

CULTURAL AREAS
AND
NEIGHBORHOODS
OF
HAMILTON

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OF
HAMILTON

BY

ROBERT W. NAGLE

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Robert W. Nagle

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FOREWORD

In any complete and realistic analysis of a city, both social and physical features should be considered. In keeping with this theme, this thesis is more than just a description of physical characteristics. It is also a dynamic analysis of Hamilton in terms of a meaningful combination of both physical and social criteria.

The system employed in this thesis is based on the recognition of distinct cultural areas, which can be further investigated as to neighborhood formulation. It is not only the social analysis of Hamilton then, but also the validity of the cultural unit concept, that are the main interests of this thesis.

The need for this type of study in Hamilton is not only great, but timely, in this age of enlightened urban planning and increasing interest in urban renewal and redevelopment. Unfortunately, however, many of these well-meaning schemes have delineated renewal areas, and proposed planning districts, more by the criteria of political boundaries and transportation arteries than by any real analysis of social integration. It is hoped then, that this thesis will discover meaningful and homogeneous cultural areas in Hamilton, which can

provide the basis for a realistic and beneficial programme of future planning.

This report, however, could not have been compiled without the co-operation and goodwill of numerous persons and organizations. It is at this point, therefore, that I would to thank personally, Dr. H. A. Wood of the McMaster Geography Department, who not only advised the author, but also provided much appreciated inspiration throughout the compiling and writing of the report,

I would also like to thank Mr. D. B. Chandler and the McMaster Sociology Department for the social analysis contributions, and for providing facilities with which to carry out the sampling parts of this thesis.

Then there are those who freely contributed their time and effort in the gathering and analysis of much of the material. These invaluable community leaders, unpaid secretaries, and loyal overworked friends helped to provide the backbone of this report by gathering and plotting much of the material.

To each of the above, I extend my deepest thanks with the hope that each of them will find some slight reward in seeing the final results, without feeling in any way responsible for the shortcomings.

R. W. N.

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CULTURAL AREAS
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INTRODUCTION

Since one of the major objectives of this thesis is to discover neighborhoods in Hamilton, it is first of all necessary to define the term "neighborhood".

The word "neighborhood" is often used to imply a territorial grouping of people, distinct only by virtue of some specific physical characteristic of the area in which they live. Alternatively, the term neighborhood can refer not only to a distinct territorial group, but a group which also possesses the attributes of neighborliness. That is to say, a neighborhood may be defined as a cultural unit, the members of which meet on a common ground, within their own area, for primary social activities, and for organized or spontaneous social contacts. It is these more dynamic neighborhoods, in addition to cultural areas, that this thesis has attempted to uncover in Hamilton.

It is exceedingly important that we recognize these socially dynamic cultural areas, or neighborhoods, within the city. In the first place, the general re-habilitation of Hamilton's blighted areas necessitates some re-shuffling and shifting of its population. This redistribution can be carried out in a more orderly and painless fashion if the habits of the people and the

patterns of neighborhoods are taken into account. Secondly, the practical purpose of the neighborhood concept is easily appreciated in the field of planning. The neighborhood unit provides the most realistic planning area and the most convenient setting for amenities and institutions, particularly those which should be within a short distance of homes.

In addition, the cultural area concept, even where neighborhoods are not formulated, is one of the more meaningful ways in which to dissect and interpret the city, and consequently should be employed more as a future tool of the geographer and the town planner.

The basic problem of this thesis is to determine whether Hamilton can be logically divided into cultural areas or not. If so, it is these more or less homogeneous cultural areas that can then be further investigated for social integration to discover if Hamilton really contains neighborhoods as they have defined. This thesis is additionally concerned with the location, characteristics, intensity, and origin of such neighborhoods, where they exist.

Therefore, the underlying theme of this thesis is how to discover a neighborhood if it exists. We have already defined a neighborhood as a cultural unit that is self-contained in certain common tendencies. This definition indicates the kind of evidence needed to establish its existence.

According to the first part of the definition, the cultural areas should stand out quite plainly on a series of maps showing the distribution of various mapable indices such as the age, condition, and density of dwelling units, but also indices which would indicate something of the social background such as ethnicity and social class.

However, it is much more difficult to find neighborhoods, which are not only cultural areas, but are also integrated areas, in which the inhabitants are in close social contact with each other. This task is difficult not merely because the additional indices needed are less readily available, but because very few of these highly integrated neighborhoods actually exist.

The additional indices required are those which reflect the concentration of primary social activities and social contacts within the area. If the institutions for which there is a universal and continuous demand are present, and are used chiefly by the inhabitants of the area, then social concentration within the area is indicated. These institutions should include schools, churches, neighborhood shops, recreational facilities, social meeting places and community centres.

The most thorough method of showing whether these cultural areas were neighborly or not, would be to plot

the trade and catchment areas of each church, club, community centre, and shop in the city of Hamilton, and see if these catchment areas do in fact, coincide with each other, and with the distinct cultural areas already determined. However, this rather time-consuming method was hardly possible for a city this size in the short time available to the author.

In this thesis, therefore, the basic assumption is made that if a cultural area contains well patronized social services, which are fairly centrally located within its boundaries, then the area can be considered to be an integrated neighborhood. If on the other hand, a cultural area does not contain the outward physical manifestations of neighborliness, this would indicate that the inhabitants have less social contact with each other, and the area is not socially integrated.

Some of the material for determining both cultural areas and neighborhoods was already available. The most useful source in this category was the Urban Renewal Study (1958) for the city of Hamilton. Other important sources were Population Characteristics by Census Tracts (Hamilton) (1956), The Hamilton Recreation Resources Survey (1960), the Census of Canada (1951), and the files of the Hamilton Spectator.

Much of the criteria, however, had to be gathered

first-hand. Methods included a general survey of the city by automobile during the summer of 1961, and a 5% random sample plotted from the 1960 Vernon's City Directory to provide ethnic and occupational information.

Extensive interviewing of recognized ethnic and community leaders was also employed and has proved to be of great value in guiding the author's decisions.

It is hoped that the reader will find in this thesis, not only new and valuable information, but also gain a fresh insight and new perspective in the future analysis of Hamilton. This thesis does not pretend to provide all the answers, but does point the way toward one solution, while the shortcomings of this report may warn future investigators of the more obvious pitfalls involved.

CHAPTER I GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

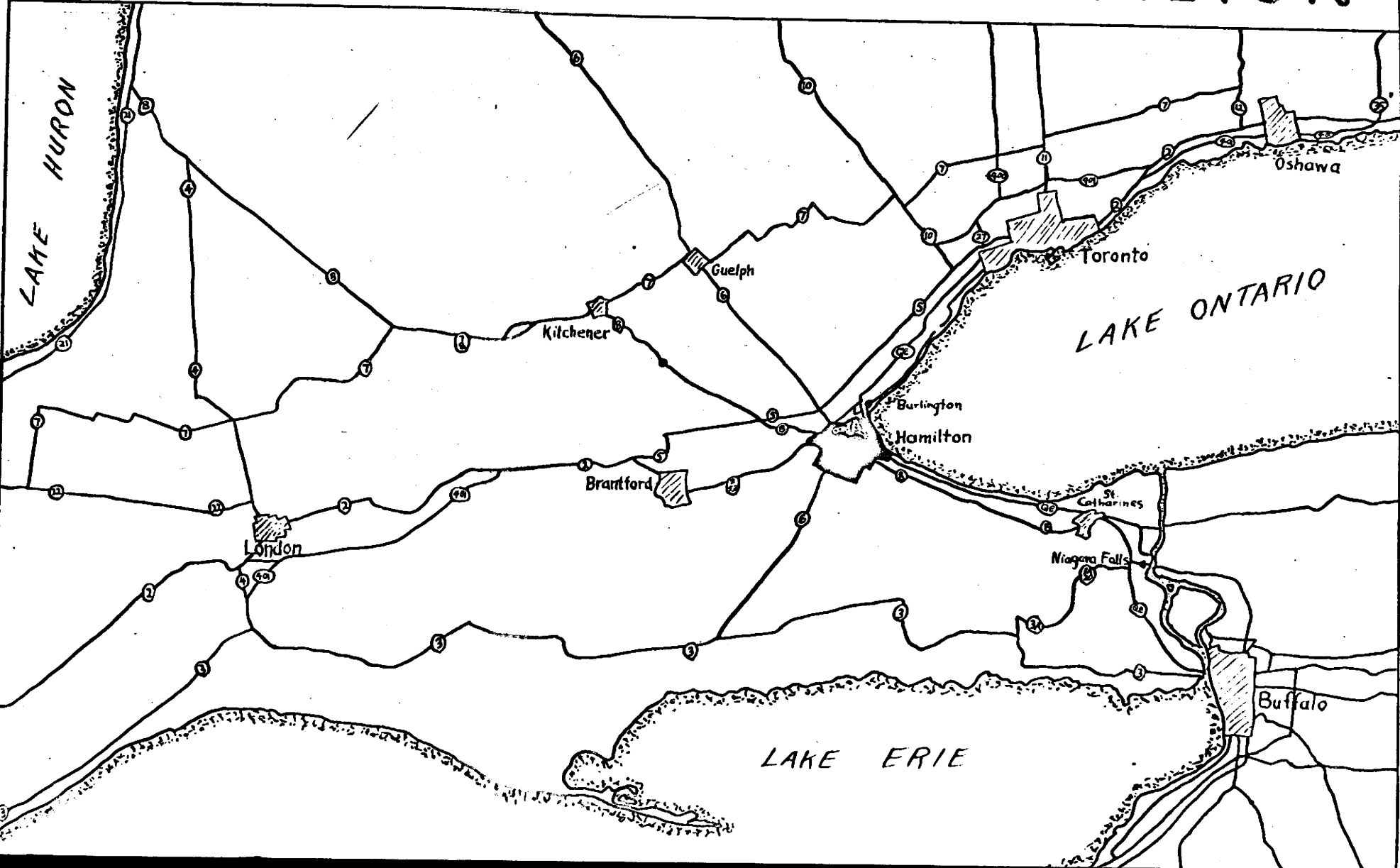
LOCATION

Hamilton is an industrial and manufacturing city of over 250,000 people, located at the western end of Lake Ontario. Hamilton is also located in the main population belt of Southern Ontario, and can thus sell to a rich agricultural hinterland.

