

HAMILTON'S CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

HAMILTON'S CENTRAL BUSINESS
DISTRICT

by
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SCOPE AND CONTENTS: An examination was made of certain historical features relevant to the understanding of the Central Business District as it is today. The present Central Business District was delimited as a geographical region, and its general properties briefly surveyed. The land use features within the Central Business District were examined to reveal significant regional differences, and these differences were explained. The frame region surrounding the Central Business District was surveyed, and its land use associations noted. Finally, access to the Central Business District and the population relationships of the district were briefly examined.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The central areas of cities may be examined in a multitude of ways by various disciplines. Essentially, the geographical approach is a spatial one. It is the geographer's function to reveal, describe, and explain spatial relationships existing on the face of the earth. This process is just as applicable to a small area in a city centre as it is to large units of land and sea.

The centralized region of economic activity in any North American city is popularly expressed in the term "downtown." Vague though this term is, it is perhaps as well defined as its more technical equivalent "Central Business District." (Hereafter abbreviated to C.B.D.) An examination of the work done on C.B.D.'s in the last few years reveals a wide variation in what writers have taken to be the C.B.D. of the city. Horwood and Boyce¹ consider the C.B.D. to comprise a "core" of intensive land use surrounded by a "frame" of less intensive activity. They claim that the two are so interconnected that it is impossible to separate them, and thus these two contrasted urban regions are to-

¹
"Studies in the C.B.D. and Urban Freeway Development."
E.M. Horwood & R. R. Boyce. 1959.

2

gether the C.B.D. However, Murphy and Vance do not agree with such a view. They stipulate certain conditions which C.B.D. land must fulfil. Firstly C.B.D. blocks must have at least one storey in "retailing, services and office activities serving the city as a whole rather than only one district." Secondly, more than 50% of floor space at all levels must be in C.B.D. use. And thirdly, the buildings must belong to a contiguous group surrounding the peak land value intersection. Such criteria exclude the non-intensive land use characteristics of the "frame." G. W. Hartman³ adopts a similar view. He speaks of

. . . "a desire on the part of certain establishments to obtain more space for their activities and particularly to move out in the direction of the greatest number of concentrated customers. Such extensions, however, are not considered as part of the C.B.D. as true central location no longer is maintained with respect to all potential customers."

Once it is conceded that the C.B.D. may contain elements of land use not intensive in nature, serious problems arise. If the C.B.D. is not an area of centralized activities, serving the city as a whole, rather than part of it, and characterized by high land values, then virtually anything may be included within the C.B.D. For example, if industrial elements in the C.B.D. "frame"

2

"The I.G.U. Symposium on Urban Geography." K. Norburg (Ed.) 1962.

3

"The C.B.D. A Study in Urban Geography." G.W. Hartman. "Economic Geography," Vol. 26. Oct. 1950.

are considered as part of the C.B.D. itself, then it may become very difficult to draw a boundary to separate these from contiguous industrial elements in the city. Therefore, for the purpose of examining Hamilton's C.B.D., it will be assumed that the C.B.D. is characterized by activities serving the city as a whole rather than part of it, these being located contiguously in an area of high assessment. Clearly the "frame" must also be considered since C.B.D. and "frame" are interdependent and cannot exist separately. However, this is not to say that the C.B.D. and its "frame" are of equal importance. In terms of assessment, value, condition of property and current problems, the C.B.D. itself is clearly the region to claim and deserve closest attention.

The purpose of this thesis will be to delimit the C.B.D., to examine its content, and to explain the features observed. The approach in this examination of Hamilton's C.B.D. will be to summarize the historical growth of the city, and its "downtown" area, to delimit the C.B.D. as it exists today,⁴ and to comment briefly on some of its general properties. This will be followed by a more detailed examination of the C.B.D.'s content and how its constituent parts are arranged regionally within the area. Then will come a review of land use elements external to the C.B.D. but present in its "frame." Following this, some comment will be made on access to the C.B.D. and some of the population problems connected with the present and future residential areas in and around the central

4

The land use mapping was all done in March 1963.

area of Hamilton.

It should be noted that Maps Three to Ten inclusive have as a base a map supplied by the City Planning Department. This base shows property divisions as they were in 1954, and while an attempt has been made to bring these divisions up to date, they are not all corrected. Land use data shown on the maps is that recorded in March, 1963.

CHAPTER II

The Historical Development of the Central Business District

"The interpretation of present geographical features requires some knowledge of their historical development."

1

Richard Hartshorne.

The land at the western limit of Lake Ontario has considerable strategic advantage making it a suitable location for a settlement. Here, where the pre-glacial Dundas Valley cuts through the Niagara Escarpment, is a natural land route to the west from the westernmost limit of navigation on the lake. Between the Niagara escarpment and the lake there exists an alluvial plain which slopes gently down to the water. The lake itself is divided at its head by two gravel bars, relics of old lake levels. These bars separate Cootes Paradise from Hamilton Bay and this latter from the lake itself, thus creating excellent harbours. L. G. Reeds² has described the harbour as,

. . . "Hamilton's most distinctive advantage."

1

"The Nature of Geography." R. Hartshorne. 1939

2

"The Changing Face of Hamilton and the Niagara Peninsula."
L.G. Reeds, Lecture to the Hamilton Association for the
Advancement of Literature, Science and Art. 1958.

Another great asset was the large land area on the southern shore of the lake. As Reeds has written,

"Because of the pattern of wave action and currents in the old lake, the sand plain along the north shore narrows toward the head-of-the-lake whilst that of the south shore widens. This is the main reason why the south shore became the city site, though the north shore is in many respects a more favourable location." ³

However, to early settlers the advantages of this large plain adjacent to the bay-harbour must have seemed less obvious than they do today. ⁴ Page and Smith describe the natural vegetation on this ill-drained level:

"The site of Hamilton was originally covered with a dense growth of tall rank Indian grass with a coarse serrated edge. . . . The country between the mountain⁵ and the bay was cut here and there with deep ravines and dotted with patches of swamp. . . . The monotony of the Indian grass was relieved here and there by a tall water elm, and close, low, and almost impenetrable patches of shrubbery which formed a safe shelter for wolves."

The origins of Hamilton's urbanization can be traced

³
Op. cit.

⁴
"Illustrated Atlas of Wentworth County." Page & Smith. 1875.

⁵
i. e. The Niagara escarpment.

MAP ONE : LOCATION OF THE C.B.D..

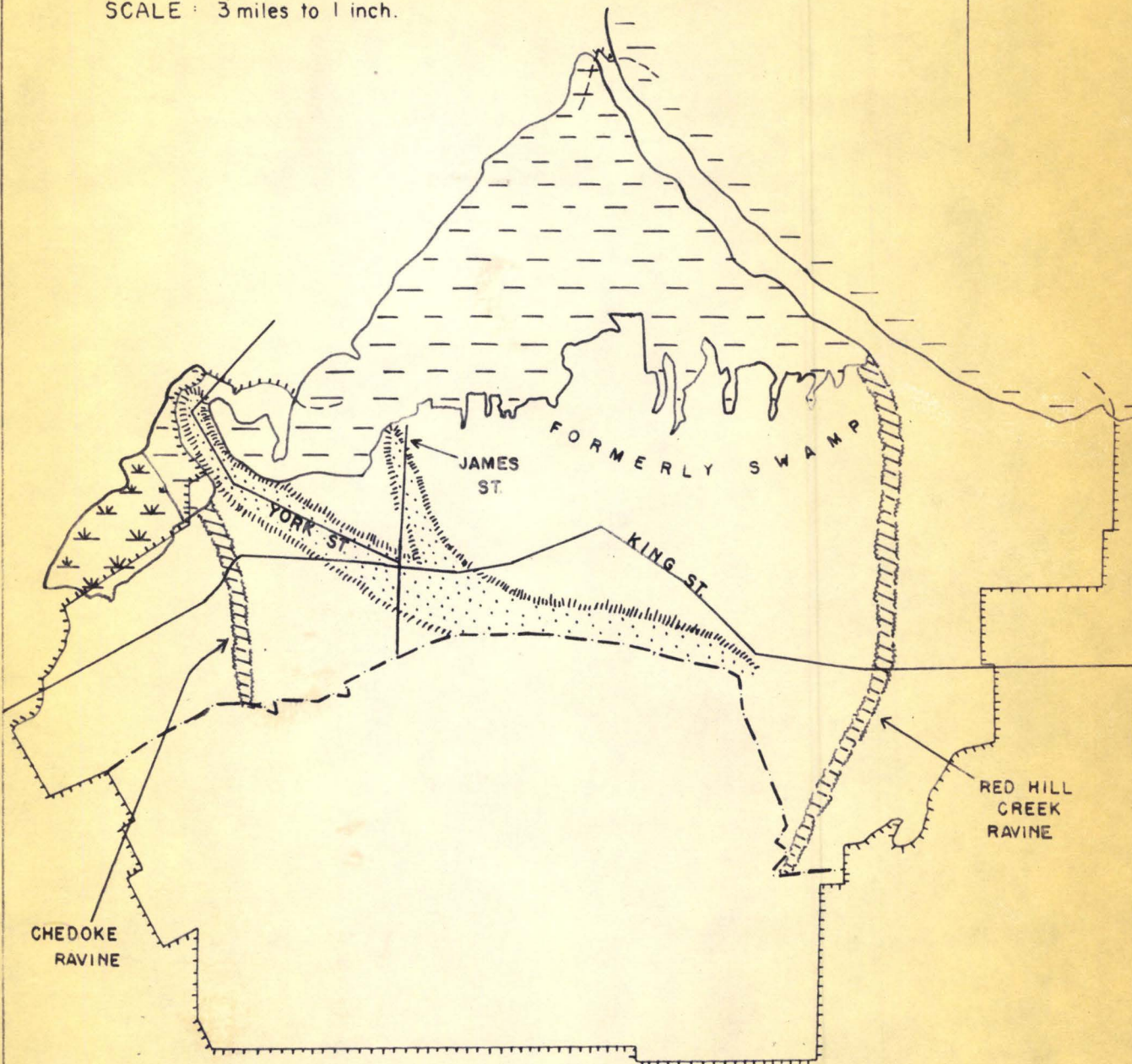
CITY LIMITS 1963

GRAVEL BARS

C. B. D.

NIAGARA SCARP SLOPE

SCALE : 3 miles to 1 inch.



back to 1813 when George Hamilton and his family, fleeing from the troubled Niagara frontier, arrived at the site. It is largely to this loyalist pioneer that the city owes the current street pattern of its C.B.D. However as early as 1785 Charles Depew and George Stewart had come along the Indian trail which was to become King Street. This street is thus the oldest route in Hamilton's central area. N. D. Wilson and A. E. K. Bunnell⁶ point out,

"It is not unlikely that, prior to the townsite being laid out, and at any rate prior to the sub-division of the township, York Street carried directly into King Street."

Even in Indian times the site of what is now Hamilton's C.B.D. was a focus of routes, one from Niagara, one from Detroit, and one across the "Burlington Heights" gravel bar from the settlement that is present day Toronto. James Street, which helped locate the settlement's nucleus at its junction with King Street, was a township road drawn up after 1813. Wilson and Bunnell in the reference cited above, consider the importance of James Street to be coincidental with the fact that it happened to meet the bay shore at a place where the ground was high and the water deep. Southward it intersected the foot of "the mountain" at a point where the escarpment could be advantageously climbed, as they suggest it was, probably by an

⁶
 "Major Street Systems of the City of Hamilton." Report by N. D. Wilson and A. E. K. Bunnell. 1950.

Indian Trail. In addition James Street intersected the main Indian Trail just west of where the latter forked.

At the junction of the major north-south and east-west streets a focal point was created. According to J. Smith,⁷

"... a gore⁸ was left on the south side of King Street. This gore was afterwards given as a Public Park, with the understanding that a similar portion on the north side of King Street should be given for the same purpose. This however, was never done and the gore remains as originally given."

While George Hamilton was responsible for promoting settlement and laying out roads along property lines, he was not the sole settler even in 1812. Page and Smith⁹ mention eight other settlers who, with their families, formed the land which has since become the core of Hamilton's "downtown." This source also notes that,

"A man named Barnum kept a tavern on the north-west corner of James and King"

Thus the earliest recorded retail establishment in Hamilton was at the intersection which is still the most desirable location in the retailing district. Page and Smith¹⁰ record

⁷
"The City of Hamilton." J. Smith. Wentworth Historical Society. Vol.6. p.64. 1915

⁸
 Gore Park derives its name from its shape and is not named after Sir Francis Gore, who gave his name to the Gore District.

⁹
 Op. cit.

¹⁰
 Op. cit.

that the first store was opened in 1814 by William Sheldon and was located at the corner of King and John Streets. These authors also state that by the end of the 1812-1814 war, the settlement had a wagon-maker, a tinsmith, a foundry and a blacksmith, and was quite a popular meeting place for settlers from the other villages which existed at the head of Lake Ontario.

At the close of the 1812-1814 war there were four clusters of settlement at the head of the lake. In a broad sense Hamilton, Dundas, Ancaster and Burlington all shared the lake head situation but had chosen different sites to exploit it. Ancaster had been the earliest settlement of importance. Located on an Indian trail to the west, it had utilized the Ancaster Creek as a source of power. Its site was above the ill-drained lake shore and reasonably defensible in these early days. Burlington was an embryonic port at the north-end of the outer sand bar. However, since only boats of a few feet draught could be accommodated, its importance as a port was to be short-lived. Dundas, which had been begun in 1793, was a site of some considerable potential. The town was by far the most important settlement of the region for a long time, chiefly because it benefited from being at the extreme head of navigation on Lake Ontario. By means of portage over the gravel bars, supplies and raw materials could be brought by shallow boat to Dundas where water power was available for some

manufacturing. The town was backed up by routes facilitating distribution of goods inland to settlements further west. These advantages of the site of Dundas had been significant for two decades before Hamilton was laid out, and they remained operative for almost another twenty years after Hamilton's foundation.

In March 1816 the Gore District was formed out of portions of Home and Niagara Districts. Hamilton was selected as the district town with provision made for the erection of a jail and court house.

In the spring of 1823 an act was passed authorizing the construction of a canal to link Burlington Bay with Lake Ontario. According to Page and Smith¹¹ the canal construction operation drew a large number of men into the region, and the little town of Hamilton became the base for their activity. (The Welland Canal, opened in 1829, marked a great upsurge in interest in the potential of water transport). The completion of the canal cut through the outer bar in 1832 was followed in 1833 by the incorporation of the settlement as a town and the establishment of a market place and police force. The town's boundaries were fixed at the bay to the north, the escarpment to the south, Wellington Street in the east and Queen Street in the west. Fortunately a record has survived, albeit

¹¹
Op. cit.

fragmentary, of the physical appearance of the town shortly
¹²
 before its incorporation. From the wharf to King Street
 there were six small houses. At the junction of King and
 James stood a two story frame hotel. Coming along James
 Street from the south,

. . . "commencing at the bottom of that
 street there was one small house at the
 top of the hill, and from there for a
 long distance up, there were no houses
 and the greatest portion of the ground
 composed of cedar swamps and corduroy
 roads. . ."

. . . "At the corner of James and King
 Streets, east were the offices of the
 late Sir Allan MacNab. At the corner
 of now Hughson and King Streets was a
 two story house, the lower part occupied
 as an office by the late Judge O'Reilly,
 and the upper story by the late Thomas
 Racey, as immigrant agent."

Thus the south side of King Street was favoured as a site for
 offices, just as it is today. The above source mentions a
 post office, eight stores, three hotels and "a small printing
 office in which was published a paper called "The Gore Balance".
 There was also a barber's shop, a lumber yard and a stone
 cutting yard, all of which seem to have been located among the
 houses and farms which existed in the area of Hamilton's
 present C.B.D.

It would not be true to say that the establishment of Hamilton as a town, and its new direct access to lake shipping, produced an immediate upsurge in economic activity in the community. However Wilson and Dunnell¹³ have emphasized the increase in population at this time; in 1832 the town had an estimated 800 people, by 1837 it had reached an estimated figure of 3,500. Although in many respects Hamilton had potential for industrial and commercial development it was, in a sense, in competition with its neighbor Dundas. Writers have emphasized that the cutting of the Desjardins Canal through the bars, and on to Dundas, gave Hamilton a chance to develop as a port. However it should not be forgotten that, although Hamilton did have this advantage, it was in competition with Dundas as a site for commerce and industry at this time. Dundas, although never a good port, did have waterpower, road routes to the south-west, and above all, existing industry and commercial links. The construction of the Desjardins canal merely served to extend the life of Dundas, as the major lakehead centre, for a few years. As the scale of industry expanded and communications became more complex Dundas would have been forced into subservience to Hamilton which, by virtue of its abundant land and bay shore frontage, enjoyed

¹³
Op. cit.

advantages for industry unequaled elsewhere in the lakehead region.

At this time Hamilton was developing as the regional capital of the Gore district. As already noted the town published "The Gore Balance" and was the centre of administration for the district. In 1836 the Gore Bank was founded. This had its headquarters in Hamilton, despite opposition from existing urban centres nearby. According to J. W. Watson¹⁴ this bank was the outstanding financial institution in all the area south of a line from Oakville to Windsor until approximately 1854. It was about the year 1836 that Hamilton's population became larger than that of Dundas.¹⁵ Hamilton was becoming important in trade with the newly opened Grand River settlements, a "plank road" connected the town with these settlements and terminated at Port Dover.

In 1845 the Great Western Railway was chartered. By this time the New York Central had reached Buffalo, and the Michigan Central was being pushed west from Detroit to Chicago. A connecting railroad through southern Ontario would provide a shorter link between Buffalo and Detroit than a link south of Lake Erie. Originally the railroad was projected to take a fairly direct route across southern Ontario, keeping above the

14

"The Hamilton Centennial." Chapter II by J.W.Watson. 1946

15

"The Story of Hamilton." M. Burkholder. 1939

Niagara escarpment. However, Sir Allan MacNab was able to bring the railroad down to Hamilton whence it continued along the lakeshore plain and through St. Catharines. The lakeshore route, of course, had the advantage of facilitating the transport of materials needed in railroad construction. By taking this route the railroad could also connect existing towns such as Hamilton and St. Catharines, thus taking advantage of the traffic these places offered. In 1854 when the railway was completed through Hamilton, from Windsor to Niagara, the city found itself the best equipped of all the lakehead settlements from the viewpoint of communications. It is true that the railway passed near Dundas, but it was Hamilton, already ascendant in commercial and industrial fields, which benefited. Although the railway at this time was, in many respects, the most efficient means of transportation available, water transport still had its part to play in the total economy. Hamilton's combination of railway and lakehead facilities was matchless in its region. The initial effect was to add impetus to Hamilton's growth as a regional centre.

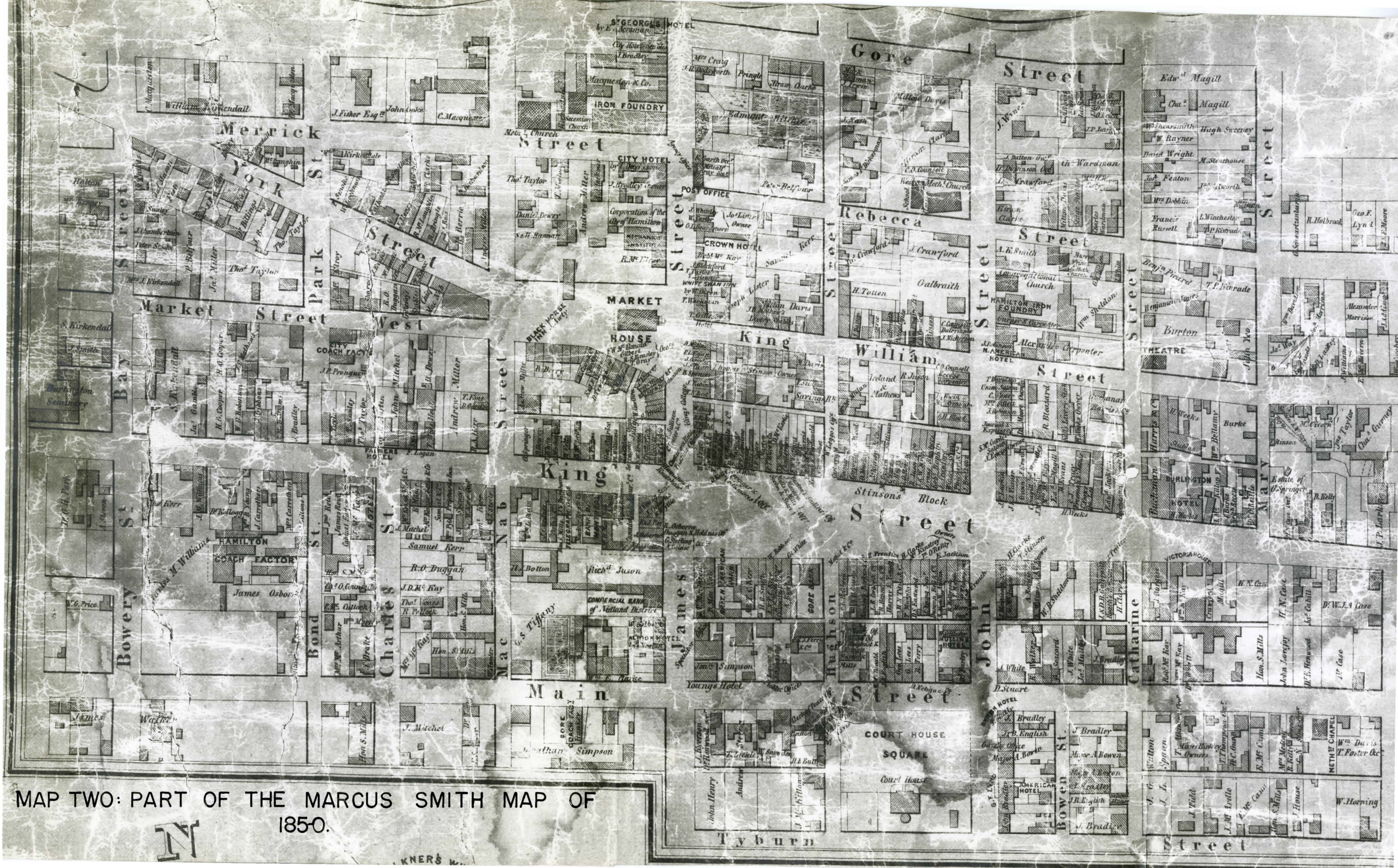
16

Page and Smith say,

"Before the construction of this [rail] road all the produce from the back country, such as flour, meat, grain, cattle, lumber and staves were shipped at the head of the Desjardins canal, at Dundas, and passed

through the bay, out of the Burlington Canal, without benefiting Hamilton in the least. But the building of the Great Western Railroad carried all the trade past Dundas into Hamilton, especially after the construction of the branch railroad to Galt and Guelph."

In June 1846 an act was passed to elevate the town to city status. The Marcus Smith Map of Hamilton in 1850 is particularly useful in revealing the major characteristics of the central area of the city at this time. (See Map Two) The basic street pattern of 1830 forms the skeleton of the town centre. Gore Park and the King and James intersection form the nucleus of the community. Other elements of the modern C.B.D. are readily visible. The Market House occupies a site adjacent to the present market. The Court House too has retained its location over the years. The distribution of banks in 1850 is very interesting to a student of the modern C.B.D. Of the five banks shown on Smith's map, two are in the block King, James, Main and MacNab, and two are in the block adjacent to it, King, Hughson, Main and James. Only the smaller "Savings Bank" on Hughson between King and King William is located on a minor street. The four major banks in 1850 were thus located in the area where the most important banks are to be found today. (That is between King Street and Main Street, but within a block of James Street.)



MAP TWO: PART OF THE MARCUS SMITH MAP OF 1850.

N

Other commercial establishments were no doubt influenced by the location of banks. Near the Bank of Montreal, on King Street between James and MacNab, there was the Telegraph Office, and an office of the Canada Life Assurance Company. James Street, between King and Main, had, besides the Commercial Bank of the Midland District, the offices of the "Hamilton Spectator" newspaper, on the east side of the street. Main Street between James and Hughson, had the City Registrar's Office on the north side, the Clerk of the Peace's Office and a law office being situated on the south side. (These of course were related to the adjacent Court House.) Other offices of note were the "Gazette Newspaper" office on John Street, between Main and Tyburn¹⁷ Streets, and two offices on Hughson between King and Main Streets. Thus it is evident that even at this early date banks, offices and the Court House were beginning to form a non-retail business region concentrated south of King, north of Tyburn Street and between MacNab and John Streets.

Unfortunately Smith does not give much useful detail on retail establishments. While hotels and inns are numerous, none appear on King Street between MacNab and Catharine. This may be indicative of the presence of an intensively utilized business and retail core from which other, less productive elements were excluded.

¹⁷

now Jackson Street.

Around this central area of the city were coach factories, iron foundries, livery stables, churches and hotels. All of these elements have comparable successors in the zone of transition surrounding the C.B.D. today.

It was the advent of the railroad that set Hamilton on the way to becoming an industrial centre of more than local importance. According to Disturnell¹⁸ in 1857,

"Hamilton is the principal station on the line of the Great Western Railway, where are located the principal offices and workshops connected with the Company. Here is a commodious depot and steamboat landing. . . . The commencement and completion of the Great Western Railway gave an impetus to all kinds of business."

It is not difficult to appreciate why the Great West Railway chose to locate its repair shops at Hamilton. Plenty of low-lying land was available in the region round the railway tracks and the bay. Perhaps even more important was the situation at the head of the lake which facilitated the importation of raw materials and goods needed to keep the railways in operation. Hamilton was the site furthest west on the line where such supplies were easily available.

The railway company was not alone in appreciating

n

18

"A Trip Through the Lakes of North America."

J. Disturnell. 1857.

the potential of Hamilton as an industrial centre. J. W.
¹⁹
 Watson notes that by 1864 Hamilton had the Great Western
 Railway repair shops and rolling mill, the Hamilton Bridge
 Company, three iron foundries and smaller machine industries.
 In 1865 a railway line from Hamilton to Toronto was opened
 and in the late 1870's lines south to Port Dover and north
 to Collingwood, thus reinforcing Hamilton's position as a
 route centre.

J. W. Watson, in the above reference, gives a good
 summary of Hamilton's economic growth in the years after
 1864. The depression which ended about 1865 had hit
 Hamilton's embryonic industries hard. (Between 1861 and 1865
 the population fell by nearly 9,000.) Watson suggests that
 the city suffered this decline because it lacked a situation
 on a coalfield, iron supply or power supply. He points out
 that the lakeside situation was detrimental in that pig iron
 could be cheaply imported, thus inhibiting local ore reduction.
 In 1879 a Conservative government introduced a policy designed
 to protect Canadian industries; still Hamilton did not become
 a smelting centre due to the cheapness of foreign ores. As
²⁰
 Watson says,

²⁰
 Op. cit.

"A tremendous organization of capital, labour, and transportation was required before Hamilton could benefit from the new tariff rates; and until that took place its manufacturers had to go on buying American or British iron, even after protection was established."

In 1887 the government raised duties on imported iron ore in answer to demands from Nova Scotia. Hamilton, which was at this time importing about 10,000 tons of pig iron each year for its metal industries, suffered in consequence. So severe was the setback that in a spirit of self-help city representatives and businessmen persuaded American steel interests to establish industry in Hamilton. In 1889 "The Hamilton Blast Furnace Company" was established with the express purpose of producing pig iron for local needs. Thus 1889 could well be taken to mark the growth of industry on an extensive scale in Hamilton. Two years before, the Welland Canal had been improved and Hamilton enjoyed some unique advantages. This Canadian city could now obtain iron ore from the Lake Superior fields more cheaply than could Pittsburgh. At the same time it could import Appalachian coal more cheaply than some United States iron towns such as Gary and Duluth. For the first time it was possible to manufacture pig iron at a cheaper price than it could be imported. The city had provided land along the bay for individual firms to utilize, and the new industries con-

centrated here between the railway tracks and the waterfront.

With this newly established source of pig iron, industry had added impetus to locate in Hamilton. The city collected a host of steel-using firms, tool manufacturers, wire and farm machinery industries, as well as producers of electrical equipment. Once set in motion the forces of industrial agglomeration continued. Textile industry was strengthened here by the availability of female workers who were not employable in many of the iron and steel processes of production. Food processing industries were strengthened as the rich Southern Ontario fruitlands began to be developed increasingly. In 1898 Decew Falls, thirty-five miles away on the edge of the Niagara escarpment, was developed and became a source of hydro-electric power for Hamilton. The low power rates encouraged industry of all types, and since Hamilton was the nearest established industrial centre in Canada, it was this city which chiefly benefited.

Most of Hamilton's advantages as an industrial city have been listed in summarizing the development of its industry. The essence of Hamilton's location as an industrial centre is not to be explained by any one advantage. There was rather a complex of factors which gave rise to Hamilton's growth as an industrial city.

