THE SERVICING OF UNION PARK

1909 - 1930

BY

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ABSTRACT

The provision of public services is an important process to consider when studying the development of urban areas. However, we know relatively little about the factors affecting the timing of essential services. Union Park, a working-class suburb of Hamilton, is an example of a neighbourhood that was serviced after a significant level of residential development had already taken place. Services were provided primarily in response to poor sanitary conditions. Residents petitioned for annexation to the city of Hamilton to receive the amenities of urban life, particularly water mains, sewers, cement walks, and paved roads. Public services were paid for primarily by the residents themselves. For this reason, they had some control over the timing of service installation. Residents could petition for or against servicing according to their financial situation. Capital availability had an impact on the timing of servicing, which occurred in stages between 1909 and 1930. World War 1 limited the amount of available capital, and shifted concerns to making ends meet in a wartime economy. Union Park was settled mainly by working-class British immigrants. Suburbs are commonly thought of as homogeneous middle-class neighbourhoods. Working-class suburbs have been virtually ignored in past research. This study on Union Park hopefully adds to the growing body of knowledge on the suburban working-class experience and the process of public service provision, in early twentieth-century North American cities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

Public service provision is an essential yet much overlooked topic to consider when examining the early settlement of residential neighbourhoods. Relatively little research has been done on the physical environment of the past. Students of urban history have spent more time investigating social concerns. For any historical study of urban ecology to be complete, there is a need to examine both the social and physical aspects of neighbourhoods. As Harris notes: "the character of any place is defined by the physical setting and the people who inhabit it" (Harris, 1990b, p.3).

The physical environment of an area can have a major effect on the quality of life for all residents concerned. Public services in a neighbourhood can greatly enhance health and overall satisfaction. Therefore, a study of the physical environment is both a technical and social study. The importance of studying the physical environment is derived from its virtual permanence. Census data indicate that the majority of homes in Union Park were constructed before 1946.[1] Housing, water mains, sewers, and paved roads, once installed, must serve a neighbourhood for many years, while the desires, income, and social composition of its inhabitants are constantly changing (Simon, 1976). Urban historical research provides valuable information on the processes that formed the physical landscape of today. By understanding the past, we

may plan for the future.

Differences in the levels of provision of services can be examined from a class perspective. Working class neighbourhoods have historically been last to receive amenities, and maintain unhealthy physical environments. Suburbs are commonly thought of as homogeneous middle class neighbourhoods (Moore, 1983; Jackson, 1985; Harris, 1988). Jackson (1985) notes that the socioeconomic distinction between the core and the periphery is one of the most important distinguishing characteristics of the U.S. housing pattern. The suburb is comprised of "those with college educations, of those engaged in professional pursuits, and of those in the upper-income brackets" (Jackson, 1985, 8). Working class suburbs have been virtually neglected in previous research. From the specific case of Union Park, valuable information can be gained on working class suburbs in general.

The purpose of this research paper is to discover when the streets in Union Park were provided with the major public services. The subject area of the paper is a working-class suburb in the east end of Hamilton, Ontario (see Figure #1). It is bordered by Cannon st. (formerly Columbia ave.)[2] to the south, Edinburgh ave. to the north, Ottawa st. to the west, and Province st. to the east. It was given the name "Union Park" in the year 1900 when it was subdivided. In 1909, it was annexed from Barton Township by the city of Hamilton.

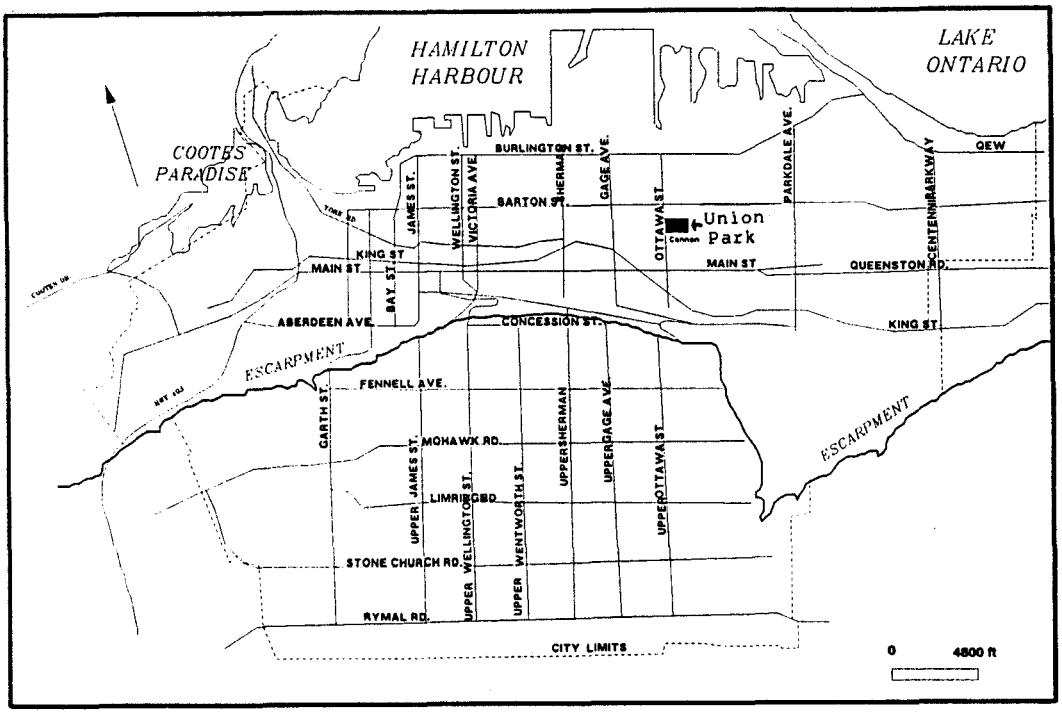


Figure 1: Union Park, Hamilton.

After its annexation, Union Park was furnished with specific benefits associated with membership in the city corporation. These benefits included public services. These services did not come all at once, however, and some were prompted by petition from local residents. The major public services in Union Park were provided in stages, several years after its development. The discovered pattern of service development lends itself to different interpretations, based on residential development, health conditions, and capital availability. These interpretations give insight into the type of people who first inhabited the area.

CHAPTER 2 : PUBLIC SERVICE PROVISION: A REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The provision of public services is an important process to consider when studying the development of the urban built environment. However, we know relatively little about the factors affecting the timing of the installation of essential services. Few studies have noticed that the internal elements of the urban environment have a profound effect on the people of a community. As Roger Simon points out, "one need not be an environmental determinist to recognize that housing and services played a role in adjustment to urban life" (Simon, 1976, p.435). Little research has been done on the provision of residential services. The purpose of this review is to identify studies that do exist, and possibly shed light on the situation of Union Park. The historical period of this literature review is the early twentieth century. Any study on the timing of residential services in North America is clearly historically based, for today all neighbourhoods in urban areas are serviced before, or at approximately the same time as development. In the past, however, this was not necessarily the case.

2.2 The Rise of Public Services

The issue of servicing became fashionable among intellectuals and politicians in the late nineteenth century "by their conviction that these technologies would bring a higher standard of living and better public health" (Goubert, 1988, p.118). Public services were first installed primarily in response to poor sanitary conditions. These conditions increased the presence of contagious diseases like tuberculosis, which led to high mortality rates. Schultz and McShane (1978) quote an early twentieth-century engineer in Baltimore with the belief: "completely sewered, with a low death rate". Simon (1976) reports that death rates reveal an abundance of information about the impact of delayed services. Studies indicate that "of the many crises confronting the nineteenth-century urbanites, none loomed more obvious or important than environmental pollution" (Schultz and McShane, 1978, p.390). A combination of unpaved streets, insufficient garbage collection, excrement from horses, and many other urban perils threatened the health of the nineteenth century urban dweller. The first service of major concern was a pure water supply. Goubert (1988) notes that "until the isolation of bacteria in the 1880's and the advent of germ theory disease, the connection between pure water and public health was a matter of conjecture". The fear of epidemics and fires, along with the pollution of wells by seepage, forced public

leaders to bring in water from outside sources (Moore, 1983). Moore (1983) notes that once new systems to supply water were developed, attention then turned to sewage disposal. Sewer provision became popular among city engineers due to the inadequate, or non-existent drainage systems that would have to dispose of the new large amounts of water. Schultz and McShane (1978) notice that street paving programs also became popular, to improve drainage, as well as improve traffic flow. Improvement to urban movement came in two forms, street paving and public transportation. Streetcars allowed people to move to the suburbs, and to Warner (1978) they were the most important element promoting urban development. Warner (1978) also discusses the citizen's need for adequate sewerage as a tool for urban expansion. Residents of the Boston suburb of Roxbury, petitioned for annexation to the city so that they might obtain city sewers, and rapid relief from a serious flooding problem. Public services were usually paid for by the owners of the land directly abutting the local improvement. For this reason, some residents petitioned against their installation. Although undoubtedly good for health, installation of services costs money - a very scarce resource.[3]