Transportation-wise, Hamilton is well-endowed. The city is not only directly linked by road to such other urban centres as Toronto, Guelph, Kitchener, Brantford, and Buffalo but the unique harbour and position at the head of the lake, allows Hamilton to be economically tied into the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes shipping route. In addition, Hamilton's industry is also well served by the trans-continental Canadian National Railway, and the local Toronto, Hamilton, and Buffalo Railway.

Hamilton's location on these major transportation routes not only allows an economical assembly of raw materials, but also an efficient distribution of manufactured goods to a large and continually growing market. It is this nodal effect then, coupled with cheap flat land along the harbour, that have been the prime factors in the development of this city as the hub of Ontario's

MAP No. 1 LOCATION OF HAMILTON



"Colden Horseshoe" of industry.

CLIMATE

Hamilton's climate falls into the Humid-Continental type with long hot summers, The short cool winters are largely due to the moderating effect of the Great Lakes. The average temperatures are 71°F for July, and 23°F for January, while the mean annual temperature is 46°F. The annual rainfall is 26 inches, while annual snowfall is 58 inches.

PHYSIOGRAPHY

The physiographic regions into which the Hamilton area has been divided are based on those suggested by L. J. Chapman and D. F. Putnam, in 1951.

Except for the prominent pre-glacial escarpment, the physiography of the area was almost entirely formed as the result of the advance and recession of the last, or Wisconsin Ice Sheet, which both eroded the former landforms and deposited glacial material to create new features. In addition, pre-glacial lakes, which were dammed up by the Lake Ontario ice lobe, deposited much of the lacustrine or fresh-water laid material below the Niagara Escarpment, on which much of present day Hamilton has been built. The most important of these stillwater lakes to the Hamilton

area was glacial Lake Iroquois; the slightly larger and deeper predecessor of present day Lake Ontario. It was at this Lake Iroquois stage that the Hamilton sand plain, and high level sand bar were formed.

The Niagara Escarpment, which rises approximately 350 feet above the sand plain in this area, is a pre-glacial erosional feature which has largely withstood the ravages of the great Pleistocene glaciers. The escarpment is not in evidence to the west of the city as it was breached here by a large pre-glacial river, which is thought to have flowed west through the Dundas Valley. This valley was largely obscured by glacial material dumped into it during the last ice age. Recent post-glacial tilting of Southern Ontario has caused the western end of Lake Ontario to deepen and has impeded drainage in the lower end of this valley, so as to form a large marshy area referred to as "Cootes Paradise".




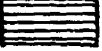

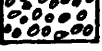


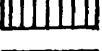
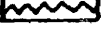
Immediately above the escarpment, much of the overlying drift was stripped away by the over-riding glaciers, revealing the hard infertile limestone caprock of the escarpment. Further back from the escarpment brow the waning glacier deposited much of its debris load in the form of moraines, giving rise to the gently rolling terrain of unconsolidated material to the south and west.

The effect of the escarpment to the south and the Bay to the north, has been to restrict urban development, until

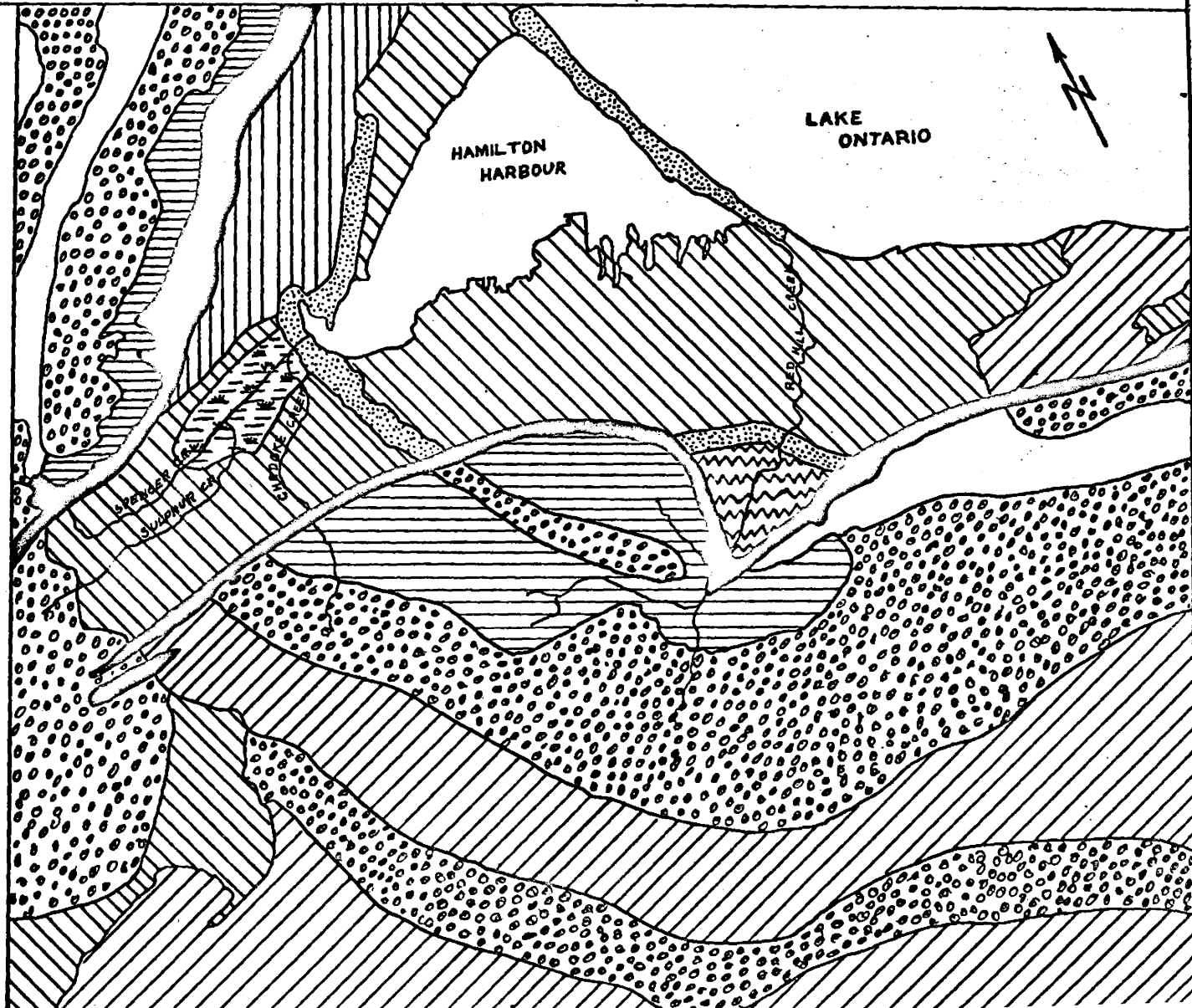
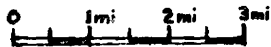
MAP No. 2

PHYSIOGRAPHIC REGIONS

LEGEND

-  SPILLWAY
-  SAND BARS
-  MARSH
-  LIMESTONE PLAIN
-  ESCARPMENT
-  MORAINE
-  SAND PLAIN
-  CLAY PLAIN
-  SHALE SLOPES
-  CLAY SLOPES

SCALE



recently, to the narrow intervening sand plain. Therefore, the city became elongated in an east-west direction. A further hinderance by the Chedoke Valley to the west resulted in a more rapid early expansion to the east, The sand bars formed important routes from the very first, largely due to their height and good drainage, while the more marshy areas along the Bay were largely unused until modern industry could afford the expense of reclaiming and filling.

Now, with the increased mobility provided by the private automobile and numerous access roads, the importance of these former barriers, including the escarpment, has dwindled, and recent growth to the west and south has given the city a more balanced appearance. (Map No. 3)

HISTORY

The first real record of settlement in the Hamilton area was provided when Robert Land obtained title from the Crown to 300 acres, in 1755. At about the same time Richard Beasley opened a trading post on the site now occupied by Dundurn Park. Others soon followed and when the first survey of the district was made, in 1791 there were 31 families in the area.