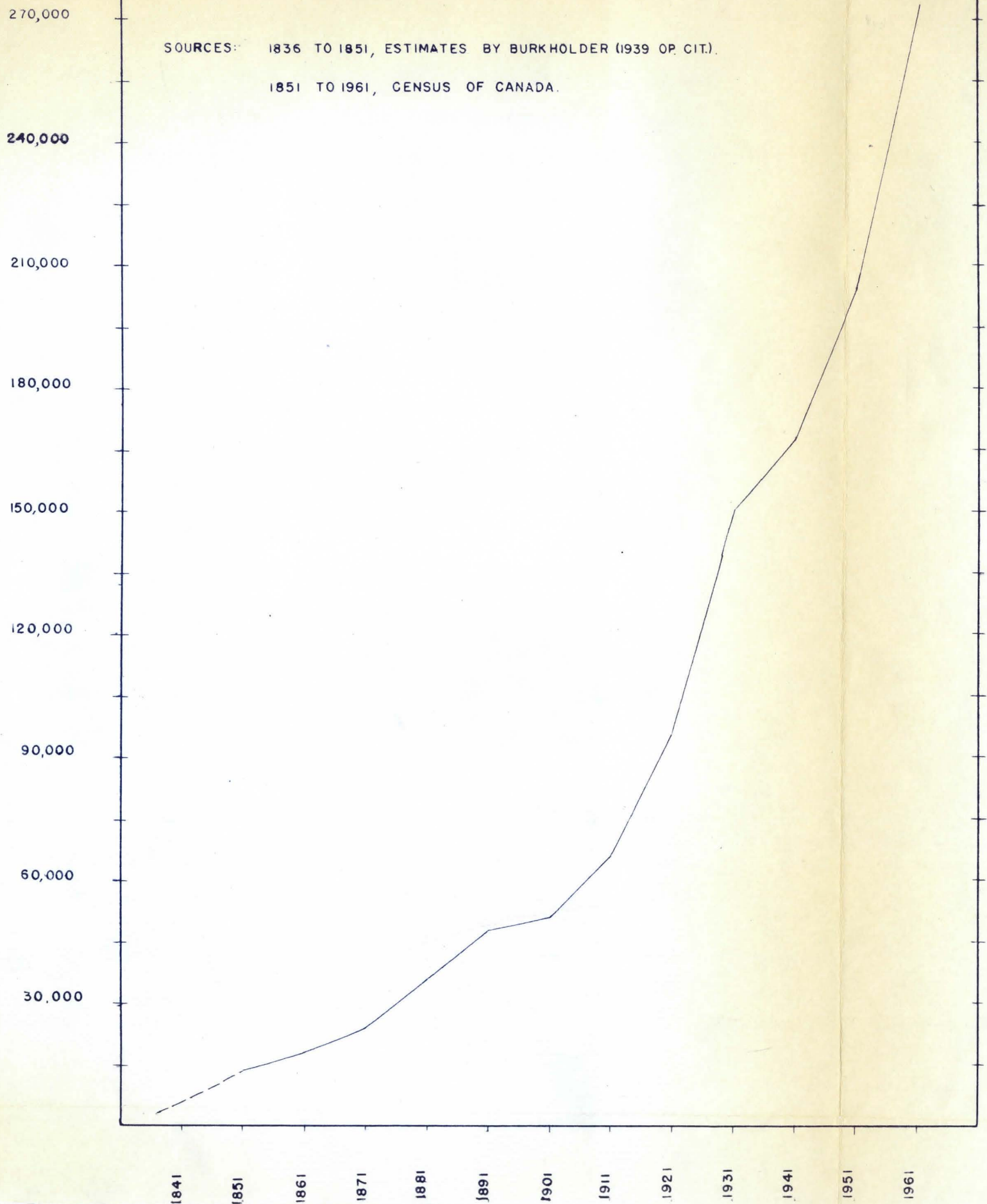
Her major resource may be said to be a location which permitted the accumulation and operation of the means of industrial production in this place. Because the durable nature of this locational asset has been reinforced by the accumulation of industry, today it looks as if the city of Hamilton will enjoy a stable growth based on industry in the future. It will probably exist as the heavy industrial complement to the commerce and lighter industries of the Toronto complex.

During the long period of industrialization, the nature of the city changed considerably. Not only did the city increase greatly in area during the half-century from 1850 to 1900 but its population multiplied at a rapid rate. (See Table One.) The impact of this expansion on the C.B.D. was marked in two ways. Firstly there was a good deal of substantial building in the "downtown" district. Photographs of the city in 1913²¹ show that many of the buildings which form the fabric of Hamilton's C.B.D. today were in existence at the earlier date. Secondly, although the spatial growth of the city was accompanied by some inevitable decentralization of retailing, the dominance of the C.B.D. was never seriously challenged. One of the major explanations of the continued importance of the C.B.D. as the dominant business

TABLE ONE: POPULATION GROWTH
OF THE CITY.

SOURCES: 1836 TO 1851, ESTIMATES BY BURKHOLDER (1939 OP. CIT.).

1851 TO 1961, CENSUS OF CANADA.



centre is to be seen in the operation of an electrified street railway system from 1891 onwards. These electrified lines operated along the main arterial streets, James Street, King Street and York Street. Later on they were extended to serve expanding residential areas. Perhaps the most significant fact about the system is that the lines were laid so that each streetcar passed along James Street between the Market Square and King Street. This area was thus reinforced as a great focus for pedestrian activity "downtown."

As industry had developed along the bay front residential expansion took place to the north and east of the C.B.D. Eventually the C.B.D. became off-centre in the total area of the town.²² This was inevitable simply because land for industry and housing was available in far greater quantity towards the east than in a westerly direction. Good communications within the city meant that the C.B.D. was able to maintain its dominance despite shifts in the population distribution within the city.

In addition to the local street railways, Hamilton was the focus of an electric "Radial Railway" system of some regional importance. As Wilson and Bunnell wrote in 1950,²³

22

An estimate based on the 1961 census figures, suggests that 61,110 people live west of James Street in the city, and that 212,881 live east of James Street.

23

Op. cit.

"Not the least of the causes leading to the expansion of Hamilton were the now defunct Radial Railways. These brought within the orbit of Hamilton's retail trade, commercial organizations and professional persons, a great extent of prosperous countryside stretching through Grimsby and Beamsville on the south side of the lake, and through Burlington, Bronte and Oakville on the north side of the lake. To the west Dundas has been for fifty years and more within the Hamilton business orbit, as has Ancaster. . . . All these radial lines have been succeeded by bus operations almost local in character."

The Radial Railways have bequeathed one item to the present plan of the C.B.D. and that is the large parking lot east of the Sheraton-Connaught Hotel on the south side of King Street. This lot marks their former terminus.

Thus historically Hamilton's growth has not been due to some trick of fortune, but has rather been based on a combination of sound geographical advantages. These advantages will remain in the years ahead and should provide a solid base for the continued expansion of the city as an industrial centre.

CHAPTER III

Delimiting the C.B.D. as a

Geographical Region

"The C.B.D. is a region with the normal qualities of a region. It has a core area in which the definitive qualities reach their greatest intensity; it has zonal boundaries, and these boundaries for the most part are impermanent."

Murphy and Vance. ¹

A. Methodology

The initial objective in delimiting the C.B.D. is to recognize those functions serving the city as a whole. Hans Carol ² has stated that, ideally, delimitation of the C.B.D. should begin with an enquiry into the individual service area of every establishment in the central part of the city. Those establishments serving the city as a whole, or its unland, are C.B.D. in character and those serving only a part of the city are non-C.B.D. in nature. After C.B.D. and non-C.B.D. functions have been distinguished, Carol recognizes the need

¹
"Delimiting the C.B.D." R.E.Murphy and J.E.Vance. "Economic Geography", Vol.30. July, 1954.

²
"The Hierachy of Central Functions within the City." H.Carol. "A.A.A.G." Vol.50. 1960.

to map them and in so doing to delineate zones of similar character.

3

Vance and Murphy give a comprehensive list of possible delimitation methods. These are reviewed below in the light of their possible application to Hamilton.

(i) The Template Method of Delimitation:

This has been used by some planning authorities in the U.S.A. It involves examining the land use maps. A template, cut to cover four blocks, is overlaid round the C.B.D. edge. When half the template includes residential land, the whole area under it is classed as non-C.B.D. in character. Murphy
4
and Vance reject this method as being too liberal since such a scheme would include much manufacturing, wholesaling and railroad yards within the C.B.D.

(ii) Population and Related Data:

a. Population Distribution: Murphy and Vance⁵ note that, since city centres are theoretically lacking in permanent residents, the C.B.D. might possibly be distinguished as a region in the city centre without resident population. Unfortunately, block by block

3
Op.cit.

4
Op.cit.

5
Op.cit.

population figures are not usually available. In the case of Hamilton, however, the City Planning Department does have a count of the number of "dwelling units" in each block, and from these a reasonable estimate can be made of population in the C.B.D. However, as will be seen in the subsequent chapter "Population and the C.B.D.", there is no marked absence of people residing in central Hamilton, and thus this method must be rejected.

6

b. Pattern of Employment: Murphy and Vance say that some indication of a region of centralized employment may be obtained if the number employed in each building is known. Such data is not available for Hamilton however, and if it were, it would hardly provide a clear line.

c. Pedestrian Count and Traffic Flow: Traffic flow can provide no really accurate means of delimiting the C.B.D. Pedestrian counts are more promising in indicating a contrast in human density within the C.B.D. and outside it. Unfortunately again figures are not available for Hamilton.

(iii) Land Values and C.B.D. Delimitation:

The appraisal values give a close approximation to the market value of property. In general those buildings with higher values will be found towards the centre of the C.B.D. Unfortunately such figures are not available for Hamilton.

The assessed land values may be taken as being probably the best available numerical indicator of C.B.D. activity. In Hamilton, and other cities, the assessed land value is an expression of various factors influencing the commercial usefulness of a piece of property in the city. These factors comprise: the condition of the property, the use to which it is put, and its access to pedestrian traffic flow. Assessment⁷ rating was the criterion used by Murphy and Vance in their study of nine United States cities. These authors used a system expressing the value of each lot as a percentage of the peak lot value. They discovered that lots coming within 5% of the peak lot value exhibited C.B.D. characteristics. This type of approach is applicable to Hamilton. (See later in this chapter.)

(iv) Land Use and Delimitation:

Murphy and Vance⁸ make the point that centrality must be important in the location of any building before it can be thought of as an important building within the C.B.D. They note that building heights furnish a simple method of delimiting many C.B.D.'s, albeit an approximate one. In Hamilton's C.B.D. three and even two story buildings abound and fan out to the west, north and east of the junction of King and James Streets.

⁷
"A Comparative Study of Nine C.B.D.'s." Murphy & Vance
 "Economic Geography", Vol. 30. July 1954.

⁸
"Delimiting the C.B.D." Op.cit.

Thus building height alone would be virtually worthless here as an indication of the C.B.D. Another method, suggested by Murphy and Vance,⁹ is to consider the number of floors in C.B.D. usage. This would however, be of limited value in Hamilton where storage and residential uses above retail establishments would confuse the pattern. An even more refined method suggested is to map those blocks which have more than 50% of their floorspace in C.B.D. usage. This again would be of doubtful use in Hamilton; many retailers have one or more floors of property above them in non-C.B.D. use and this would preclude their inclusion in the C.B.D.

In view of the information available for Hamilton and the emphasis placed upon assessed land values as a guide to regional distinction, not only by Murphy and Vance but by most other recent surveys, it was decided to delimit the C.B.D. utilizing land use data and assessed land values.

Attempts have been made to ascertain some objective method of delimitation which would be of general use for all North American C.B.D.'s.¹⁰ However, as yet no fully satisfactory

⁹
"Delimiting the C.B.D." Op. cit.

¹⁰
 Notable work towards this end has been done by Murphy and Vance in their articles "Delimiting the C.B.D." and "A Comparative Study of Nine C.B.D.'s.", both in "Economic Geography", Vol.30. July 1954. Also by P. Scott, "The Australian C.B.D.", "Economic Geography", Vol.35. Oct.1959 and D. H. Davies, "Boundary Study as a Tool in C.B.D. Analysis," "Economic Geography", Vol.35. Oct.1959.

method has been evolved. This is chiefly because the nature of each C.B.D. varies with the urban population, the geographical nature of the city, its economic condition and several other factors of lesser importance. As S. F. Weiss¹¹ says, ". . . each C.B.D. must be analyzed individually, and general procedures could be, at best, of only limited value. G. H. Zeiber¹² rejected the use of land use data, in delimiting Toronto's C.B.D., as being "too dependent on subjective discussions." He took the 10% assessed land value line and used it to delimit the C.B.D., adjusting it to a block basis. However, despite this laudable seeking for objectivity, Zeiber was forced to include by this rigidity "some light manufacturings, certain wholesaling, several public buildings and parkland" (none of which are usually regarded as characteristic or indicative of the C.B.D.)

For Hamilton it was found that the 10% assessment line gave the best numerical basis for constructing a line dividing C.B.D. from non-C.B.D. functions. However, it was by no means an infallible boundary between the C.B.D. and its "frame" region of less intensive land use. The 10% line also tended to cut through blocks. A decision had to be made as to whether the block should be regarded as an indivisible unit or whether a more realistic picture would emerge if blocks were split as

¹¹

"The C.B.D. in Transition." S. F. Weiss. 1957.

¹²

"Toronto's C.B.D." G. H. Zeiber. M. A. Thesis presented at University of Toronto. 1961

necessary. In a discussion of larger urban centres, such as Toronto, so many blocks are involved that they can be left whole and still permit satisfactory regional delimitation to take place. With an examination of smaller C.B.D.'s it becomes desirable to view them in more detail. In addition Hamilton's centre exhibits tremendous contrasts between block sides facing onto major streets and those facing onto side streets. Yet, although in reality the C.B.D. is viewed as streets not as blocks, the block does provide an excellent basis for examination, and most blocks do have a certain cohesion of function, if not uniformity of function.

If land use elements are to be used as a means of regional distinction, it is necessary to decide what elements in the land use properly belong in the C.B.D. and which are more characteristic of its "frame." The general properties of the C.B.D.¹³ have been summarized by Horwood and Boyce. They see it as being characterized by intensive land use which gives rise to extended vertical scale. The region is the centre of specialized functions within the city and the focus of intra-city mass transit as well as having the greatest concentration of daytime population within the metropolitan area. Its boundaries are conditioned from within by the pedestrian scale of distance. In contrast to this, the frame has semi-intensive land use, prominent functional sub-regions, an extended horizontal scale and externally conditioned

boundaries. Vance, Murphy and Epstein have provided a useful summary of those functions normally characterizing the C.B.D. and those typical of the frame. Their conclusions may be summarized as below:

I Land Use Elements Characterizing the C.B.D.

a. Retail Business Uses:

1. Food: restaurant, supermarket, general food store, food specialty, delicatessen, ice cream parlour, package store, bar.
2. Clothing: womens', mens', family, specialty, general, shoes.
3. Household: furniture, hardware, appliances, dry goods, rugs, curtains, coal, oil, ice and heating, used furniture and antiques.
4. Automotive: new and used auto sales, service station and garage, accessory, tire and battery sales.
5. Variety: Department store, "five and Ten", drug store, news, cigar store.
6. Miscellaneous: sport, photo, hobby, toy, jewellery, gift and florist shops, book store, office machines and office furniture, office supply and stationery, pawn shop, amusement establishments.

b. Service, Financial and Office Uses:

1. Financial: bank, personal loan, insurance agencies, real estate brokers.
2. Service Trades: Personal service, clothing, household service, business service, newspaper publishing.
3. Headquarter's Offices.
4. General Offices.
5. Transportation: terminals of rail, bus and air services and trucking.
6. Parking: customer and commercial parking.
7. Transit Residence: hotels and lodging.

II Non-C.B.D. Land Use Elements

1. Residential: permanent dwelling units.
2. Public and Organizational: buildings and ground space.
3. Industrial:
4. Wholesale:
5. Vacancy: vacant buildings or stores, lots or commercial storage.

This grouping can be criticized on a few counts. Perhaps its most surprising feature is that the authors group automotive activities with retailing in the C.B.D. As far as Hamilton is concerned "automotive land use" is not intensive in nature and very definitely is more characteristic of the frame than the C.B.D. proper. Horwood and Boyce¹⁵ exclude off-street parking and auto sales from their list of C.B.D. attributes. A similar criticism might be made of the grouping of transportation terminals and trucking activities within the C.B.D. land use elements. Hamilton, not an atypical city, has such activities situated more characteristically outside the C.B.D., but of course not unrelated to it. Again, parking is non-C.B.D. in nature. Thus, with regard to what had been written by others and what was known of local conditions, a new division of land use elements was drawn up, substantially similar to the above. This was as follows:

¹⁵
Op. cit.

I Land Use Elements Characterizing the C.B.D.

1. Retail Business Uses.
2. Service, Financial and Office Uses.

II Land Use Elements Characterizing the C.B.D.Frame.

1. Residential.
2. Public Use (Excluding the Central Post Office).
3. Organizational Use.
4. Industrial.
5. Wholesale and Warehousing
6. Vacant Land.
7. Automotive Sale, Repair and Misc...
8. Parking Lots.
9. Transportation Termini and Trucking.

It was felt unwise at this stage to subdivide land use elements characterizing the C.B.D. Clearly retail business uses are to be found outside the C.B.D. just as service, financial and office uses are. Maps Three and Four show the manner in which the retailing, service and financial core is encircled by a patchwork of land use elements not characteristic of the C.B.D. The essential problem was to draw a satisfactory line at the break in the continuity of land use, which would serve to separate one region from the other.

16

Hartshorne has justified attempts to delimit regions on the grounds that such a delimitation provides, "an intelligent basis for organizing our knowledge of reality." He also recognizes that while regional entities exist in reality their limits have never been defined within, "a reasonable margin of certainty." He says further that,

16

"The Nature of Geography." R. Hartshorne. 1939

"The problem of establishing the boundaries of a geographic region . . . presents a problem for which we have no reason to hope for an objective solution.

"The most that we can say is that any particular unit of land has significant relations with all the neighboring units and that in certain respects it may be more closely related with a particular group of units than with others, but not necessarily in all respects."

Similarly Vance and Murphy¹⁷ have stated the problem of delimiting the C.B.D. The boundary line they choose is an optimum rather than an absolute.

"It should be re-emphasized, first of all, that the boundary drawn on any one of the maps is not the boundary of the C.B.D. for that city. To think that would be naïve indeed, since the edge of the C.B.D. is a zone or belt of transition . . . but the boundary is believed to be as fair an approximation as a single line can be."

B. Delimitation

Maps Three and Four show the crude correlation between the line linking places of an assessment value equal to 10% of that of the peak lot and the C.B.D. and non-C.B.D. land use elements. It is clear that the 10% line by itself was inadequate as a regional boundary, since this line would include several gas stations and used car lots on Main Street East, while yet excluding retailing of a fairly important kind on the south

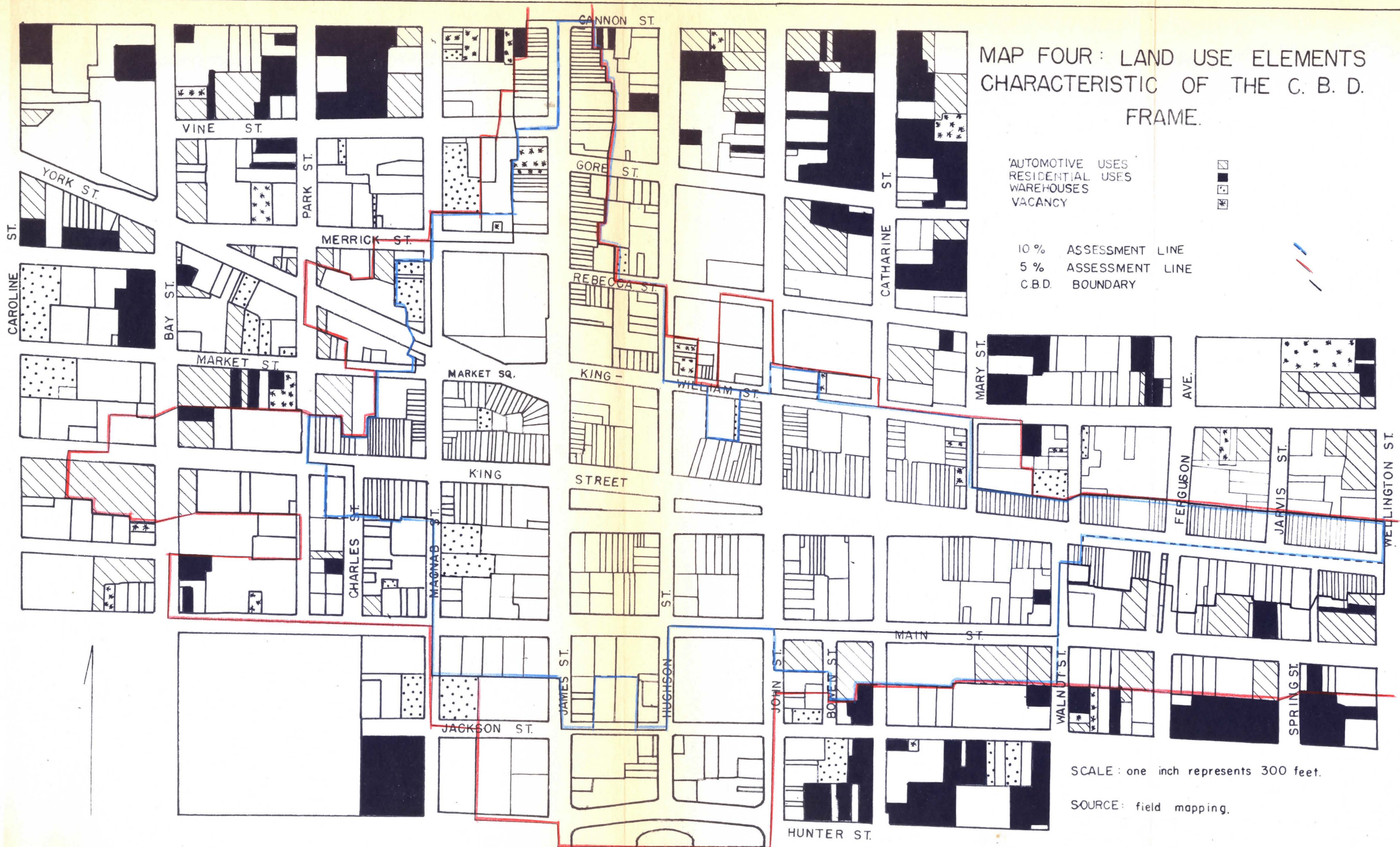
¹⁷

"Delimiting the C.B.D." Op. cit.

side of King Street East (e.g. "Eames' Department Store" and "Denninger's Delicatessen"). At the same time the 5% line is insufficiently selective since it embraces too many non-C.B.D. land use elements.

Hence it was decided to take the 10% assessment line as the basis for division and to deviate from it only where it included non-C.B.D land use or excluded activities more properly in the C.B.D. Blocks were to be divided where necessary, but too great a fragmentation was to be avoided.

At the junction of Wellington and King Streets there is an obvious and significant break in the continuity of retailing going east on King Street. This gap is due to the presence of the United Church on the south side and the park and funeral home on the north side, both creating a space empty of shops and interest to shoppers for a distance of a hundred yards. This break in the retailing continuity corresponds with the end of the 10% assessment line and is thus an obvious termination of the C.B.D. in this direction. On the north side of King Street, going west from Wellington, the 10% line includes only the shops facing the street for a distance of four blocks. An alley behind the shops conveniently divides this block frontage from the rest of their area which is devoted to warehousing, auto repair, gas stations, parking, industrial and residential uses. Thus it would seem reasonable to include these buildings facing King Street within the C.B.D. while at the same time excluding the



MAP FOUR: LAND USE ELEMENTS
CHARACTERISTIC OF THE C. B. D.
FRAME.

AUTOMOTIVE USES
RESIDENTIAL USES
WAREHOUSES
VACANCY



10 % ASSESSMENT LINE
5 % ASSESSMENT LINE
C.B.D. BOUNDARY

SCALE: one inch represents 300 feet.

SOURCE: field mapping.

remainder of their blocks.

At Mary Street, north of King, the 10% line includes the west side of the street in the C.B.D. while excluding the east side. It seems desirable to accept this line. Although the east side of the street has the Century Cinema, and a furniture shop next to it, there is also a large parking lot on the corner which would have to be included. In contrast, the west side of the street has a succession of smaller retailing establishments, with residential and storage facilities above them, and exhibits a higher density of land use.

The 10% line turns west along King William Street at its junction with Mary Street. Here it clearly divides a block in which land use is intensive and characteristic of the C.B.D. (King, Mary, King William and Catharine) from one devoted to municipal and automotive uses characteristic of the frame (King William, Mary, Rebecca and Catharine).

In the block King William, Catharine, Rebecca and John, the 10% line veers to the north and includes a restaurant and appliance store within the C.B.D. However, both these establishments have a vacant upper story and since they are neither of them very important within the C.B.D. they are best excluded. In the next block west on King William Street (King, John, King William and Hughson) the 10% line cuts into the block due to the presence of a parking lot adjacent to the rear of Kresge's store. It seems reasonable to include this parking lot in the C.B.D. since the rest of the block is devoted to land



Photograph 1: Main St. looking east from Caroline.

This is a major route into the C.B.D. from the west. Frame land use elements are visible; the Federal Revenue Building on the left and "H.M.P." car sales on either side of the street. Main St. is here descending one of the gravel bars.



Photograph 2: King St. looking west from West Ave.

This is the major route into the C.B.D. from the east. On the left is a church frontage and on the right a small park; both these serve to break the continuity of retailing on King St. East thus forming a visual and territorial limit to the C.B.D. at this point.

in C.B.D. uses. At the same time the north side of King William Street is unsuitable for inclusion here since it comprises vacant office premises, three poor Chinese retailing establishments and some Fire Department premises. (These are offset only by a shop handling drawing instruments and a restaurant and hotel on the eastern corner.)

At the junction of King William and Hughson Streets the 10% line turns north along Hughson Street. Here again it seems to give a realistic division between the C.B.D. and the frame. The west side of the street includes an art shop, offices and the premises of the "Rapid Blue Print Company." Each of these has a second story in C.B.D. land use. At the northeast corner of this block (Hughson, King William, James and Rebecca) there are premises belonging to the Salvation Army together with an associated car park. To avoid too much fragmentation these are included in the C.B.D. (The premises of religious and social groups are less amenable to the laws of profitable location than the usual business establishments.) By including the west side of Hughson Street here and not the east, a stamp shop, a vacant office, a domestic appliance store and an electrical transforming station and "Hydro" offices have been excluded. Upper story land use on this east side of the street is justifiably excluded from the C.B.D. since it includes vacant offices, "Hydro" offices and "The Happy Medium After Hours Club." Because of their character as a public service Hydro offices can

choose to locate outside the C.B.D. Similarly "The Happy Medium" is not dependent on a location within the C.B.D. so much as it is on a low rent location, which has at the same time parking facilities nearby.

At the corner of Rebecca and Hughson Streets the 10% assessment line turns west along Rebecca and then north cutting through the block bounded by Rebecca, James, Hughson and Gore Streets. This again seems to be a satisfactory division. In so doing the line includes "Eaton's Budget Store", as well as the linear retailing premises of James Street, within the C.B.D. The only anomalous inclusion is a photo-processing plant on Gore Street. The line excludes three warehouses, a printing works and its office, a wholesaler, a draughting and art material supplier, and a small manufacturer of lamps and craft goods.

In the block Gore, Hughson, Cannon and James, the 10% line again cuts through the middle of the block, dividing the James Street business section from non-C.B.D. land uses facing onto Hughson Street. A car park cuts across the block from west to east and thus part of it is included in the C.B.D. while part must be regarded as outside. The 10% line includes the Fivoli Theatre frontage, some large furniture stores and many small retailing establishments. These smaller retailers may depend more on local custom than on catering for the city as a whole. However, since there is no certain method of establishing the truth of this assumption, and since they are

obviously able to pay relatively high taxes, there is considerable justification for considering them all in the C.B.D. The properties facing Hughson Street in this block are in great contrast with those facing onto James; they include a tailor's factory, residences, the Hindoo Kush Grotto and the offices of Labour Unions. Properties facing onto Cannon Street too are non-C.B.D. in character, and include a tailor, a printing shop, residences, a funeral home and a car park.

At Cannon Street on James, there is no abrupt gap in the retailing continuum such as exists on King at Wellington. The 10% gives a useful break at this junction. An examination of retailing activity, north of Cannon Street on James, does not reveal continued C.B.D. activity. Retailing there appears to serve the residential districts between Cannon Street and the bay. James Street north of Cannon, is without any large stores or other premises likely to attract custom from all parts of the city.

On James Street south of Cannon, the 10% line cuts down the middle of the street dividing a major artery of the C.B.D. The retailing activity on the west side of James Street, in the block James, Vine, MacNab and Cannon, includes only one "generator",¹⁸ a major furniture store. Nevertheless it seems rather artificial to exclude this block front from the C.B.D., since it resembles

18

The term "generator" is used to describe establishments, usually stores, to which the consumer is directly attracted from his place of residence. Examples are department stores, furniture stores, cinemas and certain specialty shops. The term is used by R. L. Nelson in "The Selection of Retail Locations," 1958. (See Appendix One)

closely the block it faces across the street. Both sides show
¹⁹
 a large number of "susipient" stores and both include car
²⁰
 parks. Both are clearly outside the "hard core" region of the
 C.B.D. although not outside a region entirely lacking in gen-
 erative powers. Thus the establishments on both sides of James
 Street are considered as being within the C.B.D. The rest of
 this block (Cannon, James, Vine, MacNab) however, is devoted to
 land uses definitely non-C.B.D. in character: lithographing,
 wholesaling, residences, a veteran's association, vacant prem-
 ises and a parking lot.

