Fourth Ward to that in each of the city’s other wards.

To deal with these unexpected findings, it is necessary to go back to Ward’s sources on the boardinghouse. The principal one is an early twentieth-century study, *The Lodging House Problem in Boston*, by Albert Wolfe.⁸ Wolfe describes Boston’s South End as a middle-class resi-

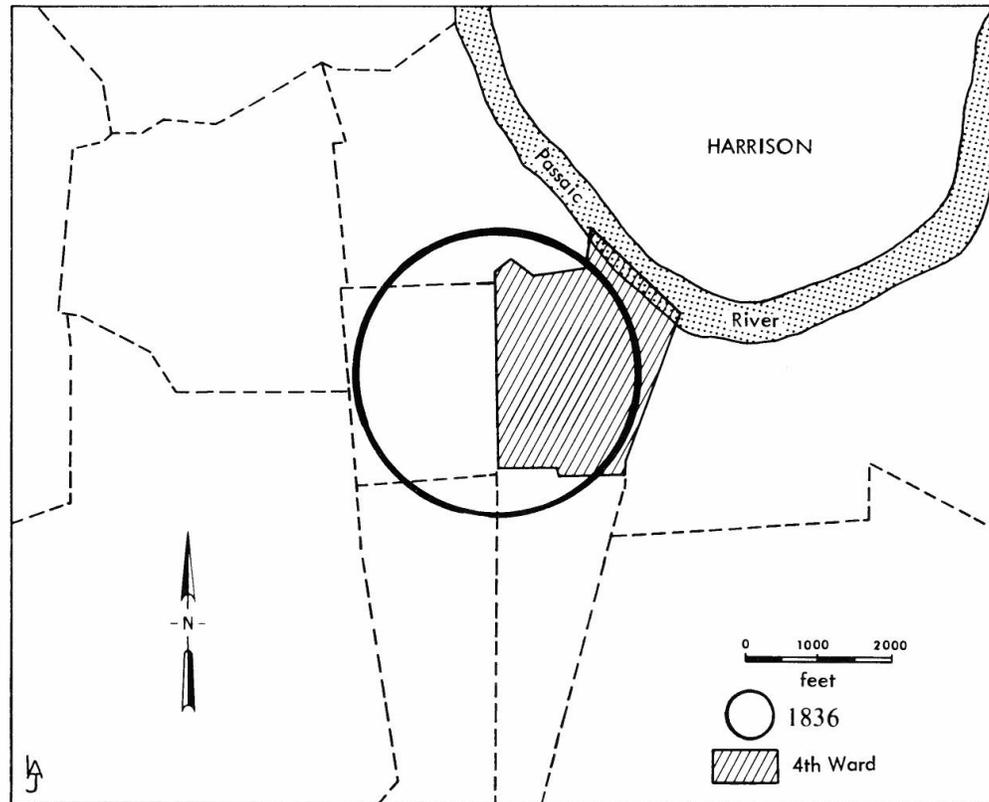


FIGURE 3. NEWARK'S FOURTH WARD IN 1860 AND THE APPROXIMATE LIMITS OF THE CONTIGUOUSLY BUILT-UP CITY IN 1836

dential area which evolved in the late nineteenth century into a district almost exclusively of boardinghouses and lodging houses and the laundries, cafes, and restaurants that served their inhabitants. The district housed a class of educated, middle-class, native-born newcomers for whom a boarding arrangement would do until they had made their economic and social places by acquiring property and family. There were some foreigners among them, but Wolfe deems these unimportant. As a business, he sees the boardinghouse as especially the domain of the independent woman, usually a widow from a good family who had been left with a house in this transitional neighborhood and perhaps little else. She could use her domestic skills to realize a good return on her sunk capital.

The boardinghouses in Newark in 1860 are not so easy to define. The classification is difficult to establish. My choice of four adult boarders as the minimum number to qualify a dwelling as a boardinghouse is a nearly arbitrary decision made along a continuum which ranges without clear breaks from the most ephemeral arrangement to the largest and most businesslike boardinghouse. It is evident that there was no one