Settlement progressed rather slowly, however, until the war of 1812, when George Hamilton moved westward from Niagara-on-the-Lake to be beyond the range of possible conflict, and purchased a tract of property which was

includes the Central Business District of the city. After the war, this tract bounded by the escarpment on the south, Burlington Bay on the north, Wellington Street on the east, and James Street on the west, was surveyed as a town site and named "Hamilton".

Strategically located even in those days, Hamilton soon gained prominence as an important trading centre, and by 1840 the population had reached 6,832. In 1846, Hamilton was incorporated as a city with its boundaries Wentworth Street on the east, Queen Street on the west, the Bay in the north, and the escarpment to the south.

Hamilton expanded only slowly at first, but since the arrival of the railway in 1853 and the setting up of the steel mills, which were attracted by cheap assembly costs and a growing market, the city has expanded more rapidly. The cheap level land along the Harbour, aided by the industrial stimulation of two world wars, has further assisted Hamilton's growth as a manufacturing centre. Companies expanded to catch up with the demands of a war-starved world, while unskilled immigrants flocked in, finding good jobs in the labour-hungry factories.

It was exactly the Hamilton area that turned out to be the most favourably located to gain a large share of this post-war growth, as it is in the main population belt of Southern Ontario, thus assuring itself of a large expanding

market. In addition, Hamilton has been receiving a large share of the immigrants to Canada, thus providing its industries with a large cheap labour force. Thirdly, the new industries at the head of the Lake had room to grow, even if the consequent encroachment upon prime agricultural land has been deplored in some quarters. Fourthly, Hamilton could boast of cheap and abundant electric power from nearby Niagara Falls. Fifthly, there is plentiful clean water for industry available from nearby Lake Ontario. Sixthly, Hamilton had well-established transportation facilities by rail, road, and water, and was able to improve them. Seventhly, Hamilton was strategically placed near two great North American track routes, the Hudson-Mohawk Valley in the United States and the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Waterway at its doorstep. Finally, one must consider Hamilton Harbour itself as a significant factor in Hamilton's growth and importance. This excellent harbour has allowed Hamilton to become the third largest port in Canada, in terms of tonnage handled, ranking only below Montreal and Vancouver.

Due to these advantageous geographical factors, Hamilton has attracted numerous industries to its site, and has grown until it ranks third in Canada in terms of industrial production (over one billion dollars worth annually), and produces more than half of Canada's total

output of iron and steel, although it is only fifth in size.

LAND USE

Map No. 4 clearly indicates the present land use pattern of Hamilton. Industry is largely located north of Barton Street and east of Ferguson Avenue, in a thick belt along the southern shore of the harbour. This industrial belt is flanked in the south by an area of commercial enterprises and older homes, largely concentrated between Barton and Main Streets. Stretching to the south, west, and east are predominately residential areas of single family homes.

The heavy industry of the city is located in the main industrial complex, north of Barton Street. It is here, near the harbour that the largest and most offensive plants are found, including the blast furnaces of two of the largest employers in the city; The Steel Company of Canada Ltd., and Dominion Foundries and Steel Ltd. Many other large-scale enterprises in this manufacturing belt not only add to the smoke and round-the-clock activity of the steel mills, but manufacture such diverse products as farm machinery and trucks, railway rolling stock, automobiles, textiles, cranes, elevators, pneumatic tires, electronics, and soaps. It is here, next to the harbour in this area criss-crossed with railways and truck routes, that the wealth of the city is created. Fortunately for Hamilton, nature has been kind,

and the prevailing W.S.W. winds allow most of the city to be upwind from this area of smoke, noise, and record-breaking atmospheric pollution.

However, there are also several isolated residential pockets north of Barton Street, that are completely surrounded by heavy industry. These areas usually consist of rather dingy old frame dwellings, tightly packed into rows, and stained by smoke. These homes, usually considered unsatisfactory by today's standard, are the remnants of an earlier age when transportation was more difficult and hours of employment were longer, thus forcing the labourer to live nearer his place of employment.

Other scattered industries occur across the city below the escarpment, but are mainly light industries of the less offensive variety. These factories are usually located in conjunction with railway tracks, except for the collection of plants north of York Street, which consist largely of the older textiles and tobacco works. The other major industrial grouping occurs along the railway lines in the Chedoke Valley, and does contain some heavy construction industries besides a large Westinghouse electronics plant. Except for the area north of York Street, these isolated pockets of industry usually occur quite inconspicuously along the fringes of residential districts, consequently having very little blighting effect on homes in the immediate area.

The Central Business District of Hamilton is located around the King Street and James Street intersection, in rather an elongated east-west pattern. It is this area that is the focus of commercial, social, and civic life. This "Downtown" district also serves as the centre for Hamilton's Public Transportation System. It is here that we find the downtown retail district with its department stores, specialty shops, office buildings, clubs, banks, hotels, theatres, and organization headquarters. Land values are generally higher in this district, consequently only the more elevated and expensive buildings can afford to locate here.

The Central Business District developed, naturally enough, in the old core of the city at the junction of main routes. It was from this point on the major east-west artery of King Street, that James Street led north to the docks, and York Street followed the elevated Lake Iroquois sand bar around the harbour and toward the provincial capital of York.

This downtown retail area has lately been faced with severe competition from various sub-regional shopping centres that are geared for the private automobile. But, largely due to the historical inertia and capital investment, this downtown area still maintains its retail monopoly on specialty goods. In fact, the Central Business District is now adapting itself to the demands of the motorized shopper with the result that more and more old

buildings are being torn down to create parking facilities. Although this is hardly adding to the attractiveness of the downtown area, it certainly makes the old city core much more functional.

The fact that this downtown area is geared to large-scale commercial activity means that very few people live here. The few cramped and outdated dwelling units remaining behind and above the commercial enterprises are now populated by the poverty-stricken, unemployed, members of minority ethnic groups, and transients.

Encircling this downtown area is a zone of residential deterioration, especially to the north where factory encroachment has enhanced the blighting effect of commercial enterprise. In this zone are the principal slums of the city, with their submerged regions of poverty, degradations, and disease. It is here also that many of the recent immigrants have settled, especially the Italians.

A second regional shopping centre was built in 1956 on the grounds of the old Jockey Club Race Track, between Ottawa Street and Kenilworth Street, north of Barton. This extensive site of 72 acres has a wide variety of retail stores, and serves as a commercial centre for much of East Hamilton, as the Central Business District itself is decidedly offset to the west. Unfortunately, the Greater Hamilton Shopping Centre is adjacent to the continually expanding industrial belt to the north, a fact which does

not auger too well for the future.

There are also continuous ribbons of commercial development extending mainly east-west along the principal thoroughfares, namely Barton Street, York Street, King Street, Main Street, and Concession Street on the "Mountain". There is also some limited north-south development along James Street, Ottawa Street, and Kenilworth Avenue. The shops in these commercial ribbons vary greatly in the quality and type of service offered, but the majority are local neighborhood shops with a very limited trade area.

In a number of places these ribbon developments are not supporting themselves. On York Street, for example, many of these small shops are either "run down" or for sale. Side Street parking in connection with many of these shops is adversely affecting the adjacent residential areas. Many once-residential streets are now lined with parking meters, indicating their use as parking lots, to the detriment of both the environment and property values.

The newer sections of the city, on the other hand, are being served more by highly localized shopping centres with more adequate parking facilities. For example, Westdale has its commercial "Village", while the newer areas, south of Concession Street, on the Mountain, contain several shopping sub-centres.

The intellectual focus of Hamilton is even more off-set to the west than the Central Business District. It is the

north west corner of West Hamilton that not only contains the city's seat of higher learning, McMaster University, but also contains a Teacher's College, and the city's Art Gallery. The major reason that the University is not more central in its location is that the institution was only attracted to Hamilton as recently as 1927. When McMaster University transferred from Toronto at that time, the only desirable extensive piece of property that the city could offer the institution was part of the extensive acreage of the Royal Botanical Gardens in West Hamilton. Since then, the University has expanded and other institutions have been attracted to this "prestige" location.

Thus, in Hamilton there are three different and distinct centres of activity, all in the northern and western sectors of the city. To the north, along the harbour, is the industrial centre of Hamilton. Off-set to the west of this is the Central Business District and financial centre, while even further to the west is the intellectual centre of the city, focused upon the University.

The remainder of Hamilton can be classified as predominantly residential, but even in this category there is great diversity. The zone of transition, in both the industrial north and, surrounding the ever-expanding Central Business District, has already been described. Beyond this is a zone of working men's homes, which includes the "North-End" (the area north of the C.N.R. tracks and west of the

Ferguson Avenue railway tracks), the area north of Aberdeen Avenue, and most of the central and eastern areas north of Main Street. These areas largely consist of older single-family homes, usually in fairly good condition. These areas are largely inhabited by industrial workers who have left the less attractive zone of transition, but who still desire to live within easy access of their work, Possibly, the older houses along Concession Street on the Mountain should also be classified in this working class area of older homes.