The block, James, Merrick, MacNab and Vine, is very
 similar to the one discussed above. While its James Street
 frontage falls within the 10% valuation, and can be considered
 C.B.D. in nature, the lots behind are devoted largely to parking
 and warehousing. The 10% line turns west along Merrick Street
 but includes a vacant shop and the Waldorf Hotel on the north
 side of the street. To obviate the need for enclaves, these

666

¹⁹

"Susipient" stores are those to which the consumer is
 impulsively or coincidentally attracted while away from his place
 of residence. It takes or receives rather than generates business.
 Examples include drug stores, cigar stores, newstands and florists.
 Again the term is used by R. L. Nelson in the work cited above.
 (See also Appendix One).

²⁰

See the first paragraph of Chapter IV.

premises can well be excluded from the C.B.D.

At the junction of MacNab and Merrick Streets the 10% line cuts south. The west side of MacNab Street is here devoted largely to warehousing activity; since this is quite definitely non-C.B.D. in character the division can be made on a block basis. The inclusion of the Market-Car Park complex within the C.B.D. is justified because of the high assessment of this area and because of the unquestionable generative powers of the market on the three days of the week it operates. The eastern corner of the block between Park, York and Market Streets is included in the C.B.D. because the 10% line passes through it and because retailing and commerce appear here rather than wholesaling. In the block, MacNab, King, Park and Market Streets, the MacNab Street frontage is included within the C.B.D. The premises here come within the 10% value line and house a succession of small retailing establishments utilizing the available space rather intensively. Similarly the frontage establishments around the corner going west on King Street can be included in the C.B.D. Except where they are interrupted by a car park they too represent highly assessed land intensively utilized. The remainder of this block is cut off by the 10% line and is characteristic of the frame. It comprises a car park, an auto repair shop and a gas station. Opposite this block, on the south side of King Street, the 10% line encompasses half the King Street frontage of the

block between King, Charles, Main and Park Streets. This area can be considered outside the C.B.D. since it is currently vacant. The adjacent block, between King, MacNab, Main and Charles, has its King Street frontage within the 10% line; the remainder is given over to non-C.B.D. uses such as storage, a warehouse, a gas station, an upholstering works, a few small offices and an office supply dealer. Thus the frontage on King Street is justifiably included in the C.B.D. while the remainder can be considered as external.

The next block east, King, James, Main and MacNab, is almost entirely included within the 10% value line. The exception is a lower value enclave on MacNab Street, which comprises an area given over to warehousing. For convenience it is considered to be with the rest of the block, within the C.B.D.

In the block Main, James, Jackson, MacNab, the 10% line cuts through the block to separate the Main Street frontage, an office building, the Y.W.C.A. and a bank, from the rest of the block, St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, a warehouse and a parking lot. A problem in this region is the exclusion of the block surrounded by Jackson, James, Hunter and MacNab Streets. This block includes the large Bell Telephone Company office building as well as the Gillies-Guy Heating Company offices, showroom and storage. However, the justification for this block's exclusion is to be seen in the large area of parking, the presence of James Street Baptist Church, and the fact that

the Gillies-Guy premises are not of great significance within the C.B.D. Its location, outside the 10% assessment line marks this block as peripheral to the C.B.D. The Bell Telephone Company can choose to locate outside the C.B.D., yet adjacent to it, because of its function as a semi-public service, which is not too dependent on close proximity to other business interests.

In the block surrounded by Main, Hughson, Jackson and James Streets, the 10% line includes the premises facing James and Main Streets. This land is given over to offices, the "Wentworth Arms Hotel" and "The Hamilton Club". Also within the block, but excluded by the 10% line, are the offices, warehouse and parking facilities of Aylmer Foods Limited. Because this block is dominated by C.B.D. land use it has been entirely included in the C.B.D.

The block to the south of the above, Jackson, Hughson, Hunter and James, can be excluded from the C.B.D. It contains the Y.M.C.A., the City Health Department Clinic and nothing else of significance. In addition it is outside the 10% valuation line. (It is interesting to note that the Y.W.C.A. is classed as being inside the C.B.D. while the Y.M.C.A., being a newer and larger building, has been located outside the C.B.D. area of high land values. In contrast the Y.W.C.A., with its older and smaller building has so far retained its more central, and more expensive, site within the C.B.D.)

The block containing the Court House can be excluded from the C.B.D. because of its function as a public building and location outside the 10% assessment line. The block opposite, Main, Hughson, King and John, is however very definitely within the C.B.D., both by virtue of its assessment and of its land use. The fact that it contains a small car park does not exclude it from the C.B.D., nor does the presence of the Central Post Office; indeed this Post Office needs to be accessible to the business community.

The Main Street frontages of the blocks John, Main, Bowen and Jackson, and Bowen, Main, Catharine and Jackson, are given over to gas stations. In the block Main, Walnut, Jackson and Catharine, the Main Street frontage is entirely given over to parking, a used car lot and a tire fitting shop. Such a concentration of automotive activity, although within the 10% assessment line, cannot be considered as within the C.B.D. Thus Main Street can here be considered to serve as a divider between C.B.D. and frame land use, and between the two regions C.B.D. and frame. In taking as a boundary Main Street east of John Street, we are forced to include within the C.B.D. the large parking lot which occurs east of the Sheraton-Connaught Hotel. However, to exclude this from the C.B.D. would be rather unrealistic since it is within the 10% assessment line and contiguous with the King Street business region. It has remained undeveloped though really a site of excellent potential because of its strategic location.

The whole of the block King, Walnut, Main and Catharine is included within the 10% assessment line. The southeast corner of the King and Catharine intersection was once the site of a large terminal of the "Radial Railway", and later of long distance buses. Like the parking lot between Sheraton-Connaught and Catharine, it has remained undeveloped though really a site of excellent potential. It can be included because it is contiguous with C.B.D. use and within the 10% assessment line. The remainder of this block is dominated by retail and office use and can thus justifiably be considered within the C.B.D.

The 10% line then turns north along Walnut Street, and after enclosing the corner premises in the block Walnut, King, Ferguson and Main, passes east down the centre of King Street. Thus as in the case of James Street north of Vine, a shopping artery would be split in two by a strict adherence to the 10% line. It is clear that the blocks on the south side of King Street east of Walnut, contain some important "generators" for the street as a whole. Particularly important are a large furniture store, between Walnut and Ferguson Avenue, "Denninger's Delicatessen" and "Eame's Clothing Store", farther east. Thus it is logical to include the premises on the south side of King Street East as being within the C.B.D. just as those on the north side have been included. Along this stretch of Main Street land use is totally dominated by parking lots and other automotive uses, therefore the C.B.D. boundary has been placed in the middle of the block.

In this manner the limits of the C.B.D. have been determined. In places the boundary line does not correspond with the 10% assessment line, but on the whole there is a significant correlation between the change in C.B.D. to non-C.B.D. land use, and the 10% line. To take either land use or assessment values singly as a means of delimitation would be conducive to inaccuracy. Together however, the 10% line and contrasts in land use form the best criteria for delimiting Hamilton's C.B.D.

The question of how successful the regional delimitation has been is only to be answered with a review of how far the C.B.D. and non-C.B.D. land use elements have been separated by the boundary line. Possible anomalies within the area designated as the C.B.D, include some warehousing, several car parks, some organizational land use, a few ground floor residential elements, vacant land and even light industry. However, anyone who examines closely Hamilton's C.B.D. will note the high degree to which contrasting land use elements are inter-mixed. One has only to look at Map Three and Four to see that within the block contained by Market Square, James, King and MacNab, there is land given over to storage, and a printing works in addition. Similarly each of the other three blocks, forming the junction of King and James Streets, contains parking facilities and that surrounded by King, James, Main and MacNab has warehousing also. Possible C.B.D. land use elements excluded from the delimited area are not of great significance. They comprise a restaurant and electrical appliance

store on John Street, the Waldorf Hotel on Merrick Street, the Bell Telephone Office on Hunter Street and the adjacent Gillies-Guy Heating Company premises on James Street. In addition there are two office buildings on James Street, the Professional Arts and the Medical Arts Buildings. These pay an assessment within 10% of the peak lot value of the C.B.D., but they are not contiguous with it, and their inclusion would be hard to justify.

CHAPTER IV

Some Characteristics of the C.B.D.

(i) The Shape

¹
Hartman's article suggests that a diamond shape is usual in C.B.D.'s having a grid-iron street pattern. In this pattern the two major lines of the grid intersect at the centre of the C.B.D. which extends in four main directions. Murphy and ²Vance have pointed out that the diamond shape is not much in evidence. They suggest that a more realistic pattern is the quadrate cross, and that in three dimensions the simplest general pattern would be a pyramid of buildings with a quadrate cross for its base. Hamilton's C.B.D., as previously defined is cruciform but irregular rather than quadrate. From its "peak intersection", at the junction of King and James, it extends 927 yards in an easterly direction, 514 yards to the north, 274 yards to the west, and 300 yards to the south. Its highest buildings are not to be found at the apex of this cross but in the block south of this, the office district. Hamilton's C.B.D. is fortunate in having a site without major physical restrictions inhibiting "downtown" expansion. Nor did man-made barriers control the direction of C.B.D. growth.

¹
"The C.B.D., a Study in Urban Geography." G. W. Hartman. "Econ. Geog." Vol. 26. Oct. 1950.

²
"A Comparative Study of Nine C.B.D.'s." R. E. Murphy and J. E. Vance. "Econ. Geog." Vol. 30. July 1954.

The only possible exception to this is the "T. H. and B." railway line to the south of Hunter Street, and, as defined above, the C.B.D. has not yet reached this barrier. Thus the shape of the C.B.D. has here been in response to total urban growth, generally without the interference of physical and human barriers in the "downtown" area itself.

The long extension of the C.B.D. along King Street East is to be attributed to the way the city as a whole developed to the east. King Street East became a funnel through which passed much of the traffic coming to the C.B.D. Because of this unique advantage it was able to accommodate C.B.D. retailing features³ and eventually become inseparable from the C.B.D. As Hartman has described,

"City centres tend to expand outwards along certain thoroughfares that offer the best travel facilities as well as by concentric growth round a central point or points."

A similar process seems to have occurred on James Street towards the north. The presence of the C.N.R. railway station between Cannon and the bay was probably one reason for C.B.D. growth in this direction in the nineteenth century. In addition, routes from the east end of the city, along Cannon, Barton and Burlington Streets, connect with James and are important in C.B.D. access. The two remaining "arms" of the cross are much shorter than the

above. King Street West has only two blocks in C.B.D. land use and indeed a rather poor ribbon development of retailing outside the C.B.D., unlike King East and James North. To some extent the abbreviation of this arm of the cross is due to the eastward spread of the city. In addition, the King Street West district is shortened because it must share its retailing functions with York Street, which also serves the western residential areas of the city. The spread of the C.B.D. to the south is less well marked than it is to the north and east. This is chiefly because this southern region has developed as an office district without major retail elements. Office areas are never as extensive as retailing areas in C.B.D.'s and hence one would not expect this southern region to have spread itself.

(ii) The Boundary:

The boundary of the C.B.D. has already been discussed at some length; it varies from places where a definite line is readily seen to others where the transition is more gradual. The contrast is very sharp on the north side of King Street East and the east side of James Street North. Elsewhere, in the area north of King Street, the boundary is fairly abrupt. However, the area south of King Street shows a far less definite boundary; this is the region of dominantly office use where the C.B.D. would seem to have potential to expand.

(iii) Location in the City as a Whole: (See Map I.)

The high value node of Hamilton's C.B.D. has remained at the junction of King and James despite the expansion of the city to the east, and later above the escarpment to the south. This is partly explained by the fact that when the greatest period of expansion to the east occurred, the city was able to provide streetcars to preserve the accessibility of the "downtown" district. In the era of motor traffic King Street, Cannon Street, Barton Street and Burlington Street all provided useful links from the 'east-end' to the C.B.D. A major factor in the "anchoring" of the C.B.D. here was its nodality in relation to the King, James, York Street routes. These, together with the presence of Gore Park, helped not merely to retain the C.B.D. at its original location, but also to retain the "peak intersection" where it had always been. In addition, the fact that there were no physical barriers to constrict the C.B.D. have meant that its old core has been expanded rather than a new core having to be sought.

The expansion of the city above the escarpment to the south has been a relatively recent phase in the growth of Hamilton, having occurred chiefly in the period since 1945. The fact that the major industrial areas were located along the bay front meant that this new southern residential area did not become cut off from the city as a whole. However, traffic to and from the "mountain" residential area was

concentrated on a few "mountain access routes" and these tended to funnel it along a few streets. The "downtown" district became served by John Street. In general therefore, the C.B.D. has been given reasonable communications with the new residential districts, and has remained fairly accessible to the whole city. It is at the economic and social centre of the city rather than at the geographical one.

(iv) Vertical Development and the C.B.D:

Hamilton's C.B.D. consists predominantly of buildings three stories high. This height is fairly general throughout the retailing areas of the "downtown" district, though occasionally dropping to only one story and rising to six floors in "Eaton's" department store. As is the case in most cities it is in the office district that the highest buildings are located. Here proximity to other commercial interests and prestige assume some importance. The block between King Street and Main Street, James and MacNab, contains the highest buildings in the C.B.D. Even here the height is rather irregular. The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce office building, at the corner of King and James is ten stories high, but at its southern end this bank building drops to a height of only two floors. The drug store immediately south has three floors. Then the height increases to five stories in "Robinson's" department store, seven in the building which contains the

'Royal Bank of Canada', and sixteen in the Pigott Building.

The final building of this block, at the corner of James and Main, is the 'Sun Life Building' with eight floors. Thus, even in the block containing the city's highest buildings, the skyline is irregular and two and three story buildings occur.

CHAPTER V

The 'Hard Core' of the C.B.D.

Several authors have distinguished, within the C.B.D. a region where C.B.D. activities are most concentrated and land values highest. D. H. Davies¹ has described such a district which he calls, "the hard core of the C.B.D." He considers that its,

" . . . delimitation should be based upon criteria essentially similar to those used in the C.B.D. delimitation, although obviously with limiting values higher on any chosen scale."

He found that for Cape Town, South Africa, the optimum line of delimitation was one containing places which had an assessment value 30% of the peak. Applying this to Hamilton it becomes clear that this line is a very satisfactory one. (See Map Five.) Delimited in this fashion the hard core in Hamilton contains the major generators of retail business as well as the major suscipient stores. This hard core region is the focus of the public transportation system of the city, and has the greatest density of pedestrian movement.

¹

"The Hard Core of Cape Town's C.B.D." D. H. Davies.
"Economic Geography", Vol. 36, Jan. 1960

- A. THE HARD CORE
 - A1. CONVENIENCE GOODS REGION.
 - A2. KING ST. NORTH SIDE REGION.
 - A3. KING ST. SOUTH SIDE REGION.
 - A4. JAMES ST. REGION.
 - A5. KING ST. WEST REGION.
- B. THE EASTERN RETAILING REGION.
- C. THE NORTHERN RETAILING REGION.
- D. THE WESTERN RETAILING REGION.
- E. THE KING-WILLIAM ST. REGION.
- F. THE MARKET COMPLEX.
- G. THE OFFICE REGION.
- H. THE REGION OF MIXED LAND USE.



Ground Floor Land Use in the Hard Core.

In examining the hard core the object will be to see how land use changes away from the peak land assessment point on the north-east corner of the King and James intersection. This point will be referred to as the peak intersection. Occupying this peak intersection corner is a small cigar and newspaper store relying on the high pedestrian traffic at this corner. This store has two doors, one on King and one on James Street, thus taking advantage of both arteries. Next to this cigar store, going east on the north side of King Street, is a small candy store. This is also typical of a store small in area but able to pay the high assessment because of the large volume of sales associated with the numerous pedestrians at this corner. Next to this is D'Allaird's womens' wear shop. Womens' wear shops belong to a group offering "shoppers' goods."² However, unlike most other shoppers goods' stores, womens' wear shops are attracted to major pedestrian routes where their goods

²
R. L. Nelson in "The Selection of Retail Locations" defines "shoppers" goods centres,"

"These are centres which sell apparel, appliances, jewellery, furniture, and other merchandise for longer term rather than daily consumption. Such items are of relatively infrequent purchase, a good many of them are expensive, and customers engage in "shopping" for quality, price and style."
(See also Appendix One.)



Photograph 3: James St. looking north across King.

The stores on the corner are at the peak intersection of the C.B.D. On the right, behind the statue, is Gore Park. The width of King St. at the point is apparent as is the poor condition of buildings at the peak intersection.



Photograph 4: James St. from the north-west corner of the King-James intersection.

This shows "Birk's" building on the opposite corner and the new bank next to it. Both of these contrast with those buildings on the peak intersection itself; these latter being in much poorer condition.

can catch the eye of most potential customers.³ Because of this womens' wear shops may be considered as suscipient. D'Allaird's sells a wide variety of goods rather than specializing in expensive items, such as furs. It clearly profits from a location within the zone of maximum pedestrian movement.

At the time of survey the store east of D'Allaird's was vacant. Next store east is Mills gift and china shop. The presence of a gift shop is quite in keeping with the region of high pedestrian density. Next to it is "Peoples' Credit Jewellers" who generally seek locations with a high pedestrian traffic flow and rely on a large number of sales rather than specialization in exclusive items. Immediately east is a drug store, again typical of the area of most intensive retailing land use. East again is "Woolworth's." This is the epitome of a "variety" or "five and ten cent store", which depends on purchases of "convenience goods"⁴ by a continuously high flow of pedestrians. Sales volume

3

See, "The Selection of Retail Locations", R. L. Nelson, 1958 and "The Hierachy of Central Functions within the City." H. Carol. A.A.A.G., Vol. 50, 1960.

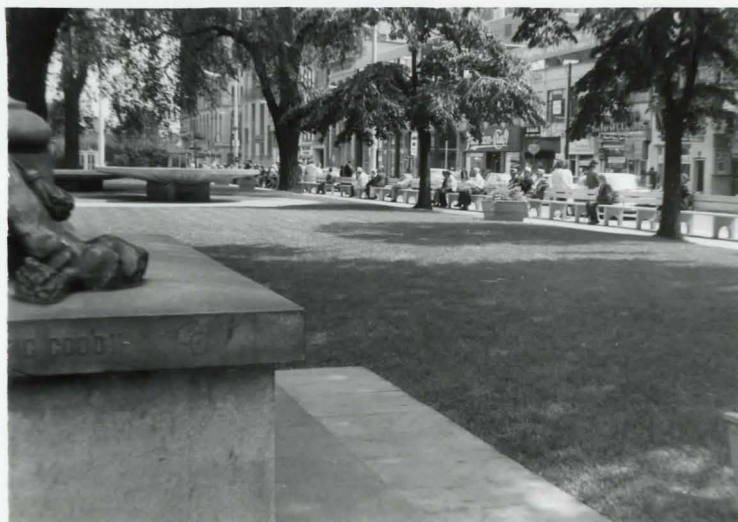
4

R. L. Nelson in the reference cited previously has defined "convenience goods centres" and "convenience goods",
 "These centres carry convenience goods - such as groceries, drugs, hardware, liquor and some variety items - and also include some service stores. . . . convenience goods. . . are items of daily consumption and frequent purchases, sometimes called "spot necessity items."



Photograph 5: King St. looking west from "The Right House."

This is the "convenience goods region", the great length of "Woolworth's" store frontage is apparent, as is the untidy jumble of signs at the peak intersection itself.



Photograph 6: Gore Park from its western limit.

The park is a quiet nucleus in the C.B.D.

is obtained by "getting in the path of the greatest number
⁵
 of people." To the east of "Woolworth's" is "The Right
 House", one of Hamilton's three major "downtown" department
 stores. This store must be considered a major generator of
 pedestrian traffic in the hard core. It is nearer the peak
 intersection than either "Eaton's" or "Robinson's" and pays
 a higher assessment than either of these other stores. How-
 ever its frontage on King Street is not extensive in relation
 to its total area and this helps offset the high assessment.

In the next block east, King, Hughson, King William
 and John, is to be found "Kresge's" large variety store. Al-
 though this is more remote from the C.B.D. peak intersection
 than is "Woolworth's", it does occupy a corner lot and thus has
 the additional benefit of two streams of pedestrian movement.
 "Woolworth's" and "Kresge's" have located on either side of "The
 Right House" to take all possible advantage of its generative
 power. The street frontage east of "Kresge's" becomes fragmented
 again by a multiplicity of small shops. A book and stationery
 shop is located next to "Kresge's"; next to the book shop is a shoe
 shop then a doorway giving access to a basement tavern, followed by
 a sewing machine shop and a shop selling ladies' wear. The next
 retail premises is the "Chicken Roost Restaurant." This is the
 first ground floor establishment, east from James Street on King,
 which is not involved in merchandising. It clearly relies on a

⁵
"Principles of Retailing". Committee on Retailing. 1955.

high volume of traffic across its frontage, and can afford to locate so near the peak intersection because of this. The rest of the frontage of this block contains, in order, a jeweller, a ladies' shoe shop, a camera shop and two more shoe shops.

On the corner of the next block, John, King William, Catharine and King, is a candy store, again relying on pedestrian traffic from several directions at this intersection. Next to this is a shoe repair shop, and a beauty parlour. These are the first premises from James on King which offer services rather than retailing. Thus, away from the peak intersection, new elements are coming in, first restaurants, now service establishments, reflecting the diminishing land assessment. Next to the above two premises is a wine shop. Shoe repair, beauty parlours, and wine stores can to some extent draw customers to them and are not dependent on a very high volume of pedestrian traffic. Next to the wine shop is a restaurant followed by a bankrupt sale store and another beauty salon. Then comes the frontage of the "Capitol" theatre. The presence of a theatre is indicative of diminishing assessment since such establishments are consumptive of land. However, the bulk of this theatre has been excluded from the hard core. The auditorium itself lies in the rear of the block and can be considered separately from the frontage necessary to attract customers. The theatre is succeeded by a ladies' wear shop and a jeweller. The next building contains the offices of

"The Hamilton Spectator" newspaper. Hywel-Davies⁶ in his paper on Cape Town, considers newspaper offices and cinemas to be characteristic of the C.B.D. but not generally found in the hard core itself. However anomalies can be expected within any geographical region. "The Spectator" has a relatively small frontage compared to the total amount of land it takes up in this block. Behind its offices is the printing shop itself. The situation is somewhat analogous to the theatre with a frontage on King Street but the bulk of its premises located within the block and away from the most valuable land. The remainder of the King Street frontage in this block is taken up by a shoe repair shop, a bridal salon, a shoe store, and a shop selling ladies' wear.

The next block, Catharine, King William, Mary and King, has on its King Street frontage a shoe store, a ladies' wear shop, and a restaurant. These are followed by the "Palace" theatre. Like the "Capitol" this has its façade on King but its auditorium away from the street. Next to it is a ladies' wear shop, and this has a bank immediately east of it. This is the first bank on the north side of King, east of James. Banks have little need to locate in the hard core district. This bank would appear to be a small branch situated here to serve retailers and shoppers; it is located toward the periphery of the hard core.

6

Op. cit.

The remaining stores in the block consist of a ladies' wear shop, a shoe shop, a shoe repair establishment, a toy shop, another ladies' wear shop, a café and finally a camera shop. This is the limit of the hard core toward the east.

On the south side of King Street, from James, the pattern of retailing is somewhat different. Land assessment here is considerably less than on the north side of the street, and so too is pedestrian flow. At the corner of King and James is "Birk's" jewellery and china store. This is far larger than any other jewellery store in the C.B.D. and concentrates far more on quality and service than on rapid turnover of goods. It is the city's principle shop for quality china and silverware. It could be contrasted with "Peoples' Credit Jewellers" on the opposite side of the street; this latter is suscipient in contrast to "Birk's" which is generative. Next to "Birk's" is a bank. It has been noted that banks do not appear on the north side of King Street for three and a half blocks east of James, yet here on the south side is one almost at the corner with James. The bank is followed by a restaurant, a luggage and leather shop and a fur store. Located east of this is a record shop, east again, two more fur shops, a restaurant and another fur shop. The remainder of the block is occupied by a foot comfort shop, selling quality shoes, and a quality mens' wear shop. Thus already there is a tremendous contrast in the retailing elements of this block and those to be found in any block on the north side of King Street, east of



Photograph 7: The south side of King St. from the corner of Hughson and King.

Buildings on this side of the street are in good condition. Trust company offices are apparent.



Photograph 8: The north side of King St. from the Sheraton-Connaught.

This area is still within the hard core. Many small retailing frontages are to be seen for this is a region of fairly intensive retailing.

James. The emphasis on the south side is on quality goods. There are four fur shops in the one block, illustrating how "shoppers' goods" stores cluster together to benefit from comparison by potential customers. "Birk's", the leather shop, the fur shops, the footwear and mens' wear shops all have an appeal to the middle and higher income groups. This block also contains two restaurants. No block on the north side of the street has two restaurants at ground floor level, except the block furthest east and remote from the peak value intersection. The premises facing Hughson Street, in the block King, Hughson, Main and James, have been included in the hard core here. They are a barber's shop, a hearing aid shop, and a dry cleaners. They clearly serve the office population of the C.B.D. rather than any other part of it.

The next block east, King, Hughson, Main and John, contains the Canada Trust Building, and next to this the offices of another trust company. These are followed by a mens' wear shop, a restaurant, another mens' wear shop and a ladies' wear shop. All these retailing establishments concentrate on quality goods. The large number of mens' wear shops is to be related to the office region immediately to the south. At the eastern corner of this block is the Federal Building, containing the post office.

The next block east, John, King, Catharine and Main, shows a continuation of the pattern of intermixed offices and quality shops. On the corner of John and King are the offices of the local gas company. These are followed by a succession of small



Photograph 9: The south side of King St. from outside the Sheraton-Connaught.

Shop fronts on this side of the street are much tidier in appearance than those on the opposite side of the street. The large "Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce" office building can be seen beyond Gore Park on James St.

Photograph 10: Premises at the junction of King and Mary Streets.

These premises are at the eastern limit of the hard core. They contrast with premises more centrally located in the hard core. Residential use is in evidence on upper floors



shops. The first of these was vacant at the time of survey. Located east of this a ladies' wear shop, a mens' shoe shop, the T.C.A. travel agency, and another mens' wear shop. Mens' wear shops do not rely on mutual proximity to facilitate comparison in the same way that ladies' wear shops do. However this is not to say that they do not profit by it, and at the same time these shops are close to the office district of the city. In Hamilton there is an obvious concentration of mens' wear shops in the district from James to Catharine, on the south side of King Street. The block is completed by the "Sheraton-Connaught Hotel" which has a small florist's shop on the north-east corner of the building. Davies⁷ considers hotels to be C.B.D. but not hard core in nature. The "Sheraton-Connaught" can be regarded as within Hamilton's hard core because of the high assessment it pays; however it clearly has a peripheral location within this high value region.

The other major axis of the hard core is James Street north of King. On the east side of this street, beginning at King, the first establishments after the cigar store on the corner, are a ladies' wear store, a jeweller and a travel agency. These are followed by a jewellery store, a tie store and a mens' tailor with a basement barber underneath this latter. Next is "Grafton's" mens' wear shop and "Zeller's" variety store at the end of the block. The pattern is somewhat analogous to the situation on the north side of King Street except that the reduced

number of pedestrians means that susceptible stores are less well developed here. Several of the stores depend upon convenience shoppers, e.g. the ladies' wear store, the jewellers, the tie store and "Zeller's". However, intermixed with these are mens' tailoring and a travel agency. "Zeller's" variety store has chosen a location in the path of pedestrians to and from "Eaton's", and profits in addition from its corner location, with doors on both James and King William Streets.

In the next block north, King William, Hughson, Rebecca and James, there is the Lister Building. On its ground floor this has a series of small shops. Four of these face onto King William Street, west to east, they comprise a candy store, a delicatessen, a jeweller and a florist. These would appear to be serving the resident and office population of the Lister block, as well as normal pedestrian traffic. On the James Street frontage of the Lister block, starting from the King William Street corner, is a mens' wear shop, a shoe store, another mens' wear shop, a restaurant and an optician. The 30% assessment line divides the Lister building from the rest of its block and thus terminates the hard core. The Lister block contains a group of mixed stores of which the dominant element is mens' wear. Nelson⁸ points out that large department stores often attract to them a group of essentially susceptible stores which locate near the major store

8

Op. cit.



Photograph 11: The Sheraton-Connaught Hotel.

This shows the hotel, situated at the eastern limit of the hard core, and the large parking lot in front of it. This land is of considerable potential.



Photograph 12: "Eaton's" Department store looking across Market Square.

The grass plot between the sidewalk opposite and the store is land of high potential, the site of the old city Hall. "Eaton's" intend to expand here at some date in the future.

to take advantage of the customers it attracts. This would appear to be the relationship between the Lister block stores and "Eaton's" department store across the street.

On the west side of James Street, in the block James, Market Square, MacNab and King, the first establishment is a restaurant, next in order are a mens' wear shop, a ladies' shoe shop and, on the corner of James Street and Market Square a book and stationery shop. The presence of these establishments is probably due to the artery of pedestrian traffic existing between the office district south of King and "Eaton's" store, north of Market Square. Alone, or together, none of the above establishments would be able to generate much trade.

In the block north of Market Square "Eaton's" store has the James Street frontage to itself. This store is perhaps the greatest "generator" in Hamilton's C.B.D. It has the Market car-park complex alongside and is thus the only "generator" here with a vast adjacent parking lot. Because it can attract people to it, and, because it is so consumptive of space, it has located toward the periphery of the hard core.