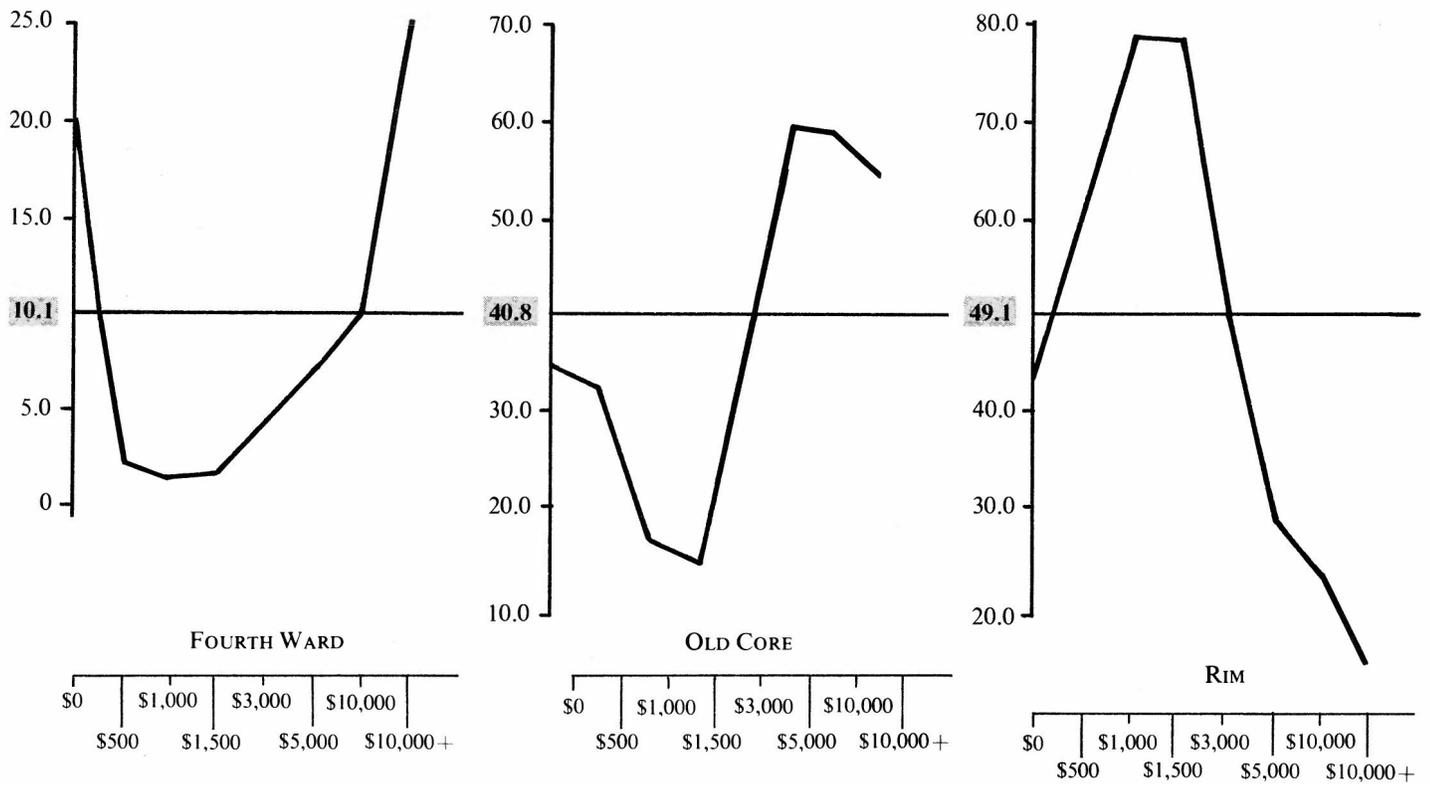


FIGURE 4. PATTERNS OF PROPERTY OWNERSHIP BY AREA OF CITY, 1860

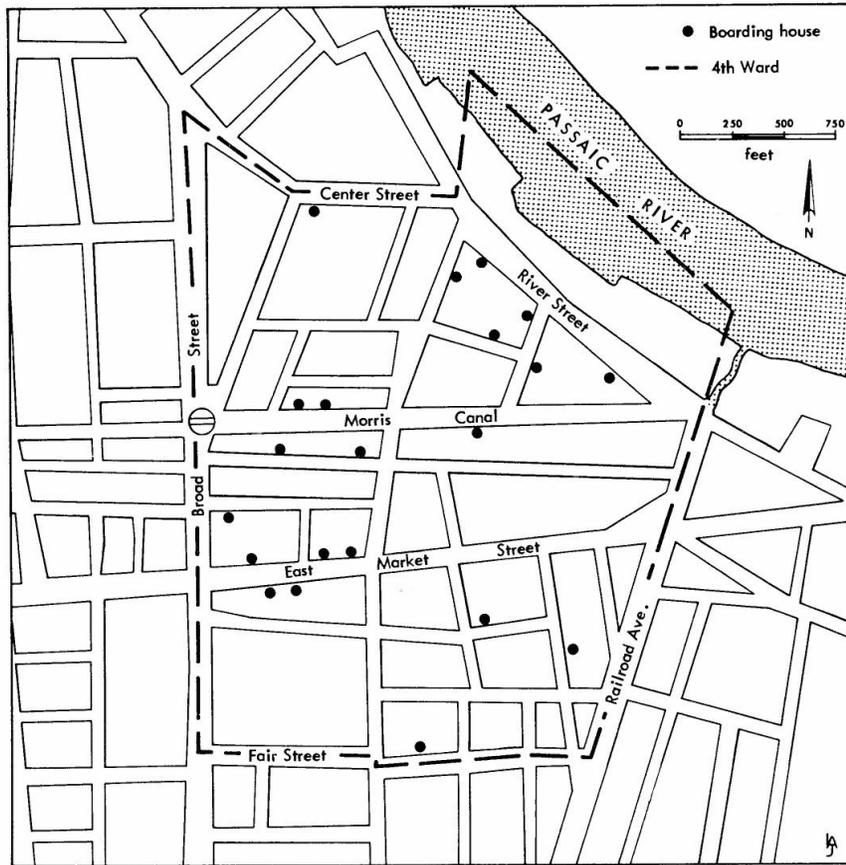


FIGURE 5. FOURTH-WARD BOARDINGHOUSES LISTED IN BOYD'S DIRECTORY, 1860

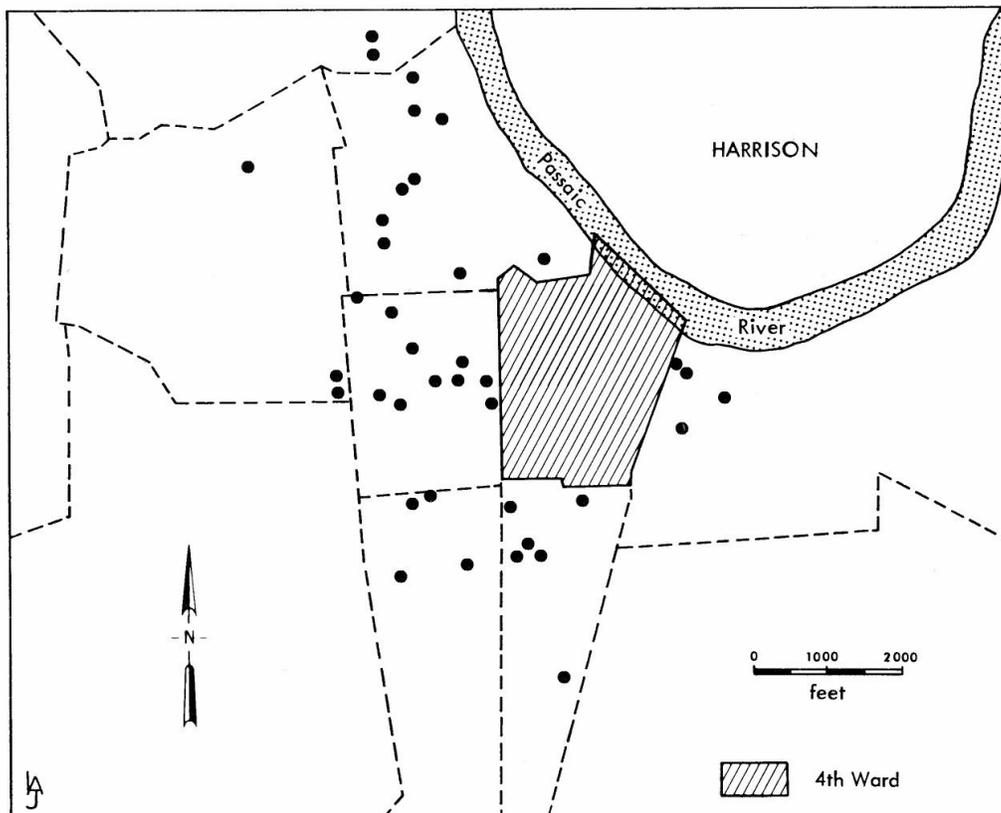


FIGURE 6. BOARDINGHOUSES OUTSIDE THE FOURTH WARD LISTED IN BOYD'S DIRECTORY, 1860

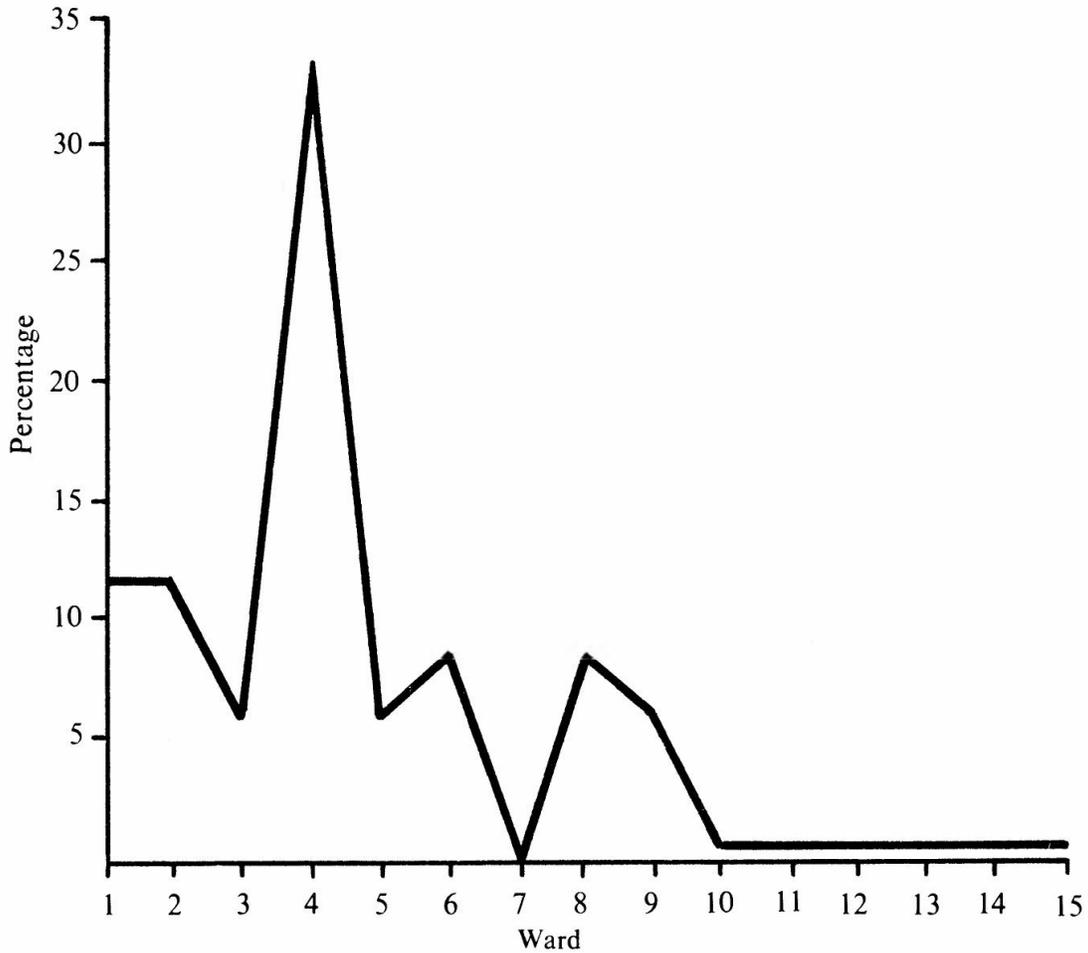


FIGURE 7. PERCENTAGE BY WARD OF BOARDINGHOUSES
LISTED IN BOYD'S DIRECTORY, 1860

dominant modal type like Wolfe's. However, I have tried to establish a set of modal types to describe the boardinghouses of the Fourth Ward, looking for characteristics of the boardinghouse on eleven points.

1. sex of the head of household
2. listing in Boyd's directory
3. number of boarders
4. birthplace of the head of household
5. presence of boarder families
6. percentage of boarders in white-collar occupations
7. percentage of boarders born in Ireland
8. percentage of boarders born in Germany
9. percentage of boarders born in other foreign countries
10. percentage of boarders born out of state
11. percentage of boarders born in New Jersey

Using these characteristics, I have found it possible to construct, through principal component analysis, a typology which includes three modal types.⁹ Each type has its own profile on the eleven points.

The first type was most like what Wolfe describes. A boardinghouse of this type tended to be larger than the norm and frequently had a female head of household. It was likely to be listed in Boyd's directory. A white-collar element was present but by no means predominant. American-born guests were more prevalent in this type of boardinghouse, but foreigners of all national backgrounds were there in abundance.

A house of the second type was smaller than the norm. It was run by an immigrant family, frequently with the aid of a servant. The head of the house was usually a male whose occupation was something other than boardinghouse keeper. The arrangement was probably pretty casual. The few boarders, usually four to eight, were often of the same nationality as the head of the house; still, though boardinghouses may have provided enclaves of cultural familiarity for immigrant boarders, a look at their neighbors suggests that they were not part of larger ethnic clusters (table 1).