2.3 The Provision of Services Before Development

There are contradictions that exist within the available literature as to when services are provided in relationship to residential development. Some writers claim that the provision of neighbourhood services followed residential development, while others argue that servicing had to precede development. Moore (1983) in his examination of the "Annex" neighbourhood of Toronto around the turn of this century, argues that infrastructure was a necessary condition of development. The servicing of this high-status neighbourhood was provided mainly in 1887, 1888 and 1889, whereas development peaked in 1889 - 1891. It was obvious that the local improvements were precursors to development, although that development did not follow immediately after installation. Moore (1983) discusses the cyclical nature of the installation of infrastructure. For example, the sewers laid in one cycle serve houses built in the next, and between the two can be a gap of several years depending on broader economic conditions. Mattila and Thompson, in their historical study of residential development from 1920 to the early 1950's, argued that the "presence of utility facilities as the result of speculative investment may not only lead and place housing locationally but may also moderately influence the over-all rate of housing construction" (Mattila and Thompson, 1956, p.467). Moore (1983) states that "the provision of

public services for residential development foreshadowed the emergence of urban planning in general".

Moore (1983) also notes that the timing of public service provision was not so dependent on technological advancements, or increased public awareness to urban problems, as it was on capital availability. The "Annex" was a high status neighbourhood, and since the burden of funding services could be passed on to the residents, there was sufficient capital available for service provision. There were obvious class differences associated with service provision. Builders and developers that designed neighbourhoods in the late 19th century, clearly took into consideration the potential residents before they installed hookups for essential services. Today, all houses are equipped with service attachments regardless of class. Goubert recognized that whether the location was suburban or central the upper class of Europe "demanded waterworks to reaffirm their power and accentuate their social position" (Goubert, 1988, p.117). Warner (1978) makes it clear that local improvements create the demand for residential development. He suggests that the Boston neighbourhood Roxbury (in the outer residential zone), could only be settled after the implementation of "the new street railway transportation systems and a parallel extension of city services" (Warner, 1978). Public policy was implemented to "greatly assist the individual builder to develop the vacant land outside the old city".4 These

policies were introduced to benefit the already prosperous middle class who were to inhabit these neighbourhoods (however, Roxbury was eventually to become a lower middle class neighbourhood). Many of the homes in Roxbury were two and three stories, and most were speculatively built (Warner, 1978). Warner suggests that the new regulations for service implementation in the neighbourhood "were perhaps more important as official affirmation of middle class norms" than for the health benefits they provided (Warner, 1978).

2.4 The Provision of Services After Development

From their study of the period commencing in 1920, Mattila and Thompson (1956) reported that utility construction lagged behind housing construction in the metropolitan fringe areas. Much like Moore, Mattila and Thompson (1956) allude to the cyclical nature of service development. They show how it is induced by housing investment. Except in the case of urban redevelopment when new housing is constructed on the exact site of the demolished old housing, new housing requires new investment in service facilities. They treat housing as a consumer service that is inadequate, until it is supplied with the appropriate private and social investment in the pipes and wires which invest the house with the social amenities of modern urban living (Mattila and Thompson, 1956).

Roger Simon (1976) observed service provision in

Milwaukee's Ward 14, which was not completely annexed by the city until 1889. Ward 14 is between 2 and 3.5 miles from the centre of town, comparable to Union Park which is between 3.2 and 3.5 miles from the centre of Hamilton. The neighbourhood was comprised of unskilled working-class families, with an overwhelming proportion of Polish immigrants.[5] Ward 14 was the most populous in the city. The modest homes were built in anticipation of a low income population, and in many cases were built by the owners themselves (Simon, 1976, p.445). Simon (1976) recognized that the subdividers and builders anticipated and reacted to the needs of the families that were to move in, with the lack of water mains or sewers to keep the costs down as much a possible. This gave the residents power to manipulate their environment to meet their own needs. That is, they could petition for services as it became financially possible for them to pay for them. Thus, the timing of service provision was an indication of financial stability. The Ward was almost completely built up by 1905. Services did not arrive until the housing development was almost half completed (Simon, 1976). The postponement of essential services had an observable effect on the health of the neighbourhood, as Ward 14 had the highest mortality rates in the city. Harris (1990) has done work on the settlement of a residential suburb of Toronto, the Parsons Estate, also known as North Earlscourt. Servicing and building in North Earlscourt took many years. Unlike Moore's study area this

neighbourhood was not high-status, but contained a large proportion of working-class British immigrants, much like Union Park. The neighbourhood was mostly owner-built and in the beginning, had no public services at all (Harris, 1990a). The residents of this neighbourhood could not make enough money to "support a comfortable way of life, or a generous level of local services" (Harris, 1990b). Water mains were installed in 1919 - 1920, sewers around 1925, and paved streets 1926 - 1928. The Dovercourt Land Company, the original key players in the neighbourhood's development, had rid itself of most interests in the neighbourhood by 1911. While most of the lots had been sold by 1911, there were still undeveloped lots by 1923 (Harris, 1990a).

2.5 The Role of Annexation

Without annexation (the addition of unincorporated land to the city) there would be no truly great cities (Jackson, 1985, p.140). Historically, city officials have been concerned with the rate of growth and with their community's standing with rival cities. City fathers utilized annexation in support of the "bigger is better" ideal. Many politicians believed in scale economies, and that a larger corporation can be governed more efficiently (Jackson, 1985, p.138). Annexation was a popular procedure used to expand city population and area, as well as civic spirit. A city

that was growing was assumed to be prospering. New developments in home construction and urban transportation promoted the periphery, and coaxed families into moving from their homes in the city centre (Jackson, 1985). One of the most pressing concerns of the residents of the new suburbs was the provision of public services. Annexation provided a method of expanding city boundaries, and an efficient way to supply essential services (Jackson, 1985).

Land speculators also benefitted enormously from annexation. Real estate promoters purchased huge tracts of land on the periphery, anticipating the extension of streetcar lines from the city, and the attraction of urban dwellers. Without certain amenities from the city such as sewerage and water, land speculators looked to annexation as a way to eventually possess these services (Jackson, 1985).

Jackson believed that "many suburbanites did regard the city as their achievement and were willing and even eager to be joined with it" (Jackson, 1985, p.146). Many residents of Boston's Roxbury neighbourhood petitioned for annexation by Boston. Persistent flooding left the people of Roxbury in dire need of adequate sewerage, that they alone could not afford. Roxbury joined Boston in 1868, and although it took over twenty years they eventually received adequate sanitation and flood control (Warner, 1978, p.41). Those people that petitioned for annexation were middle class residents new to Roxbury, requiring new city services to complete their

suburban setting (Warner, 1978). Annexation was a chance to gain urban amenities without the urban problems.

Not all annexations went unopposed by those concerned. Some annexations took place over the objections of 90 percent of the suburbanites involved (Jackson, 1985, p.147). In the late nineteenth century public opinion was not worth much to politicians (compared to money), therefore if a vote by chance were taken, negative results were often ignored (Jackson, 1985, p.147).

Moore (1983) suggests a simple sequence of development beginning with annexation, public service and infrastructure extension, and then building. He saw annexation as an important predecessor of local improvements and public services, and to development in general. Annexation permitted a rationalization, as well as an improvement, in the provision of water mains, sewers, cement walks, and paved streets. The study area used by Moore, a neighbourhood aptly known as the "Annex", was annexed by the city of Toronto in 1883. The provision of the major services was complete by 1888. The plans for the development of the area were drawn up before it had become part of the city. However, for speculators to gain a profit from the land it had to be connected to the rest of the city's roads, water, sewers, and streetcar services. Annexation proved to be the most practical route to this goal (Moore, 1983).

The South Earlscourt neighbourhood of Toronto was

annexed by the city in 1909, but North Earlscourt was never annexed (Harris, 1990a). The provision of the major services began in 1919 and was still not totally completed by 1928, while the majority of development had long been completed (Harris, 1990a). The servicing of North Earlscourt took a much longer time to be completed than the more affluent Annex. The slower rate of servicing for North Earlscourt can likely be attributed to it being of lower status than the Annex neighbourhood, York Township's lack of funds, and its lack of connection to the city corporation.

2.6 Conclusions

During the late 19th century, public services were deemed essential in middle and upper class neighbourhoods. However, they were not considered as imperative in working class neighbourhoods. Class biases existed in the method of financing services, as the majority of working-class residents could not afford to pay for their share of the costs of installation. The Roxbury neighbourhood of Boston was provided with services before development from 1870 to 1900. It was comprised of larger, older homes, most of which were two and three stories, unlike Union Park which was comprised of modest size, owner built homes. The "Annex" neighbourhood of Toronto was built as a high status neighbourhood. In contrast, Union Park was an unplanned lower-middle class

neighbourhood primarily inhabited by workers. This Toronto neighbourhood received all of its service provision within five years of being annexed.