The hard core extends for only a short distance west on King Street and even then is confined to the north side. The north west corner of King and James is characteristically occupied by a drug store, relying on the large number of pedestrians at this intersection. Going west, next to the drug store on the corner, is the office of Canadian Pacific

Telegrams, beyond this a ladies' shoe store and a gift and luggage shop. Then follow, a hat shop, a hosiery shop and a sewing machine store. Beyond these is a book store, a womens' clothing store, a jeweller and a furrier. Then come a shoe store, a delicatessen, a discount shop and a children's wear shop. The hard core is completed in this block by a restaurant, an optometrist and a hearing aid shop. Outside the 30% line in this block are three stores from the hearing aid dealer to MacNab Street. These three stores were excluded from the hard core by the 30% assessment line. It was decided to leave this unchanged since the 30% line was a very good boundary everywhere else. The south side of King Street opposite this block is also excluded from the hard core by the 30% line. In the absence of any major generator in a westerly direction, the hard core ends less than a block west of the King and James intersection. In the hard core on King West there is a tendency for ladies' shops to cluster. Ladies' shoes, jewellery, furs, hosiery, sewing machines, clothes and children's wear are all present and benefit from mutual proximity as well as the bus stops to be found on this side of the street. The hard core tails off here with an optometrist and a hearing aid dealer. This may be compared with the optometrist who has located at the northern end of the Lister block, desiring to take advantage of the hard core but not able to afford the very high assessment of central regions within it. The Canadian Pacific Telegraph office is located here to be handy for both business and retail elements in the C.B.D.

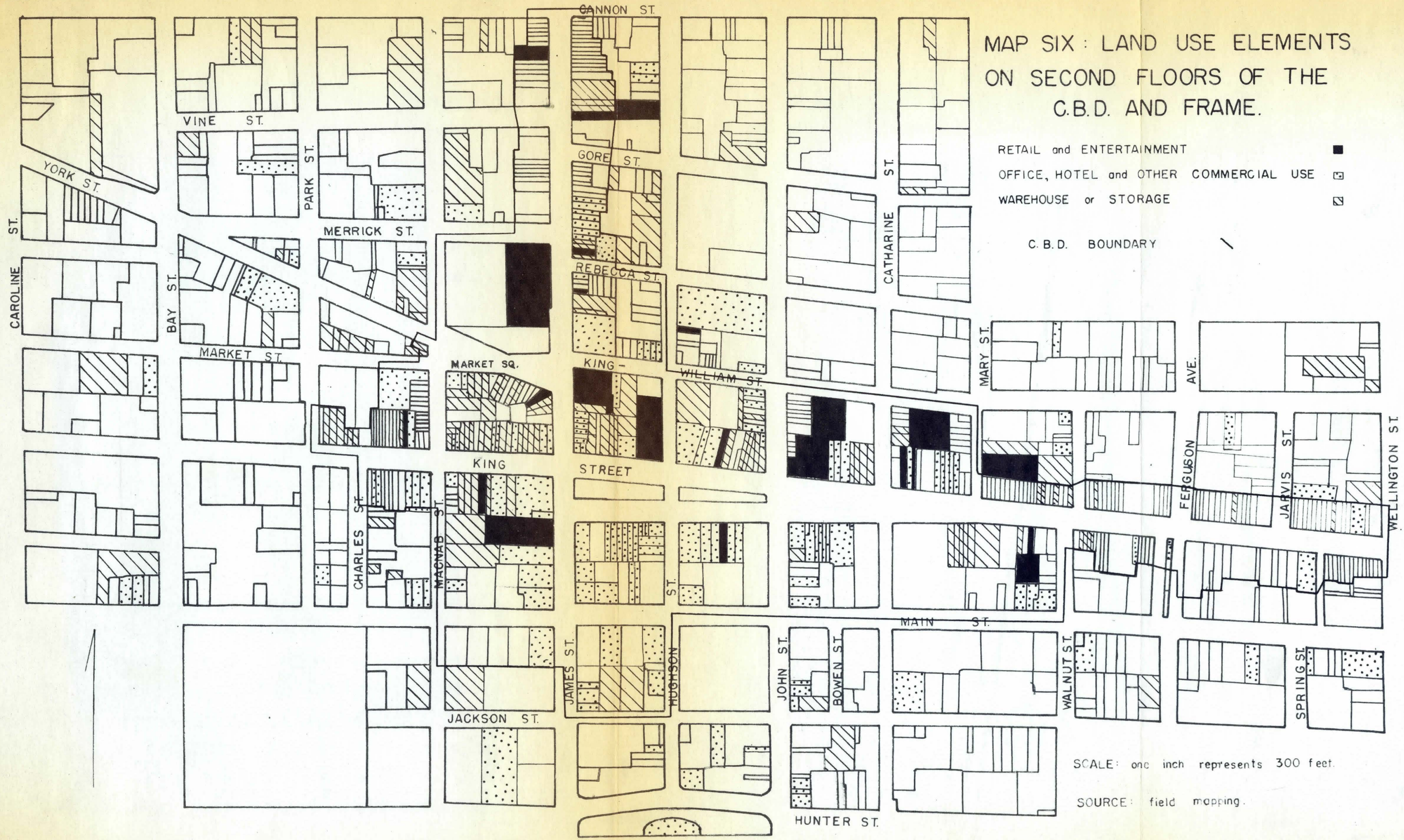
On James Street south of King, the 30% line only cuts into the block King, Main, MacNab and James, to include "Robinson's" store and a drug store. The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce office building at the south-west corner of King-James intersection is not within the 30% line and thus not within the hard core. "Robinson's" department store, like "Eaton's", is somewhat off-centre, and able to be so because of its capacity to attract customers. Its high assessment justifies its inclusion in the hard core. The adjacent drug store is an excellent example of a susceptible store locating next to a generator to benefit from pedestrian traffic to and from the latter.

Land Use in Upper Stories of the C.B.D. Hard Core.

Land use on upper floors is influenced by different factors than is ground floor use. High assessment rates tend to encourage intensive utilization of upper stories but pedestrian flow now has a diminished importance. On the second floor at the north-east corner of the King and James intersection is the office of a finance company, above this is a beauty salon. These premises are above the cigar and candy stores. "D'Allaird's" has its second floor in storage and its third vacant. At the time of survey all the floors of the next shop east were vacant. "Mills" has storage on the second floor and a vacant third floor. "Peoples' Credit" has three floors in storage. "Woolworth's" has storage and offices on its second floor and storage on a third floor. "The Right House" has

MAP SIX : LAND USE ELEMENTS
ON SECOND FLOORS OF THE
C.B.D. AND FRAME.

RETAIL and ENTERTAINMENT ■
OFFICE, HOTEL and OTHER COMMERCIAL USE □
WAREHOUSE or STORAGE ▣
C.B.D. BOUNDARY —



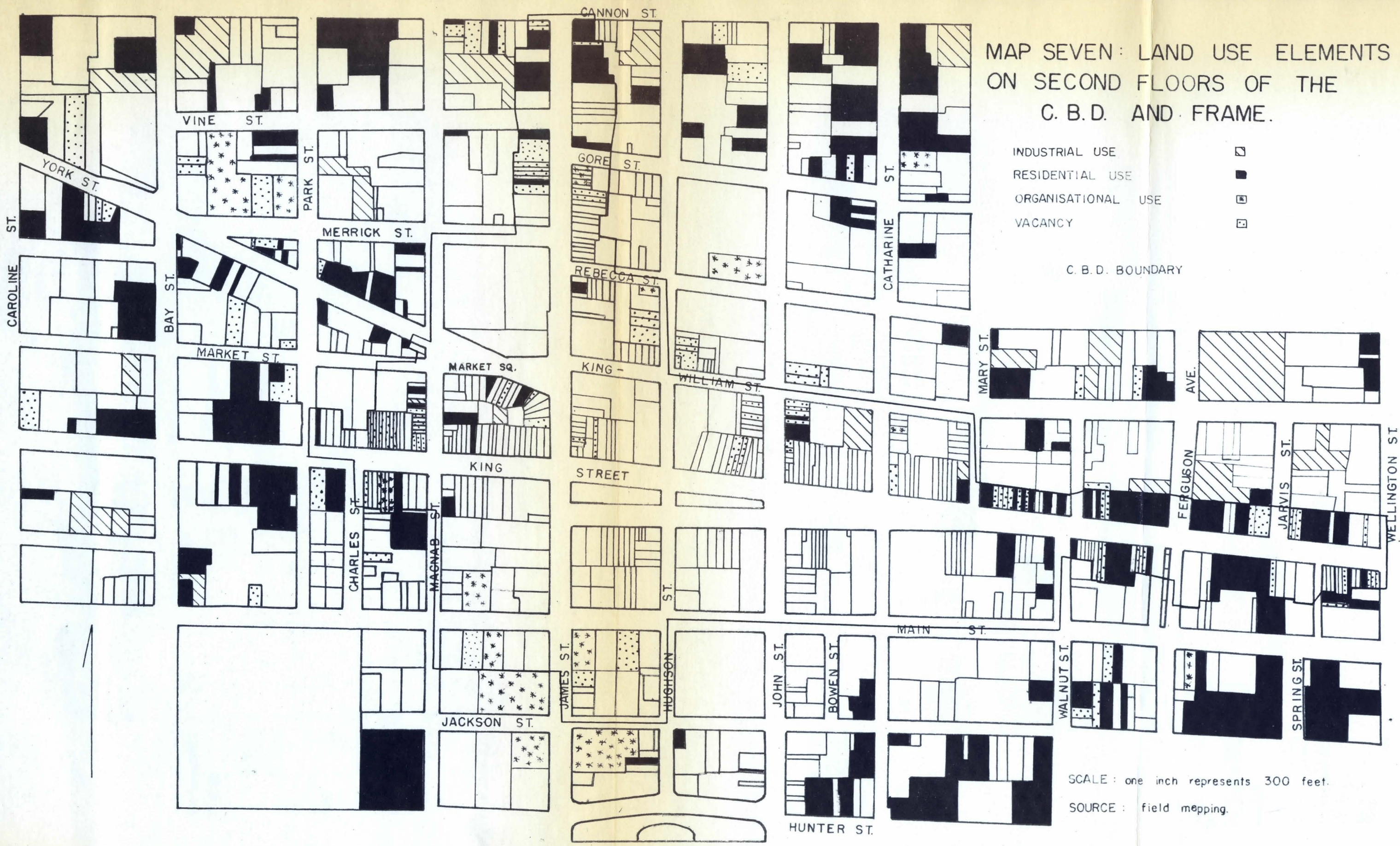
SCALE: one inch represents 300 feet.
SOURCE: field mapping.

retailing on four floors as well as a basement. Thus in this first block upper story land use has been dominated by storage space serving the ground floor retailers. This is to be expected, these stores rely on a rapid turnover of small items and clearly need handy storage space.

On the second floor above "Kresge's" in the next block are offices and storage space. Like the offices and storage above "Woolworth's" these are serving the store below them. The adjacent book shop and shoe shop have storage on two floors above them. The sewing machine shop has its second floor as a sales room and a third for storage. Clearly sewing machines are not bought casually and people are willing to climb stairs to look around. The ladies' wear shop, to the east, has storage on two floors above it. The "Chicken Roost Restaurant" has two vacant floors, as does the jeweller next to it. The remaining shops in this block have storage on their upper floors.

On the north-east corner of the John and King intersection, the second floor is occupied by a restaurant. Next to this is another restaurant which extends almost to the 'Capitol' theatre; only a billiard hall separates it from the cinema. Over all these premises third floors are in storage. The 'Capitol' obviously has its upper floor in entertainment use. Next to this is the office of the "Hamilton Spectator", which has all its floors in office use. The remaining stores

MAP SEVEN: LAND USE ELEMENTS ON SECOND FLOORS OF THE C. B. D. AND FRAME.

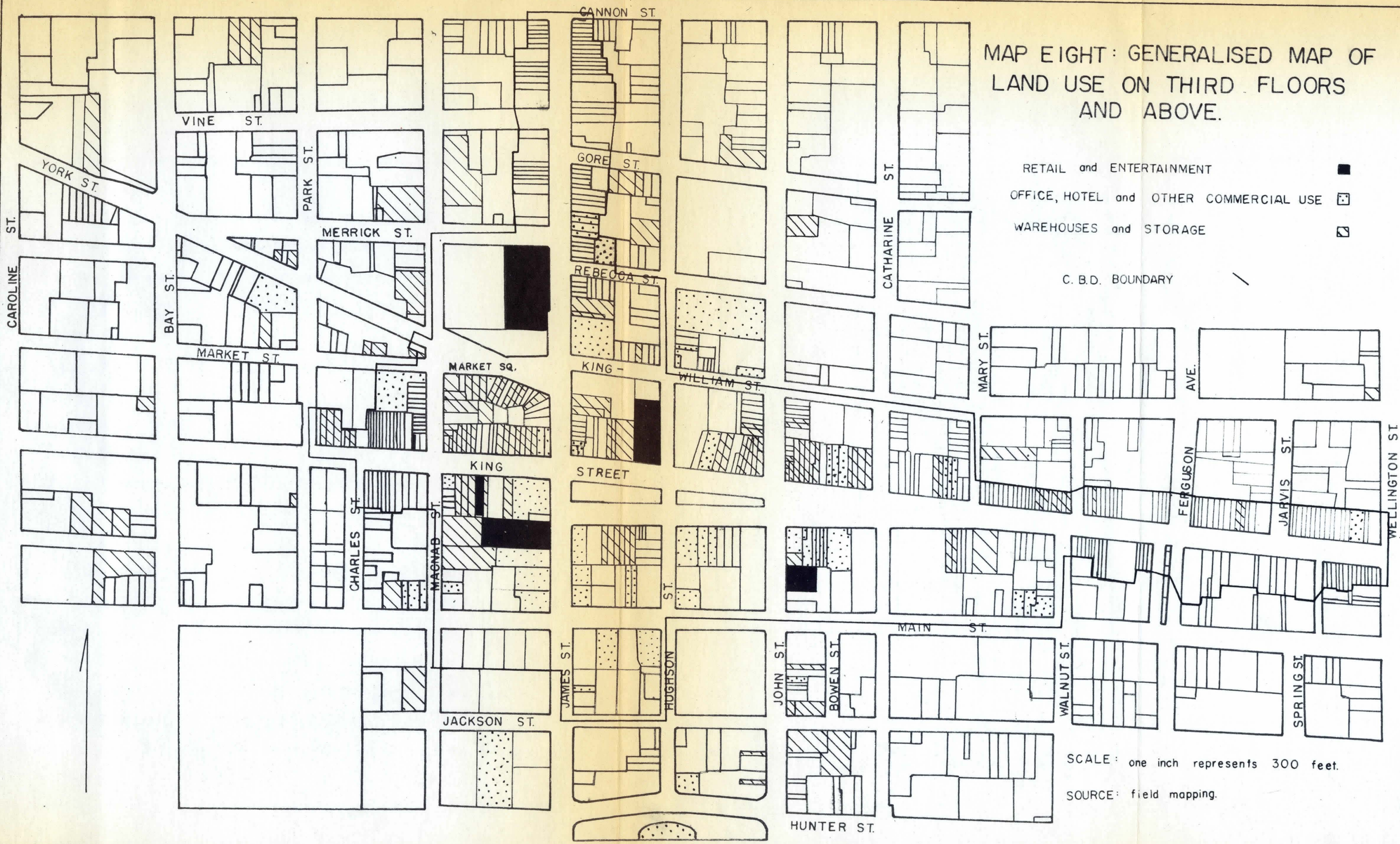


in this block have second and third floors in storage use.

Thus in the first two blocks east of James on King Street upper story land use is concerned principally with retailing, offices administering retailing, or storage for retailing, all of which reflect the dominance of the retailing activity in these blocks. In the third block, however, restaurants, a billiard parlour, a theatre and a newspaper office mark the ability of non-retailing elements to compete with retailers for upper stories.

In the block, Catharine, King William, Mary and King, the premises on the south-west corner have a vacant office on the second floor. The next shop, selling ladies' wear, has a sales room on its second floor connected with the store. The second floor next to this is occupied by a finance company office, then the upper floor of a theatre. Except for the theatre, none of the above establishments has a third story. This again is a sign of the diminishing importance of this area within the hard core. The "Palace" theatre is succeeded by two establishments which have only ground floor premises. After the bank, which is the second of these, the buildings are again three stories. The next two shops have the offices of a finance company on their second floors and storage on their third story. Except for two stores with residences on their second stories, at the corner of Mary and King, the rest of this block has finance company offices on second and third stories.

MAP EIGHT: GENERALISED MAP OF
LAND USE ON THIRD FLOORS
AND ABOVE.



This block again shows a diminished importance in storage for retail on upper floors. A feature not formerly observed is upper story residential land use which has appeared here, just within the hard core.

The opposite side of King Street has a different pattern of upper story land use. Above "Birks" are insurance and law offices. The adjacent bank has no upper story. This is succeeded by insurance offices and the office of a loan company on the second floor only; above them is storage. Above the record shop, in the middle of the block, is a beauty salon with storage on its third floor. The fur shop next has storage space on its two upper floors. The remaining second floors in this block are devoted to small offices of consulting engineers, an office organization company and a finance company. Around the corner on Hughson Street, over the dry cleaners, is a lawyer's office, and next to it a vacant office. In all the buildings from the fur shop mentioned above there are only two stories. Thus a contrast between the north and south sides of King Street is evident. On the north side the upper floors are largely used for storage, while on the south side, for offices.

The next block east, Hughson, King, John, Main, shows similar features to the block just considered. The Canada Trust Building, on the corner, has a second floor in office use serving the trust company. Next to this are more second floor trust company offices. Above the mens' wear shop is a vacant office, above which is the "Canada Business College." Above the



restaurant is a billiard hall on the second floor. The remaining upper floors in the block are devoted to finance company offices, except of course for the Federal Building on the corner of John and King Streets.

In the next block, John, King, Catharine, Main, the upper floors above the gas company are occupied by gas company offices. Next to these is a group of small shops which have vacant offices above them. The remainder of the block is occupied by the "Sheraton-Connaught" Hotel.

The east side of James Street, north of King, is once again more comparable with the north side of King Street than with the south. On the south-west corner of the block, James, King William, Hughson and King, the second floor has the finance company office facing onto King. Next to this, on James, is a small vacant office. This is followed by two hairdressers on the second floor, and the offices of a finance company extending as far north as "Grafton's" mens' store. On the third floors of all these premises, from the vacant office northward, are residential units. "Grafton's" second floor is devoted to retailing and storage, its third story to storage alone. "Zellers" next to it has its offices, some storage and some retailing on its second story.

The Lister building, in the next block north, King William, James, Rebecca and Hughson, is fairly easy to summarize. Its second floor, fronting on James Street, has five beauty salons,

a milliner and a credit office. It has a beauty salon, a realtor and an insurance office on its King William Street frontage. The beauty salons would seem to be related to women shoppers attracted by "Eaton's" store. Obviously in this region beauty parlours cannot afford to locate at ground level but they do choose a position looking onto James Street and "Eaton's" from the second floor. The third floor of the Lister building has doctors', dentists', lawyers' and other small offices. The three floors above this are residential.

Across the street "Eaton's" department store has five floors in retailing and one in administration, in addition to a retailing basement.

On James Street, in the block James, King, MacNab and Market Square, starting from the south, there is the side of a drug store which faces onto King Street West. Next is a restaurant which has a beauty salon on the second floor. The next premises have storage on their second floors for the mens' and ladies' retailing below. The book shop on the corner of James and Market Square has retailing on its second floor; people are willing to browse in book shops. The third floors of all these premises are vacant, apart from those over the book store which uses its third floor for storage.

Upper story land use on King Street, west of James, is fairly typical of a region toward the limit of the hard core. The second floors, going west from the King-James intersection, are used for the offices of a finance company and the Canadian

Pacific Telegrams. After these two premises, storage uses take over. This function continues on second and third floors as far west as the fur shop. This latter has offices above it and apartments above these. Above the shoe shop, next door, is a beauty salon which again has people living on the third story. Second and third floors in the rest of this block to the hard core boundary are given over to storage, except for two residential units above the discount shop; these residences are on second and third floors respectively.

Sub-Regions of the Hard Core. (See Map Five)

a. The Convenience Goods' Region: From the above examination it has become clear that certain sub-regions can be distinguished within the hard core itself. The most central of these is one which might be called the "convenience goods' region." This includes all the hard core land in the block James, King William, Hughson and King. In addition the adjacent "Kresge's" store is to be included. Shops in this region concentrate on a large turnover of small items, and rely on the most important pedestrian intersection in the city to provide them with business. The region is characterized by such variety store as "Zeller's", "Kresge's" and "Woolworth's"; in addition there are other susceptible stores: three jewellers, a gift shop, a drug store, a cigar store, a candy shop, two ladies' wear shops, and a tie shop. However, there are anomalies. "The Right House" has an unusually central location for a department store of its size in

Hamilton. "Grafton's" clothing shop, and the tailor's next to it, are also rather central, as is the C.N.R. travel agency.

There is an obvious difference in the desirability of James Street and King Street as sites for commercial location in this area. The north side of King Street is the zone of really high assessment values, while James attracts stores which are not so dependent on quantities of pedestrian traffic yet seek a central location. "Grafton's", the other tailoring shop and the travel agency all come into this category. James Street between King and King William serves as a major artery from the peak-intersection to that major generator "Eaton's". It is on this pedestrian traffic that the suscipient stores in this block depend. King Street however, has a far larger volume of pedestrians because of its more extensive nature as a shopping street, and because it is the most important access route to the peak corner itself. Additionally it has a succession of bus stops along its north side.

This inner retailing region has two apartments which the City Planning Department estimate as housing eight people. Thus, even here in the area of prime retail location, resident population has not yet been excluded.

b. The King Street North Side Retailing Region: A second region which can be distinguished within the hard core is the north side of King Street from "Kresge's" store to Mary Street. As noted above, once outside the "convenience shopping region"

new retailing elements appear. In the region of highest land values there are no restaurants, no shoe shops and no specialty shops handling such items as bridal supplies, flowers, furs, books and cameras. Perhaps even more obvious, there are no theatres, ground floor offices or banks. These elements do appear as retailing becomes varied and less directly tied to pedestrian movement. Retailing on King Street, north side, east of "Kresge's", shows a wide variety of stores interspersed with restaurants, service establishments and theatres. There is only one ground floor office and one bank; retailing aimed at a mass market dominates. Even upper floors are used as storage for retailers, although a few offices have been noted. There are few residential elements and these are very remote from the peak intersection.

c. The King Street South Side Region: The south side of King Street also justifies being regarded as a separate sub-region within the hard core. Here the emphasis is on quality shops, and these are intermixed with banks and trust company offices. This region extends from James Street to the Sheraton-Connaught Hotel. Here, upper floors are given over to offices rather than to storage for retailing, and both pedestrian numbers and assessment are low compared to the north side of the street. The north side has grown up as the mass-selling region because it was, and is, the most convenient place for shoppers, coming from the east, to shop. It is true that buses heading west also stop on the south side of Core Park, but they are less numerous than those on the north side.

Buses and cars coming from the east end of the city naturally let their passengers out on the right hand side of the street. The south, despite its summer shade had, and has, office fronts intermixed with retailing elements, an undesirable juxtaposition from the viewpoint of mass-selling. In addition it is separated from the north side by the width of Gore Park and the pavements themselves; this distance totalling some sixty-six yards at James Street. This "quality shopping region" of the south side, as previously noted, has some benefit from its accessibility to business people in the adjacent office region. The whole of this district is without a resident population, and property is generally in better condition than buildings on the north side of the street. Clearly, retailing regions appealing to upper income groups and financial establishments looking for prestige, must keep their property in good condition if they are to attract customers. Quality goods' shops cannot compete with mass-selling shops for the most highly assessed land.

d. The James Street Region: This sub-region of the hard core is less obvious than those discussed above. A relationship between "Eaton's" and the Lister block has been noted; these could be regarded together as associated elements constituting a small region. The retailing premises on James Street, west side, that is the restaurant to the corner book shop, are something of a problem. They are on the pedestrian route between "Eaton's" and

"Robinson's" yet clearly, in this block, this side of James Street is less desirable for susceptible store location than the other side. The west side of James Street is comparable to the south side of King Street. In both cases it is the opposite side of the street which dominates in pedestrian traffic and land values. This is true of James Street, not just in this block near King, but all the way up to Cannon. It is apparently to be related to pedestrians from the east turning north up James Street from King; unless they cross to "Eaton's" they move on the east side of the street rather than cross. The James Street west-side premises can be considered with "Eaton's" and the Lister building as somewhat "off-centre" shopping areas and the three elements can be grouped together as a region.

e. The King Street West Region: The other remaining area in the hard core is the north side of King Street, west of James. As noted, this has a mixture of retailing elements. Its unifying theme seems to be the catering for women shoppers. The inter-relationship between ladies' shoes, hats, hosiery, clothes, furs, jewellery, childrens' shoes, sewing machines and gifts, has been noted.

"Robinson's" store is somewhat off-centre in the hard core. Because it does not fit into any sub-region very well it can be considered with the King Street West, north side area discussed above. (The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce building

which separates these two areas is not considered to be within the hard core because of its lower assessment and function.) "Robinson's" and the King Street West, north side region, are both "off-centre" retailing areas situated to the west of the peak intersection. The small drug store to the north of "Robinson's" is also included in this region.

Conclusions:

The delimitation of a hard core in the C.B.D. presents the same problems as the definition of any geographical region. The exercise is to seek optimum boundaries. The hard core, as defined above, has some validity. Although the region contains some banks, offices, theatres and an hotel, it is really characterized by intensive land use. Scott has pointed out that the "inner retail area" is characterized by, "personal requisite stores, department stores, variety and womens' clothing shops." This is certainly true for Hamilton although this city has in addition a few other business outlets which Scott omits. Hamilton's hard core shows an absence of ground floor shops dealing in household goods, furniture, food shops, and bars, (Beverage Rooms). There are no "non-C.B.D." land use elements in the hard core and this alone makes the region quite unique

⁹
"The Australian C.B.D." P. Scott. "Economic Geography"
 Vol. 35. Oct. 1959

in the C.B.D. It is popularly supposed that central areas of cities are lacking in permanent residents. This is hardly the case in Hamilton's hard core however; figures used by the City Planning Department give an estimate of one hundred and forty-five permanent residents within the area taken above as hard core. The concentration of susceptible retailing along King Street from James eastward is to be explained by the movement of large numbers of people from the eastern end of the city, where the major residential area was, and is. People coming from this direction chose the north side of the street rather than the south because of the intermixture of offices and retailing on the south side, and because buses and cars naturally let out their passengers on the north side of the street. Because of the width of Gore Park, and the absence of large generators on the south side of King Street, this side became a quality district rather than aiming at a mass-market. It is of some significance that the hard core follows the same general shape as the C.B.D. That is to say, it has a major extension to the east, a lesser one to the north, and even smaller ones in the west and south. This shape is of course determined by the same factors which have governed the shape of the C.B.D. as a whole.

CHAPTER VI

The Outlying C.B.D. Regions

A The Eastern Retailing Region

Several writers have made distinctions between "inner" and "outer" retailing regions of the C.B.D. Because of the competition for strategic business space, certain types of commercial establishments seek locations outside the hard core. It seems probable that such outlying regions may draw more of their customers from one part of the city than another, according to their orientation. However, the region as a whole can still draw business from all parts of the city, and thus can be rightly considered part of the C.B.D. The eastern part of King Street is just such a region. Because of the eastward expansion of the city, this district has become the most important outer retailing area of the C.B.D., both in size and in content.

Ground Floor Land Use: Starting from the junction of King and Mary, and proceeding along the north side of the street, in the block King, Mary, King William, Walnut, the first shop is a drug store. This is followed by a meat shop, a furniture store, a tobacconist, a milliner, and a ladies' wear shop. The next shop was vacant at the time of survey. It is followed

by an optometrist, then shops selling ladies' shoes, general shoes, candy and another optometrist's. Then comes a café, a furniture store, a delicatessen, a jeweller, a wall paper shop, a linen shop, a ladies' wear store and a shop selling mens' wear. The above list reveals that already certain new elements have appeared in the retailing pattern, indicating regional differences with the hard core. The corner drug store is not remarkable but the very next shop sells meat, the first meat shop so far encountered in this survey. The next shop sells furniture, which also is not characteristic of the hard core. There is another furniture store further down the block which emphasizes the regional difference again. There are two optometrists, who have chosen a peripheral location in the C.B.D. Other interesting shops are two selling wallpaper and linen respectively; no such specialist retailing has been noted in the hard core itself. Shop fronts are small and property above them generally in worse condition than has been evident in the hard core.

In the next block, Walnut, King William, Ferguson Avenue and King, a similar pattern can be seen. The first store sells mens' wear, the next is a café, the next sells ladies' wear, then comes a bake shop, a mens' wear shop, a ladies' wear shop, a shoe store, another mens' wear shop, a large furniture store, a mens' wear shop, a delicatessen, a cigar store and a sewing machine dealer. The dominant feature of this block appears to be small

shops selling ladies' and mens' wear. The large furniture store should also be noted as being in keeping with the character of this part of King Street.