Generally, to the south of this area are the newer middle class homes and some of the better older homes. Included in this category are the areas south of Main Street East, south of Aberdeen Avenue, most of West Hamilton, and most of the Mountain. These are the residences of more highly skilled industrial workers, white collar workers, and professional people. The homes are usually of good quality, recent construction, and located on more spacious lots. It should also be noted that these homes are the furthest removed from the obnoxious industrial north.

The only "exclusive" areas of high-class homes are in the north-west parts of West Hamilton flanking the University, in the elevated well-drained regions below the escarpment south of Aberdeen Avenue, and along the Mountain brow overlooking the city.

The string of homes along the sand bar which separates

Hamilton Harbour from Lake Ontario, locally referred to as "The Beach", were formerly summer cottages for many of the well-to-do Hamilton families. However, as the number and size of industries along the harbour to the south-west increased, so did the smoke and harbour pollution. The fact that the sand bar developed into an important rail and truck route hardly enhanced the attractiveness of this once-popular residential area. The houses along "The Beach" have not been kept-up, and many of them now serve as the year-round residences of lower working-class families. Many local people, nevertheless, still frequent the lake-side beaches and commercialized amusement parks during the hot summer months.

CHAPTER II CULTURAL AREAS

INTRODUCTION

As was indicated in the introduction, the search for neighborhoods first necessitates the delineation of distinct cultural areas. These geographical areas will then be investigated for social facilities to determine whether or not they are neighborhoods and to what degree they are integrated.

Clearly then, the first task is the delineation of these homogeneous cultural units. The method employed was first to construct maps of various physical and social characteristics of the city, and then to superimpose these maps to observe which boundaries closely coincided.

The indices chosen, however, had to represent a meaningful cross-section of criteria: if homogeneous territories, or potential neighborhoods, were to be realistically differentiated. The indices finally decided upon as meaningful were;

1. The major physical boundaries and major transportation arteries that might be expected to hinder normal population movement and social intercourse.
2. Any extensive area of non-residential land use that might conflict with and disrupt residential patterns.

3. The age of buildings was also included to indicate where homes of similar age and type may be found.
4. The condition of houses was considered extremely important as it shows areas where living conditions and environment may possible group people together.
5. The density of dwelling units was included to give some idea of population density, and to indicate possible areas of overcrowding.
6. Ethnicity was regarded as an important index as many unskilled immigrants have been attracted to Hamilton, due to the large post-war demand for labourers in the city. As people of like culture and nationality tend to live together, it was expected that the larger national groups might collect themselves into distinct communities of some significance.
7. A final criteria of social stratification was included to indicate those areas that have segregated themselves due to differences in occupation, education, and income.

These criteria were then combined to reveal cultural units of varying degrees of homogeneity and intensity. The more relevant aspects of each of these criteria are now briefly discussed.

PHYSICAL BARRIERS

The major physical barriers within Hamilton are the Bay to the north, the escarpment to the south, the Chedoke Valley and Cootes Paradise marsh to the west, and the Red Hill Creek and marshy lowland to the east .

By and far the most important of these barriers is the Niagara Escarpment, still a very effective barrier to movement, and hence to cultural unity and social integration. In addition, the limited supply of water on "the Mountain", remoteness from major transportation lines, and difficulty of excavation on the hard dolomite caprock has kept industry out of the area. The result is an almost totally residential district of recent construction, inhabited largely by middle class workers who commute daily to work in the older part of the city below.

In the west, the Chedoke Valley effectively separates the more exclusive West Hamilton from the rest of the city. There was very little building to the west of this barrier until after 1914, indicating the effectiveness of this ravine. This partly accounts for the better housing of this area, since it is of more recent and modern construction. Westdale, however, is not only separated from the rest of the city, but is also effectively cut off from further expansion to the north and west by Cootes Paradise.

The Valley of the Red Hill Creek in the east, on the other hand, is only now beginning to act as a barrier. Expansion has only recently reached this far east, therefore, the valley is as yet relatively insignificant in dealing with present population clusters.

Thus, we see that physical barriers effectively separate the city into four major segments; the older ^{city} proper; the "Mountain"; West Hamilton; and the sparsely populated areas east of Red Hill Creek, of which the last mentioned need not concern us.

TRANSPORTATION NET

A transportation map (No. 5) has been included to show the major road and rail pattern in Hamilton (exclusive of shipping). The importance of non-water transportation in Canada's third largest tonnage port is certainly enough to be seriously considered. For although incoming materials enter 66% by water, 29% by rail, 3% by truck, and 2% by pipeline; only 8% of Hamilton's manufactured goods leave by water, while 50% leave by rail, and 32% by truck. In addition, many thousands of workers commute daily to the industrial areas in the north, increasing the burden on main arteries so much that several once-residential streets now double as thoroughfares.

The multi-tracked east-west C.N.R. line north of Barton

Street has long been recognized by planners and administrators as a definite boundary for residential areas in the north. However, the C.P.R. and T.H. & B. tracks to the south and west only add to the already effective physical barriers of the Chedoke Valley and Niagara Escarpment, except for the elevated roadbed and freight yards between Victoria Avenue and Park Street.

It is true that railways usually do provide the most effective transportation barriers to population movements, but this generalized rule has certainly been over-applied in former cultural divisions of Hamilton. There are certain logical exceptions, especially where there is only a single ground-level track across a heavily populated area, such as the Ferguson and Gage Avenue cross-town tracks, and the T.H. & B. line south of Main Street in West Hamilton. Instead of separating two distinct cultural areas, the railway may be, and usually is, a uniting factor with its blighting effect to both sides of the tracks.

An exception also occurs in the "North End" where 6 bridges cross the C.N.R. tracks in seven blocks, hardly creating a barrier at all. In addition, these bridges are hardly long enough to seriously handicap movement. It has, nevertheless, been widely assumed that the C.N.R. tracks between Ferguson Avenue and Bay Street separated the North End from the rest of the city to form a distinct cultural

island, surrounded by water on the north and west, and railway tracks on the south east. The tracks to the east definitely are a boundary as they are flanked by industry, but the tracks to the south form more of a convenient political division than any significant cultural boundary. In contrast, roads are the means of contact. As such, they seldom form an effective barrier to social intercourse, unless they are of the limited-access expressway variety, such as the Queen Elizabeth Highway, Burlington Bay Skyway, or Highway 102. Since there are so few of these limited access highways within Hamilton, the grid pattern of main streets is hardly the cultural or neighborhood pattern in disguise, as the present census divisions would lead us to believe.

A neighborhood, or even a distinct cultural unit, needs more meaningful criteria to delineate its boundaries than the present street pattern. It is easy to sympathize with the planner's need for small planning units with which to work, but why not utilize more meaningful cultural areas, rather than the present arbitrary units that now exist?

NON-RESIDENTIAL LAND USE

Map No. 6 has been included as it shows those areas of industrial, commercial, and public land that are large enough to form significant deterrents to social intercourse.

Of particular importance in this category are the

isolated pockets of residential dwellings, north of the C.N.R. tracks, that have been surrounded by industry. Industry has also provided a deterrent to free movement along Ferguson Avenue North and in the north-east section of the city along Parkdale Avenue. The industrial cluster to the north of York Street on the other hand, is hardly dense enough to form a definite barrier, but it does have a blighting effect upon the area. The small pockets of industry along the Chedoke Valley only supplement the ravine and railway tracks, already effective barriers.

Of the commercial areas, only the Downtown area, and the Greater Hamilton Shopping Center (between Ottawa Street and Kenilworth Street, north of Barton), are large enough to provide formidable barriers to social intercourse. Most of the remaining commercial areas in the city are hardly extensive enough to form effective barriers. In fact, these neighborhood shops may provide more of a social and cultural nucleus than any real barrier to social movement. This is certainly true of the Westdale, York Street, James Street North, and Barton Street commercial areas where many neighborhood shops only serve the immediate adjacent area.

The parks and public open spaces of Hamilton are hardly large enough in most cases to form significant barriers to population movements, except where they are in addition to prominent physical barriers, such as the aforementioned Chedoke Valley, Coote's Paradise, Niagara Escarpment, and Red Hill Creek

However, the Chedoke Golf Club, Victoria Park, Cage Park, and possibly Scott Park are large enough to form distinct land use breaks that could disrupt social patterns.

Of the institutions only McMaster University, the Ontario Hospital on the Mountain, and possibly Prince Philip School in West Hamilton, have large enough grounds ^{provide} to barriers.

Thus, an examination of non-residential land use is valuable in that it clearly indicates where distinct cultural units may be expected to arise due to isolation, such as the small residential pockets surrounded by industry in the north. This map also gives some idea where cultural boundaries may occur due to the increased difficulty in maintaining social connections across large areas of non-residential land.

AGE OF BUILDINGS

A map of urban growth was included in the general background chapter and should be referred to again at this point.

The age of buildings is considered relevant as it provides a readily available, although approximate, criterion of environmental conditions. This criterion of age must be applied with care, however, as it does not allow for differences in the maintenance of buildings, and the quality

of construction in these areas. In addition, continuing urban growth allows an almost infinite pattern of age of building boundaries depending upon the selected years.