The residents of Milwaukee's Ward 14 had homes similar to those of Union Park. They were of modest size and mostly owner built. The residents were also working-class, but were of different ethnic composition. The residents of Ward 14 were mostly Polish and German, while the residents of Union Park were mainly British. British immigrants of the early 20th century had strong desires for homeownership (Herald, 1923; Harris, 1990b). Previous studies have indicated that Poles of working-class suburbs had the same homeownership goals as British immigrants. However, they often lived in more deplorable conditions, and were not the hardy pioneers that the Brits were (Bodnar et al, 1982; Simon, 1976). The Earlscourt neighbourhood examined by Harris (1990) is virtually identical to Union Park. They were both Canadian examples of working-class suburbs, with a large portion of British immigrants. They both were comprised of modest size homes, most of which were owner-built. South Earlscourt was annexed by the city of Toronto in 1909, and Union Park was annexed by the city of Hamilton in 1909. By examining the similarities of the two neighbourhoods, one can speculate that the experience of service provision in Union Park will be quite similar to that of North Earlscourt.

CHAPTER 3 : THE CONTEXT

3.1 Union Park, Hamilton 1900 - 1930

Hamilton was, and still is, an industrial city. This industrial concentration created a distinctive landscape. One glance can reveal an environment splattered with large-scale industrial plants and numerous working-class districts. At the time of its development, Union Park was an excellent example of a suburban working-class neighbourhood.

The workers of Union Park were primarily employed in blue collar positions. In 1911, approximately 38% of Union Park workers were employed in unskilled blue collar positions, 26% in skilled blue collar, and 19% in the building trades (Almeida et al, 1990). The high proportion of blue collar workers is comparable to the occupational situation in Milwaukee's Ward 14. There was a diversity of employers for Union Park workers. Westinghouse was the largest employer, accounting for 18% of all workers in 1921, and 12% of workers in 1931 (P.Harris et al, 1990). The Steel Company of Canada (Stelco), was also a common employer of local residents. Employment trends of Union Park resembled those of the greater city, as it was quite obvious that industry prevailed in Hamilton.

The majority of homes in Union Park were owner-built. In 1930, approximately 65% of homes in the neighbourhood were

self-built (Guagliano and Cinq-Mars, 1990). The large percentage of workers in the building trades, and various blue collar positions demonstrates that many residents were capable builders. Neighbours often helped in the building process.[6] Homes were built in sections, as the materials could be afforded. The kitchen was usually the first room to be built, followed by a single bedroom. A view of the neighbourhood today clearly illustrates this process. The presence of modest size, owner-built homes in Union Park, compares to the situation in Ward 14 of Milwaukee, and to a greater extent, North Earlscourt of Toronto. Most original homes were mere shacks. However, the original residents of Union Park took pride in their homes.[7] There were more homeowners in the East end than any other part of Hamilton, nearly 90 per cent were homeowners (Hamilton Herald, August 10, 1923, p.6). Newspaper accounts of the day report that "to own one's own home was the height of the ambition of every British born citizen" (Hamilton Herald, August 10, 1923, p.6).

In 1921, 90.9% of Hamiltonians were of British ancestry (Chiota, 1977). Union Park was no exception. By 1961, Union Park was still 67% British, while the rest of the city was comprised of 58% of people of British descent (Ali, 1990). Harris' study of North Earlscourt examined another working-class suburb of significantly British origin. The entire East end was profoundly British as "immigrants from England flocked to that portion of the city as naturally as

ducks sought the marshlands " (Hamilton Herald, August 10,1923, p.6). In the period between 1911 and 1920, it is estimated that over 20,000 immigrants came to Hamilton. Presumably a great number came to the newly developing east end (Weaver, 1982). The massive influx of new citizens to the east end, including those settling in Union Park, placed additional demands on the suburban environment. With the increasing need for adequate sewerage, paved roads, and a pure water supply, the provision of public services quickly became inevitable.

3.2 Data Source

To document when the services were provided in Union Park, the primary source of data was Hamilton City Council minutes. The minutes were examined for the years 1909 through to 1930. They record the exact date when streets were supplied with the major public services (light, water, sewers, cement walks, paved roads etc.); and also record petitions that were proposed by local residents. The actual political process of providing a service is also documented in the minutes.[8] For a Hamilton street to be improved, a request had to be submitted to council either by a residential petition, or as a report under the Local Improvement Act. The feasibility of provision was then considered by the City Engineer, who filed an official report on the probable cost

of the improvement, and the appropriate action to be taken. The recommendation of the engineer was then considered and usually adopted with official reports by the Works Committee, Board of Control, and City Council in that order. A request to local contractors to submit their tenders then followed. Upon Council acceptance of a tender, a by-law for the local improvement was set out, the contract was awarded and construction transpired. Once the service was in place, the by-law was accompanied by a schedule of debentures which apportioned the cost to be borne by the city, and the cost to the owners of the land affected by the improvements. When costs were divided, the residents usually were responsible for 60% to 85% of the total.[9]

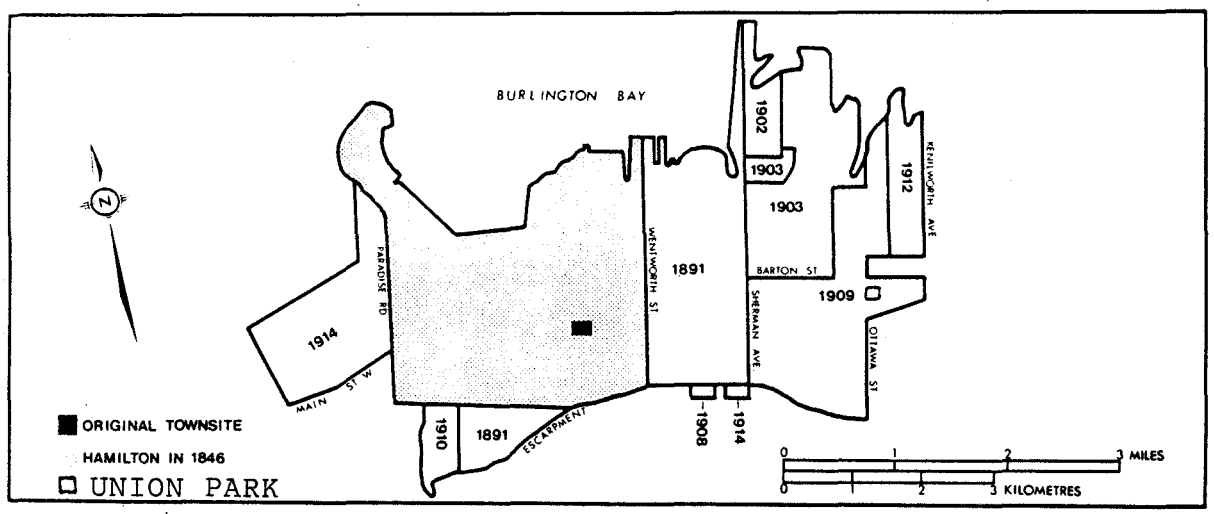
The minutes' complete account of the political process is both a strength and weakness. They provide valuable insights into the process, and perhaps information on the politicians and policy makers of the day. However, for the researcher who is interested in straight facts and dates on service provision alone, it constructs a barrage of formalities that hinder the process of information retrieval.

3.3 Methodology

Data on service provision were gathered by searching through the index that accompanies the minutes for each year. By examining the index for the name of each street in Union

Park it was possible to find the page numbers where they were mentioned. Ottawa street, being highly commercial, was not included in this study of the making of a residential neighbourhood. By examining each entry it was possible to determine whether the actions discussed involved a portion of the street that fell within Union Park, and whether any service provision had taken place. Some information on services was not filed under the street name,[10] and the provision of these services had to be determined by looking up the specific service in the index.

3.4 The Annexation of Barton Township



Source: Weaver, 1982.

Figure 2: Hamilton's Boundary Extensions, 1846 - 1914.

Annexations played an essential role in Hamilton's growth. A total of 19 annexations took place between 1891 and 1960 (Weaver, 1982) (See figure 2). A large portion of Hamilton east, and Hamilton mountain once belonged to Barton Township, a self governing entity. Union Park was annexed to the city in 1909.