The third type had one defining characteristic, a white-collar clientele. (Except for collar color, it lacked strongly developed characteristics.) Most likely, houses of this type resulted from the presence of groups of clerks, who had been brought together through personal referral or circulation of information at their places of work, and whose location cannot be explained by the variables included in this study.

It should be emphasized however that this typology is based on generally weak correlations among the eleven characteristics listed above; the matrix (table 2) has only one value over .5 (the negative correlation between a male head of house and a listing in Boyd's directory). Initially I was afraid that the boardinghouses listed in Boyd's might be unrepresentative of the entire seventy-nine found on the manuscript. However, except on this variable, they are typical. The general weakness of correlation throughout the matrix means that the set of actual boardinghouses fits the set of ideal types far less than perfectly. It also means that knowing one characteristic of an individual boardinghouse will not be of much value in determining its other characteristics.

The submatrix for boarder origin (table 2, boxed portion) is especially interesting; it shows that although there was some negative correlation between the foreign-born and the native-born, the values are not strong enough to indicate systematic or widespread partitioning of the boarder population on the basis of national origin. On this score, the boardinghouse appears to have been a rather open institution.

A tentative conclusion from all this might be that the boardinghouse

TABLE 1. NEIGHBOR MATRIX, 1860

HEADS OF HOUSE			PERCENTAGE OF HEADS OF HOUSE WITH NEIGHBORS FROM EACH BIRTH GROUPING					
Birthplace	Number	Percentage of Total	New Jersey	Out of State	Ireland	Germany	England	Other Foreign Country