Across the railroad track of Ferguson Avenue there is no abrupt change in the business district such as is sometimes seen¹ when a street is divided by such a barrier. The corner store, in the block Ferguson Avenue, King William, Jarvis and King, sells mens' wear, then comes a stamp and coin shop, at the time of survey the next store was vacant. The next premises is the "Schwarzwaldhaus" restaurant, a meat shop, and an import store specializing in German goods. Next follow a barber, a shoe store and another vacant shop. This is followed by a restaurant, a baker, a pet shop and a shoe shine parlour. The last establishment on this block is a large furniture store. Thus several different and specialized dealers have appeared in this block. The coin and stamp shop, the import store, the pet shop and the shoe shine parlour are elements not previously encountered in the C.B.D. The "Schwarzwaldhaus" is probably able to locate here, and attract customers from all over the city, because of its specialized menu. The furniture store is typical of the region as a whole. Buildings in this block are generally in poor condition above the shop façades.

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Actually the Ferguson Avenue track is little used in this region, and is shortly to be removed altogether.

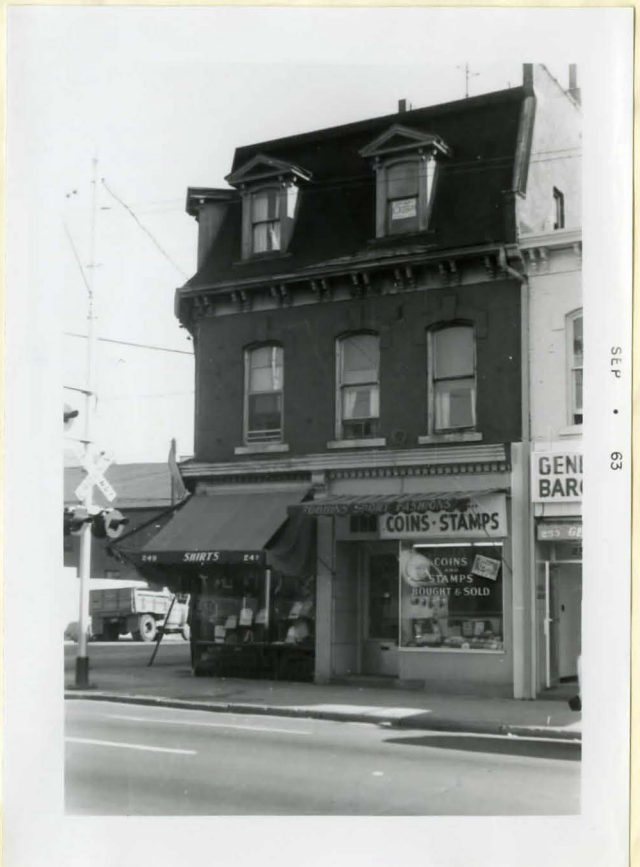


Photograph 13: "Irene's Import Store" east of Ferguson Ave.
on the north side of King East.

This property has an interesting upper story in residential use.

Photograph 14: Corner of
Ferguson Ave. and
King St. looking
north.

Residential use
over retailing, typical of
this King St. East region.
'Coin and Stamp' shop ill-
ustrates the small spec-
ialty shops to be found
in this region of the
C.B.D.



In the block Jarvis, King William, Wellington and King, the most westerly premises on King Street are a fruit shop, a fish and chip shop, a fish shop, a shoe repair shop, a carpet shop, and a baker. These are followed by a greeting card store, a coin shop, a dancing school, a mens' wear shop and a cafe. Finally come a dry goods' store, an import store, a furniture shop and a bank. Here again we can see the introduction of new retailing features. For the first time there is a fruit shop, a fish and chip shop, a fish shop, a carpet shop, a greeting card shop, a dancing school and a dry goods' store. This block is again fragmented by small shop fronts, and the buildings are in poor condition for C.B.D. premises. The bank on the corner is analogous to the one located within the hard core, on the north side (King Street between Catharine and Mary), in that both serve retailers and shoppers rather than have association with the office-financial district of the city.

On the south side of King Street, starting from the premises opposite Mary Street, the retailing pattern is an interesting one. In the block King, Walnut, Main and Catharine, the first shop on King handles draperies. This is followed by a furniture shop, a chinese restaurant, an optician, a tile shop and another furniture shop. This is followed by a bar (beverage room), a hobby shop, a furniture store and a cinema, "The Hyland". The block is completed by a confectionery shop and a shoe repair establishment. On this side of the street retail premises are



Photograph 15: King St. E. looking west from just west of Ferguson Avenue.

Small store fronts are in evidence as is the sign of one large furniture store, "Adlers." Congestion is a problem here.



Photograph 16: King St. E. just east of Ferguson Avenue looking west.

One of the trains which infrequently use this level crossing; when in use the crossing adds to traffic congestion.

individually more extensive than those in the block opposite. There are no less than three furniture stores, a theatre and a public house. All these premises need abundant land in preference to strategic land, hence their location on this side of King Street, where assessment and pedestrian flow are less than on the north side. The three furniture shops probably benefit from mutual proximity and have attracted a drapery shop and a tile shop to the block.

In the block, Walnut, King, Ferguson Avenue, Main, the King Street frontage consists of a restaurant, a barber and beauticians' supply shop, a shop selling sound reproducing equipment, two ladies' wear shops, a barber, a musical instrument dealer, a vacant store and a shop selling religious articles. After this comes one of the ubiquitous furniture stores followed by a china and gift shop, a fur shop and a cafe. It will be observed that many of these shops are handling "shoppers' goods". Thus they can locate on the south side of the street.

Just before the Ferguson Avenue railway tracks is a dry cleaner with a business frontage on King Street and cleaning shop behind. On the east side of the tracks is "Loblaws'" supermarket. This is the only supermarket actually within the C.B.D., although several are peripheral. Like all supermarkets it is consumptive of space and provides an adjacent parking lot on King Street. It is located on King Street East because this is a major artery into

the C.B.D. At the same time it has access to Main Street and can thus capture some of its eastward moving traffic. There is a fairly large number of residences above stores in this region and "Loblaws" would appear to be serving these as well as people moving in and out of the C.B.D. To the east of "Loblaws" parking lot is a paint shop, then an electrical goods' dealer and a beauty supply company. Then comes a tailor, both ladies' and mens', and a furniture store. This is followed by a large delicatessen ("Denninger's"), a china and picture framing shop, two furniture shops and "Eame's" departmental clothing store. For the size of this block it contains few establishments. Business premises have become increasingly consumptive of land. It has already been noted how much land "Loblaws'" and the cleaning establishment occupy. The beauty supply company has an extensive frontage. "Denninger's" is the largest and most complete delicatessen in Hamilton's C.B.D. and "Eame's" is quite a large department store, though not on the scale of "the big three" of the hard core. The important fact is that, in this block east of "Loblaws'" parking lot, all the shops are capable of attracting trade to them, as indeed they need to be. Paints, electrical goods, beauty supplies, specialized tailoring, furniture, picture framers, "Denningers" and Eames" can all draw people to them, both because of the nature of the goods they handle and their quality. This contrasts greatly with the opposite side of the street which seems dominated by suscipient stores.

The final block of C.B.D. land on this side of the street, contains a beauty salon, a brush shop, a barber, a vacant shop, a tailor and another vacant shop. This is followed by another barber, a dry cleaner, a piano dealer, a surplus sales store, a beauty salon, a restaurant, a dry cleaner and a fruit and vegetable shop. Altogether quite a miscellaneous collection of susceptible stores. They would appear to be dependent on customers moving from the east towards the "Eames-Denninger" block and the C.B.D. in general. The surplus store indicates non-C.B.D. elements creeping in. Property in this block is on the whole in poor condition.

Upper Floor Land Use: On the north side of King Street, upper land use is given over to residential use, vacancy or storage for retailers. (See Maps Six and Seven) The only exception is the "Wells Business Academy" in the block King, Jarvis, King William, Wellington. This provides an interesting regional contrast with upper story land use within the hard core where office and retail elements abound on upper floors. Maps Six, Seven, Eight and Nine reveal the large areas devoted to housing above shops on this street. On the south side of the street, in this region, upper floors are used for storage, residences or left vacant. There are only three exceptions, there is some land in entertainment, the "Hyland Cinema", and three premises in office use. Two of these are merely administering shops below them, and the third is a finance company office over the dry cleaners at Ferguson Avenue.

Conclusions

In this region, as further west on King Street, there is a contrast in retailing between the north and south sides of the street. The distinction is here based not so much on quality as on the kind of goods offered and the size of establishments. The north side has many small shops selling specialized goods; for example imports, and a large number of susceptible stores selling convenience goods. The south side has several large stores, and establishments more consumptive of land than they are demanding of pedestrian traffic. Interestingly enough, the quality of buildings on the south side of the street is usually better than on the north. This corresponds to the quality buildings on the south side further west which contrast with the poorer buildings on the north side within the hard core. The explanation seems to be that shoppers' goods stores must make themselves look attractive while convenience goods can be sold from premises which may be in poorer condition. In addition the north side has many of its upper floors in storage while the south side has offices, which are more attractive, on its upper floors.

B The Northern Retailing Region

James Street, like King Street, has developed as a linear retailing region along an access route to the hard core. It is however, neither as extensive nor as diverse as King East, yet in other respects is comparable.

On the east side of the street, beyond the northern limit of the Lister building, comes first a textiles' shop, then a furniture store, a shoe store, a mens' wear shop, a ladies' wear shop and a restaurant on the Rebecca Street corner. Already elements characteristic of an outlying business region of the C.B.D. can be noted; the textile store and the furniture store have their parallels in the King Street East region. The second floor, from the Lister block to the shoe store, is in storage for retailers. The shoe store has a milliner above it, then comes two residential units and a beauty salon on the corner. The third floor is in storage as far as the shoe store; the remainder of the block is residential.

The next block, James, Gore, Hughson and Rebecca, has a large number of shops along its James Street frontage. In addition, on Rebecca Street, "Eaton's Budget Store" has been included in the C.B.D., as has a photo-processing establishment on Gore Street. "Eaton's" budget store is clearly seeking a location within sight and access of the main store but with a somewhat lower rental, hence the selection of Rebecca Street within half a block of James, but away from the main pedestrian stream with its accompanying high assessment. On James itself, starting from the south-west corner of this block, is a mens' wear store, a shoe store, a cigar store and barber, a shoe shine parlour, a photo studio, a clothing store and an electric shaver shop. This is followed by an optometrist, a mens' wear shop, a restaurant,

a finance company office, a shop renting out formal dress and a shop selling bedroom fittings and supplies. Then come a jeweller, a cigar store, a shoe repair establishment and a mens' wear shop.

In the above collection we see specialty shops appearing just as they did in the King Street East region. The photo studio, electric shaver shop, formal dress rental shop and bedroom supplies shop, all illustrate the specialty shops which cluster just outside the hard core yet seek to be accessible to it. The presence of a finance company office on the ground floor is suggestive of diminishing land values. Upper story land use remains fairly intensive in this block, though it is hardly comparable with the Lister building. "Eaton's" budget store has two upper floors in office use. The mens' wear shop to the west of it has storage on its second floor. It is followed, on James Street by a billiard parlour and two second floor premises in storage, then comes a hair dresser and insurance offices. These are followed by a beauty salon, over the restaurant in the middle of the block. Next comes a "Planned Parenthood Clinic" and two vacant premises which extend as far as the Masonic Hall, which occupies the second floor from the jeweller to the end of the block. Third floor land use shows vacant premises as far north as the clothing store, then the "Park Business College", which takes up the space as far as the premises over the ground floor restaurant. The third floor over this restaurant is vacant, as are all the others in the block except those used by the Masonic Hall. The photographic processing shop on Gore Street has no upper floors.

The next block north, Gore, James, Cannon and Hughson, marks the northward limit of the C.B.D. At its south-west corner it has a beverage room, next to this is a car park and then comes the "Tivoli" theatre. After this there is a coffee bar and two furniture stores, a mens' wear shop, a shoe shop, a meat shop, a baker and another mens' wear shop. Then comes a jeweller, a shoe store, a meat shop, a tailor, another meat shop, a jeweller, a fish shop, a shoe shop, and a corner drug store. Here again we find the furniture stores, a theatre, a car park, and small food shops appearing further out from the hard core. Once again, toward the periphery of the C.B.D., it becomes doubtful that all establishments are serving the city as a whole; however, the theatre, furniture stores and the fish shop probably draw people to this region.

Second floor land use is also typical of an area toward the periphery of the C.B.D. The corner bar has two floors over it in residential use. The theatre and furniture stores use their upper stories for entertainment and storage respectively. Second and third floors in the rest of the block are in residential use, except for two floors over the tailor, five premises from the end of the block. This large resident population is to be related to the presence of stores which do not have a great enough volume of goods to merit large areas for storage, and yet these stores pay fairly high assessments and need to utilize their upper stories in some way. The same phenomenon is to be seen in the blocks on the north side of King Street towards the periphery of the C.B.D.

The west side of James Street in this region shows a similarity to the east side discussed above. Starting north of "Eaton's" in the block Merrick, MacNab, Vine and James, there is first a bank, then a car park, a building materials merchant, a dry cleaner, a cafe, a photographer, and a baker. The next two premises were vacant at the time of survey and the corner establishment is a beverage room. The bank at the corner of James and Merrick is an example of those of its kind having a tendency to stand alone in retailing districts of the C.B.D. The building materials merchant is indicative of lower land assessment on this side of the street. Such businesses do not need a highly central location and are also consumptive of land. The parking lot, vacant premises and bar, are also indicative of lower assessment here. Second and third floor land use in this block consists entirely of vacant space. The only exceptions are a residence over the cleaner's and residence on two floors over the bar.

The next block north has a parking lot on its south-east corner. Then come a florist, a furnishings shop, a barber, a fur shop, and a cafe. Next are a large furniture shop, a cleaners', a dressmaker, a grocer, a pest control shop, a sewing machine shop, and a barber. Apart from the furniture store, all these premises seem to be atypical of the C.B.D. The buildings are in poor condition, and most of them seem to have little claim to serve the city as a whole. Second floors are entirely residential except for those over the furniture shop, and over the sewing machine



Photograph 17: James St. North looking west from Gore Street.

Poor premises in the C.B.D. Small store fronts and large parts of upper floors are vacant. The store on the right has a vacant ground floor.



Photograph 18: James St. North looking east from Vine Street.

The "Tivoli Cinema" and the furniture stores typify premises consumptive of land which have sought locations outside the hard core yet convenient for it. The parking lot on the left has been included in the C.B.D.

dealer and barber at the end of the block. Third floors too are largely residential, excepting again the furniture store and that over the pest control, the sewing machine and barber's shops having no upper stories. All in all this block is analogous to the block Wellington, Main, Spring and King Street East, in that both are at the extreme end of a linear shopping region, both contain some poor property, and have been included in the C.B.D. largely because of their association with adjacent blocks in C.B.D. land use.

This northern region is again one where C.B.D. functions tail off away from the hard core. Here however, intensity of C.B.D. land use diminishes far more quickly than it does on King Street East. In many respects this area merits consideration as a linear retailing region like that along King Street East; this latter is of course on a larger scale. Like King Street East theatres, car parks, furniture stores and specialty shops begin to appear away from the hard core. Toward the limit of the region shops, whose inclusion in the C.B.D. is dubious, begin to appear. Also James Street North shows an impressive contrast between the east and west sides of the street, similar to the contrast King displays between its north and south sides. Here, however, specialty and quality retailers have not seen fit to locate on the "off" side of the street as certain stores have done on King Street. The heavier pedestrian flow on the east side of James Street has

already been remarked upon. It is not to be attributed to an unbroken chain of retailing on this side, for in the block immediately north of Cannon Street the city armories are located, on the east side of James. This, it might be thought, would give advantage to the west side of the street further south, but this is not found to be the case. In actual fact it would appear that pedestrians moving from the extensive northern and eastern residential districts of the city naturally used the eastern side of James Street and thus have created this retailing phenomenon. Pedestrian movement from the east must now be insignificant compared to the numbers arriving by car and public transport; however, once created the phenomenon has remained. In addition, as already noted, pedestrians still tend to move northward from the peak intersection on the eastern side of the street rather than the west.

C The Western Retailing Region

Of all the outlying retailing regions, lying along major routes to and from the C.B.D., this is the smallest in area, and least developed in terms of its business content. Starting at the south-west corner of the King-James intersection, and going west, the King Street south side frontage includes the large Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce Building, a jeweller, another bank, a restaurant, "Robinson's" budget store, a florist, a ladies' wear shop, a baker and the offices of the Canadian National Telegraph

Company. Underneath this latter is a basement barber. The large Canadian Imperial Bank Building is here included in a retailing region of the C.B.D. It is of course really associated with the office district on James South of King. However, the C.I.B.C. building is separated from this region by "Robinson's" store. Thus surrounded as it is by retailing elements of this western area, it has been included with them in this western region. The first two floors of this building are occupied as bank offices and the remaining five floors are given over to small offices of insurance agents, lawyers, doctors, loan companies and a sugar refining company. In the rest of the block frontage second floor land use consists of storage over the jewellers, vacant offices over the bank next to this, retailing in the budget store and storage in the rest of the block except Canadian National Telegraph office which has a milliner and a beauty salon over it. Third floor space is in storage over the jeweller, vacant over the bank, retail in the budget store and storage in the rest of the block, except for a small lawyer's office in the C.N. Telegraph's building. Land use in this block is reminiscent of the north side of King Street in the blocks east of James. That is, there is an intermixture of banks, offices and shops of fair quality, the exception being the budget store. Around the corner of this block, on MacNab Street, some other shops have been included in the C.B.D. These consist of a hearing aid shop, a hairdresser,

a milliner and the entrance to the basement "Downstairs Club". Above all these are two floors in residential use.

The next block west has, on its ground floor, a travel agent, an electrical service centre, a hairdressing school, a fur shop, a Christian Science Reading Room, a florist, another travel agency, a delicatessen, a sporting goods' shop, a barber and a billiard hall. Its second floor contains a stock brokers' office, an electrical service office, a small vacant office, a "ladies' tailor", an apartment, the Hall of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, a brush company office, a beauty salon and a vacant floor. The third floor has an apartment at the east end, then a gap caused by a two story building. This is followed by two vacant premises, two residential and three others which are vacant. The striking feature of this block is the way C.B.D. land use is beginning to change while still only a short distance from the peak intersection. The block contains some of these specialized retailers, of goods and services, who congregate on the edge of the hard core. For example, the sporting goods' shop, the travel agent's and the delicatessen. However it also contains some elements which, if found at ground level, are indicative of the C.B.D. edge. These include the electrical service centre, the school of hairdressing, social and religious bodies like the Christian Scientists, and finally the billiard parlour. Second floor land use still retains some intensity here. Six business premises and a social group meeting place are to be weighed against the one apartment and two vacant premises as an indicator of centrality.

On the north side of King Street West from James, in the block King, MacNab, Market Square and James, there are only three shops which have not been included in the hard core. These are a fashion shop, a candy store and a fur shop. Above them, on the second floor, is a hairdressing establishment, a vacant office and a floor in storage. The third floor is devoted to storage in all these cases, except for a hairdressing school over the hairdresser. It may be argued that these establishments have been rather artificially separated from the rest of the premises in the same block which have been included in the hard core. This idea is re-inforced by the fact that the retailing in the rest of the block is geared to serving the woman shopper. In these premises at the end of the block, it is obvious that the fashion shop, the fur shop and the hairdresser are similarly engaged. However, the 30% assessment line is such an effective limit to the hard core region elsewhere that it was decided not to deviate from it here.

In the next block west, MacNab, King, Park and Market Street, the frontage of C.B.D. retailing continues. The corner store in the east sells mens' wear, next is a fur store, then an optician, a jeweller, a hardware store and a candy and biscuit shop. This is followed by a cafe, a mens' wear shop, a dress material shop, a shoe repair shop, a camera shop, a hairdresser and another cafe. Then comes a car park, a barber, a beauty salon, a Greek import store, an electrical repair shop, a commercial photographer, a store fittings dealer and a public house.

On the second floor, starting from the east again, there are three vacant premises, an office and a restaurant over the hardware shop. This is followed by storage and vacancy as far as the parking lot. After this lot all second floors are in storage apart from residential use over the corner bar. The first two premises from the corner have no third floor; the next building however, houses a photo studio above its second floor. The remaining rooms are vacant as far as the parking lot, after which all third floors are in storage except for a printer over the import shop, and residential use over the beverage room. This block then illustrates once more the rapid rate at which land use changes, from the hard core to the C.B.D. frame, in this particular region. Again the specialty shops appear, cameras, dress materials, Greek imports, and also some features which could be found in the frame, a parking lot, a store fittings supplier, an electrical repair shop and a commercial photographer. On upper floors, land use becomes less intensive and the vacant space in this block is greater than any other so far encountered in the C.B.D.

D Minor Business Areas Associated with the Hard Core

There are two business regions, within the C.B.D. but not developed along major arteries, which deserve consideration. The first of these lies to the north-east of the peak intersection and includes C.B.D. land use on or near King William Street; the second includes C.B.D. premises south of Merrick and east of MacNab near the market.

(i) The King William Street Region

As Map Five shows, this includes far more than just King William Street premises. This region includes the backs of blocks whose fronts are in the linear retailing regions, and in addition it has some street frontage in retailing. Along the north side of King William Street going east, there is a wine shop, a shop selling office materials, a shoe repair shop, a sports' goods shop, a toy store, a religious articles shop, a barber, a drawing material shop, a ladies' wear shop, and another religious articles shop. These premises contrast with the districts of higher assessments and pedestrian density previously examined. Each of the above shops, with the possible exception of the barber, is selling fairly specialized items and relies on being sought out rather than putting itself in the path of customers. Above the wine shop is a tailor. The two adjacent second floors have offices; then follow three upper stories in storage and the rest of block at this level is occupied by offices serving the shops beneath them. Third floor land use is largely vacant with only three storage elements in use and four occupied residences. On the south side of the street is the side of "Zellers" store with a parking lot at the north-east corner of its block.

Thus there is no retailing frontage on the north side of the block King, James, King William and Hughson. The Hughson Street frontage on this block is occupied by the side of "The Night House" and thus hardly qualifies as an important frontage. Both these King William and Hughson Street sides are in great



Photograph 19: King William St. west of John, looking south.

This shows the way in which King William St. functions as a "back-alley" for the hard core. The rear of "Kresge's" store is evident, as is the rear of "Zeller's" in the next block west. Car parks too are in evidence.



Photograph 20: King William St. north side between Hughson and John.

Small stores catering for Chinese. Very poor property yet within two hundred yards of the peak intersection of the C.B.D. (These premises are actually included in the C.B.D. frame.)

contrast with business activity on the King and James Street sides of the block.

East of Hughson, only the south side of King William Street has been included in the C.B.D. This south side of the street is occupied by the rear of "Kresge's" store, a parking lot and a small warehouse. "Kresge's" also occupies the eastern side of Hughson Street in the block King, Hughson, King William and John. Thus the situation here is very similar to that existing in the block examined above, that is, the Hughson and King William Street frontages are occupied by the sides or backs of premises facing the more important shopping activity.

At John Street, between King and King William, retailing is again resumed. On the west side of the street, coming from King, are a musical instrument shop, a ladies' wear shop, an office machine dealer, a music shop, a chop suey house, a golf shop, a jeweller and a beauty salon. All these are handling shoppers' goods, as they need to do in this "off-centre" location. Above them, on the second floor, are a small office, a charm school, two storage premises, a vacant floor, another small office, another vacant floor, and finally a beauty salon. The floor over the most southerly musical instrument shop is in storage as are those over the adjacent ladies' wear shop and office machine dealer. The remaining floors in this block are vacant.

On the east side of John Street, again starting from King, are a shoe repair store, a cigar store and ticket agency,



Photograph 21: John St. north of King, looking east.

This shows one of the music shops on this street. Generally property is in poor condition here despite proximity to the hard core.



Photograph 22: East side of MacNab St. between King and Market Sq.

Upper floors in these premises over the hardware shop are in worse condition than any others noted in the C.B.D. Land use is chiefly residential!

a mens' wear shop, a florist and a barber. Then come a restaurant, a childrens' shoe shop, a music shop, an optician, a law office, a stationer and a beauty salon. This side of the street shows a greater tendency to rely on convenience purchases. The shoe repair store, the cigar store, the florist, the barber and the stationer all point to this. Just as on James Street, it would seem that the east side of the street has a greater number of pedestrians than does the west side. This may be due to the large municipal John Street parking lot in the block John, Rebecca, Catharine and King William.

Three music shops are within a few yards of each other, here on John Street, albeit on opposite sides of the street. Music shops cannot usually afford to locate too centrally, and the nature of the goods they offer enables them to choose peripheral sites. In addition they benefit from mutual proximity.² Coming north from King Street, on the east side, second floors are used for a restaurant kitchen, two vacancies, three residential elements, a music school and another apartment. The three remaining premises in this block have vacant second floors. Third floors are in storage, vacancy or residential use, except for a music school over the music shop. The rear of this block,

2

The most centrally located music store is that on the south side of King Street, in the block Main, James, King and Hughson. This particular shop handles records rather than sheet music or musical instruments.

King, John, King William and Catharine, is chiefly occupied by the "Capitol" theatre. In addition to this there are the printing shops of the "Hamilton Spectator". Here again we see this King William Street district housing the backs of premises which face onto a major business artery.

Catharine Street, between King and King William, is not dissimilar to John Street. From King northwards the west side of the street has only some ground floor residential premises besides "The Spectator" works. The east side however, has some ground floor storage, a musical instrument shop, a ladies' wear shop, another music shop, a hat shop and an office supply store. These premises have a good deal in common with those on the west side of John Street. It is significant that the most important retailing area in this street is only comparable with the area of lesser importance one block west. On the west side of the street retailing has disappeared. Upper story land use too shows a diminished intensity. On the west side of Catharine is upper story residential use, on two upper floors, and "The Spectator" works. On the east side second floors contain "The French Club of Hamilton", storage, or are vacant.

The rear of the block Catharine, King William, Mary and King, is very similar to the one to the west. In both cases the back of the block is occupied by the rear of a theatre. Around the corner, on Mary Street, is the limit of this minor

region of the C.B.D. Coming from King, on Mary Street, there is a vacant warehouse, a radio and T.V. shop, a tailor, a furniture finisher, a cafe and a watch repair shop. North from the radio shop all these premises form the retailing ground floor of a small apartment building which has residences on two floors above them. This is scarcely a retailing area of great significance.

The only remaining part of this sub-region is that located behind James Street in the block King William, James, Rebecca and Hughson. Going north from the intersection of King William and Hughson Streets, on the west side, is an art shop, a small office and a blue printing company. A parking lot separates this from the Salvation Army Citadel on the corner. On the second and third floors of the buildings from the art shop to the blue printing shop are vacant premises. Only the art shop represents retailing on this street. To the west, around the corner on the south side of Rebecca Street, between Hughson and James, are some small Salvation Army offices, a parking lot, a grocer, a photographic supply store, a barber and a dry cleaner. Thus towards James Street retailing begins to appear again. The situation of these shops is improved by the fact that they are visible to people moving along James Street. All these establishments from the grocer to the cleaner have two floors of residences above them.

This then completes the survey of the "King William Street Region". Actually, as will be realized, most of the

premises discussed above are not on King William Street. King William Street is really a "back-alley" for the King Street retailing region. It gives access to the stores and is dominated by the backs of premises which face onto the major street. The small shopping streets, which run from it, have a secondary part to play in C.B.D. retailing; they contain a miscellany of small shops generally located in old premises.

(ii) The Market Complex:

The situation of this district resembles the King William Street region discussed above. Both lie in an angle formed by the intersection of King and James, and both are outside the hard core. However, there are differences between these regions springing from the two following causes. Firstly the King Street West retailing region is not as significant a retailing district as is its eastern counterpart. Secondly, within this north-western angle of the King-James intersection is to be found the City Market. These two factors do a great deal to explain the differences in content and arrangement between the two regions.

The city market must be regarded as having considerable significance in the retailing pattern of the C.B.D. Despite the fact that the market is only held three days each week it draws large numbers of people to this district of the C.B.D. In 1960 the city parking authority opened a multi-story car park over the existing market site. This has meant that the amenity of the



Photograph 23: The Market - Car Park from the south.

This shows the market on a Saturday morning. All floors available for parking are full and the market is attracting crowds of people to this part of the C.B.D.



Photograph 24: Upper floor of the Market - Car Park looking north.

This shows the upper floor as it normally is on days when no market is held. At the time when this photograph was taken there were no cars on this floor and only four on the floor beneath it.

market has been preserved in its traditional place, and additionally the C.B.D. has gained valuable parking space convenient for the hard core itself. (More is said about this in the subsequent chapter on parking.)

To the south of the market, along Market Square, is an extremely interesting group of shops. Starting from the book shop on the corner of Market Square and James, these comprise a gift shop, a manicure salon, a luggage shop, a childrens' shoe store, a drug store, a restaurant, a tailor, a cut rate shoe store and a public house. These are followed by a shoe store, a meat shop, another shoe store, and a large druggist. This large number of shops means that the street frontage is here extremely fragmented and the contrasting shop facades give a rather untidy and jumbled appearance to the area. In addition the property is old and its condition poor. The block as a whole exemplifies some of the problems of downtown areas with old buildings packed close together in need of replacement but occupying valuable land. A relationship can be seen between shops on this frontage and the market opposite. The relationship seems most evident towards the west. The bank, shoe shops, bar and restaurant probably draw some advantage from their proximity to the market. Further east the drug store, manicure salon and gift shop have the advantage of being in the path of market customers and in addition have proximity to the corner and the James Street pedestrian traffic. Second floor land use



Photograph 25: Market Sq. looking south-east from the
Market - Car Park.