As with most annexations of the early 1900's, the 1909 expansion took place in response to local petitions. Citizens rallied in response to the inadequate level of services supplied by the township. On March 18, a special meeting was called, and a committee of politicians was formed to consider petitions from over 576 residents of Barton Township (Postma, n.d.). In the fall of 1909, the committee made the recommendation for annexation, on the stipulation that proper sewer and water connections be installed. The annexation would increase the city's size by 1,272 acres, to a total of 4,988 (Weaver, 1982). The specific area engulfed by the annexation can be seen on Figure 2. No reports were made on the actual number of people involved in the transfer. According to assessment figures, Hamilton's population as of October 1, 1909, was 67,268, and exactly one year later, it was given as 73,538 (Gagan, 1989, p.166). The land was passed over to Hamilton on November 1st of 1909, upon acceptance by the O.R.M.B. (Ontario Railway and Municipal Board) (Postma, n.d.).

The O.R.M.B. required that the city be responsible for

sewerage construction, but not for water mains unless sufficient funds were available. Other conditions of the annexation were that: the township laws were not applicable after November 1st, the Township pay the 1909 expense of cement sidewalk construction, the city proceed to manage both the Ottawa street and Tolley street schools and be responsible for teacher salaries, and the city was entitled to all tax revenues after November 1st from the new citizens, at new city rates (Hamilton City Council Minutes, 1909). Given this last condition, it was not difficult for the city to honour the stipulation that they provide water mains and sewers, because they had a new source of revenue to pay for them.

As mentioned earlier, most annexations, including the annexation of Union Park in 1909, were initiated by residents in response to inadequate services. However, all annexations in Hamilton after a certain period (1948), were introduced by the city. Residents of Barton Township by this time were quite satisfied with the level of services in their neighbourhoods, and were not willing, or able, to accept an increase in taxes (Postma, n.d.). The residents of Barton were also quite opposed to the idea that their township was slowly disintegrating, in the hands of Hamilton. The city tended to initiate annexation proceedings in later years, in the name of progress, controlled development and sound urban planning (Postma, n.d.). Barton simply did not have the necessary population, and associated tax base to fend off

annexation by Hamilton. The anti-annexationist stance of later years was clearly opposite to the attitudes of the early Barton Township residents of 1909.

The process of petitioning for annexation was comparable in length to the process of petitioning for services. If residents wished to be annexed, their first step was to submit a petition to city hall, and the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board. The city received the petition, and subsequently formed a committee to consider the application, and associated interests of the city. Discussions with Township officials were usually to follow. If the committee recommended the annexation, then the council would notify both the O.R.M.B. and Barton Township of their decision. A draft order outlining all the terms, conditions and specifications of the deal from the city's standpoint, would then be produced and sent to the board. Barton would have the opportunity to submit a similar statement. After both sides had responded, a hearing was held, allowing both Hamilton and Barton to plead their case before the O.R.M.B. If both responses were for the same actions, then no hearing was necessary, and the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board would give final ruling. If both sides did not agree, the case was referred to the Private Bills committee of the Ontario Legislature. The final ruling was almost always in favour of the city. Decisions were usually made in the name of progress, disregarding the desires of the smaller power.[11]

3.5 Financing The New Services

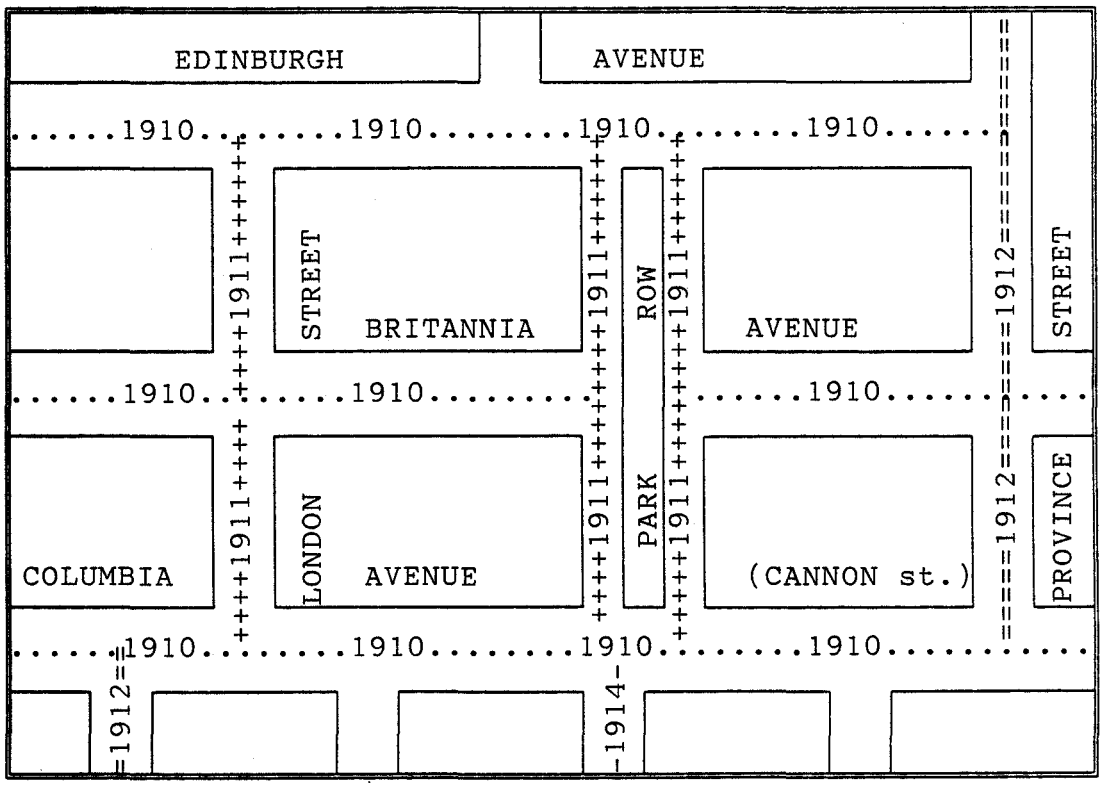
The costs of installing the major public services were assessed to the owners of the land that directly abutted the street where the improvement was situated. The cost to Hamilton residents for receiving major services worked on a system that charged a specific rate per foot frontage. Most of the 290 lots in Union Park had a frontage 25 feet wide, and a depth of 100 feet. Under this system, houses on the corner of two streets paid for services that were installed on the street that their house faced (the street they were addressed by). This method of paying for services gave the city a source of capital to pay for the extension of infrastructure - a side benefit of annexation. The citizens who felt that the cost of services outweighed their benefits had a chance to petition against their installation. The cost of service provision was first made known to the local residents in a report of the City Engineer who assessed the feasibility and probable cost of the service. This report usually included the estimated total cost of the service, as well as the total cost per foot of improvement, and the total number of feet covered by the improvement. After this time the citizen had a chance to petition against the installation of the service. Once a tender had been accepted, a further report of local improvements by the Works Committee was issued outlining the total cost of the project, as well as the portion of the cost

of the service to be borne by those directly abutting the area of improvement, and the cost to the city corporation. After the service was provided, a schedule of debentures was attached to the appropriate by-law allocating how the cost of the provision was to be covered. Payment for the services provided usually was executed over a period of ten years. The cost to the owner of the lands abutting the improvement was assessed per foot of frontage. The debenture listed the total length in feet, of the improvement, along with the annual cost per foot frontage to be paid by the local resident. The debenture also listed the total annual payment to be made, as well as the total of the owners' portion of the cost.[12]