New Jersey	17	22	.23	.35				
Out of state	16	20	.25	.25				
Ireland	21	27			.25	.21		
Germany	14	18			.27	.35		
England	7	9		.42			.14	
Other foreign country	4	5						.00
Total	79	101						

NOTE: "Neighbor" means the head of the next dwelling unit on the census manuscript. The diagonal vector (boldface) shows the percentage of heads of house with neighbors of the same place of birth. Only the highest of the other values have been included.

as Ward discussed it had not yet emerged in Newark in 1860; perhaps the boardinghouse district developed later, possibly because lodging arrangements became more popular and this popularity generated a demand for specialized neighborhood services. Perhaps the white-collar, middle-class characteristics of the clientele also emerged later, after 1860, as the "clean hands" sector of the urban economy grew more important and elaborate. Perhaps immigrant groups disappeared from the boardinghouses and the obliterative expansion of the CBD drove the boardinghouses further and further from the center.¹⁰

The picture that emerges from further study, however, is in most respects dominated by persistence rather than by change. From 1850 to 1880, the size of boardinghouses remained constant at about seven guests. Likewise, the percentage of boardinghouses with male heads of house remained constant. My data gives no evidence that American-born boarders came to dominate the guest population. In 1880 the population had approximately the same percentages of American- and foreign-born boarders as in 1860, although the proportions for particular countries had shifted. The small Irish or German boarding-

house, which had originally represented the second of my modal types, was largely gone by 1880, but small Italian boardinghouses were appearing to replace it. As in 1860, the neighbor matrix showed little evidence that boardinghouses were associated with ethnic concentrations (table 3.) And boardinghouses with both native- and foreign-born guests continued to be the rule rather than the exception.