This shows the miscellany of small shops in poor condition in this region. These premises benefit from the generative powers of the market.



Photograph 26: Market Sq. looking south-west from the
Market - Car Park.

Shops here are in a little better condition from those in the above photograph. The shoe shops, the meat shop, the bank and the drug store all help complement market retailing.

is less diverse than its ground floor counterpart. Over the gift shop is a vacant floor, this is followed, to the west, by residences over the manicure and luggage shops. The next two shops have storage above them and the floor over the restaurant was vacant at the time of survey. The next two shops have second floors in storage and the beverage room has residences over it. Second floors in the rest of the block are in storage except for those over the bank and the drug supplier on the corner, both of which have second floor offices. On the third floor, the first two premises are residential, the next three in storage. Then follows a gap where there are no three story buildings. Over the restaurant the third floor is in storage. Over the adjacent bar this floor is residential. The remaining premises in this block, which have three floors, have the third one in storage.

In the block York, MacNab, Market and Park Streets, only two premises face onto MacNab. These are a bank and a seed and grain store, from south to north respectively. Both these establishments are included in the 10% assessment line and the C.B.D. Above both of these upper floors are in storage. This small bank and the seed and grain shop would seem to tie in quite well as businesses connected with the market district.

MacNab Street, in this region of the C.B.D. may also be considered as a retailing region developed as complementary to the market. South from the corner of Market and MacNab, on the east side of the street, is a jeweller, a shoe shop and a hardware store. These are followed by a meat and poultry shop, a vacant

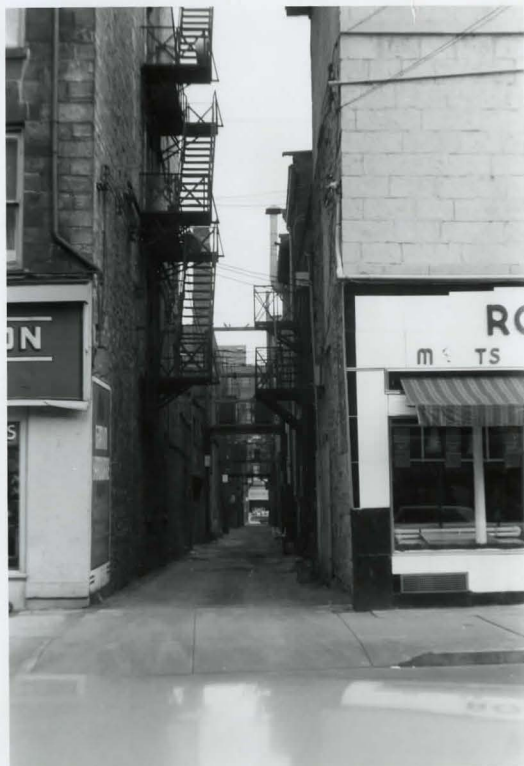
shop and a basement barber. The jeweller has two floors in storage, the hardware shop two floors in residential use and the remaining shops south of this have storage on two floors. On the west side of the street, coming from the north, there is an hotel, a restaurant, a meat shop, a hearing aid shop, and a chocolate and cookie store. Next to this are three meat shops, a cut-up chicken shop, a cutlery dealer, and a baker. On the second floor, at the south-west corner of the MacNab-Market intersection, is the hotel. Next are three units of residential use, and then a tailor, above the first of the three meat shops. The cut-up chicken shop has a residence over it, but apart from this, second floors are vacant over the adjacent establishments. The third floor pattern is very similar, hotel on the corner, three apartments, an apartment over the chicken shop and the remaining floors vacant. The interesting aspect of this street is the number of meat shops. (Six including the chicken shop, and in addition, another already noted on Market Square.) This concentration is to be explained by the fact that the market specializes in the sale of fruits and vegetables, thus leaving an opening for a butchering region nearby. Other shops also suggest purchasing by housewives, for the home and family, in this area. Most notable are the hardware and shoe shops, and the bakeshop and chocolate shop. The restaurant and hotel probably draw some customers by virtue of

Photograph 27: Alley from
 Hughson to James St.
 One of the C.B.D's
 alleys, looking towards
 the Pigott Building.
 Ugly and congested.



SEP • 63

Photograph 28: Alley from
 MacNab to James St.
 Similarly ugly.



SEP • 63

their location near the market district. It should perhaps be noted, at this point, that within the block King, MacNab, Market Square and James, there is a small printing works on three floors and also part of this building has three floors in storage. Thus even here, almost within the hard core, albeit away from the street frontage, light industry exists.

This completes the examination of the market complex. Although its geographic position in the C.B.D. is similar to the "King William Street region" it is far smaller in area and far more cohesive as a retailing region. (As noted above such cohesion as exists here is to be attributed to the complementary relationship between the market and the shops selling meat, other foods and household requirements.

E The Office Region

Location is not as critical a factor in the success or failure of an office as it is in the case of a retail enterprise. However, offices do show a tendency to cluster together, both by locating in an "office district", and by choosing locations on top of other offices to form high office buildings. Prestige is also involved in the location of an office; firms will usually seek for their office a new or dominating office building.

The principle offices in Hamilton's C.B.D. are to be found on James Street between King and Main. On the west side
³
 of the street, south of "Robinson's" is the "Royal Bank of

Canada" with offices above it. These offices house lawyers, engineers, insurance agents, freight agents, bond companies, investment dealers and minor offices of industrial concerns. Next to this is the "Pigott Building". This is the highest building in "downtown" Hamilton and contains the offices of insurance companies, realtors, stock brokers, architects, consulting engineers, accountants, and in addition, chiropodists, an osteopath, an auto rental firm's offices and the Pigott Construction Company itself. (The "Sun Life Building", immediately to the south, contains the offices of barristers, doctors, lawyers, real estate brokers, insurance companies and mortgage companies.) It will be noted that none of these buildings houses the principle offices of any large industrial or commercial enterprise.

On MacNab Street there are two vacant offices over a masseur situated immediately north of the parking lot at the north-east corner of the MacNab-Main intersection. The remainder of this block, not discussed so far, is composed of a United Church, parking lots and "Robinson's" warehouse.

On the east side of James Street in the district between King and Main Streets, "Birks" has been included in the hard core, but the remainder of the James Street frontage belongs to the office district. To the south of "Birks" is an office building with four floors housing lawyers, and insurance companies. On the north-east corner of James and Main are the offices of the

"Canada Trust Company" and around the corner on Main Street are the offices of another trust company. This latter is followed to the east by a stock broker's office, the office of the "Hamilton Tiger Cats Football Club" and a travel agency. The stock broker has no upper story but all the other premises from the trust company east, have upper floors occupied by insurance and law offices. The remainder of this block is occupied by a car park.

In the block Main, James, Jackson and MacNab, the Main Street frontage has been included in the C.B.D. as well as the "Bank of Montreal" on James Street. Elements included are, west to east, a parking lot, an office building, the Y.W.C.A., another parking lot, and the bank building. The office building, east of the corner parking lot was vacant at the time of survey. The presence of the Y.W.C.A. suggests proximity to the frame, yet the large bank building is located conveniently for the business region of the city.

The block Main, Hughson, Jackson and James, has been wholly included in the C.B.D. Its Main Street frontage consists of "The Hamilton Club", the offices of the "Bell Telephone Co.Ltd." and a public house. The first of these is a club patronised by city businessmen. The "Bell Telephone" office too is handy for the business region. The public house had vacant offices on two floors above it, at the time of survey; this bar is associated with the "Wentworth Arms Hotel" which faces onto Hughson Street

but has one side on Main. The "Wentworth Arms Hotel" has several advantages; firstly it is far enough from the hard core to provide adjacent parking space to the rear on Hughson Street. Secondly, it is close to both the business and the retailing districts of the city. Thirdly, it is in a reasonably pleasant position overlooking the Court House Square. Much of the remainder of this block contains the headquarters offices of "Canadian Cannery" (Aylmer Foods Ltd.) This is the only headquarters office of an important manufacturing company in Hamilton's C.B.D. Their main building, on Hughson Street, is fairly old and has offices on two floors and in a basement. To the rear are warehousing; parking and other offices of the company face onto Jackson and James Streets. Facing Main Street, in this block, south of the "Hamilton Club", are a mens' tailor, a barber, a law office and some "Canadian Cannery" offices. Premises above the tailor were vacant at the time of survey, but the other establishments have canning, law and engineering offices above them.

The only other office building to be included in the office region here, is that on the north-east corner of the Main-Hughson intersection. This building houses insurance, trust company and law offices on three floors and has its basement occupied by a shoe shine parlour, a barber and a beauty salon. Parking lots adjacent to this office building have been included in this region rather than in the hard core of the C.B.D.

This office region is very different from the regions so

far discussed. Like the retailing regions and the hard core, it has an intermixture of office and retailing premises, though offices clearly dominate here. Its office buildings, though large, are devoted to housing small concerns and are thus subdivided into a multitude of small office units. There is no distinction between a banking or finance region and an office district. Nor is it possible to distinguish between a region of headquarters offices and the rest, since there is only one headquarters office.

F The Region of Mixed Land Uses

This small region is somewhat cut off from the office district of the C.B.D. and yet has few affinities with the retailing regions. In the block King-Catharine, Main and John, this region contains the land not occupied by the Sheraton-Connaught Hotel and the offices facing King Street. On John Street north to south, the ground floor is occupied by a vacant shop, a hairdresser, a barber, a parking lot and a restaurant. Above the first three of these are bowling facilities and above the latter a beauty salon and an apartment. At the time of survey the Main Street frontage of this block consisted of a two story vacant building. The large parking lot to the east of the Sheraton-Connaught has already been mentioned, it is included in the region because of its high assessment and because it is integral with the C.B.D.

On Main Street, east of Catharine on the north side, is the "Tilden" car rental office with adjacent garage facilities. The next premises east is a two story office building, vacant at the time of survey. Next to this is a loan company office, then the offices of a veterans' association and, on the corner with Walnut, an insurance company office. From the loan company to the corner all premises had upper floors in insurance offices, except for those over the veterans' association which were vacant. Premises facing Walnut Street include two residences, a laundry and cleaning works, and the small offices of an elevator company. Upper floors are devoted to residential, laundry and residential uses respectively.

Thus the region as a whole is typified by diversity. Because of its high assessment and contiguity with the King Street East retailing region, as well as because of some of its business features, it is best included in the C.B.D., although it is distinctly peripheral.

Addendum

Some mention must be made at this point of the Medical and Professional Arts buildings located on the east side of James Street, south of the "T. H. & B." railway tracks. The Medical Arts building houses medical practitioners while the Professional Arts building contains small office suites catering for engineers, lawyers, barristers, realtors, insurance companies,

accountants, and similar business men. Since these two large office buildings are not contiguous with the C.B.D. they can hardly be included in it. At the same time their assessment figures are within 10% of that of the C.B.D.'s peak intersection and the buildings themselves have a position of some centrality and prestige within the city. (more will be said of this later.) However, the significant thing to be noted here is that, like the C.B.D. office region, they contain no headquarters offices, but instead provide office space for small business units.

CHAPTER VII

Land Use Elements of the C.B.D. Frame

The C.B.D. frame is a geographical region frequently ignored. The frame has been moulded over the years to serve the C.B.D. and today there is a strong interdependence between the two regions.

The line of delimitation between the two regions is, as we have seen, not always abrupt. But, if this line is hard to define it becomes even more difficult to separate the outer limit of the frame from the rest of the city. In Hamilton the frame is largely bounded by residential elements, but no sharp line exists to separate the residential zone from the frame. Thus a somewhat crude delimitation by blocks is justified. Map Three shows the line best representing the outer edge of the frame. It will be seen that the frame is bounded to the north by Cannon Street, in the south by Hunter Street, by Wellington Street in the east, and Caroline in the west. Into this rectangle there are several residential enclaves, most notably one from the northeast. These residential areas have been excluded from the frame.

(1) "Automotive" Elements in the Frame

It is in the C.B.D.'s frame rather than the C.B.D. itself that the automobile becomes most evident as a consumer of land. The frame is the place where automobiles are usually left while people conduct business in the C.B.D. The function of the frame as a parking place will not be dealt with here but is discussed in a later chapter. As well as serving as a region for parking, the frame has become a place for the sale and repair of automobiles. People coming to the C.B.D. find it convenient to have their automobiles repaired nearby.

Both new and used automobile sales occur within the frame and both show a tendency to locate along streets busy with automobile traffic. Main Street in particular shows most signs of becoming something of an "automobile row". Starting in the west there are the premises of "Hamilton Motor Products"; on the east side of the C.B.D. is "City Chevrolet-Oldsmobile Ltd." This is followed, in the next block east, by a used car lot. On the opposite side of the street in this area are the premises of "Tilden Rent-a-Car" and another garage in the block Main, Spring King and Ferguson. On King Street the auto complex is much smaller and occurs to the west of the C.B.D. "Leggat Motors" at 145 King West, have both new and used car sales as well as auto repair. Further west on King there are the offices of the "Hertz Rent-a-Car". The other major auto dealer in the "downtown" area is "Sellens Motors Ltd." 70 John Street North. This company takes up most of

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Photograph 29: Main St. looking west from Walnut Street.
This shows something of the cluster of automobile dealers and repairers along Main Street.

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Photograph 30: North-west corner of MacNab-Vine intersection.
A typical example of the many small auto accessory dealers to be found in the frame.

the block John, Gore, Catharine and Rebecca, and illustrates how consumptive of land are the needs of car dealers. Not only are showrooms necessary for new cars but used cars have usually to be accommodated on an outdoor lot on the street frontage. In addition repair shops are usually attached to the establishment and parking must be provided for customers and employees, as well as for any stocks of new and used cars.

In contrast to automobile sales, auto repair does not take up large blocks of land in Hamilton's frame. Repair shops are scattered in the frame and are usually small in size. Except when associated with gas stations, which seem to prefer corner locations, they mingle with the other frame land use elements in an irregular fashion. Small shops selling auto accessories and parts also appear irregularly in the frame. It should perhaps be noted that accessory shops and repair shops are absent from the frame area south of Main Street from John to Bay Street. It has been pointed out that this is the area of the frame which appears to have the highest potential for development.

(ii) Industrial Elements and the Frame

In Hamilton the "industries" of the C.B.D. frame are small in scale. They are for the most part "footloose" and could situate themselves just as well in any part of the city. The most important group of industries make small metal goods. The largest firm is the "Wood Alexander Co." at 229 King William

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Photograph 31: Ferguson Ave. looking north from King Street.

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Photograph 32: Ferguson Ave. looking south from King William St.

Both these photographs show some of the small metal industries of this region. These are typical of the larger industrial premises of Hamilton's frame, both in their size and in the quality of their premises. Parking meters are also in evidence here.

Street. In the same region at the eastern end of King William Street are "Wright Metal Products" (Jarvis Street), "John Riddell Sheet Metal Ltd." and "Donald Ropes and Wire Ltd." (both on Ferguson Avenue). Nearby at 166 Rebecca, is the "H.C. Burton Co." (Mills Supplies). This district of the frame constitutes the most important industrial sub-region to be found in the whole area surrounding the C.B.D. It may originally have had an association with the Ferguson Avenue railroad tracks but these are not important to industry here today. Most of these industries could well locate elsewhere. Light metal industries such as these have no need for particularly intimate ties with the C.B.D. Another metallurgical factory is to be found at 126 Catharine Street North where the "Metal Textile Corporation" works are located in the block Catharine, Cannon, Mary and Gore. West of James Street the only metal industries are a foundry and scrap yard, in the block Cannon, Bay, York and Caroline, and a small scrap yard in the block Vine, Park, Merrick and Bay. Because of the large amount of land they require, the metal industries are located towards the periphery of the frame.

Probably the "industrial" elements most closely tied with the C.B.D. are those engaged in printing and lithographing. These printing industries are located in twelve small premises scattered around the frame. They do not locate on important street frontages or show a preference for other industrial or commercial associations. The two largest examples are to be

seen in the lithographing works in the blocks James, Vine, MacNab and Cannon, and Park, Vine, Bay and Cannon.

A second group of industries, engaged in small scale manufacturing, are tailoring establishments. There are two important ones, "Cambridge Clothes Ltd." 56 Merrick Street, and a smaller factory at the corner of Hughson and Cannon. There are no manufacturers of womens' clothing in the region.

The other industrial elements here are highly miscellaneous. There are four laundry and cleaning establishments, an upholstery works, a factory making wrapping paper, an electric transforming station and a food manufacturer.

(iii) Wholesale and Warehousing

Warehousing is an element of land use to be found in almost every block of Hamilton's C.B.D. frame. This is because warehousing does not require elaborate buildings or locations and is necessary in the process of distributing and retailing all kinds of goods. MacNab Street has some interesting warehousing functions. Starting in the south this warehousing zone includes the "Robinson's" store warehouse at the corner of Jackson and MacNab. On the north-east corner of this intersection is another warehouse. To the north in the block, James, King, Main and MacNab, there is another warehouse of "Robinson's Ltd." (This has been included in the C.B.D.) Further north still on MacNab Street, in the block opposite the market, is a fruit and vegetable

warehousing complex associated with the market. Beyond this, in the blocks MacNab, Merrick, Park, Vine and MacNab, Vine, James, Merrick are other large warehouse buildings. Other grocers' warehouses are located in the region of the market; one on Market Street and another on York Street. These grocers' warehouses are associated with wholesaling functions as distinct from mere storage. "Eaton's" store has a warehouse three blocks away from the store in the block Market, Caroline, Napier and Bay. Thus the area along MacNab, Market and York Street is the principle warehousing sub-region of the C.B.D.'s frame, although warehousing is to be found in all parts of the frame. The development of warehousing and wholesaling in this district is to be attributed to its proximity to the market and to two of the C.B.D.'s three major department stores.

(iv) Transport Termini and Trucking

In a sense these are related to warehousing functions since both are connected with the accumulation and distribution of goods. Of the two railway termini in the city only the "T. H. and B. Co." has premises within the frame. (At the junction of Hughson and Hunter Streets) This is a passenger station and railway company offices and has not attracted to it any associations of land use within the frame, except for its own parking lots. The terminal of "Gray Coach Lines Ltd.", at the junction of John and

Rebecca Streets has formed a little complex with a restaurant at one corner and a bus cleaning yard in the block to the east. Neither of these transport termini is important as a major land use element within the frame. Trucking too is not very well represented here. There is little reason for a trucking company to pay the fairly high price of a situation near the C.B.D. when any advantages it would receive from such a location must be counteracted by a lack of room to expand, and by traffic congestion. There are, however, two trucking yards in the block Market, Caroline, Napier and Bay, one of which serves as the garage for "Eaton's" fleet of vehicles.

(v) Public Land Use in the Frame

Governmental and public buildings are frequently located in the C.B.D. frame; in such a location they are reasonably accessible and yet do not occupy land which could yield high tax returns to the community. The demolition of Hamilton's City Hall, formerly at the north-west corner of James Street and Market Square, is a good example of the trend for public buildings to vacate sites in an important retailing area. The present City Hall stands well away from the more valuable land in the C.B.D.

Of all the sub-regions of the frame the region of public buildings is perhaps the most obvious. Starting at the National Revenue Building on Main Street at Caroline, there is a zone of public buildings extending to Catharine Street and between Main and Hunter. This zone includes the Revenue Building, the City Hall,

the Library, the Health Department Clinic, the Court House, and the National Employment Service Building, (See Map Three). Important public buildings not included in this zone are the Central Post Office and the headquarters of the Police and Fire Department. The Post Office, as previously noted, is included in the C.B.D. because of its important ties with the business world. The Federal Building, which houses the Post Office, also contains Customs and Immigration, Armed Forces' Recruitment, and other smaller government departments. The Fire and Police departments are to be found north of King William Street at John and Mary respectively. Both are public buildings and in addition require a good deal of land. Thus they have a dual reason to locate outside the C.B.D. Yet both must locate where they can give protection to the central district should the need arise, hence their sites adjacent to the C.B.D. Both Fire and Police departments have garages in the frame; garages, being consumptive of land, have been sited more peripherally than the headquarters themselves. The Police garage is on Rebecca Street in the block Rebecca, Ferguson Avenue, King William and Mary, while the Fire Department's garage is on Napier Street, in the block Napier, Bay, Market and Caroline. A City Probation office is located on Rebecca Street next to the police garage.

(vi) Organizational Land

Fraternal societies and other organizations have usually chosen to be near the C.B.D. but not within the area of high land values itself. However, in the course of time, many social groups

have found their headquarters engulfed by C.B.D. expansion. A good example is the Masonic Hall on the second floor in the building at the corner of James and Gore Streets. Many churches too have found themselves in this position.

Benevolent societies have generally chosen to locate in the C.B.D. frame. The Salvation Army Hostel, on Merrick Street in the block Merrick, Bay, Vine and Park, is an example of this. So too is the St. Vincent de Paul Centre nearby, on MacNab Street in the block MacNab, Merrick, Park and Vine. On John Street, at the corner of Jackson, there is the Amity store and warehouse.

Churches are also well represented in the frame, there are six in all. The two major ones are the St. Paul's Presbyterian and the James Street Baptist churches on the west side of James Street in the two blocks south of Main. These are the "fashionable churches" of the C.B.D. frame; the remaining four are situated to the north of the King & James intersection.

A great diversity of other organizations is present in the frame. The Hindoo Kush Grotto, a fraternal society, is located next to Labour Union Offices on Hughson Street in the block Hughson, Gore, James and Cannon. On John Street in the block John, Gore, Hughson and Cannon, is located the headquarters of the local "League of Chinese Nationalists." Catharine Street has a Labour Temple on the east side of the street between Gore and Cannon. A veterans' Social Club is in the block Jarvis, King William,

Wellington and King East, and an Army and Navy Veterans' Society at the corner of MacNab and Vine Streets. The Y.M.C.A. at the corner of James and Jackson has been designated a place in the frame although it has some claim to centrality and is one of the more important elements of institutional land use.

(vii) Residential Land Use

Most writers consider such residential elements as are found in the frame to be in poor condition. Generally residences here are mixed with other land use elements not conducive to the development of a wholesome residential area. This generalization certainly applies in the case of Hamilton's frame. Without exception houses in the frame are old, and living conditions are, for the most part poor. Residences are inter-mixed with buildings whose presence is undesirable in a residential district. Dwelling houses appear in almost every block of the frame and are mixed with other activities in a rather random fashion.

Residential elements in the C.B.D. frame fall into two groups: firstly, those buildings devoted entirely to residential use, that is usually dwelling houses, and secondly residential elements sharing the same building as other, non-residential activities. Dwelling houses are most frequently found towards the periphery of the frame. Map Three shows where ground floor residential elements are to be found. Several blocks have a high proportion of residential land, most of which is devoted to single family dwellings. The major blocks of this kind are Mary,



Photograph 33: West side of Catharine Street south of Jackson Street.
Poor residences in the frame.



Photograph 34: House on the north side of King William Street west of Ferguson Avenue.

One of the many poor residences in the frame. This one exemplifies the way in which such houses are intermixed, with other land use elements. On its left is a small warehouse and on its right an auto repair shop.

Gore, Catharine, Cannon and Catharine, Gore, John, Cannon. Another example is the block Jackson, Walnut, Hunter, Catharine. Outside the frame single family dwelling houses become the dominant element in the land use pattern. In the frame itself the better dwelling houses are to be found toward the outer edge of the region. This is because they are near to other residential elements, outside the frame, rather than juxtaposed with industrial or other non-residential uses.

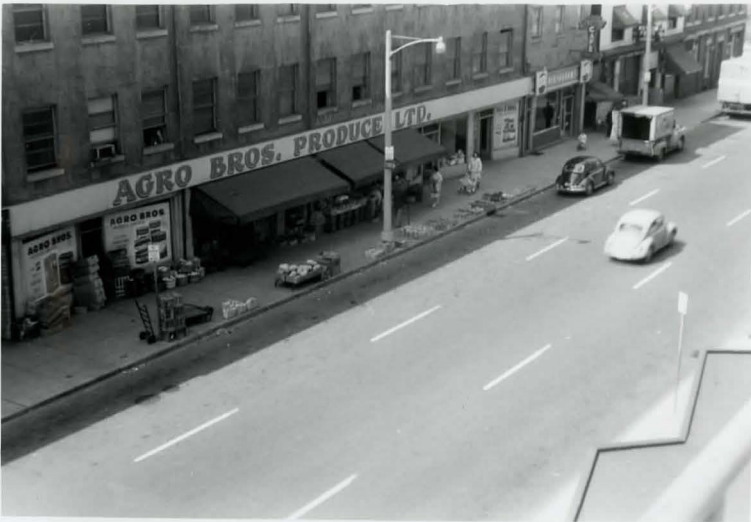
Residences sharing a building with some non-residential activity are generally not very desirable. Such dwellings are to be found above many retailing premises in the frame. This development is marked on York Street from MacNab to Caroline. A similar feature is to be found above shops on either side of King Street between Park and Bay, and on the north side of this street in the block Bay to Caroline. Elsewhere in the frame residential elements are scattered in among other activities in a haphazard fashion.

(viii) Retailing in the Frame

Retailing is generally considered to be one of the less important functions of the frame. Certainly, in Hamilton's frame, non-automotive retailing occupies very little space.

The major retailing regions are to be found along York Street from Bay to MacNab, and along King Street from Bay to Park. Both these retailing areas exist because of their location on important streets giving access to the C.B.D. itself. York Street is a minor retailing region in its own right with a wide variety of

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Photograph 35: West side of MacNab Street from the Market.
Wholesaling adjacent to the market.

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Photograph 36: The City Hall looking east from Bay Street.
One of the new public buildings erected in the frame.

small stores, many of them selling food, and catering for the rather poor residential districts to the north and west of the C.B.D. Both C.B.D. and frame have resident populations which require small grocery and food stores. Away from the two shopping arteries mentioned above however, retailing is nowhere of major importance. A few retailers have located in the frame for reasons of low cost. An example of this is the furniture store at the north-west corner of Vine and Park Streets. Corner grocery and food stores begin to appear towards the periphery, dependent on the residential districts around them. Examples of this are to be seen in the grocery at the south-west corner of the intersection of Cannon and Bay Streets, and the butcher's shop at the south-east corner of the Cannon-MacNab intersection. Another business element characteristically locating in the frame is the funeral home. There are two of these, one at the corner of Cannon and Hughson and the other at the north-west corner of the Bay-Main intersection. Both these have fairly low rent locations, adjacent parking lots and sites on major arteries to and from the C.B.D. Amity, the Salvation Army and the St. Vincent de Paul Centre, have retailing premises in the frame connected with their social work.

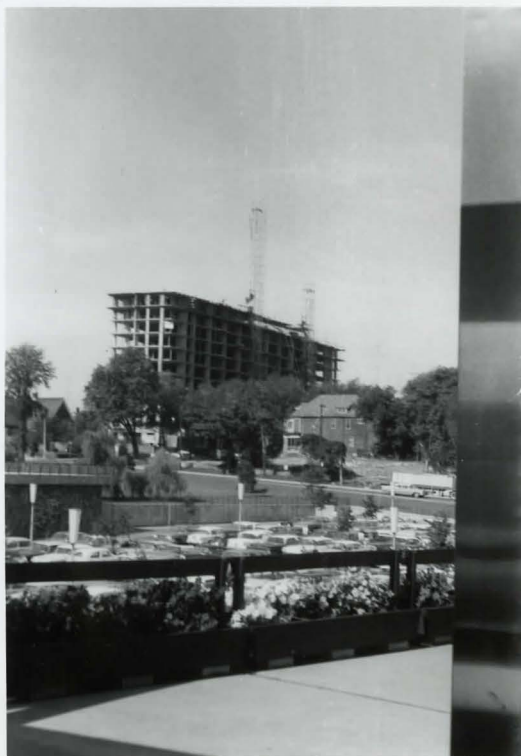


Photograph 37: Looking south-west from the junction of James and Young Streets.

One of the new apartment blocks recently constructed to the south of the C.B.D. A small office building is also visible in the James Street South region.

Photograph 38: Looking south-west from the City Hall.

New apartment building under construction at the junction of Bay and Hunter Streets.



(ix) Vacant Space

At the time of survey, March 1963, there was very little vacant land in the C.B.D. frame. In the block, King William, Wellington, Rebecca and Ferguson, on two sites, demolition had taken place and rubble had not yet been cleared. Some vacant premises were apparent in the frame but these were not numerous and did not form any pattern.

Conclusions

Hamilton's frame possesses most of the elements typical of such urban regions. It has warehouses, car parks, and public buildings which are clearly related to the C.B.D. core and are designed to serve it. In addition it has some industrial and residential elements which could well be located elsewhere. The region is dominated by old buildings less than four stories high. Exceptions to this are to be seen in the governmental buildings. It has some functional sub-regions; as noted above, retailing, warehousing, governmental and residential districts have grown up in different parts of the frame. However, these sub-regions are by no means rigid, nor do they contain all the examples of the activity which characterizes them. Perhaps the most interesting sub-region is to be seen in the blocks south of the C.B.D. and north of Jackson Street, between Bay and John Streets. Here offices and good quality buildings dominate; this would appear to be the region of highest potential for development in the frame.

Photograph 39: The Medical Arts Building from the east.



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Photograph 40: The Professional Arts Building from the south-east.

These two buildings are the large office blocks associated with the James St. South area. They are of course outside the C.B.D. and frame.



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CHAPTER VIII

Access and the C. B. D.