CHAPTER 4 : FINDINGS

4.1 When Services Were Provided

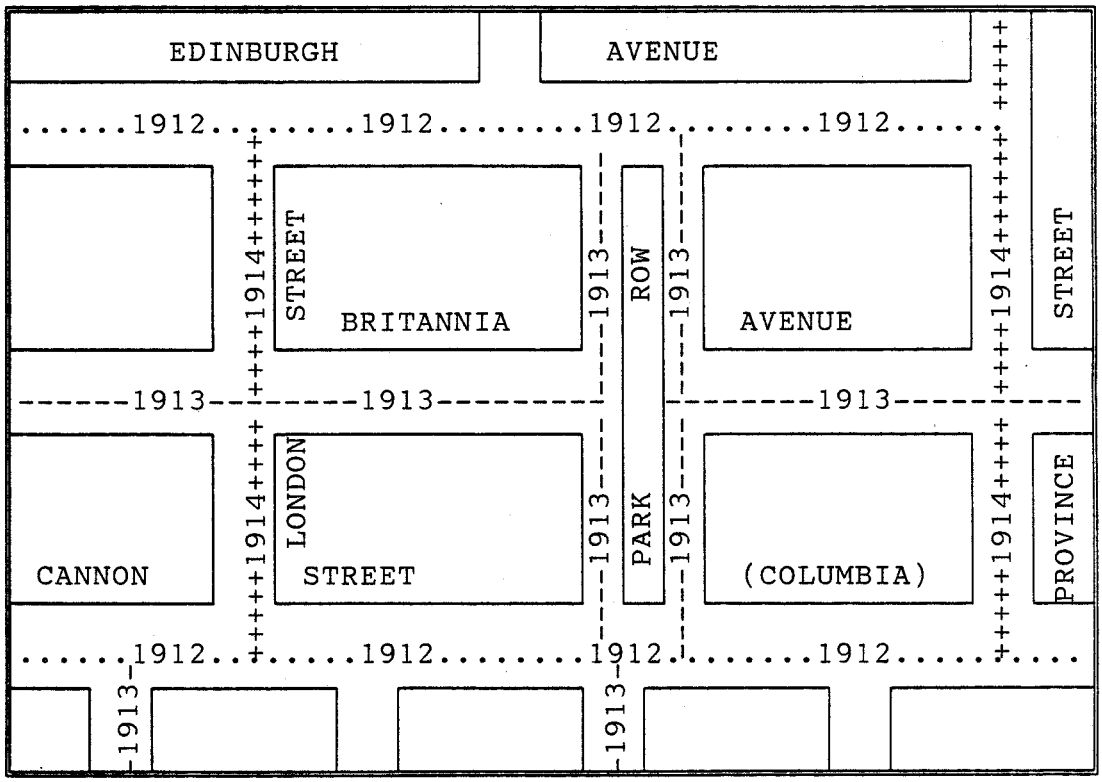
Service provision in Union Park occurred in several distinct stages. The provision of electric street lighting (the first service supplied in Union Park after its annexation), occurred in one phase in 1909 due to its new connection with the city. While a part of Barton Township, Union Park had maintained a system of gas and electric street lights.[13] All areas of the new East End Annex were supplied with electric street lighting at once.[14] Other than a handful of bulb wattage changes nothing had changed over the study period, thus, little else needs to be said with respect to street lighting. Water mains were the next significant service provided in Union Park. All of Union Park was supplied with water mains in under three years from start to finish (see Figure 3). This fact suggests that the city realized that the availability of a pure water source was highly important. Water mains were supplied in 1910 on the avenues of Columbia, Edinburgh, and Britannia, followed by mains on London St. and Park Row in 1911. Province St. was the last in Union Park to receive its water main, which was installed in 1912.[15] Sewer provision in Union Park followed the pattern of water mains. They were also supplied within three years from start to finish, however they started two



Source: Hamilton City Council Minutes.

Figure 3: Provision of Water Mains By Year.

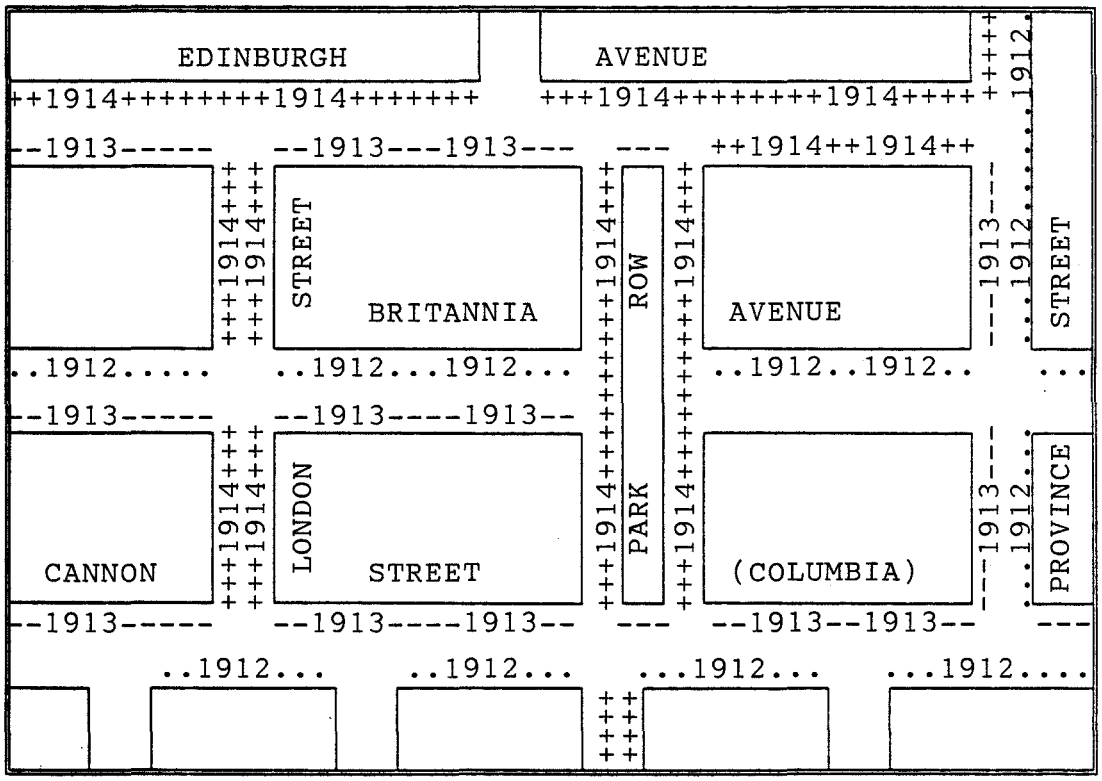
years later (see Figure 4). All streets were provided with sewers within three years of receiving their water mains. It is only sensible that the provision of sewers follows shortly after water mains. There is little need for sewers before running water, however once water mains are in place sewers are necessary to handle the increased flow of water. Columbia and Edinburgh once again were the leaders, receiving sewers in 1912. Britannia and Park Row followed in 1913, and London and Province followed with sewer provision in 1914.[16]



Source: Hamilton City Council Minutes.

Figure 4: Sewer Provision By Year.

Cement walks were provided in Union Park around the same time as sewer service (see Fig. 5). The pattern of the provision of cement walks was more staggered than that of water mains and sewers. Cement sidewalks were first granted on the South side of Columbia Ave. from London to Province, East side of Province St. from Columbia to Edinburgh, and on the length of the North side of Britannia (within Union Park) in 1912. Columbia's provision coincided with the provision of sewers however Britannia's was a year earlier.



Source: Hamilton City Council Minutes.

Figure 5: Cement Sidewalk Provision By Year.

The next sections of cement walks to be implemented were the North side of Columbia from Ottawa to Province, South side Britannia from Ottawa to Park Row, South side of Edinburgh from Ottawa to Park Row, and Province from Columbia to Edinburgh. The final sections of walk in Union Park came in 1914 with the North side of Edinburgh from Ottawa to Province, as well as the South side of Edinburgh from Park Row to Province, and London St. both sides and Park Row both sides all getting cement sidewalks.[17] By 1930, there were two small

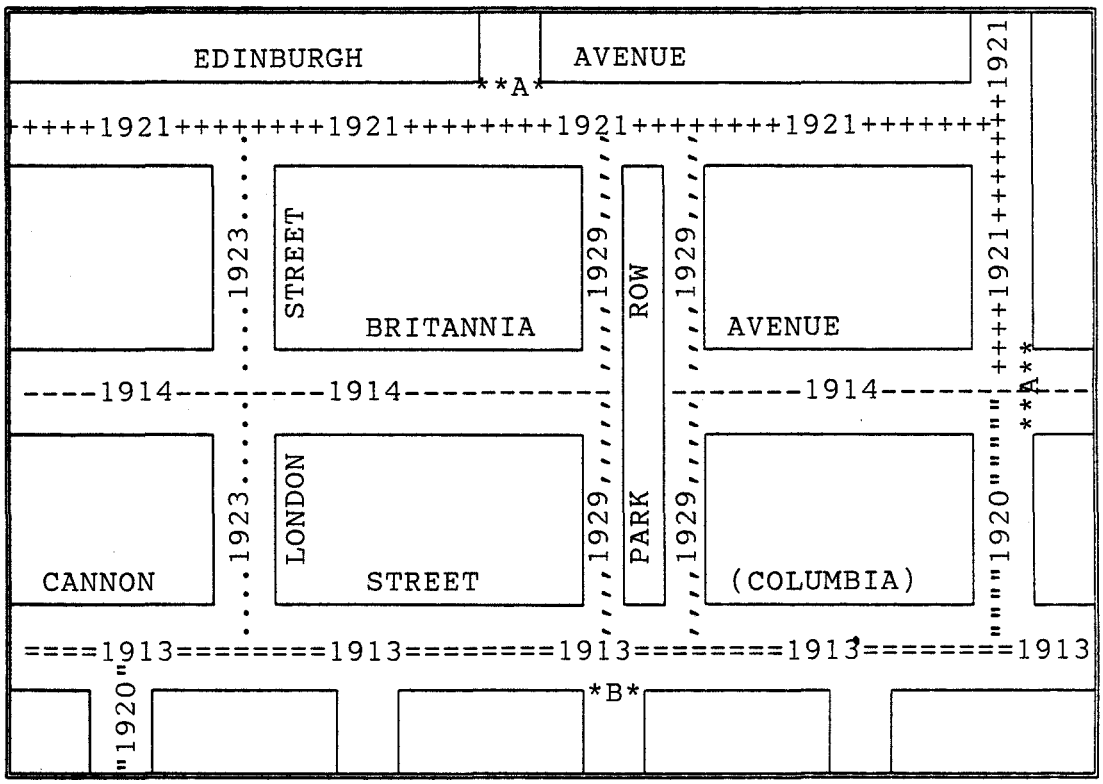
sections of Union Park that were not serviced with cement sidewalks, these being Columbia South side, from Ottawa to London, and Britannia South side from Park Row to Province.