TABLE 2. CORRELATION MATRIX FOR ELEVEN BOARDINGHOUSE CHARACTERISTICS, 1860

	Listed in Boyd's Directory	Families of Boarders Present	Foreign-born Head of House	Boarders in Blue-collar Occupations (%)	Boarders Born in Ireland (%)	Boarders Born in Germany (%)	Boarders Born in Other Foreign Countries (%)	Boarders Born Out of State (%)	Boarders Born in New Jersey (%)	Number of Boarders
Male head of house	-.63	+.05	+.22	+.36	-.16	+.23	-.06	+.03	-.11	-.21
Listed in Boyd's Directory		-.02	+.02	-.16	-.08	-.01	+.17	-.06	+.09	+.24
Families of boarders present			+.10	-.27	-.15	-.18	+.05	+.14	+.35	+.14
Foreign-born head of house				+.24	+.13	-.03	+.01	-.07	-.08	+.01
Boarders in blue-collar occupations (%)					+.25	+.34	-.19	-.29	-.49	-.24
Boarders born in Ireland (%)						-.38	-.17	-.40	-.44	-.07
Boarders born in Germany (%)							-.23	-.43	-.43	-.16
Boarders born in other foreign countries (%)								+.07	+.02	+.17
Boarders born out of state (%)									+.32	+.03
Boarders born in New Jersey (%)										+.22

NOTE: The outlined portion is the submatrix for boarder origin.

Spatially as well, the patterns of 1870 and 1880 were similar to that of 1860 (figure 8). The Fourth Ward contained the largest number of boardinghouses listed in city directories, with most of the balance in the older adjoining wards. This pattern held into the twentieth century (figure 9). Within the Fourth Ward, the locational pattern remained diffuse through the remainder of the nineteenth century.

TABLE 3. NEIGHBOR MATRIX, 1880

HEADS OF HOUSE			PERCENTAGE OF HEADS OF HOUSE WITH NEIGHBORS FROM EACH BIRTH GROUPING					
Birthplace	Number	Percentage of Total	New Jersey	Out of State	Ireland	Germany	England	Other Foreign Country
New Jersey	13	22	.23	.40		.23		
Out of state	10	17	.40	.00				
Ireland	14	24			.14	.50		
Germany	8	14				.38		
England	11	19				.36	.18	
Other foreign country	3	5						.66

NOTE: "Neighbor" means the head of the next dwelling unit on the census manuscript. The diagonal vector (boldface) shows the percentage of heads of house with neighbors of the same place of birth. Only the highest of the other values have been included.

This persistence was matched by a continuing residential vigor in the central wards in the century's later decades: The Second and Fourth wards' populations might be described as fluctuating without a clear trend (figure 10). During these decades there was only a slight increase in the number of families housed in multifamily buildings. The core population wasn't becoming a tenement population yet.

However, changes in the occupational structure of the city's core appear to have been reflected in the occupations of boardinghouse keepers, their guests, and their neighbors. The difference over twenty years is striking (figure 11). Crafts and manual occupations declined among all three groups, and commercial occupations came to dominate. Tobaccoconists, saloonkeepers, and agents of every sort were replacing blacksmiths, leatherworkers, and laborers.

The city directories reflect a correlative trend. The directories of 1860 list firms making as well as selling hats, stoves, furniture, etc., in central locations. The center was clearly a great source of “mechanical” employment, and the boardinghouses were serving those so employed. By 1880, the downtown firms were more wholly given to sales and services. People who worked in activities such as tailoring, photography, and variety retailing now constituted the boardinghouse population.

My data for Newark in the latter decades of the nineteenth century creates the same dissonance as my 1860 data; it does not show Newark to conform with what Ward accepts as the nineteenth-century boardinghouse, nor does it show any evolution toward conformance. A rereading of Ward’s source, Wolfe, this time with a more critical eye, makes several things apparent. First the boardinghouse population Wolfe studied was not overwhelmingly middle class or white collar.¹¹ Over 40 percent were in services or “mechanical pursuits”—that is, they were waiters, laborers, coachmen, janitors, etc. Furthermore, boarders’ occupations depended on what work was nearby.¹² In the section of the lodging-house district closest to downtown Boston, the population was strongly white collar. However, where the district adjoined the industrialized South Bay, blue-collar occupations predominated.