"If the C.B.D. can not adjust to accomodate the automobile then it will suffer, to the advantage of those areas where space is available for automobile accomodation."

Horwood and Boyce.¹

The question of accessibility, in the modern North American city, is largely centred round the automobile. Within the city access implies not only facilitating transport between points but also providing a place to leave the vehicle while business is conducted. The whole question can be considered therefore under two headings, parking and street systems.

Parking and Hamilton's C.B.D: As early as 1947 E. G. Faludi² recommended that parking facilities be improved in "downtown" Hamilton. Again, in 1955, the Wilbur Smith traffic report³

¹
"Studies in the C.B.D. and Urban Freeway Development."
E. M. Horwood & R. R. Boyce. 1959

²
"A Master Plan for the Development of the City of Hamilton." E. G. Faludi. 1947

³
"Traffic and Transportation Plan for Hamilton."
Report by W. S. Smith and Associates. 1956.

noted that Hamilton's C.B.D. had parking problems. At this time Hamilton had a ratio of 94.6 persons to each "downtown"⁴ parking space. This was compared unfavourably with Ottawa, a city of similar size, which had a ratio of 34.7 persons per space. There were in fact 2,733 parking spaces in Hamilton's "Howntown" at this time (2,177 off street, and 556 at the curb). The report recommended the establishment of a parking authority for the city, in addition to suggesting the construction of multi-story car parks on the market site, and in the block John, Rebecca, Catharine and King William. In 1958 there was a report on the feasibility of a multi-story car park in conjunction with the city market.⁵ This reported a total of 2,907 parking spaces "downtown", 504 at the curb and 2,403 off-street. A total of 10,648 vehicles parked on these spaces between 8.00 a.m. and 6.00 p.m. in one day of survey. 55% of these vehicles parked at the curb and the rate of turnover of curb parkers was twelve as opposed to an average of two in parking lots. The report

⁴
This survey took as its "downtown" boundaries, Cannon, Hughson, Rebecca, Mary, King William, Ferguson, Main, Walnut, Jackson, MacNab, Main, Park, Vine and MacNab back to Cannon.

⁵
"Parking Study and Feasibility Report - City Market Site."
A. D. Margison and Associates. 1958.

The area examined in this report was again somewhat smaller than the area considered as C.B.D. and frame in this essay. The report took as general boundaries, Cannon, Hughson, Gore, Catharine, Jackson and Bay Streets.

recommended that the market site be developed as a multi-story municipal park for several reasons:

1. It was the only available site without extensive property damage costs favourably located with respect to the centre of the "downtown" district, and the areas of greatest parking demand.

2. The proposed site was located in the block of highest demand as determined by the 1956 study, and was also conveniently located to serve the retail shopping district centred along King and James Streets.

3. The market site was within reasonable distance of all five blocks indicated as having the greatest deficiencies of parking space in the 1956 study, yet was not situated on heavily congested traffic streets such as King and James.

The report stressed that charges should be low enough to attract patronage yet sufficient to ensure the facility be self-sustaining. These rates should also encourage short term parking yet not discourage long term parking. The structure should be amenable to extension as the need arose. In fact, the upper floor was constructed to serve as a helicopter landing place if necessary.

At the same time as this report, Margison and Associates conducted another survey of "secondary business districts" of

the city.⁶ Included in this was an account of conditions in the King Street East area. The report found that the prohibition of parking on King Street during peak traffic periods would not result in any overall parking deficiency in the area and an excess of off-street parking was available. The report recommended the provision of space for one hundred cars off the street but in a central location.

The situation today may be seen on Map Ten. For this map much of the basic information was obtained from a map drawn by the City Parking Authority in June 1962. To this were added any new car parks operating in March 1963 with an estimate of their capacity; current parking meters were also added. The result is a total of 4,579 public parking spaces, 2,023 private parking spaces and 464 parking meters.⁷ This gives a total figure of 7,066 parking spaces in the regions of the C.B.D. and frame. If this is divided into Hamilton's⁸ present population then an estimate of one "downtown" parking space for every thirty-eight people is obtained. However,

6

"Parking Needs Study of Secondary Business Districts."

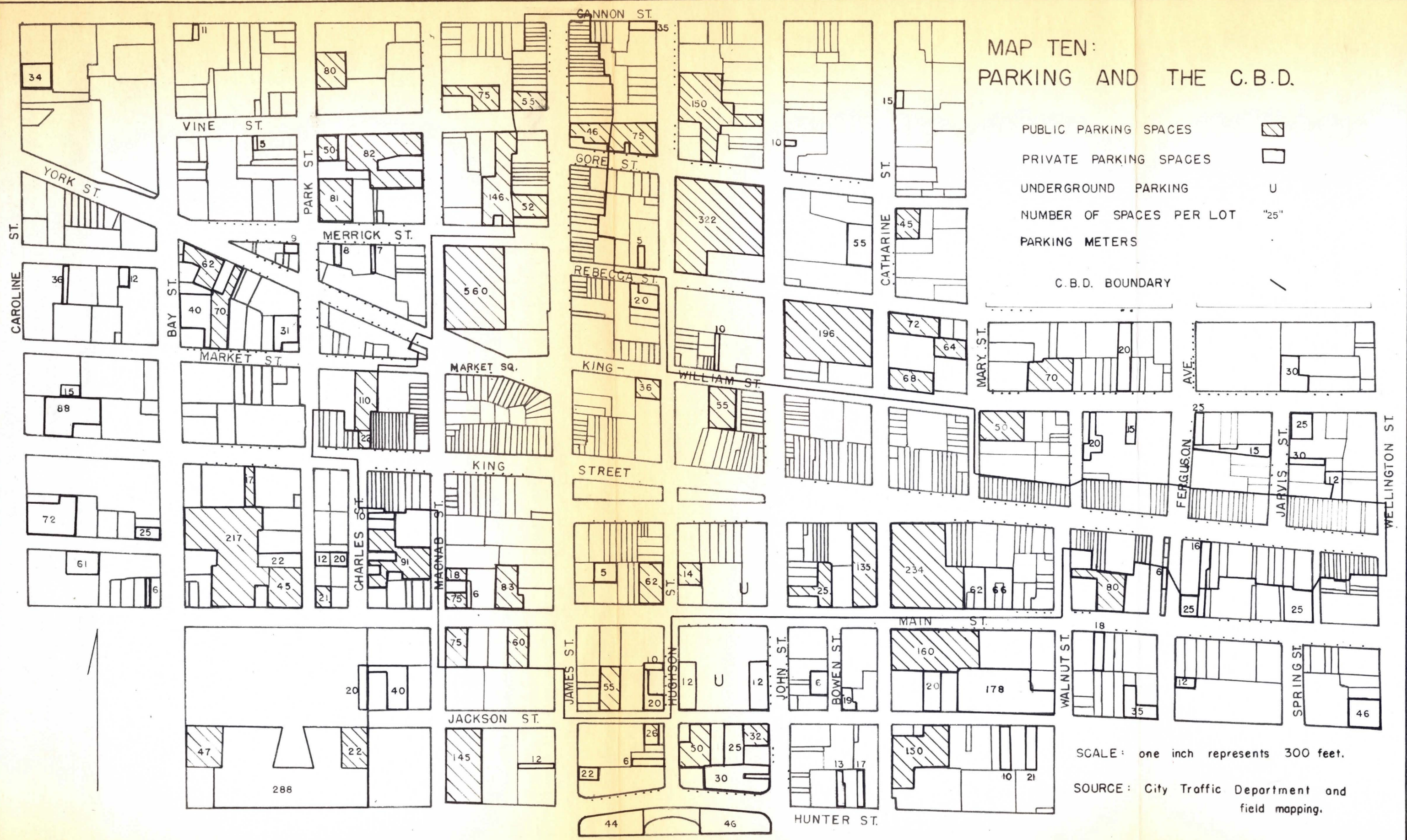
A. D. Margison and Associates. 1958

7

"Public parking" is space to which the public have access, a fee being charged. "Private parking" is space reserved for employees, guests, customers, etc.

8

267,500 1963 City Assessment Department figure.



parking sufficiency is not to be measured in numbers alone. There is a need to provide parking of various types. Since the construction of the market Car Park in November 1960, valuable parking space has been provided adjacent to the hard core. The charge of ten cents per half hour does not discourage short term parking here and yet facilitates all day parking. There is a conflict between the need to provide short period street parking, via the medium of meters, and the need to keep an increasing number of streets free from parking. The general result has been that parking meters are being gradually removed from the hard core, leaving the most central streets free from curb-side parking.

The creation of a City Parking Authority in September 1957, illustrates the increasing municipal interest in providing suitable parking in the "downtown" area. The creation of the Market Car Park has been an important step in the process of making the city centre more accessible. The project has been an expensive one, both in its construction and operation. A man must remain on duty twenty-four hours each day, and, because it is not open to the rain, most of it needs washing down weekly. The ground floor is only used for parking on three days each week, since on market days and Sundays it has no ground floor custom. There is also a fluctuating demand during the week: on Wednesday and Friday evenings the lot is filled by late night shoppers; on Saturdays too, full capacity

is often achieved; however, on other week days at least one floor is usually empty; and "downtown" parking reaches a nadir on Sundays when all floors are usually vacant. All in all, this parking lot is only marginally profitable; it must be remembered that it was not designed to make enormous profits for the city. However, as problems of C.B.D. access become more acute this lot should play an increasingly vital part in providing parking for the C.B.D. core because of its strategic location. In addition, its construction has enabled the market to preserve its character and central location, and has helped continue the intensive use of land in adjacent areas of the C.B.D.

The King Street East region has for long felt the need for improved parking amenities. The John Street municipal lot was located here in December 1957 with a view to serving this eastern portion of the C.B.D. as well as the hard core and other areas. John Street, as previously noted, is the major street of access to the C.B.D. from the residential areas above the escarpment. The lot was created here partly because of this and partly because it is well located in relation to the linear retailing region along King Street East. This lot is well used and helps counteract to some extent the financial deficiency of the Market Car Park.

As previously noted, King Street acts as a funnel through which traffic passes, on its way to the C.B.D. The

9
traffic survey by Smith in 1956 found 1,100 vehicles an hour passing along this street. Retailers have located here with a view to intercepting some of this traffic. However, because of the volume of traffic, and the linear nature of this shopping region, access has become a problem. Many shopkeepers feel that current plans to remove parking meters from this street will mean that their clients have no handy place to park and will by-pass them. However, curb parking along this street does not aid access to the C.B.D. as a whole. The King Street East region is to some extent served by parking on Main and King William Streets otherwise problems would be more severe.

Map Ten shows the distribution of parking spaces. It can be seen that public parking tends to occupy the more central sites while private parking lots are smaller and located further out in the frame. Public parking tends to occupy an inner zone because it is related to serving the C.B.D. as a whole and thus usually seeks a central location; it can afford to pay for this by virtue of the fees it charges. Private parking is orientated to the individual firm or business which provides it.

In conclusion it should be noted that today parking does not seem to be one of the major disadvantages of "downtown" Hamilton. In 1961 the "Downtown Association of Hamilton" drew up a "Master Plan for Urban Renewal." In this it was noted

that,

"Downtown Hamilton has more parking space per square foot of selling space than any city in North America."

Again, in the Annual Report of the Downtown Association for 1961/62, the chairman of their Parking and Traffic Committee noted,

... "there are approximately at the year end, 6,800 parking spaces in the Downtown area and most times of the day it is not too difficult to obtain parking."

The 1962/63 report of this organization makes no mention of parking deficiencies.

Traffic Flow and Hamilton's C.B.D.: The intersection of King and James Streets was, as noted previously, the original traffic focus not only of the city but of the surrounding region. Although this junction has remained the nucleus of the C.B.D. it has ceased to function as the focus for inter-city traffic.

Mr. W. E. Ewens, of the City Traffic Department, considers that intra-city traffic generally avoids the "downtown" area and that the bulk of traffic entering the area has destinations there.

This view is supported by the Silbur Smith Survey. Traffic around the lakehead can take the high level bridge over the outer gravel bar and thus by-pass the congested city. The industrial district of the north-end is most easily reached

without going through the C.B.D. and the region can usually be avoided. Thus the problem of traffic flow hinges around getting traffic into the C.B.D. and out again after business has been completed there.

In October 1956, following the recommendations of the Wilbur Smith report above, the City Traffic Department implemented a system of one way streets in the downtown area. This made all streets between Caroline, Cannon, Wellington and Hunter one way, with only a few exceptions for short distances. Shortly after the implementation of this project Wilbur Smith was asked to submit a report on the operation of the one way streets.¹¹ This report said,

"After observing operations in all areas of the system, it is apparent that traffic is moving more effectively with very little delay, and pedestrians as well as vehicles are experiencing greater ease in moving about the core of the city."

In 1960 W. E. Ewens reported to the Transportation and Traffic Committee of the City on the one way system.¹² He too found the system to be working well at this later date. One of his paragraphs is worthy of full quotation:

¹¹

"Operational Analysis of One-way Streets-Hamilton".
W. S. Smith. 1957.

¹²

"Report on One-Way Street System." W. E. Ewens. 1960

"In the beginning there were numerous objections to the one way streets from residents, merchants, and others who were affected or believed they were affected. This is typical of the inauguration of all one way street systems. Similarly typical is the fact that these objections have now died down, not simply because of the passage of time but in many cases because those concerned have come to realize with experience that they are in fact benefitted rather than adversely affected by the one way streets. Particularly, the more intelligent merchants gradually come to realize that while they may have been adversely affected in terms of some small added difficulties to customers in reaching their premises, they have on the other hand materially benefitted by the greater ease with which larger numbers of people can reach their premises and the downtown area as a whole. Before and after surveys in numerous cities have shown that the only type of business consistently suffering adverse effects from one way street systems tends to be restaurants in specific problem locations that are quite difficult to reach via the one way street system. In a few cases, for some peculiar reason, automotive accessory dealers have been similarly affected, but this is not typical."

However not only the Traffic Department has found the one way street system successful. A brief submitted by the Hamilton Chamber of Commerce, to the City Traffic and Transportation Committee, in 1956, refers to the system as,

. . . "the most forward step in traffic matters which the City of Hamilton has taken in many years." 13

13

"Brief with Respect to One Way Traffic" Hamilton Chamber of Commerce brief to City Traffic Committee. 1956.

They further say,

"Without exception, members of the [Chamber of Commerce] committee were in agreement that the one way street system has greatly improved the traffic flow in and through the downtown area . . ."

It is perhaps significant that, in 1961 in their "Master Plan
14
for Urban Renewal," the Downtown Association makes no mention of any need to improve access to "downtown" which seems to suggest that this is not a significant problem. A traffic survey for the city currently in progress will doubtless review fully the traffic flow problems of the C.B.D. and suggest likely solutions. It seems however, that the present system of one way streets has made Hamilton's C.B.D. much more accessible, at least for the next few years.

The "Hamilton Street Railway" and C.B.D. Access: The "Hamilton Street Railway Company" (H.S.R.) operates a fleet of buses serving the city; in addition it has a subsidiary, "Canada Coach Lines" which operates inter-city services from a terminal at the corner of John and Rebecca Street in the C.B.D. frame. No street cars have run in the city since 1951. Of the twenty-three service routes run within Hamilton, fifteen pass through the "downtown"
15
area. According to the Wilbur Smith Survey of 1956 at that

14
Op. Cit.

15
Op. cit.

time 68% of H.S.R. passengers were destined for "downtown". Clearly with respect to public transport the C.B.D. remains the focus. Smith's survey found that 30,292 persons entered the downtown area by bus on one day. It would seem however, that the number of people coming to the C.B.D. by bus is diminishing. As Wilson, MacGillivray and Foulds remark,

16
"A review of operating results for the six years 1953 to 1958 inclusive, shows that the H.S.R. Co. has followed the general trend of other major urban transportation systems in Canada in that the number of revenue passengers carried has steadily declined."

Persons entering the C.B.D. by bus could be, and still are, carried to within two blocks of the King-James intersection, alighting on King Street itself. In addition all local bus services leave from King Street from within two blocks of the King-James intersection. These factors probably had considerable effect in developing retailing here to a high degree of specialization. With diminishing numbers of people using buses, retailing in the C.B.D. may be modified, perhaps becoming increasingly orientated towards the larger parking lots such as that at the market. As yet however, there is no discernable tendency in this direction.

CHAPTER IX

Population and the C.B.D.

(1) Population within the C.B.D. and its Frame

It has already been noted that only a few blocks of Hamilton's C.B.D. are devoid of residential population. Actual numbers of people resident in the C.B.D. can only be estimated since population figures for individual blocks are not known. The City Planning Department has a count of dwelling units and has made a population estimate on a block basis for December 1960. They use an estimate figure of 3.8 persons per "dwelling unit". The field maps prepared for this thesis, while showing residential premises, did not note individual residential units. Since the City Hall data showed the number of dwelling units in each block but not their location Map Eleven was prepared combining the two by estimating where the bulk of residences occurred within each block.

Table Two shows the variations in population among the regions of the C.B.D. The hard core itself achieves its relatively high figure because of the Lister building with apartments on its upper floors. Other than this only an estimated thirty-eight people live in the hard core. The south side of

TABLE TWO

ESTIMATED RESIDENTIAL POPULATION OF THE C.B.D'S REGIONS

1. The Hard Core	144
2. The Eastern Retailing Region	707
3. The Northern Retailing Region	167
4. The Western Retailing Region	51
5. The King William Street Region	125
6. The Market Complex	80
7. The Office Region	15
8. The Region of Mixed Uses	15
	<hr/>
Total	<u>1,304</u>
Population of the Frame	<u>2,364.</u>

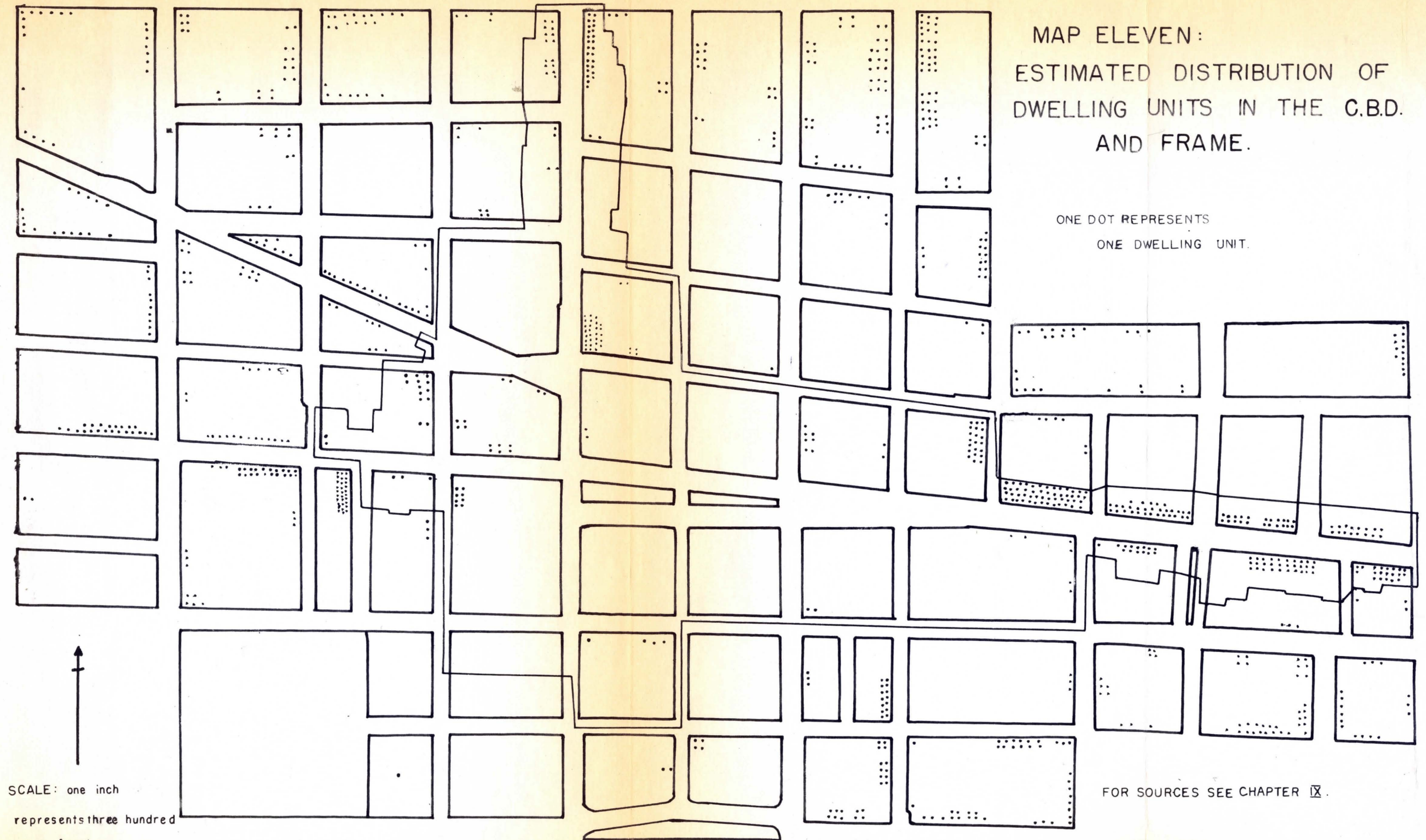
Source: Estimated population based on number of dwelling units estimated in each region, the whole being based on figures supplied by City Planning Department, 3.8 persons taken as average number per dwelling unit. (See Chapter IX)

King Street is totally devoid of residences in this region. The King Street East district has the highest residential population of any of the C.B.D.'s regions, indeed with 707 people it almost contains one third the number of the whole of the frame. Along King Street East the north side of the street has a preponderance of dwellings, all of them being located above retail premises. The south side, as previously noted, does not have such a fragmented frontage of poor premises. Its smaller number of residents is indicative of the way upper story residential use above retailing tends to be found on the busier side of the shopping streets in Hamilton. Examples of this are also to be seen on King Street within the hard core and the northern retailing region on James Street.

The King William Street region has no well marked residential pattern except for the fact that its dwelling units are usually to be found above shops and its major block of dwellings is in the apartments at the junction of Mary and King William Streets. These too are above premises on the busier side of the retailing street. The market complex has a very small associated population, but is also small in area. The northern retailing region is rather similar to King Street East except for the fact that its residential population is much smaller and is situated more towards the periphery of the C.B.D. The western retailing region has a relatively small population, but it again is small in area. It should be noted

MAP ELEVEN:
ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION OF
DWELLING UNITS IN THE C.B.D.
AND FRAME.

ONE DOT REPRESENTS
ONE DWELLING UNIT.



SCALE: one inch
represents three hundred
feet.

FOR SOURCES SEE CHAPTER IX.

that outside the C.B.D., on this street, residences appear on upper stories. Interestingly enough the office region has the smallest population for its area; this is quite in keeping with the character of an office district. The "region of mixed land use" has one unusual residential characteristic, a dwelling house, with ground floor residential land. This is situated on Walnut Street and is unique in the C.B.D., albeit quite a common feature of the frame.

In general it can be noted that residential use of upper stories is not common in the office and hard core regions, although it does appear there. In the outer retailing districts it is most commonly found in association with properties occupying highly assessed land which need to utilize their land to the full. However there is also the small apartment building, such as the upper floors of the Lister building, which tends to distort the pattern.

Residential use in the frame has already been commented on in an earlier chapter. It is scattered among other land use elements at ground floor level and over retailing establishments, as in the case of York Street. The residential population of the frame is not quite double that of the C.B.D.

The presence of a residential population in close association with the "downtown" area is now considered as a major asset in retailing, and the life of the city core. Recent

apartment construction in such cities as Chicago and Pittsburgh bear witness to this. However the residences in Hamilton's C.B.D. and frame are in poor condition generally and include some of the worst housing to be seen in the city today. The 1958 Urban Renewal Study¹ put the C.B.D. second on the priority list for areas needing clearance and renewal, and classified the region as blighted. The report found 28% of the C.B.D.'s dwellings overcrowded, lacking in open space or otherwise sub-standard. The report states:

"New buildings have been erected next to dilapidated ones, and the mixture of industry, commercial and residential uses on the rim of the centre forms an environment quite unsuitable for family living . . . the growing centre is not a fit living area for families with children.

Of the 786 buildings with residential accomodation inspected, 301 (or 39%) were in the "Presumptive Clearance" group, 206 (or 26%) were in the "Rehabilitation" group, and 279 (or 35%) were in the "Conservation group."

These poor residences in and around the C.B.D. today, constitute only a poor market for C.B.D. retailers. Indeed they are tending to keep alive some of the shabbier retailing elements around the C.B.D. However, since it seems inevitable that a region of poor residences must always

¹
"Urban Renewal Study. 1958" M. P. David. 1959.

exist, and since the "gray" zone surrounding the city centre affords a suitable location for such land use, it is likely that the C.B.D. will retain the patronage of the poorer elements of the urban community as well as the rest.

The process of urban renewal has so far avoided Hamilton's C.B.D. This is despite the fact that the Urban Renewal Committee of Hamilton received a good deal of initial impetus from a similar committee formed by the Hamilton Downtown Association. The explanation of this seeming lack of activity lies in part in the fact that governmental aid is not yet forthcoming for the renewal of business areas in the same way that it can be obtained for residential districts. However, there would seem some prospect of a bill being brought before the government, but at the moment the position remains static. The task of renewal is a very complex one and this complexity also delays action.

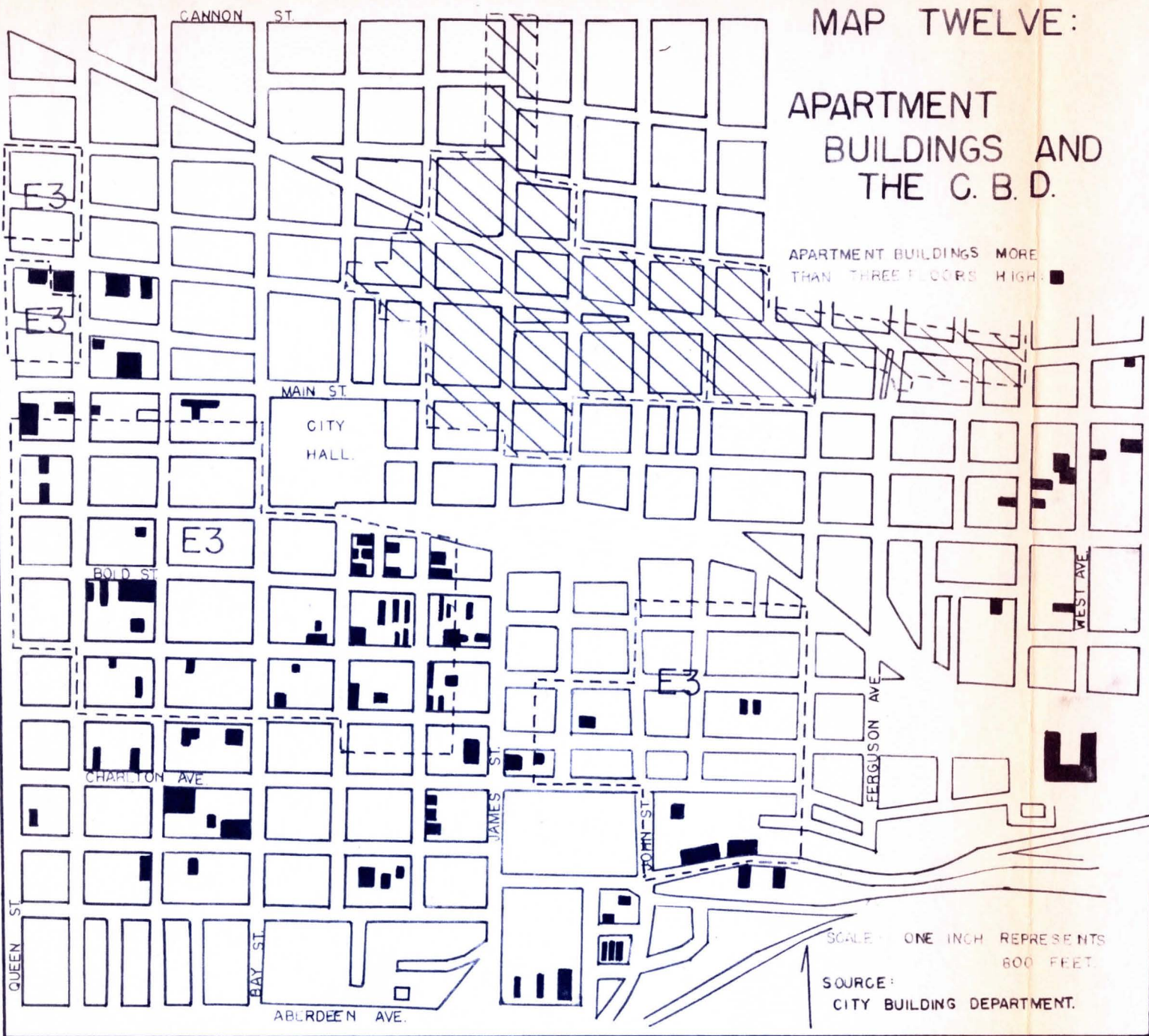
(ii) Population Adjacent to the C.B.D.

Map Twelve shows the location of apartment buildings in the area immediately south of the C.B.D. Gradually, within the past ten years, the City Planning Department has moved towards a policy of discouraging high density residential building in suburban locations, and has actively encouraged such building around the C.B.D., notably the district zoned as "E3". ²

MAP TWELVE:

APARTMENT BUILDINGS AND THE C. B. D.