Thus, the boundaries shown on the urban growth map are not to be considered hard and fast, but only to indicate in general the location of relatively older and newer districts.

From the map the original core of the city, centred on the intersection of King Street and James Street, is clearly discernable. In fact, in 1847, most of the city's buildings were along exactly these two streets.

By 1900, the city had expanded almost equally to the east and west of the original city site. Development was halted abruptly for a time, by the Chedoke Valley in the west, but expansion to the east continued, especially along Barton Street and Main Street, the major arteries before 1900. Commercial buildings also extended north along Wentworth Street to the harbour. It is in this older area, constructed before 1900, that most of the slums and problem areas of the city are found.

The next 14 years were "boom" years for Hamilton, and expansion previous to World War I was exceptionally rapid. This growth, however, was almost exclusively to the east. Some limited expansion did occur to the west of the Chedoke Valley along King Street, to the south of Aberdeen Avenue, and on the Mountain along Concession Street. There was also some residential expansion to the north.

By 1939, expansion had reached as far east as Strathern Avenue, and as far south as Fennel Avenue on the Mountain. Most of the "Beach" was also built up, as was much of West Hamilton.

The 1957 boundaries clearly indicate that the city has experienced a tremendous post-war "building-boom". The greatest amount of this recent growth has taken place in the East-End and on the Mountain, but some "filling-out" has occurred in West Hamilton as well. It is apparently toward the east^{and} south that future expansion is expected to continue, as Hamilton has recently expropriated large amounts of land in these directions.

CONDITION OF HOUSES

A more valuable and valid criterion of environment is provided by the Condition of Houses Map (No. 7), which is a product not only of age, but maintenance and type of building in addition. This map is a simplified modification of the 1958 Urban Renewal condition of property study. (See Appendix I for methodology and classification).

The results of the study showed that over 75% of the buildings in the city are in a sound state, being in the excellent and good categories, while less than 25% are in immediate need of repair, rehabilitation, or redevelopment. This is possibly not so much a reflection of better housing standards in Hamilton as it is a product of the tremendous

post-war "boom". Most of these suburban houses receive an automatic excellent rating due to their recent construction.

The most conspicuous areas of "excellent housing" are newer sections, such as Westdale, the area south-east of the Delta, and most of the Mountain area. The large area of recent construction north of Main Street and east of Kenilworth Avenue only received a "good" rating due to the large number of pre-fabricated wartime houses in the district. Some of the older areas in the "excellent" category are the Aberdeen District, the Sherman Avenue South area, and a small area between King Street and Main Street east of the Delta. It might be hypothesized that these areas of excellent housing would attract a relatively more prosperous class of people, and that they might develop their own cultural unity.

Much the same could be argued for the areas of substandard housing in the "poor to fair" category. In these concentrations of substandard housing, people of a lower economic class might tend to gather together in poverty. These areas are not only found in the older sections of the city where they might be expected, but also along railways and near industry in some of the newer areas.

The major concentrations of "fair to poor" housing occur in the northern part of the "North End", the north-west York Street area, an area along part of the T.H. & B.

Railway, an area to the east of Ferguson Avenue, the Sherman-Barton district, an area along the Gage Avenue railway, and several pockets along and north of the C.N.R. line. The small area of poor housing on the Mountain is largely the result of old buildings and overcrowded conditions, while on the Beach Strip it is significant to notice that the poorer housing is on the polluted western side next to the harbour.

The remaining 30% of the buildings are classified as "good" and are spread throughout the city. They include older houses in good repair and the more economical newer homes of modest dimensions. Most of the houses in this category, however, were constructed prior to World War I, and consequently occur in the older sections of the city.

This area of "good" housing is largely a transitional zone between areas of excellent and substandard conditions. Consequently, the condition-of-houses boundary can hardly be expected to coincide exactly with the boundaries of neighborhoods or even cultural areas.

DWELLING UNIT DENSITY

Map No. 8 shows the density of Hamilton's dwelling units in 1959 and has been included not only to indicate population density, but also to illustrate the validity of the sampling system used to plot ethnicity and social stratification. (See Appendix II)

The City Assessment Department figures for 1957* show the total number of dwelling units as 64,023. Of this total, 51,838 (81%) were detached houses; 7,204 (11%) were apartment suites; 2,905 (5%) were apartments with commercial premises; and 2,078 (3%) were duplex suites.

This map also indicates where neighborhoods or cultural units may be more intense, due to a concentration and proximity of dwelling units. Conversely, where the dwelling units are more scattered, cultural units might tend to be more spread out, larger in area, and possibly more loosely knit together.

The density of population, however, is not directly represented by the density of dwelling units, as certain ethnic and religious groups have larger families than the Hamilton average, while some of the younger couples in the newer surveys tend to have fewer children.

The low number of dwelling units in the downtown area attests to the sparse permanent population of the Central Business District. The dense population clusters to the south and west of this relatively empty area are housed in rooming houses and apartments, which are common in the area. The remainder of the city has a more even distribution of dwelling units, with the pattern becoming more dispersed in

* 1957 figures were used in order to correspond with the older city boundaries used in this report, previous to the annexations of Barton and Saltfleet Townships.

the newer suburbs.

ETHNIC GROUPS

Ethnicity was included in this study, as it is usually considered normal for people of like culture and nationality to live in close proximity. Thus, ethnicity might be the basis for the formulation of distinct cultural units, within which these groups maintain their own cultural traits and customs. (See Appendix III)

Hamilton with its demand for labourers has attracted immigrants from many countries. (See Table No. 1)

Table No. 1

Source - 1951 Census of Canada

Population of Hamilton by Origin

<u>Origin</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
British Isles	140,745	67.56
Italian	9,111	4.41
Polish	8,217	3.94
French-Canadian	6,771	3.25
Ukranian	6,301	3.02
German	5,481	2.63
Netherlands	2,637	1.22
Jewish	2,395	1.15
Scandinavian	1,389	0.66
Russian	1,035	0.49
Other Europeans	11,148	5.35
Asiatic	<u>1,435</u>	<u>0.71</u>
Total	203,321	100.00

Even in 1951 there were a large number of immigrants in Hamilton, and these ranks have swelled since. These later immigrants were attracted not only by the promise of jobs, but also by the cosmopolitan nature of Hamilton itself. Some of the larger groups such as the Italians, Polish, Germans, and Ukrainians might be expected to form themselves into distinct areas, possibly neighborhoods.

The Selected Ethnic Groups Map (No. 9) shows the more significant aspects of several of the larger ethnic groups. The concentration of ethnic peoples from Sherman Avenue to Ottawa Street shows up quite distinctly. Ethnic concentrations are also quite high in many of the isolated residential pockets north of the C.N.R. tracks, in the North End, James Street North area and in the area north of York Street. On the other hand, very few ethnic cases occur in Westdale, and in the Queen Street-Aberdeen Avenue area. These are almost exclusively Anglo-Saxon areas. On the Mountain Anglo-Saxon are still prominent, but there are also a large number of ethnic peoples.

Of the major ethnic groups, only the Italians, Polish, and Ukrainian groups stand out, with the Baltic and German people showing some minor concentrations. The smaller ethnic groups do not show any significant concentration, possibly as there are not enough cases to show on a five percent random sample.

Hamilton had only 5,000 Italians at the start of World War II. Since the end of the war, however, an estimated 18,000 Italians have arrived in Hamilton to swell the earlier communities. It is the poorer Southern and rural Italians that have dominated this immigration picture with over 75% of the total.

The Italians settled in the northern parts of the city not only to be near their labouring jobs, but also for protection from the alien city which, in the early days, discriminated against them. As can be observed, discrimination of this sort has fallen before the avalanche of immigration and the power of the dollar.

It is always easier for a newcomer to live among people of his own culture and language. For this reason, many of the Italian immigrants go directly to the Italian communities where they are more likely to receive friendship and sympathy.

The Italians have their own churches; St. Anthony's in the Sherman Avenue area, and All-Souls in the James Street North district. There are also many Italian social clubs, two Italian movie houses, and many small banks, stores, and restaurants which advertise, "Qui si parla Italiano".

Many of the second generation and newlyweds, however, are moving out from the old centres, especially into areas east of the Delta (the intersection of King Street and Main Street), and onto the Mountain. Most couples are in

search of better homes outside the older areas, and a better environment for their children, even if it means sacrificing many social amenities for the parents. The fact that the Italians can move freely into the newer middle class areas shows the folly of the old myth stating that ethnic groups in present-day Hamilton are discriminated against, and are forced to live in "ghettos". The fact is that economic rather than social barriers prevent Italians and other ethnics from living where they please. In addition, many of the newcomers and the older generation do not wish to move away from the comfortable cultural amenities and social contacts established in the older neighborhoods. Thus the Italians are not forced to live together, but choose to live together.

As a group, the Italians are not assimilated into Canadian life as fast as most other ethnic peoples, and often show very little desire for such assimilation. This study shows (Maps No. 14 and 15) that the Italians have a greater number and variety of their own social institutions than any other ethnic group.