One of the major benefits of annexation to both the city, and its new citizens was the extension of roads. Traffic flow through Union Park was made easier in 1912 with the opening of three new sections of road. Union Park in a sense opened up its borders to the rest of the city when Fraser Avenue was extended southward to meet with Edinburgh Avenue at the north border of Union Park. The eastern boundary of Union Park was opened when both Columbia and Britannia Avenues were extended from their temporary ends at Province Street, eastward to Frederick Avenue just outside of Union Park (City Council Minutes, 1912). The southern section of Union Park became more accessible in 1915 when Park Row was opened up south of Cannon (formerly Columbia) (City Council Minutes, 1915).

Transportation in the city was greatly improved as the automobile took a greater share of the road away from horses and streetcars. First reserved for the affluent, by the 1920's the automobile was established as a fixture on the streets of Hamilton (Weaver, 1982). Used for both business and leisure activities the automobile was gaining popularity as rates of vehicular ownership skyrocketed. Hamilton city council clearly had to take the family vehicle into account when planning its budget for streets (Weaver, 1982). It was

difficult for council to ignore the necessity for improved streets and a traffic system with an average of 30 auto fatalities and 500 accidents per year between 1926 and 1930 (Weaver, 1982).

The provision of paved roads came some time after the other major services (see Figure #4). This delay could have occurred for several reasons. If they had been built first, they would have had to have been torn up when the water mains and sewers were put in. Moreover, they were generally much



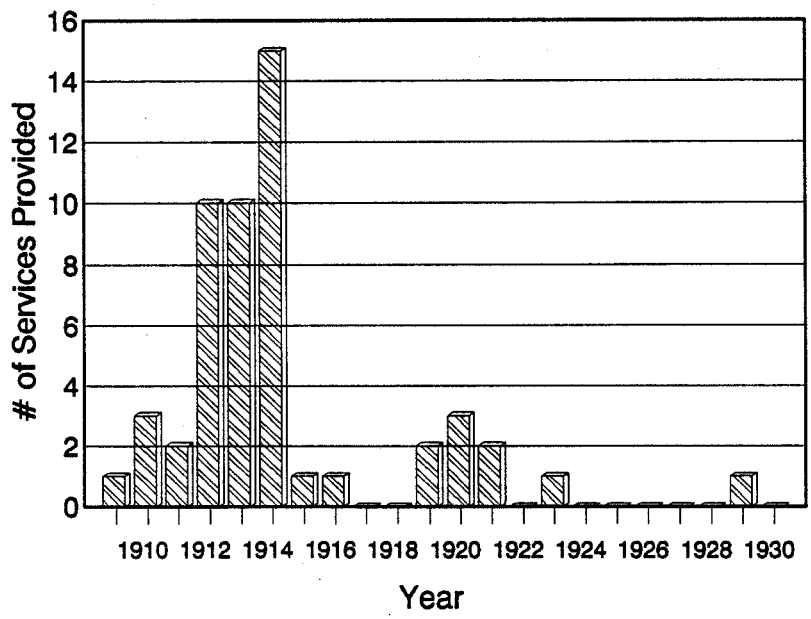
A denotes road opening in 1912.
B denotes road opening in 1915.
Source: Hamilton City Council Minutes.

Figure 6: Provision of Paved Roads By Year.

more costly than other services.[18] The residents of Union Parkwere working-class homeowners, presumably with little capital for such expenditures; it took them longer to permit the improvement.

Columbia Ave. was the first to secure road paving. Columbia, or Cannon Street as it was to be known after April 30, 1913, secured paving less than three months after its change of name. Britannia ave. was paved in 1914. Province St. was paved in two parts. The section from Cannon to Britannia was paved in 1920, and the section from Britannia to Edinburgh in 1921. Edinburgh Ave. was also paved in 1921. London St. was paved in 1923, and Park Row was paved in 1929.[19]

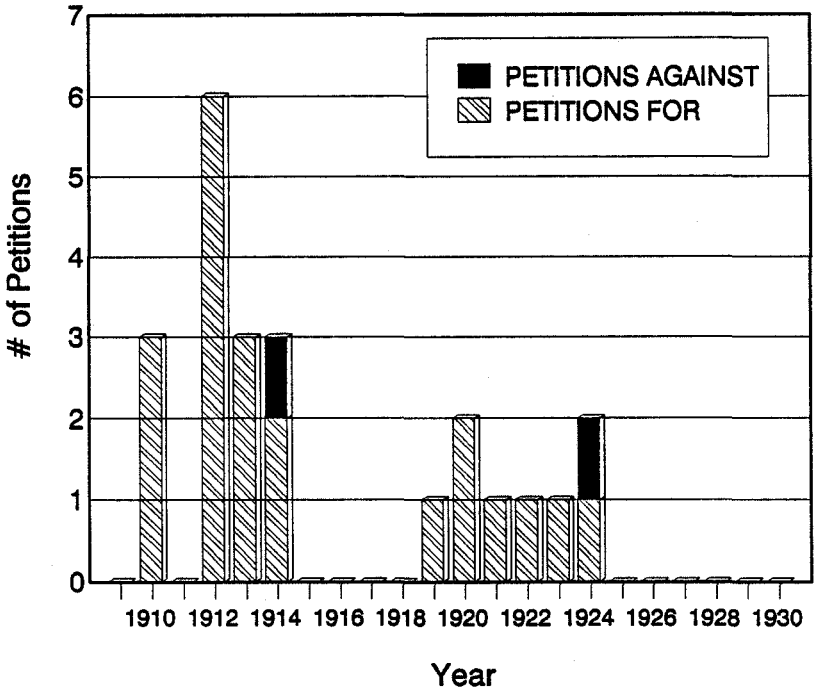
Figure 7: Services Provided in Union Park, By Year.[20]



4.2 The Function of Petitions

Many of the services that were installed in Union Park were petitioned for. Some services were even petitioned against. Strictly, we do not know whether these services petitioned for would have been provided as quickly without petitions. There were a total of twenty-one separate petitions involving public services submitted by local residents between 1910 and 1924. Of this total, nineteen were petitions for services, and two were petitions against.

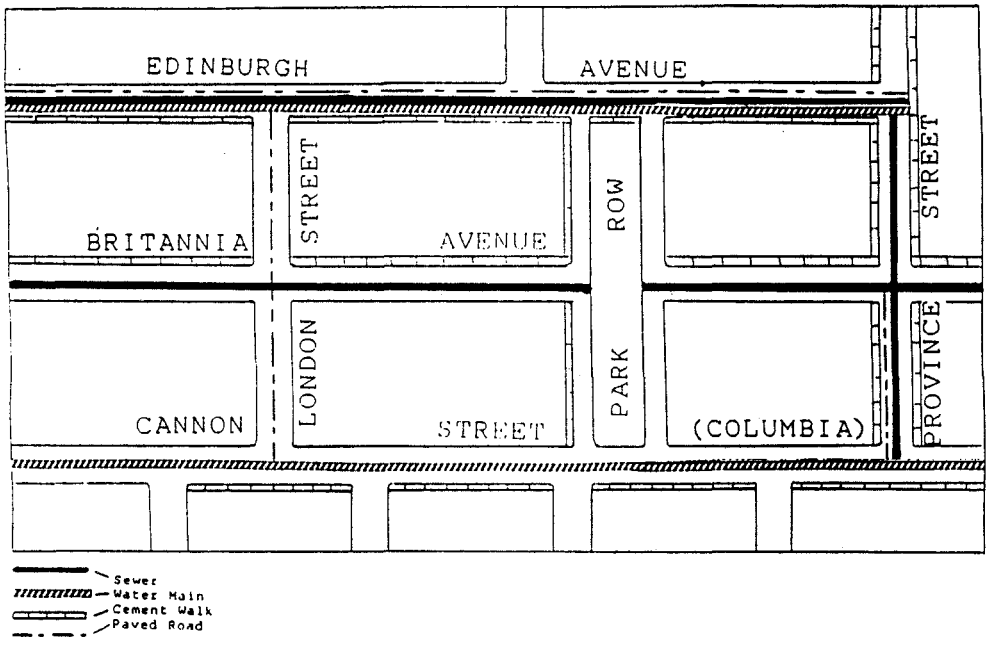
Figure 8: Number of Petitions By Year, 1909-1930.[21]



The most active petitioners were residents of Edinburgh with seven, and Province with six (the remainder of the streets had two petitions each). The most popular service petitioned for was the cement walk with seven petitions, followed by paving with six, sewers with four, and water mains with two (see figure 8 and 9). The greatest number of petitions were submitted in 1912 with six.