APARTMENT BUILDINGS MORE
THAN THREE FLOORS HIGH: ■



SCALE - ONE INCH REPRESENTS
800 FEET.

SOURCE:
CITY BUILDING DEPARTMENT.

In addition, urban renewal of the "North-end" is now going forward. This project will mean that the areas north of Cannon Street on either side of James, may become more stable residential regions of the city with a scatter of higher density buildings. Since 1950 the City Building Department has authorized the construction of 815 apartment dwelling units in the "E3" district to the south-west of the C.B.D. Altogether the C.B.D. is collecting a market on its doorstep which it did not have before, and which should be of considerable use to its business community.

(iii) Population Growth in the City

It has already been noted that urban growth left the C.B.D. "off-centre" in Hamilton. The City Planning Department considers that there is sufficient land within the city limits at the moment to accomodate the projected increase in population until the year 2,000. As well as occupying space now peripheral in the city, population will be housed at higher densities in most of the city's residential areas. This means that the C.B.D. should not become much more geographically "off-centre" than it already is, and its major problem will be to maintain its accessibility in the face of more people driving more cars.

CHAPTER X

Conclusions

In this study the C.B.D. is defined as that region of commercial and social activity which serves the city as a whole rather than part of it. These activities are contiguously located in an area of high assessment. It is assumed that the C.B.D. is surrounded by a "frame" which is characterized by less intensive land use; the C.B.D. and frame are interdependent but the C.B.D. itself clearly deserves the more detailed consideration.

The Character of Hamilton's C.B.D.

Hamilton's C.B.D. has a physically uniform site and has not been immediately constricted by physical barriers. The street plan of the present C.B.D. dates from 1813 when lots were laid out with King and James Streets forming the major intersection. Accounts of 1830 and 1850 reveal that, even at these early dates, offices were located on the south side of King Street rather than the north; this tendency has been continued to the present. Several major elements of the present land use pattern can be traced back to before 1850, the most notable of these are the Court House Square, Gore Park, and the Market Square. In the mid-nineteenth century Hamilton was a financial and regional centre of some importance. Its functions as a financial headquarters were later taken over by Toronto. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries industrial growth took place based upon the ease with which raw

materials could be transported to Hamilton. The city became the heavy industrial centre complementing the other towns of the "Golden Horseshoe" and this function is likely to continue in the years ahead, providing a solid economic base for the growth of the city.

The growth of the city after 1850 was mainly eastward so that the C.B.D. became off-centre. Although physical conditions were fairly uniform on the C.B.D.'s site, this was not the case on the city site as a whole. More level land was available to the east of the C.B.D. than to the west, and the city grew in this former direction simply because land for residences and the lake shore for industry were available there. However the peak intersection remained at King and James because these streets remained the most important east-west and north-south routes in the city; they were important also in the communications between Hamilton and other cities. In addition the C.B.D. retained its importance because public transport became available in the closing years of the nineteenth century to strengthen the C.B.D.'s links with the rest of the city and its hinterland.

An examination of previous attempts to delimit C.B.D.'s revealed that assessment values were a valuable guide. It was found that, for Hamilton, a line joining establishments assessed at 10% of the value of the peak intersection was the best statistical indicator of the C.B.D. boundary. However, to have accepted this line without exception would have meant including some land use elements not intensive in nature and excluding other elements

that were intensive. Thus both the 10% assessment isopleth and the nature of land use were utilized to draw the optimum boundary of the C.B.D.

The shape of the C.B.D. was found to be cruciform, but not regular. From the King-James intersection the C.B.D. extends 927 yards to the east, 514 yards to the north, 274 yards to the west and 300 yards to the south. The greatest extent of the C.B.D. is along King Street East because this is the major access street from the populous east-end.

The C.B.D.'s location within the city today is off centre, both in terms of distance and in population. The peak intersection remains at the junction of King and James Streets and has not been newly located further east. This location is due largely to historical factors since these streets no longer form the one dominant focus of both inter and intra-city traffic. However, the establishments which were located here, at a time when King and James were of greater significance in communications than they are today, have remained here. The C.B.D. still remains a great focus for intra-city traffic.

The boundary of the C.B.D. is generally sharp in the region north of King Street and less abrupt in the office region south of this street. This contrast is due to the tendency of the C.B.D. to expand southward while to the north it shows no tendency to encroach on the frame. Buildings in the C.B.D. are generally three stories high in the retailing region and somewhat higher in the office district to the south, with a maximum of sixteen stories in the Pigott Building

on James Street South.

A "hard core" of concentrated activity is distinguishable within the C.B.D. This "hard core" is delimited by a line joining establishments having 30% of the assessment of the peak corner. The "hard core" has a shape quite similar to that of the C.B.D. as a whole. It extends further east than it does in any other direction, approximately 425 yards to the east of peak intersection. (To the north it extends about 275 yards, while to the west only about 100 yards, and only approximately 85 yards to the south.)

Within the "hard core" itself several sub-regions can be distinguished. The most central of these is the "convenience goods region". This region is characterized by susceptible stores at ground level and upper floors largely in storage to serve the stores below. The King Street north side region, which lies just to the east of the above, shows a wider variety of stores, restaurants and service establishments than does the convenience goods region; upper floors are mostly used for storage and retailing is aimed at a mass market.

In terms of pedestrian density this north side of King Street is far more important than the south side. As the junction with James is approached, from the east, pedestrian density rises. Shops on this side of King are benefiting from this pedestrian flow. Originally traffic from the east-end discharged its passengers on the north side of the street. In addition most people walking to the "downtown" area would come from the north and east rather than the south and east. Also, as noted previously, since very early times the south side of the street has shown an intermixture of offices with other elements; offices are

not beneficial in a street frontage looking towards a mass market. The north side of King Street shows a dominance of small shop fronts because of high land assessment. Exceptions to this are the large variety stores, "Woolworth's" and Kresge's".

On the south side of King Street in the "hard core", is a region of shops with an emphasis on quality goods. These are intermixed with banks, and offices. This south side is cut off from the main stream of pedestrian movement along the north side by the width of Gore Park. It has become a specialized quality retailing region.

The James Street region of the hard core focuses on "Eaton's" department store which is flanked by susceptible retailing establishments.

The King Street West region of the hard core is short in length and its shops cater largely to women shoppers. Like the western region of the C.B.D. as a whole there is little reason for retailers to locate west of the peak intersection. There are however, four bus stops outside shops in this region of the hard core.

The hard core of Hamilton's C.B.D. has three major department stores acting as generators, these are "Eaton's" in the north, "The Right House" in the east, and "Robinson's" in the south. In a triangle between these three generators are located the major susceptible stores of the C.B.D., selling "convenience goods." These stores within the triangle pay higher assessments than the generators and indeed pay the highest assessments of any retailing area of their size in the city. To the east of this triangle is the King Street north side retailing area of the hard core which has small shop frontages and fairly intensive land use.

The "Eastern Retailing Region" extends from the "hard core" towards the populous east-end. It contains many retailers who require large blocks of land rather than a central location. Again a distinction can be made between the north and south sides of King Street. The north side is a desirable location for stores relying on pedestrian flow across their frontages, while the south side has attracted more specialized retailers who draw customers to them. On upper stories, large blocks of residences are to be found. This is particularly true of the north side of the street where assessment values are higher than the south side.

In the Northern Retailing Region of the C.B.D., conditions are very similar to those found in the King Street East region, but are not as well developed. The east side of James has more important retailing elements than does the west side. This is due to the preference of people from the north or east ends of the city for the east side of James Street, which is closer and thus more accessible to them.

The Western Retailing Region of the C.B.D. is smaller than either of the two discussed above, but has a similar retailing character. Some differences can be seen between the north and south sides of this street; the south side has some ground floor offices and banks while the north side has smaller shop fronts and specializes in retailing. Assessments and pedestrian flow are higher on the north-side, possibly due to the generative force of the market to the north of this street.

The King William Street area is a "back-alley" for the King Street "hard core" region; it gives rear access to the more important King Street stores. The minor business streets in this region have a secondary part to play in C.B.D. retailing.

The Market Complex centres around the city market as a generator of pedestrian traffic. Besides the market, it is characterized by meat shops and shops selling household requirements.

The office region is not extensive. The highest office buildings are found on James Street South, and are divided into small office suites. The one head office, "Aylmer Foods Ltd." is not large and is located towards the periphery of the C.B.D.

The "region of Mixed Land Use", along Main Street East, is small and somewhat cut off from the rest of the C.B.D., although contiguous with it and paying a high assessment.

The Frame

The C.B.D. frame merges at its edges with some of the poorer residential areas of the city. Certain sub-regions can be distinguished within the frame. The most marked of these is an industrial sub-region round the eastern part of King William Street. Automotive elements have been attracted to Main Street and King West. Warehousing appears concentrated on MacNab, Market and York Streets. Public buildings are to be found in a region between Main and Hunter Streets where assessment values are lower than within the C.B.D. itself. Excepting the public buildings, buildings within the frame are generally in worse condition than those of the C.B.D.

There seems to be an abundance of parking in the frame today, and access to the C.B.D. has been improved by the introduction of a one-way street system, which has prevented severe congestion. The Hamilton Street Railway is carrying fewer people into the C.B.D. than it did formerly, yet it probably still brings in at least half the

total number of people entering the area.

The C.B.D. is likely to benefit from high density housing being constructed to its south-west. Residences at present within the C.B.D. and its frame are generally in poor condition.

- - -

Although Hamilton's C.B.D. has not been directly constricted by physical barriers, its location and shape have been considerably influenced by physical factors. King Street follows the line of an old Indian trail which passed roughly mid-way between the escarpment to the south and the bay front to the north. This trail was forced away from the bay front by swamps which abounded on this alluvial plain. King Street was thus the old route to both east and west; to the east it led to the Niagara frontier settlements, while to the west it served as a route to Detroit via the Dundas valley which facilitated climbing the escarpment. York Street, the road to Toronto (York), follows the path which passed round the lake-head via the Burlington Heights gravel bar. This latter route forked off the King Street trail in the centre of the present C.B.D., that is in the area where the Iroquois gravel bar approached the foot of the escarpment. Thus the location of these routes, which have given the C.B.D. its nodal position, were all influenced by physical factors. James Street was planned to intersect with King where these routes came together, and at the same time to connect the new village centre with both a place where the escarpment could be ascended relatively easily, and a point where another gravel bar gave port facility at the bay. Thus the location of the principal streets of the present C.B.D. can be largely traced back to elements of the original geography of the site.

The above intersection ceased to be at the geographical centre of the city as urban growth took place in the nineteenth century. The city expanded its built up area along the alluvial plain at the foot of the escarpment; the escarpment itself discouraging growth in a southerly direction. The city was able to expand a long way east on the alluvial plain while to the west it was constricted by the Chedoke Ravine. From James Street, the Red Hill Creek ravine is four times as far to the east as the Chedoke ravine is to the west. In addition heavy industry located along the bay front to the east of James Street because space for industrial development along the bay was after 1855 available only in this direction. Thus industrial and residential expansion both took place to the east of the old intersection, and the city became asymmetric in shape, largely due to underlying physical conditions. Urban growth to the north was a result of man's use of physical features, that is the city, and C.B.D. were drawn northwards by the port and railroad facilities here.

Residential areas have developed extensively above the escarpment since World War II. The escarpment was never an absolute barrier to routeways. However, it has been enough of a hinderance to the construction of access routes that these roads have been limited in number so that a "funneling" effect from the areas above the escarpment down into the plain was produced. This has given importance to several streets, notably to John Street, which feeds much of this "mountain" traffic into the C.B.D. and James Street which takes traffic in the reverse direction. The shape of the C.B.D. has followed the shape of the city as a whole, that is to say, it has expanded further east than in any other direction. The shape of the C.B.D. has thus been

indirectly influenced by the physical factors which have governed the total growth of the city.

From earliest times the C.B.D. has had two important intersections, one at King and James Streets, and another one, of somewhat lesser importance at Market Square and James. As noted above, the importance of these intersections is related to their location on routes influenced by physical features. The junction of King and James has always been the most important intersection of the C.B.D. and the creation of Gore Park has helped to reinforce its character as a focal point and has helped retain the peak intersection here despite the dominantly eastward growth of the city. The market was originally at the junction of York and James Streets and thus located in response to major routes. It is today only slightly removed from this earlier site. At the present time it plays an important part in influencing pedestrian movement within the C.B.D. and thus influences the retailing pattern of the C.B.D. as a whole. This Market Square intersection has been reinforced as a secondary focus, by human factors. Firstly, by the location of the market here, then by "Eaton's" store, a major generator, and more recently these have been supplemented by a large municipal car park over the market. The Market Square and James intersection had, and probably still has, considerable effect in attracting pedestrians to the north side of King Street, rather than the south side, both east and west of James Street. The market itself is important in food retailing within the C.B.D. The shops near to it handle meat and other items complementing the market

retailing of fruit and vegetables. At the same time the market must be seen as a retailing element both unique in the C. B. D. and complementary to the other retailing regions.

The street plan as a whole appears to have had certain influences on retailing. Because of the small size of the blocks, retailing does not usually take place on more than two sides of a block. (The most important exception to this is the block James, King, MacNab, Market Square, which has retailing on all four sides.)

Another human factor which has influenced the development of the C. B. D. was the construction of a street car network in the nineteenth century. This helped the downtown area retain its location at King and James by enabling people living far to the east of the C. B. D. to reach the peak intersection conveniently. This transport net is today replaced by a bus system which has a similar effect. Thus neither the peak intersection nor the C. B. D. as a whole have "migrated" eastward.

The hard core of business activity has a shape similar to the C.B.D. as a whole. It extends further to the east than the west, for the same reasons of physical and human geography that the city, and the C.B.D., themselves extend principally eastward. The hard core extends some distance towards the

north, just as the C.B.D. does, and both extend only a very short distance to the west. The basic reasons for this would seem to be, firstly, the small residential area west of James Street compared to that to the east of this street and secondly, residential expansion to the west of the Chedoke ravine did not occur until after the time that the greatest commercial expansion had occurred in the C.B.D. and after the establishment of a street car system.

At the peak intersection of the hard core, shop frontages are small, in response to the high assessment rates which are themselves due to the heavy volume of pedestrian traffic here. The large department stores are situated further out in the hard core, and have sought locations of lower assessment. Today three major department stores are the principal retail generators, in addition to the market, and serve to fix the peak intersection at its original site.

Away from this hard core are three linear retailing regions along King Street East, James North and King West respectively. These act as retailing regions complementary to the hard core, in that they handle such items as furniture, office supplies, and other goods requiring space rather than a central location within the C.B.D. The regions also have smaller shops handling specialty items of limited appeal, such as import goods and food

specialties. Of these regions the most important in size and content is that along King Street East. The importance of this region may be traced to the fact that it lies along the major route into the C.B.D. from the east end of the city.

The office region of the city has developed somewhat off, but closely adjacent to, the peak intersection. In locating south of King, on James, offices have the advantage of proximity to the retailing districts plus location on King, James, and Main Streets, the three most important routes in the C.B.D. and the city. This small office region closely complements the adjacent hard core both directly through financial and legal services, and indirectly by placing office destinations close to the retail stores, and by supplying hundreds of clerical workers to patronize the retail facilities. Hence the greatest concentration of working population in the downtown area is immediately adjacent to the hard core of the C.B.D. Thus the various regions of the C.B.D. show a strong tendency to complement rather than to compete with each other.

Thus it is evident that the land use features of Hamilton's C.B.D. are not to be entirely explained by either physical or human factors alone, but rather by the complex inter-relationship of the two. The location of the two gravel bars, and to a lesser extent of the escarpment and Dundas Valley, strongly influenced the initial location of the C.B.D., just as the differing distance to the ravines east and west caused its asymmetric development.

In turn it was largely the work of man, the gore, the street car network, and the mountain access routes which helped to anchor the C.B.D. at its original location.

APPENDIX ONE

EXPLANATION OF CERTAIN TERMS

USED IN THE TEXT

"Generative" Stores: These are stores that produce their own business through heavy advertising, by a reputation for unique merchandise or in other promotional ways. The best example is the large department store. Most "quality" shops have some generative power though this is gained less through heavy advertising and more by their reputation for unique merchandise and service. Most beauty shops, barbers' shops and repair shops generate a good deal, if not all, of their business.

"Susipient" Stores: These are stores which do not generate business themselves, or at any rate generate very little. Instead they rely on customers who usually visit the susipient store in the course of their visit to a neighboring business concern. These stores seek a location to which the consumer is impulsively or coincidentally attracted while away from his place of residence. The classic example is the "Five and Ten", or "Variety Store" such as "Woolworth's". Other examples include the newstand or florists in a hotel or airport.

Note: Most retail establishments represent some combination of both generative and susipient qualities. At the same time

establishments may be classed as the same in the type of goods they handle yet have a wide difference between them with regard to their generative or suscipient properties. Illustrations of this are restaurants which can vary from exclusive quality establishments to the "hot-dog" stand or snack bar which may rely on casual traffic.

"Convenience" Goods: These are items of daily consumption and frequent purchase; they are usually small in size and value per item. Examples include drugs, grocery items, meat, liquor, hardware, hobby goods, toys, variety items, small apparel and cheap shoes. Convenience goods are frequently handled by suscipient stores.

"Shoppers" Goods: These are items of long term use rather than daily consumption. They are of higher value per item than are convenience goods, and usually some comparison is made before purchase. Examples include, most "quality" goods, apparel, larger appliances, jewellery, furniture, shoes and items for the family.

Note: Here again there can be wide differences between goods supposedly of the same type. For example "jewellery" can be used to describe cheap trinkets or goods of the highest price and quality. Thus the terms are of general value rather than exact use.

APPENDIX TWO

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES OF THE C.B.D.

Any appraisal of Hamilton's C.B.D. would be incomplete without some account of the forces which are currently acting upon it. These can be best considered under the heading "Assets and Liabilities".

I ASSETS

(i) Historical Advantages: The governmental, business and retail elements which gathered in the C.B.D. before the effect of the automobile was felt, have remained here. Indeed business districts outside the C.B.D. have grown not by attracting establishments from the C.B.D. but by providing a good place for new establishments to locate. The fact that the C.B.D. was a route focus tended to give it an advantage. Despite the fact that the city has grown in several directions, and increased traffic has made for greater congestion on important routes, the C.B.D. continues to serve all parts of the city.

(ii) Organizations:

a The Downtown Association: This organization, established in 1953, is comprised of local businessmen with interests in the downtown area; they work together for mutual benefit.

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Their definition of "downtown" is that area bounded by Cannon, Wellington, Hunter and Bay Street.

Initially the organization concentrated on attracting customers to the downtown area by means of publicity stunts and minor promotions of various kinds. Eventually, however, it was realized that the C.B.D. had certain problems that needed more serious efforts. The Downtown Association created committees to consider the problems of access and urban renewal. Their Urban Renewal Committee was instrumental in persuading the city to create an urban renewal committee of its own. Currently the Downtown Association is putting forward a scheme to build a theatre-auditorium and athletic centre-arena downtown. They would also like to combine these with a "planetarium" and a national science and technology centre for Canada. They argue that the C.B.D. must be strengthened as the social nucleus of the community, and an enormous project is needed to keep the C.B.D. alive for longer than the business day. The launching of this venture depends on getting capital for it, either from individuals or from the city government; such funds do not appear to be forthcoming at present. However, the Downtown Association is now better organized than it was ten years ago. It has managed to weld business interests together and convince them that collective action has power no individual among them possesses.

b The City Planning Department: This was set up in 1948 and is today closely involved with the future of the downtown area. The department believes in "helping downtown help itself" rather than in directing massive and expensive schemes for C.B.D.

renewal. Together with the city government as a whole the Planning Department has been instrumental in several projects which have benefited the C.B.D. These include the building of a new City Hall, the new Court House, and a new Health Centre Clinic, all to the south of the C.B.D. and adjacent to it. The other major feature has been the restriction of high density apartment building outside the region to the south-west of the C.B.D. Together with the Traffic Department and the Parking Authority the City Hall has made the C.B.D. more accessible by means of one way streets and municipal parking lots.

c The City Urban Renewal Committee: This committee is currently engaged on a project for re-developing the "north-end" residential region. Eventually the committee hopes to tackle some of the blighted buildings in the C.B.D. proper.

II LIABILITIES

(1) "The Fabric": It would seem that the greatest liability of the C.B.D. today is the presence of many old buildings in need of renewal. Old buildings do not make for efficiency in modern business nor do they make for a pleasing C.B.D. The most degenerate buildings are to be found in the "outer retailing regions" and the best in the office region. However, it is these outer regions which most urgently need renewal, which stand least chance of investment being put into them.

(ii) History: It is precisely because the C.B.D. is the oldest business area of the city that it possesses so many old buildings and has problems adjusting to the needs of the automobile customer. More recently in its history the C.B.D. suffered because of a liberal commercial zoning elsewhere in the city following the Faludi Plan of 1947. This resulted in a good deal of ribbon retailing development outside the C.B.D.

(iii) The Industrial Base of the City: Hamilton is a massive industrial producer within Canada and according to Milford Smith, of "The Hamilton Spectator", is one of the most industrialized cities on the North American continent. It has been noted that it was this industrial base which caused the city to grow and indeed it is this base which sustains it today. However, Hamilton has few offices for a city of its size in Canada. It has been noted that the C.B.D. contains only one headquarters office, and this of no great size. The industrial producers of the city have offices near their works; this is essentially because these are administrative rather than executive offices. This lack of C.B.D. offices is a definite disadvantage for Hamilton's C.B.D. today.

(iv) Competitors: C.B.D. retailing has two major groups of competitors; firstly, those in Toronto and secondly, those elsewhere in Hamilton. The size of Toronto, and its position as a great trading city, mean that it can offer a more specialized range of goods and services than Hamilton can. Thus people are attracted from Hamilton to Toronto stores, and it is Toronto's

C.B.D. which develops at the expense of its neighbor. One member of the Hamilton Downtown Association speaks of the advantage of having Toronto's market within access, for Hamilton to tap. However, in reality the position is reversed, and it seems that Hamilton will remain subservient to Toronto as a business centre for many years.

Within Hamilton several modern "plaza" type retailing developments have occurred. The principal of these is the Greater Hamilton Shopping Centre on Barton Street. This seventy-five acre site provides a contrast with the C.B.D. in both its size and content. It was developed to cater for the motorized shopper, and provide 5,000 parking spaces capable of handling 25,000 cars each day. At either end is a full size department store, and between these a "mall" type shopping area with largely succipient stores. In addition there are two "groceries" type food stores, a bowling alley, an apartment building and a car service station. It may be argued that the creation of this complex was a major obstacle to downtown redevelopment. However, there can be little doubt that this plaza fulfilled a need for more accessible shopping space and is an asset to the town. Mr. Tom Rogerson, Manager of the "Simpson-Sears" store on this plaza, puts forward the view that the "Centre Shopping Plaza" and the C.B.D. are really complementary. The presence of either one attracts people to the city and these people are likely to examine the goods offered by both regions while they are here. In addition "Simpson-Sears", which was a prime mover in establishing "The Centre Plaza", would

not have located in Hamilton if a plaza site had not been available. In a sense the C.B.D. proved unable to accomodate large new department stores and attendant features, and so the development occurred elsewhere. Today, despite the obvious business rivalry between "The Centre Plaza" and the C.B.D., "Plaza" retailers would not wish to see the C.B.D. decline, for if it were to do so assessment would shift from the C.B.D. to increase in other business regions.

No other "plaza" type development in Hamilton is as important as the one discussed above. None of the others can claim to cater for the whole city or have full department stores and carry a wide range of specialized goods. These others are rather a modern variant on the old "neighborhood business centre", albeit on a much larger scale. These other "plaza" developments may be listed as follows:

Towers on Highway No. 8
Loblaws at Highways 8 and 20
Fennell Square, at Gage and Fennell
Mountain Plaza, Upper James and Fennell
Towers at Aldershot

(v) Lack of Substantial New Capital Investment: The Hamilton Downtown Association sees this as the root of the C.B.D.'s troubles. If people are not willing to invest large sums in the C.B.D. then the region is doomed to decay. The erection of the Professional Arts building outside the C.B.D. on James Street South, has been a successful venture and the "Undermount Development Corporation" is taking steps to construct a similar building

immediately adjacent to it. Both projects show the demand for modern air-conditioned, well-lighted office space in central Hamilton. However, the advent of a company office to the city centre would be even more welcome than these new buildings. If a major company cannot be persuaded to locate its offices "downtown" then the Downtown Association looks to the city's industries to create a cultural-recreational project in the downtown area as their contribution to the life of the city. The "T. Eaton Co." holds a block of land to the south of its store at the junction of Market Square and James Street. This was the site of the old City Hall. This land is intended for the future expansion of their store; however, ideally situated as this land is, they are holding back from investment. This suggests that C.B.D. retailing is unlikely to receive much investment in retailing from outside if major retailers inside are unwilling to expand at this time. Similarly, despite the cry that Hamilton needs more hotel space to attract conventions, it seems unlikely that much investment in hotel construction will take place in the near future. According to Mr. S. Stolman, of the "Waldorf Hotel", major hotels in the city are not operating at anything like their capacity today. The Sheraton-Connaught Hotel has a large parking lot adjacent to it which would be ideal for expansion but instead remains vacant of any buildings.

(vi) Absence of Surveys: This is the first survey done of Hamilton's C.B.D. as a regional unit in itself. The Downtown Association is a young organization which has but recently come to appreciate the importance of gathering facts on the region as a necessary prelude to arresting further decay. Neither the City Urban Renewal Committee nor the Planning Department have surveyed the "downtown" in its own right, although it seems likely that a survey will be undertaken by one or both of these bodies in the near future. Much needs to be known; maps showing pedestrian movement, condition of buildings, valuation of buildings and precise distribution of population are all essential to detailed planning for the future. The answer to "downtown" Hamilton's problems lies partly in planning for the future through a greater understanding of the present.

APPENDIX THREE

SCHEMES FOR RENEWAL AND THEIR POSSIBLE APPLICATION

1. The Norwich Scheme:

This scheme was developed in Norwich, England, and has been successfully applied in Oakville, Ontario, and other places both in Canada and the United Kingdom. It is currently being considered by the Urban Renewal Department as one possible means of rejuvenating the C.B.D. Basically it involves persuading retailers to work together to remove ugly signs, create tidier store fronts, and bring out the better qualities inherent in the street's buildings. Such schemes have been criticized on the grounds that they are only covering the exterior while leaving the interior fabric still rotten, and that retailers are throwing money away by taking part in them. These are hardly valid objections, the implementation of such a plan tends to leave the street in better condition than it was, both aesthetically and economically. In addition it encourages traders to work together for mutual advantage and such an association, though difficult to establish, is a very useful one. Considered as a temporary measure in the process of urban renewal the Norwich plan must, on balance, be regarded as worthwhile. In Hamilton, King

Street East particularly, would lend itself to such renovation. There already exists a King Street East Merchants' Association, and thus some basis to work from. This street could provide a tidy entrance way to the rest of the C.B.D. and come to regard itself more as a region in its own right. In addition, it would advertise itself as a progressive and prospering district. Other regions to which the scheme could be usefully applied are the northern and western linear retailing regions. The hard core itself could of course benefit from such renovation but, as noted previously, it is sufficiently viable to attract capital for major changes whereas capital is not so attracted to the outlying business regions, and they must look in the direction of self-improvement as cheaply and as quickly as possible. In the hard core the region most amenable to a Norwich scheme is that on the south side of King between James and the Sheraton-Connaught Hotel.

2. The Fort Worth Scheme:

This scheme was designed for Fort Worth, Texas, by Victor Gruen as a major step in making the C.B.D. accessible. It consists of surrounding the C.B.D. with "expressways" which communicate with the rest of the city. Within this ring of roads is located a zone of parking lots, and inside this the C.B.D. proper. The city Planning Department considers that this scheme offers a good prospect of preserving the C.B.D. by maintaining its accessibility in

the face of increasing traffic congestion in the future. The application of this scheme is obviously only a matter of how much money the city government thinks it worth spending to preserve the downtown area. Clearly the C.B.D. is already encircled with car parks and the construction of an expressway in the C.B.D. frame should not present insuperable difficulties.

3. A Downtown "Mall".

This involves abolishing vehicular traffic in a central region of the C.B.D. and leaving this region free for pedestrian movement. It has been applied successfully in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and some of the British "new towns". In Hamilton, Gore Park could form an excellent focus for such a project. The "mall" could very well arise in conjunction with an encircling "expressway" system such as is described above. It has been shown that even a small area set aside as a "mall", either permanently or as a pilot project, can attract people to the whole area round it, not merely because of its novelty but also because of its convenience.

4. Other Schemes.

The Downtown Association has suggested a scheme whereby the centres of the blocks could be used for multi-story parking and the floors, adjacent to them be used as merchandising space. ¹

¹
"Master Plan for Urban Renewal." Hamilton Downtown Association. 1961.

This would appear to be costly, and would necessitate the construction of new buildings since no retailing block with a centre court yard is in sufficiently good condition to be easily adapted for such a scheme.

Other smaller schemes which might be tried include the construction of a small paddling pool, perhaps on land now used for parking. It would also seem common sense and sound economics to have at least one outdoor cafe somewhere in the C.B.D., perhaps in conjunction with the above paddling pool. Both these schemes could be tried initially as pilot projects before too much money was invested. Parking lots could be improved with the addition of a few shrubs or flowers such as those used outside the City Market lot.

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