It is, therefore, important to consider people of Italian descent when formulating distinct cultural areas. Even many of the upper class, or professional Italians, have their homes as well as their offices in the ethnic community itself, possibly indicating that ethnicity often outpulls

class differences among the Italians.

The only other ethnic group which exhibits a major concentration is the Polish. The most significant grouping is found to the north and west of Scott Park. There are also Polish concentrations between King Street and Main Street, just west of the Delta, and two lesser concentrations south of Main Street and east of Cage Park.

Unlike the Italians, who live in the "fair to poor" and "good" houses, the Polish usually live in better housing areas (good to very good). The most intense concentrations, however, are in the poorer districts. As with many of the Italians, the more prosperous the Polish, the further away from the poorer districts they live. They may maintain some ties with the old ethnic neighborhoods, but they live in a higher class district. Thus, it is the lower class Polish people and recent immigrants that live in the ethnic community, while the more prosperous use their increased wealth as a social lubricant to aid mobility.

The ethnic awareness of Polish people in all walks of life is, nevertheless, very intense and gives rise to the many Polish social institutions found along Barton Street. Closer inspection of these institutions reveals that they are presently located to the west of the major Polish concentration, indicating that a migration has taken place, with the Polish community being gradually displaced to the east by the more numerous Italians. The more permanent

Polish institutions, such as the church, have remained in the original neighborhood setting in the Barton Street-Sherman Avenue district, while the centre of Polish population has migrated slightly east. Further evidence of this displacement is given by the recent construction of a new Polish Church between Barton Street and Cannon Street, just west of Strathearn Avenue.

Thus, we see that the two largest ethnic groups in the city have segregated themselves into concentrations with their own institutions. One might therefore tentatively conclude that ethnicity spawns cultural units if the group is large enough.

An exception to this general tendency is provided by the Germans. Germans appear almost everywhere, with no single large concentration anywhere. There are very few German institutions, and even these are scattered. Two German churches (German Baptist and Luthern) are in Westdale, and a third on Cumberland Avenue, while the Germania Club is located on King Street East. Thus, it appears that the Germans are integrated into North American culture very quickly. Possibly the Germans, who are from an industrial country, can adjust to our technical society more easily, and have less difficulty learning English. Due to their technical training, in addition, they usually qualify for more highly skilled and better paying jobs, and thus more quickly acquire wealth and social mobility.

The heaviest concentrations, if any German concentration in Hamilton can be called heavy, are on either side of Wentworth Street south of Barton, and along Dundurn Street north of Aberdeen. The Germans are also found in conjunction with the Polish in several areas, forming many German-Polish pockets.

As mentioned in Appendix III, however, the method of surname analysis does not allow for accurate differentiation of Germans from German-Jews. This fact may account not only for some of the German-Polish pockets (united by an over-riding common religion), but also for the small but highly concentrated ethnic pocket in West Hamilton, west of Highway #102. But, even including these suspected Jewish areas, however, the Germans are less ethnically orientated than any other large national group of non-English speaking immigrants.

The Ukrainians are mainly concentrated between Main Street and Cannon Street, south-east of Scott Park. Small minor concentrations are also found to the west of Kenilworth Avenue along Main Street, and north of the Italian community in the North End.

Although the major Ukrainian concentration is south-east of Scott Park, their greatest number of ethnic institutions are on Barton Street east of Sherman Avenue. Near this intersection are located two Ukrainian Orthodox Churches

and numerous other Ukrainian institutions. This indicates an eastward displacement of the people from their original area, probably again due to pressure from the rapidly growing Italian community.. The fact that the new Ukrainian centre is on Parkdale Avenue also shows the increasing tendency for the Ukrainians to move east, rather than to the Mountain or West End.

The only other group large enough of form itself into any kind of ethnic concentration comprises the Baltic peoples. Of the combined Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian groups, only two areas of above average concentration stand out. The larger grouping is located just south of Main Street between Wellington Street and Gage Avenue, while a second area is located between Queen Street and Bay Street from King Street to Aberdeen Avenue. The larger area does support its own church, but there are very few other institutions, possibly indicating that, the group is not intense enough, or large enough, to support a wider range of ethnic institutions.

Like the Germans, the French-Canadians are found almost everywhere, except in Westdale and other upper class areas, The French-Canadians integrate quite well, as most who migrate to Hamilton in search of jobs are usually bi-lingual.

Of the Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, Dutch, and Russian peoples, no particular concentration stands out that would indicate a cultural unit, although a Russian and a Hungarian

Church are located in the city.

Other small, but certainly aware, groups that have not been recorded separately are the Armenians, Croatians, and Serbians. These people have their own churches, community centres, and social institutions, which tend to exaggerate the size of the groups involved. These areas (between Cage Avenue and Ottawa Street along the C.N.R. tracks) do stand out as areas where mixed ethnic groups predominate.

Although there are many ethnic groups represented on the Mountain, none have their own institutions there, possibly indicating weaker ethnic connections, and more intense class consciousness. Apparently when they move onto the Mountain, people seem to leave their ethnicity behind. Thus, while ethnicity is a strong force in lower class areas below the escarpment, it has little value as a unifying factor above it.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Social stratification is considered relevant as different socio-economic classes tend to live together, create particular habits, and form certain attitudes. The generalized Blishen classification of occupation and education gives a realistic criterion of status that can be used to divide the people into categories of predominantly upper, middle, and lower class, (See Appendix IV)

The outstanding feature of the Social Stratification Map (No. 11) is the predominance of lower and lower-

ble below the escarpment, and middle and
 as people on the Mountain. The areas of
 upper and upper-middle classes are mainly in Westdale,
 along Aberdeen Avenue, and along the "Mountain Brow".

Hamilton is predominantly a city of wage earners and
 labourers and consequently has a heavy lower and lower-
 middle class structure. (See Table No. 2)

Table No. 2

Source - 1951 Census of Canada

Employment Structure of Hamilton

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
Managerial	5,975	651	6,626	7
Professional	4,704	2,647	7,351	8
Clerical	5,855	7,466	13,421	14
Manufacturing	25,257	6,912	32,169	34
Construction	12,727	837	13,564	14
Transportation	4,656	28	4,684	5
Service	<u>8,544</u>	<u>7,472</u>	<u>16,016</u>	<u>18</u>
Total	68,845	26,280	95,125	100

The lower class areas, mostly in the north, are usually
 areas blighted by heavy transport, older buildings, and
 commercial and industrial encroachment. These are often
 areas of substandard or poorer housing. These are predominantly
 Italian areas, as the Italians have the lowest class ratings
 of any group in the city. These lower class areas, however,
 are largely ethnic districts even where Italians do not
 predominate.

The lower-middle class areas are in the North End, along the T.H. & B. railway, and in much of the east end of the city, with large sections on the Mountain. The North End is characterized by older homes that have deteriorated, as has much of the area south of Concession Street on the Mountain. The Upper Wentworth Street-Mohawk Road area, however, is a district of newer homes, but of cheaper construction. The large area of lower-middle class people in the east end is a district characterized by wartime housing.

The middle class areas below the escarpment usually contain "good housing", while the newer areas above it are often classified as "excellent" housing districts.

In the areas north of Aberdeen Avenue, middle class families reside in larger old houses which have been divided into apartments. In Westdale, it is the older area of smaller houses blighted by the T.H. & B. tracks that is a middle class district.

The upper-middle class are found in an area east of the Delta south of Main Street, in an area from Gage Avenue to Victoria Avenue south of King Street, in the Dundurn Street-Aberdeen Avenue district, in parts of Westdale and West Hamilton, and in an area along the Mountain Brow. These are largely areas of "excellent" housing, except for the area west of Gage Park, which is only classified as "good" housing. However, in this latter district, the houses are both large and well maintained.

The upper class areas are in north-west Westdale, the Bay Street-Aberdeen Avenue district, and along the Mountain Brow. These are areas of predominantly professional people, living in "excellent" houses.

The Central Business district has not been classified, as not enough people of any class live there. Many of those that do live in the Central Business District are transients, and as such could not be recorded in this study.

Thus, a study of the social stratification of Hamilton reveals that the lower and lower-middle class areas, largely composed of industrial labourers, are in the "poorer" housing districts of the north. On the other hand, the white collar workers are usually found in the middle and lower-middle class areas. The greatest proportion of professional men are in Westdale, and the Aberdeen Avenue-Bay Street areas.

It was also found that members of the upper classes are mainly Anglo-Saxon, while the lowest are normally composed of members of non-English speaking groups, especially the Italians.

Thus, the study of social stratification indicates the presence of distinct areas of socio-economic similarity, which may provide the basis for cultural areas.

CULTURAL AREAS

Map No. 12 superimposes the three main criteria for determining cultural areas, (i.e. Condition of Housing, Ethnic Concentration, and Social Stratification). Where the boundary lines coincide, they enclose cultural units. Where the boundary lines overlap, they indicate areas of conflicting influences. This may occur, for example, where class consciousness overcomes ethnicity in a fringe area. By referring to the other indices, such as the density of dwelling units, and the various barriers to social movement, it is possible to divide the city into cultural units. It is significant that the most distinct areas are geographically isolated.