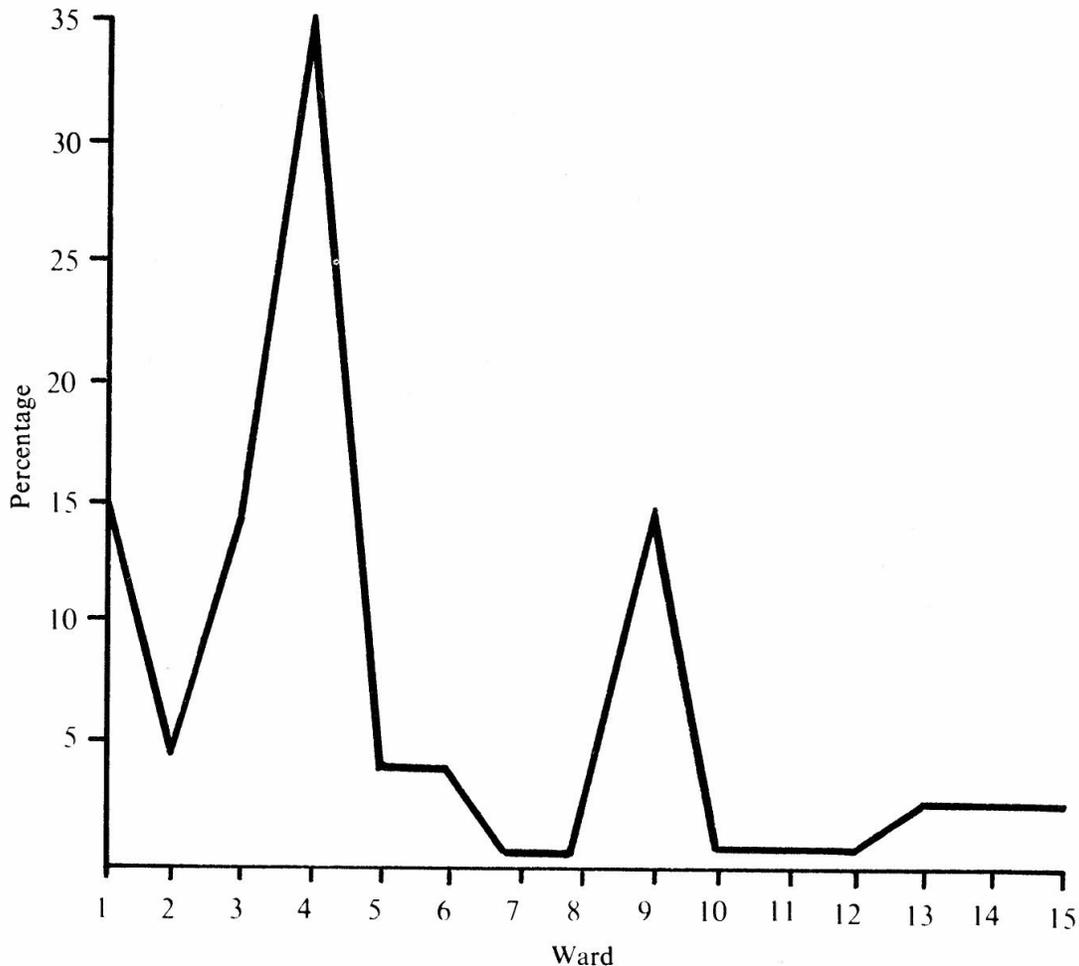
There is some ambiguity on the question of the national origins of the boarders.¹³ Wolfe says that the largest single group was the American-born. However, he does not say whether this figure represents a majority, a plurality, or what. Three-fifths of the women running the boardinghouses and lodging houses in the area Wolfe studied were foreign-born.

Nevertheless, he treats the boardinghouse as if it were a housing arrangement for middle-class Americans only; he discusses its problems solely in this narrowed sense. It would be hard to understand why except that in his preface that Wolfe acknowledges the guidance and criticism of Robert W. Woods. Woods was one of the founders of the South End House, a settlement house close to Boston’s lodging-house district. He was its head at the turn of the twentieth century when Wolfe was there as the Harvard Fellow in Residence.

In 1898, Woods edited a landmark book on the South End. Its spirit is strongly ecological; it examines the area’s population within its environment of occupational opportunities, social and political institutions, and prevailing morality. Its title, *The City Wilderness*, sets the collection’s theme, namely that the South End was a place where normal community processes had been undermined by excess mobility. It was a place where the interpersonal transactions which normally took place within the family and which were accompanied by emotional commit-