There was a direct relationship between the number of petitions filed, and the amount of services provided (see figures 7 and 8). The more a service was petitioned for, the greater the chance it had of being installed. Services were generally provided shortly after they were petitioned for, indicating that the council was fairly responsive. However, with some delay, services were also provided after they were petitioned against. In 1914, Edinburgh Avenue residents petitioned against the paving of their street. In 1920 however, they presumably changed their mind and petitioned for the paving, which was completed a few months later, in 1921.[22] The paving of Edinburgh avenue was an example of where the city government was apparently quite sensitive to the views of local residents. It is important to note that the estimated cost for the paving when it was rejected in 1914 was $ 8,251 and the residents were to be responsible for 66% of this cost, or $ 5,447.64. When the service was eventually installed in 1921, this cost had inflated to $ 18,170, and the residents of Edinburgh had to pay $ 15,038.19, or 82.8% of the

total.[23] In this particular case, delaying the paving of their road was not financially advantageous to the residents of Edinburgh. In 1924, the owners of Park Row homes petitioned against the proposed paving of their street from Cannon Street to Edinburgh Avenue. At this time the estimated total cost of paving was to be $ 10,425. The residents of Park Row were to be responsible for $ 8018.40, or 76.9% of the cost. In 1929 it was paved under the Local Improvement Act despite their petitions. The total cost of paving Park Row amounted to $ 9,725, of which $ 7277.40, or 74.8% of the cost was paid



Source: Hamilton City Council Minutes

Figure 9: Services Provided Upon Petition, 1909 - 1930.

by the people of Park Row.[23] The cost of servicing was actually lowered, and although against the previous expressed wishes of residents, five years had passed, and local views may have changed. The city was obviously taking into consideration the benefits that would come from the paved road. The paving of their streets would be of great benefit to the residents of Union Park. Traffic would flow more easily, relieving the congestion caused by the slow moving dirt roads. The streets would also be cleaner and healthier with improved drainage, less mud, and less dust flying about. But some residents still petitioned against paved roads. The main reason for this was probably that they were relatively expensive to install, and most of the cost for local improvements was placed on the homeowners themselves.

CHAPTER 5 : INTERPRETATIONS

5.1 Health Effect of Delayed Services

Scholars disagree as to whether dietary inadequacy, overcrowded housing, or poor sanitary conditions had the most significant effect on urban mortality rates (Weaver, 1982; Gagan, 1989). There were definite social costs of delaying services in Union Park. Typhoid and tuberculosis were two particular diseases that public health professionals of the period linked to overcrowding and inadequate sanitation (Gagan, 1989). Mortality from diarrhoeal diseases is particularly high among infants deprived of pure water. Crude death rate per thousand inhabitants, although not a very accurate measure of health conditions, is highly suggestive (Simon, 1976). In 1910, Hamilton as a whole had a mortality rate of 20.6 deaths per thousand (Gagan, 1989). The most densely occupied regions of Hamilton, or working class neighbourhoods (like Union Park) claimed a disproportionate share of the city's mortality (Gagan, 1989). As compared to Milwaukee's Ward 14, Hamilton's Ward 8 (containing Union Park) claimed a high population density, as well as the overcrowding and poor sanitation associated with dense populations. Ward 8 maintained the highest levels of mortality (especially from TB), suggesting a correlation between high mortality and poor sanitation. Mortality from contagious diseases in Ward 8

measured a city high of 14.6/1000 compared to the lowest in Ward 1 (an older, more established/serviced ward) of 3.8/1000 (Gagan, 1989).

The year 1905 saw the inauguration of Hamilton's influential medical health officer Dr. James Roberts. Roberts saw the east end as "a rapidly growing district where overcrowding is very much in evidence, and the careless tendencies of the population are intensified by lack of sewerage" (Gagan, 1989, p.163). A public crusader, Roberts ordered the installation of approximately 1,500 sewer connections in Hamilton from 1911 to 1913 (Weaver, 1982). Roberts presumably had a profound effect on the sewering of Union Park, which occurred from 1912 to 1914. Mortality rates in Hamilton for 1914 fell to 12.8 per thousand. Major contributing factors to the improvement in the city's collective health after 1910 appears to be a result of the downward trend in mortality from tuberculosis and other contagious diseases, as well as some aspects of infant mortality (Gagan, 1989).

Living conditions in the entire East end were deplorable around the turn of the century (Gagan, 1989). Doucet suggests that:

> because of the relatively small size of the area involved and because of the lack of political power among those who resided in such areas, the realities of these problems could not only be ignored, they could be completely masked by the images created by the city's boosters'
> (Doucet, 1976, p.86)

A 1912 provincial act forced hesitant municipalities like Hamilton to dedicate more resources and time to public health planning (Weaver, 1982). The provincial board had to approve municipal water and sewer plans, and could push local improvements without the consent of ratepayers (Weaver, 1982). Although there was undisputable evidence indicating health improvements due to improved services, proposed improvements were often met with much opposition from residents and politicians (Gagan, 1989).

5.2 The Impact of Limited Capital Availability

The relative cost of each service is perhaps as important to the timing of its installation as the necessity of improved health and sanitation. The residents of Union Park were mainly working class people. Studies show that the majority of people in Union Park built their own homes as they could afford materials. The provision of public services, although it would probably have improved their health and over-all quality of life, also increased their taxes. Table 1 displays the cost of servicing a typical street in Union Park. From the data it can be seen that the provision of paved roads is significantly more costly than the installation of water mains.

TABLE 1:
The Cost of Servicing Park Row, in Union Park.

	Total Cost	Owner's Portion	Cost/Lot[a]
Water Mains	$ 578.00	$ -	$ -
Sewer Pipes	1,570.00	1328.85	41.53
Cement Walks	1,215.28	824.70	25.77
Paved Roads	9,725.00	7277.40	227.42

a. Based on 32 lots, it suggests cost per household.
Source: City Council Minutes: 1911, 1913, 1914, and 1929.

The installation of the major public services was financed primarily by the homeowners themselves. Table 1 also displays the owner's portion of the total cost of service provision. Data indicates that owners paid: 84.6% of the cost of sewerage, 67.9% of sidewalk costs, and 74.8% of the cost of paving. The city council minutes of 1911 did not provide the owners' portion of the cost of water mains, however, it can be assumed that this figure would be as high for water mains as for the other services. This responsibility to pay for the major public services suggests that the timing of their installation is an indication of the level of service provision that the residents could afford. Table 2 displays the cost of providing sewers in Union Park. The table indicates cost of servicing per lot, which is a good indicator of cost per household. The burden of paying for the service was lessened by a lengthy payment period of ten years, and the ability to pass it on to any new owners of the lot effected

TABLE 2:
The Cost of Providing Sewers in Union Park.

	Year	Owners Portion	Cost PerLot	Avg.Home Value
Britannia (52)	1912	$ 2720.53	$ 52.32	$ 520.00
Cannon (60)	1912	4818.82	80.31	491.30
Edinburgh (70)	1912	2866.80	40.95	325.00
London (34)	1914	880.80	25.90	606.25
Park Row (32)	1913	1328.85	41.53	361.11
Province (42)	1914	967.98	23.05	500.00

a.Numbers in brackets are the number of lots on that street.
b.The home value is the average for that street in 1911. The average home values were determined from tax assessment records (Begadon, 1991).
Source: (Hamilton City Council Minutes, 1912-1914)

by the service.[24] However, the cost of providing the service is considerably large when compared to the average value of the homes themselves.

The residents' ability to pay can be measured by implementing the concept of "threshold population" (Simon, 1976). The threshold population as applied to the situation of Union Park, is defined as the percentage of lots which were developed by the time the service was provided. The percentage of lots developed was determined by dividing the number of developed lots,[24] by the number of lots in total. The thresholds for Union Park as a whole were: water mains: 19.0%; sewers: 37.9%; cement walks: 43.1%; and paved roads: 65.5%. This would indicate that water mains were provided in Union Park during the early stages of development, however, the neighbourhood was highly developed before the servicing

was complete. Thresholds give an indication of the population required in a neighbourhood before services can be implemented. They are a function of both cost and necessity. The threshold populations by individual street can be observed in Table 3.