It was found in comparing the various indices that the condition of housing boundary coincided closely with social stratification boundary, but that ethnic concentrations frequently crossed boundaries of both class and of condition of housing. Ethnicity was only an important unifying force in the lower class areas.

The areas where boundary lines do not coincide exactly, but overlap in indecisive patterns, may mean either

1. that these are fringe areas of contrasting cultural units or
2. that two distinct groups are united by an additional factor.

For example, the Polish people around Scott Park live in

close proximity to each other, but in addition stratify themselves into their respective class areas. The boundaries, therefore, appear to outline conflicting cultural areas, one based on ethnicity, and another according to social class. It is obvious, however, that although ethnicity is a strong factor, class consciousness is usually a more powerful uniting force.

By combining the seven indices previously discussed in this chapter, Hamilton divides itself into the 46 cultural areas found on Map No. 13. Some of the more geographically isolated cultural areas will obviously bear a resemblance to corresponding census tracts and planning districts, however, great differences do appear in the more populated central sections of the city. (See Appendix V for map of Census Tracts and Proposed Districts)

With neither the ethnic or social stratification criterion available until now, the city was formerly divided into arbitrary administrative and planning units with too much weight given to political boundaries, and the street pattern. The fact is that most of the homogeneous population clusters pay very little attention to the communication pattern, or to the census tracts.

For too long planning and population sampling districts have been suspiciously regular, and geometrically neat, when they actually should have been realistically irregular and culturally meaningful.

CHAPTER III DESCRIPTION OF CULTURAL AREAS

In this chapter each of the 46 cultural areas already determined will be briefly analysed and described. The major unifying characteristics of these areas will be also mentioned whenever they exist. The location of each of cultural areas can be found by referring to Map No. 13. Local or pre-existing names have been used whenever possible, but for the most of these newly established areas, new names have had to be coined.

The cultural areas fall into 6 main districts; West Hamilton; the Old City Centre; the Older Central and Southern Fringes; the Northern Areas; East Hamilton; and the Mountain.

SECTION A - WEST HAMILTON

This section west of the Chedoke Valley includes cultural areas 1, 2, 3, and 4. Most of the homes here have been constructed since World War I, resulting in a newer and better planned residential area. West Hamilton is also the cultural focus of the city.

No. 1 - Gaza Strip

This is an isolated area of "excellent" housing to the west of McMaster University. The area is an exclusive upper class residential district predominantly of Jewish people. Heavy transportation routes, such as Main Street (Highway

9) and Highway # 102, only further isolate this "cultural island" from the rest of West Hamilton.

No. 2 - Ainslie Wood

An "excellent" residential area of newly constructed homes and apartment buildings. The residents of this area are predominantly of the upper-middle class. Anglo-Saxons predominate, although members of various ethnic groups are numerous close to the escarpment. This area has been largely united by social class, and differs from the residential areas to the east in both age and condition of housing.

No. 3 - Emerson

An area of cheaper and slightly older houses that are only classified as "good". The T.H. & E. Railway, which runs through the middle of this district, has a slight blighting effect and additionally hinders the area from becoming a first-class residential area . Consequently, this area has the lowest socio-economic rating in West Hamilton, with most of its residents belonging to the middle class.

No. 4 - Westdale

A larger cultural area consisting of predominantly "excellent" housing. The area does consist of two social classes (an upper class area to the west, and an upper-middle class area to the east along the valley), but can be considered as a single cultural area on all other counts.

Westdale originated as a planned community, with its own centrally located commercial core called "The Village". This human factor, plus the isolating effect of the surrounding terrain, largely accounts for the distinctness of the area today. Although predominantly Anglo-Saxon, there is a small Jewish section south of Main Street.

SECTION B - THE OLD CITY

This section includes most of the city surrounding the Central Business District that was built previous to 1900. Included are cultural areas 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, and 16. As might be expected, this zone of older houses in transition contains most of the blighted sections of the city. Over-crowding and sub-standard housing conditions are common everywhere.

No. 5 - York

Situated immediately north of the Central Business District, the York Street district presents a complex pattern. Not only is there a zone of transition next to the Central Business District, but unattractive industrial buildings have long since added to the general decline of this area. Most of the eastern section of this area is officially zoned for industry, which only further encourages the deterioration of the area, and apathy of the residents.

In the western half, especially along York Street,

unattractive commercial ribbon development and commercial overzoning has much the same blighting effect as industry further east. Heavy traffic along York Street only adds noise and confusion to an already bad situation.

This area is not only united by overcrowding, substandard housing conditions, and general blight, but by social, economic, and ethnic reasons as well. Italians predominate in this area, which has one of the lowest socio-economic ratings in the city. Thus, the York Street cultural area is one largely united by negative factors, such as poverty and blight.

No. 6 - Locke

The Locke Street area is also an area of substandard housing, mostly in the "poor" category. It is the T.H. & B. Railway open cut through the middle of the district that has caused the general decline. The heavy and unattractive industries in the Chedoke Valley immediately to the west, however, are a further detriment to the residential status of this area. In addition, most of the cheaply constructed working men's houses here are now at least sixty years old, resulting in a general unattractiveness due to shabby and deteriorating dwellings. The area is predominantly a low class district, but a small middle class area does exist in the south-west.

No. 7 - Stanley

This area can in many ways be considered as a transi

-tion area between the blighted Locke Street district to the north, and the better upper class areas to the south of Aberdeen Avenue.

Cultural area No. 7 consists mainly of "good" housing, with its residents belonging either to the middle or upper-middle class. A further unifying factor is that a slight German ethnic concentration exists in this area.

No. 8 - Old South West

Although located in one of the older sections of the city, this area still contains mostly "good" quality housing. Pockets of dilapidated housing, however, can be found adjacent to the T.H. & B. Railway tunnel, where the noise and rumbling from the subway have a slight blighting effect. Largely due to the desirability of constructing upon the elevated Lake Iroquois sand bar, this area was formerly an elite residential area. The larger and more substantially constructed homes have easily withstood the ravages of time, and are still classified as "good", or even "excellent" today.

The fact that the T.H. & B. Railway cuts across the area has probably protected the southern section from being encroached upon, and consequently blighted, by the Central Business District. In addition, no major traffic arteries cross the southern two-thirds of this elevated region, which only enhances its desirability as a residential district.

The residents of this area, however, are no longer of the upper class, but belong predominantly to the lower-middle class, giving rise to the high incidence of converted multi-unit dwellings and apartment buildings in the area. This results in an extremely high dwelling unit density, with some of the most extensive site coverage in Hamilton found in this area. Consequently, lack of open space and off-street parking are the major problems of this area.

Although the "Old South West" area is predominantly Anglo-Saxon, there is a heavier than normal concentration of Baltic peoples located here.

No. 11 - Bayside

Bayside is a low class area of substandard housing along the harbour to the north. Although the houses here are less than sixty years old, the area has been largely blighted by the heavy traffic that uses Bay Street and Burlington Street. This area has also been adversely affected by the official zoning of most of this district for industrial use. Although Anglo-Saxons predominate, there is a concentration of lower class Ukranian peoples in this northern section of "poor" housing,

No. 12 - James Italian

This cultural area includes the district on both sides of the C.N.R. tracks in which Italians of the lower-middle class predominate. This is largely an area of "good"

housing, except in the south, where a blighted zone of transition exists due to the expanding commercial and wholesale activities of the Central Business District. The area is also traversed by James Street and John Street, two heavily used major traffic arteries.

Although the old row houses with their small front and rear yards leave much to be desired, the area is well served with good shopping, educational, social, and church facilities. The lack of industrial encroachment here, further enhances the residential quality of the area.

The area differs from the non-Italian substandard housing to the north, and from the lower class Italian district to the west. The Ferguson Avenue railway and industry to the east, and the Central Business District to the south further delineate the extent of this cultural area.

The C.N.R. tracks, which cut through the centre of this area, are not as disruptive to the social and cultural unity of the district as was originally thought. The fact that there are numerous street-level bridges over these tracks probably accounts for their inefficiency as a social barrier.

No. 13 - Trackside

This area to the south of the Central Business District has been blighted by the late-arriving T.H. & B. Railway. Elevated tracks and railyards have transformed

this former area of good quality housing into a rapidly declining district of deteriorating homes. The residents of this area are now predominantly of the lower and lower-middle classes. The small pockets of industry along the tracks to the south have a further blighting effect upon the area. The section to the south-west of the tracks was formerly a stable residential neighborhood, known locally as "Corktown". The coming of the T.H. & B. Railroad, however, certainly lessened the residential desirability of the area, with the result that many of the original Irish residents soon migrated from the rapidly deteriorating district.

No. 15 - Landsdale

This is predominantly an area of substandard housing east of the railway yard and industry along Ferguson Avenue. Older houses and overcrowded conditions help to make Landsdale a lower class area of high population density. Barton Street, Cannon Street, and Wellington Street carry heavy traffic across the area, while heavy commercial ribbon development along Barton Street adds a further blighting effect. Very little open or recreational space exists in this area.