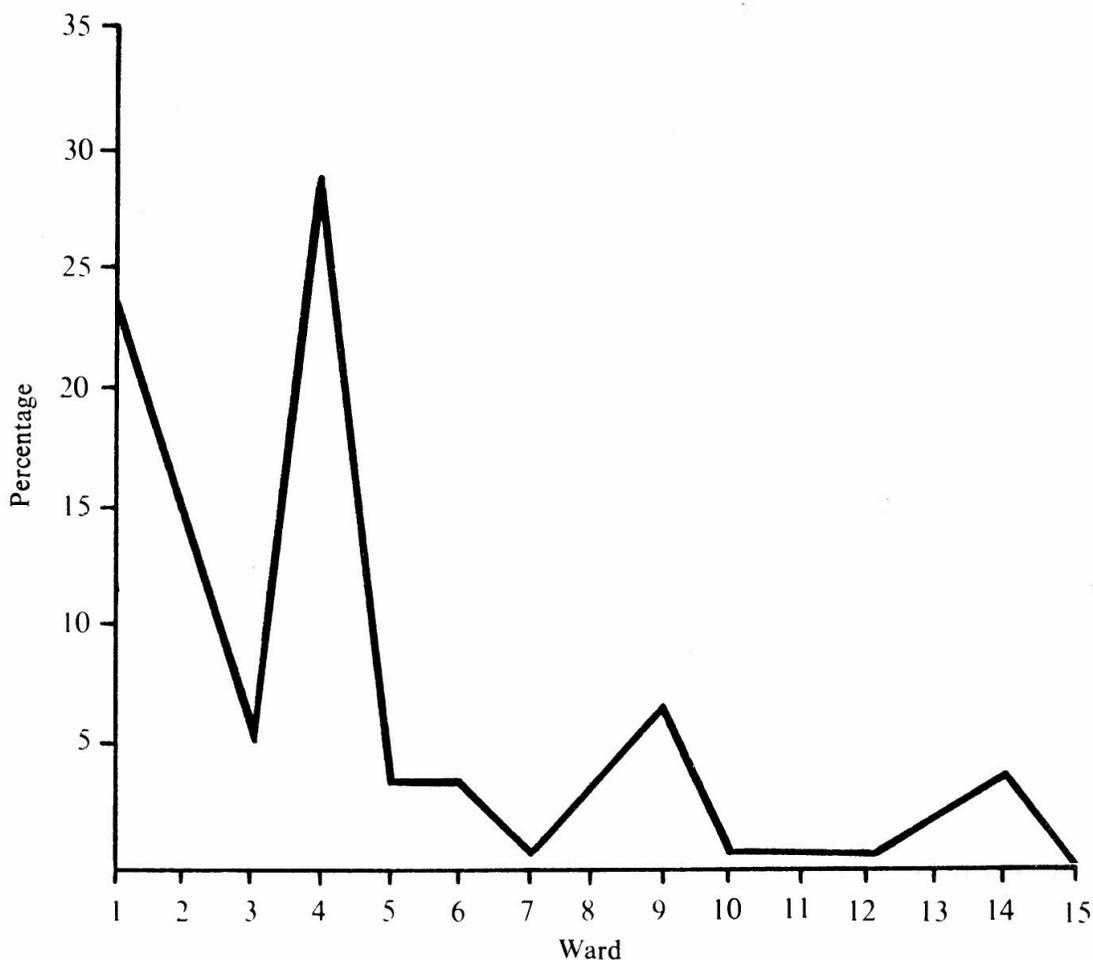
ments and long-term reciprocal obligations became simple cash transactions.¹⁴ According to Woods, this added up to social wilderness and personal anomie.

This same critical spirit pervades Wolfe's book. He seems to be chafing to expound on the loneliness and rootlessness of boarding life and to get on to what might today be called the "policy implications" of his findings. To do so, he simplifies the institution, not in the presentation of his data on the boardinghouse but in the strongly modal typical structure he gives it. The American middle-class newcomer does not totally define the boarder population in reality, but his are the problems for which Wolfe has solutions.¹⁵ These solutions include public parlors for proper courting, special museum and concert programs, and church-sponsored activities for boarders. They are all surrogates for, or exten-



NOTE: 1860 ward boundaries are used for compatibility with Figure 7.

FIGURE 8. PERCENTAGE BY WARD OF BOARDINGHOUSES LISTED IN THE 1880 CITY DIRECTORY

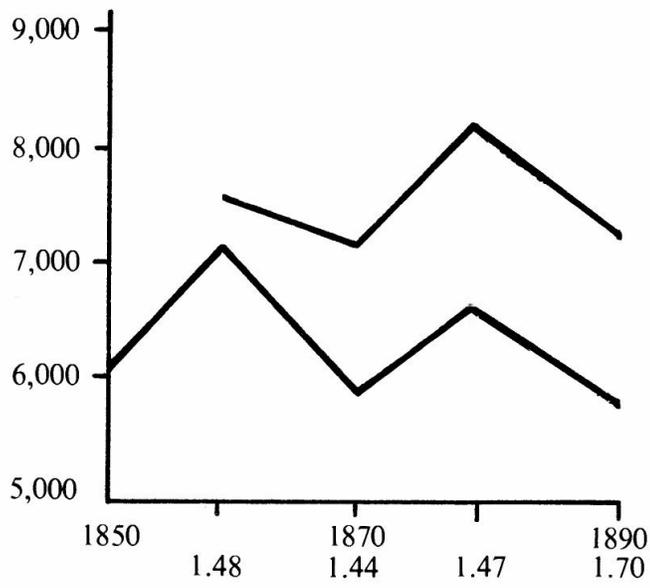


NOTE: 1860 ward boundaries are used for compatibility with Figures 7 and 8.

FIGURE 9. PERCENTAGE BY WARD OF BOARDINGHOUSES LISTED IN THE 1904 CITY DIRECTORY

sions of, bourgeois institutions; outreach and uplift are the watchwords.

The other problem is that Wolfe is clearly dealing with a compact boarding and lodging district different from anything in Newark. Boston's South End had an atypical history. It did not have a long period of occupancy by the comfortable middle classes for whom it had originally been built in the 1860s and 1870s; instead, its gentility was cruelly undercut by overbuilding and by fashion's abandonment of the district. It became a surplus neighborhood without having become dilapidated in the usual pattern. Such an anomaly may have been the prerequisite for a strongly discrete boardinghouse district. Perhaps the universal advantages and economies of concentration can come into effective operation only when unique circumstances, growing out of cycles of residential construction and the caprices of residential fashion, provide special housing stock.



NOTE: The numbers below the dates on the horizontal axis are indicators of the prevalence of multiple-dwelling-unit buildings in the Fourth Ward. They were derived by dividing the number of enumerated households by the number of enumerated residential buildings.