TABLE 3:
Threshold Populations[a] for Provision Of Public Services[b] on Union Park Streets.

	Water	Sewer	Walk	Paving
Britannia	9.6	**17.3**	**17.3**	34.6
Cannon	**25.0**	31.7	**36.7**	36.7
Edinburgh	**21.4**	**35.7**	**48.6**	**64.3**
London	23.5	32.4	32.4	**52.9**
Park Row	18.8	28.1	**31.3**	71.9
Province	16.7	**40.5**	**33.3**	**54.8**

a. The threshold population for each street was the approximate percentage of lots developed by the year the service was provided on that street.
b. The numbers in bold represent the threshold percentages of those services that were provided as a result of petitions.

Britannia had the lowest threshold populations in every category of service. This could possibly be due to Britannia having a slower rate of lot development than other streets (particularly East/West streets), and still being serviced around the same time. Perhaps residents of Britannia were somewhat more affluent than other residents. However, as Table 2 indicates, housing values on Britannia were not significantly higher than any other street in the neighbourhood. The threshold for paving of Cannon Street was

significantly lower than the other streets (except Britannia). This was probably due to it being the busiest street in Union Park. In 1913, when Columbia was renamed Cannon it was paved as one of Hamilton's designated "through" streets. The threshold population for paved roads was higher than for other services. This exhibits the inability of Union Park residents to pay for the paving of roads. Once again, this was probably due to paving being the most expensive service.

The threshold population for the establishment of a system of water mains was generally quite low. For Britannia it was particularly low, with less than ten per cent of the street being developed before water mains were installed. The low threshold population requirements for water mains is probably due to their relatively low cost, and their necessity to come before other services. Although there is a relationship between total number of services provided and total number of services petitioned for, the relationship is not as clear in threshold populations. Many services were petitioned for, so many in fact that it is difficult to determine what effect petitions had on threshold populations. The only possible relationship that is clear, is that the water mains provided due to petition also had high threshold populations. Since there was a greater percentage of lots developed here, there was a greater necessity for water mains, thus, the city had to respond to the petitions.

5.3 Delays of a Wartime Economy

The availability of capital among residents of Union Park was particularly affected by the general economic condition of the country as a whole. The bulk of the servicing of Union Park occurred from 1908 to 1914 during the fairly prosperous period when Laurier was in power (1900 - 1913). An international depression hit Hamilton, and other Canadian cities, from early 1914 to the spring of 1915. This depression seemingly had a delayed effect on the citizens of Union Park, as 1914 was the most active year for servicing in the neighbourhood. However, the level of service installation per year dropped dramatically in 1915.

At the beginning of the depression an estimated 20 to 25% of Hamilton's families were affected by unemployment (Weaver, 1982). Thousands of workers held on to part-time, under-paid work if they were lucky, while most wages were insufficient to support a family (Weaver, 1982). Poor economic conditions were especially tough on families with young children. Children of Union Park when old enough, left school, and went to work (Poplar, 1990).

The year 1915 marked the start of a period of wartime economy, lasting until November 1918, the end of the World War 1. By the spring of 1915, enlistments and war efforts helped decrease the unemployment level. Industries manufacturing munitions operated around the clock, as

government orders increased. Employment in the iron and steel trades, as well as foundries and machine shops rose dramatically across the province (Weaver, 1982). Industry in Hamilton profited heavily from the war.

Full employment in Hamilton was quickly restored. However, the wartime economy cut into real wages with the rapid rise of inflation and overall cost of living (Weaver, 1982). Women in many cases gave up their traditional role in the home, to work in factories involved in the war effort (Poplar, 1990; Weaver, 1982). Service expansion in Union Park virtually came to a halt during the war. It is difficult to speculate whether this is a result of the effect of cost of living increases for Union Park residents, or a redistribution of city council interests towards the war effort. The lack of petitioning during the period from 1915 to 1918 suggests that their concerns were not for services, but perhaps with husbands, fathers, or sons fighting overseas.

A postwar recession brought about a return to the slump of 1913 to 1915. Veterans and wartime labourers were hit especially hard with lay-offs as Hamilton's industries had difficulty in adjusting to a peacetime economy (Weaver, 1982). Unemployment rates in Hamilton rose again to 15% in the worst months of the recession during 1921 and 1922 (Weaver, 1982). Servicing of Union Park was not greatly affected by the return to poor economic conditions as it was almost completely serviced by this time.

CHAPTER 6 : CONCLUSIONS

The provision of major services in Union Park was a complicated process, influenced by both public and private factors alike. When Union Park was a part of Barton Township before 1909, it was without major public services. Annexationists petitioned for acceptance into the city corporation, and for its associated benefits. Public services were installed in Union Park shortly after its annexation, and the neighbourhood was virtually completely serviced by 1930. The annexation of Union Park proved to be a profitable move to both the local residents and the city corporation. The neighbourhood received the necessary public utilities to improve their quality of life, and the city had someone to pay for the eastward extension of infrastructure. A large portion of the cost for the new services was allotted to the owners of the land benefiting from the local improvements. For this reason, citizens had some degree of control over the timing of installation. The people of Union Park petitioned for, and against servicing as their ability to finance the local improvements deemed it possible. Capital availability played an important role in the timing of services. Servicing delays during World War 1 were apparent, as finances were limited by a wartime economy. The level of residential development also had a significant affect. Services were not introduced to Union Park until residential development had already begun.

The level of residential development, along with capital availability had notable effects on the timing of the installation of major public services in Union Park. The timing of the provision of vital services such as water mains, sewers, cement walks, and paved roads discloses an abundance of noteworthy social and historical information on the early settlers of Union Park. The situation of Union Park was quite similar to the experiences in Milwaukee's Ward 14, and particularly North Earlscourt of Toronto. Part of this study's contribution lies in its consistency with other studies, which suggests that the processes were common to many cities. The results of this study on Union Park, hopefully add to the growing body of knowledge on the working-class suburb, and residential development in early twentieth century North America.

NOTES

1. Census data for 1986 indicates that 62% of homes in the census tract containing Union Park, were built before 1946. For further statistics see: Ali, Roger D. "Union Park: Census Analysis 1961, 1971, 1986." Unpubl. paper, McMaster University, Hamilton, 1990.

2. Columbia Avenue changed its name to Cannon Street on April 30, 1913, as it was virtually its eastward extension. See Hamilton City Council Minutes, 1913.

3. For further discussion see Simon, Roger D. "Housing and Services in an Immigrant Neighbourhood: Milwaukee's Ward 14" Journal of Urban History, 2, 4: 435-458, 1976.

4. See Warner, Sam B. Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston (1870 - 1900), (Second Edition), Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978.

5. 55% of Ward 14 workers lacked skills, and 46% were unskilled and Polish. See Simon, 1976.

6. See the Hamilton Herald, "East Hamilton is a Home-Loving Place", p.6, August 10, 1923. Also, Steven Poplar's, "Union Park from Oral Histories", Unpubl. paper, McMaster University, Hamilton, 1990.

7. Ibid.

8. The political process can be discovered by following the stages of provision for any service from start to finish, in the City Council Minutes.

9. In 1914, Park Row residents paid for 84.6% of the cost of providing sewers on their street. In 1914, Edinburgh residents paid for 61.7% of the cost of installing a section of cement walks. See Hamilton City Council Minutes.

10. Street lighting is not indexed by street name.

11. See Hamilton City Council Minutes, 1908 and 1909, and Postma, Gary "The Annexation of Barton Township to the City of Hamilton", Unpubl. paper, McMaster University, Hamilton.

12. This process can be observed by following the stages of service provision from start to finish in the City Council Minutes.

13. From available data sources, it is not known exactly what proportion were gas, and what proportion were electric.

14. A total of 52 electric arc lamps were ordered at once to light the streets of the new east end annex. See Hamilton City Council Minutes, 1909.

15. Ibid. for 1910, 1911, 1912. (Source for figure 3).

16. Ibid. for 1912, 1913, 1914. (Source for figure 4).

17. Ibid. for 1912, 1913, 1914. (Source for figure 5).

18. This can be seen by examining costs in table 1.

19. See Hamilton City Council Minutes, for 1913, 1914, 1915, 1920, 1921, 1929. (Source for figure 6).

20. Ibid. for years 1909 through 1930. (Source for figures 7, 8, and 9).

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid. for years 1914, 1920, 1921.

23. Ibid. for years 1924, 1929.

24. Hamilton City Council Minutes indicate that payment periods were usually ten years. The responsibility for making payment was passed on from owner to owner until the debt was paid off. Land speculators benefitted from this process by selling their lots at inflated prices after the new service is installed, and then passing down the remainder of the cost to the new owner (Warner, 1978; Jackson, 1985).

25. The number of lots developed on each street were determined from information in Guagliano and Cinq-Mars, 1990.

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