FIGURE 10. LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY POPULATION CHANGES IN THE CENTRAL WARDS

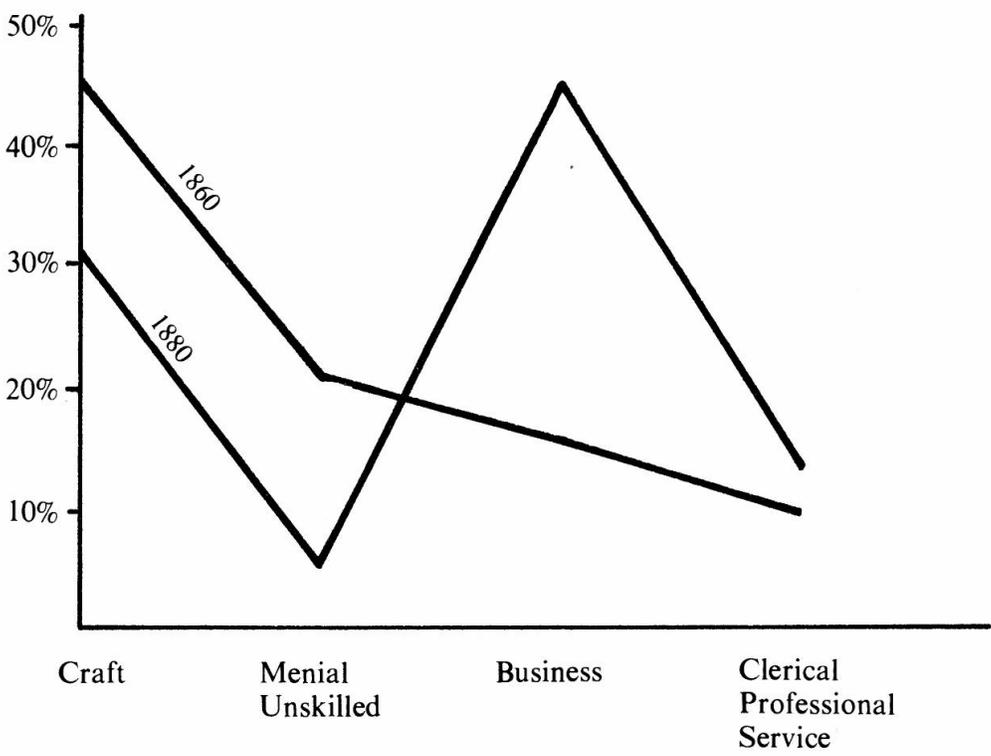


FIGURE 11. PERCENTAGE OF MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS NEXT TO FOURTH-WARD BOARDINGHOUSES IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

In conclusion, let me make two further summary points. First, the boardinghouse in late nineteenth-century Newark, in its persistent and diffuse spatial pattern, brings into question some properties of Ward's model of the formation of the modern "downtown," especially the spatially neat and obliterative expansion of the CBD. This persistence of pattern in the very core, plus the continuation of high central populations, suggests that the development of the modern central business district was accompanied not by residential evacuation of the city's core but, rather, by residential coexistence and a transformation of the occupational structure of the core residential community.

Finally, in the late nineteenth century, the boardinghouse appears to have been a socially flexible and open institution. As a business it was a means, as Wolfe says, of putting the brakes on the downward mobility of the ill-provided-for widow or the declining native family.¹⁶ However, for the newcomer, it appears to have been a means of capital accumulation and upward mobility. The population which it housed was occupationally and nationally diverse; it contained the foreigner as well as the native, the artisan as well as the clerk. Furthermore, the boardinghouse mixed them all under one roof with a frequency which an old fan of the melting pot like me finds pleasing.

Notes

1. Adna Ferrin Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Statistics* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899), p. 20.
2. David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), chapter 4.
3. The frequently made distinction between a boardinghouse and a lodging house is that meals are served in the former and not in the latter. However, in this paper, I have referred to both as boardinghouses.
4. Those directories examined included William Henry Boyd, *Boyd's Business Directory of the State of New Jersey, 1860*; B.T. Pierson, *Directory of the City of Newark, 1840-1865*, various years; A. Stephen Holbrook, *Holbrook's Newark City Directory, 1870-1904*, various years.
5. Frank J. Urquhart, *A History of the City of Newark, New Jersey* (New York: The Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1913), I:559-89.
6. Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964); Peter R. Knights, "Population Turnover, Persistence and Residential Turnover in Boston, 1830-1860," in Stephan Thernstrom and Richard Sennett, eds., *Nineteenth Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

7. Susan E. H. Bloomberg, "Industrialization and Skilled Workers: Newark, 1826 to 1860" (Ph. D. diss., University of Michigan, 1974).
8. Albert Benedict Wolfe, *The Lodging House Problem in Boston* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913).
9. For an extended discussion of this technique and of the findings summarized here, see Ronald Foresta, "Immigrants and Boarding Houses: Simple and Multidimensional Proximity," *The Professional Geographer* 27 (May 1975): 171-78.
10. My major sources are the census manuscripts of 1870 and 1880 (the 1890 census manuscripts have been destroyed) and various late-century directories (see note 4).
11. Wolfe, *The Lodging House Problem*, p. 87.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
14. Robert A. Woods, ed., *The City Wilderness: A Settlement Study* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1898).
15. Wolfe, *The Lodging House Problem*, pp. 150-82.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-66.

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