Area No. 15 is united culturally by the lower social and economic status of the residents, and by the substandard housing conditions which predominate in it.

No. 16 - Wentworth South

This area includes a large portion of older housing still classified as "good". The residents here belong predominantly to the middle and lower-middle classes. The area has been adversely affected by the commercial ribbon developments and heavy traffic along Main Street and King Street, which traverse the district. The T.H. & B. Railway and industrial zoning in the south only help to make this a declining district.

SECTION C - THE OLDER CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AREAS

These are the districts constructed largely prior to World War I. Therefore, housing in these areas is more recent than in the old districts of Section B, but is still over 40 years old in most cases. Included in this category are cultural areas 9, 10, 18, 19, 22, 23, and 25.

No. 9 - Undermount

This is a purely residential area of better homes in the "good" and "excellent" category. The residents of the area belong to the middle and upper-middle classes. These good quality homes, tucked under the escarpment on the elevated debris slopes of sand, are far removed from most of the blighting effects to the north. Only the relatively minor traffic flow along Aberdeen Avenue to the north even slightly affects this upper-middle class area adversely.

No. 10 - Aberdeen East

This area is much the same as No. 9, except that the housing is entirely rated "excellent", and the residents are predominantly of the upper class. This older district of large well-maintained homes is the only upper class area found in the older parts of the city today.

No. 18 - Little Italy

This area along Barton Street, largely to the west of Sherman Avenue is predominantly an Italian residential district. The houses range from "poor" to only "good" at best. Most dwellings are single family houses packed in fairly close together. Barton Street, which cuts through the middle of this district, is not only a major transportation artery, but has extensive commercial development along both sides. This extensive ribbon of commercial development, coupled with industrial encroachment, has seriously blighted this area. Consequently, large numbers of lower class Italian immigrants have moved into this declining area. Although much of the housing is marginal or even substandard, the social, cultural, and shopping facilities are more than adequate.

No. 19 - Mapleside

This is an area south of Main Street and west of Gage Park. The housing of the district is mostly in the "good" category, with small pockets receiving an "excellent" rating. The residents here are of the upper-middle class.

Although predominantly an area of Anglo-Saxons, there is a slight concentration of Baltic peoples. The heavy commercial ribbon along Main Street to the north, and the official industrial zoning of much of the southern part along the railway, is adversely affecting this area, and is causing a general decline.

No. 22 - Little Poland

This area to the north and west of Scott Park is predominantly a Polish district. In fact it is ethnicity that is the major unifying characteristic of this cultural area, as it was with the Italian district further west. To the north of Scott Park, it is the lower class Polish people that predominate, while south of Cannon Street the middle class Polish people are found.

The housing of the district is of good quality, and is classified everywhere as "good". In spite of industrial encroachment in the north, and heavy commercial development along Barton Street to the north and King Street to the south, there are no blighted areas of substandard conditions here yet.

No. 23 - West Dunsmuir

This area includes the heavily populated section west of the Delta, and consists largely of better quality housing in the "good" and "excellent" category. In spite of the fact that three main arteries (Main Street to the south, King Street, and Gage Avenue) and the Gage Avenue cross-

town railway all pass through this area, the substantially constructed homes are well maintained and blighting is hardly the factor here that it is in other areas of heavy transportation. The residents of this area are of the middle and upper-middle socio-economic classes, even though a high proportion of them are members of ethnic groups as well. Although there are numerous ethnic groups represented in this area, it is the Polish and Ukrainian peoples that predominate. The small triangle of lower class people immediately west of the intersection of King Street and Main Street can be attributed to the "working-class" apartments recently constructed here.

No. 25 - Campbell

Unlike area No. 23, a large part of cultural area No. 25 has been blighted by the Gage Avenue crosstown railway connection. The location of industry along this part of the tracks partially explains the increased blighting effect in this area. Industry to the north of Barton Street and heavy commercial ribbon development along Barton Street, Cannon Street, and Ottawa Street, certainly add to the blighting effect of the railway. The heavy traffic using Barton, Cannon, and Ottawa Streets only further detracts from the residential desirability of the Campbell area.

The houses here are mostly in the "good" category, but there is a large section of "poor", or substandard housing, along the railway in the west. The residents belong predominantly to the lower class. Although members of various

ethnic groups are found here, it is the lower class Anglo-Saxon labourers that predominate, except for a heavy mixed ethnic concentration in the north.

SECTION D - THE NORTHERN DISTRICTS

The northern cultural areas are those which have been profoundly influenced and affected by industry along the harbour. Included in this area north of Barton Street are cultural areas 14, 17, 20, 21, 24, 33, and 37. Except for area No. 37 (the Beach Strip), these small blighted residential pockets are in the process of being swallowed up by industry. It is in these transition zones, surrounded by offensive heavy industry, that some of the worst living conditions in the city exist.

No. 14 - Wentworth North

This is a large area of blighted and substandard housing surrounded on all sides by industry. Along with the heavily used Burlington Street truck route, Wentworth Street, and the northern extension of the T.H. & B. Railway also cut across this area. The fact that this entire residential area has been zoned industrial, only adds to the apathy. The residents are predominantly lower class industrial labourers, with a concentration of Italians in the extreme northern section.

No. 17 - Gerhard

This is a similar, but smaller, isolated pocket of blighted lower and lower-middle class labourers' homes.

Totally surrounded by industry, and traversed by the railway, this predominantly Italian district has also been zoned for industry.

No. 20 - Bright Side

The Bright Side area, largely to the north of the railway and Burlington Street, is almost identical to area No. 17. Similar in size, this area is also surrounded by heavy industry including the Steel Company of Canada Ltd. to the north. Most of the homes here are more recent, being constructed between the wars, and consequently have not deteriorated as badly as in the older northern districts previously described. The residents of the Bright Side cultural area are predominantly Italian and belong largely to the lower-middle class.

No. 21 - West Beach

An older area of houses constructed prior to World War I, the West Beach area is a blighted residential pocket, surrounded and blighted by heavy industry. In addition, the area is ringed on three sides by railways, and is traversed by Beach Road and Cage Avenue, both heavily used traffic arteries. Like the previously described areas, this residential pocket has also been officially zoned for industry.

The residents of this area are predominantly of the lower labouring class, but unlike other northern areas, very few Italians live here. Instead, the West Beach area is largely one where ethnic members of many various groups

predominate. The area also serves as a cultural centre for Serbian, Slovenian, and Croatian peoples. This area also differs from the other northern pockets in that it has its own shopping, cultural, and social facilities.

No. 24 - East Beach

As this area is further to the east, it is an area of post World War I construction. Consequently, even though it is surrounded by industry on three sides, it is still classified as an area of "good" housing. It is significant that a large part of this area, south of Beach Road, has not been zoned for further industrial expansion. However, the area is adversely affected by the railways to the north and south, and the Beach Road traffic artery which traverses it. The undesirability of the area is partially reflected by the fact that it is almost totally inhabited by members of the lower socio-economic class. On the other hand, the area is commercially well served by the Greater Hamilton Shopping Centre, which is located to the south of it just across the C.N.R. tracks.

No. 33 - Batesboro

This larger residential area is of post World War II construction, and consequently is classified as "good" housing with some small areas even being rated as "excellent". However, the area is surrounded by industry to the north and west, and industrially zoned vacant land to the south and east. Like area No. 24, this district has not yet been

blighted by factory encroachment, largely due to its recent construction, and consequently still remains residentially zoned. In spite of the recent construction, however, these are more modestly priced "budget homes", and remain the residences of lower class families. As future industry builds on land completely surrounding this residential "island", the area will probably decline rapidly.

No. 37 - The Beach Strip

The quality of housing along the Beach Strip varies from ^{one} extreme to the other, but mainly consists of converted summer cottages in the "fair" to "poor" category. The fact that this narrow strip of sand is traversed by a main arterial road, a railway, and the Burlington Skyway, has a blighting effect on this area. There is the noise of fast-moving cars and heavily-laden trucks ascending the inclines on the Skyway, and the old road (Highway #20) is still extensively used by trucks. The location of the Beach Strip directly downwind from the great steel works on the harbour has a further blighting effect upon this area.

The Beach has been considered a cultural unit largely due to these common blighting effects, rather than for any special recreational advantages. This declining area of predominantly lower-middle class people is also unified by its very remoteness and isolation from the rest of the city.

SECTION E - EAST HAMILTON

The east end of the city consists mostly of recently constructed homes in both the "good" and "excellent" category. Nowhere is there any "poor" housing, but some cheaper and wartime homes do exist north of Main Street. The easternmost areas have been largely constructed since the end of World War II, but are mainly middle and lower-middle class areas. There are no upper class areas in the entire east end. Included in this section are cultural areas 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, and 36.

NO. 26 - Dunsdale

This area consists largely of "good" housing built prior to World War II. The residents are predominantly of the middle class. The area is traversed by Main Street, Ottawa Street, and Kenilworth Avenue, which are all major traffic arteries. The heavy traffic and the commercial development along these thoroughfares has a slight blighting effect, resulting in the fact that this area is slowly declining.

No. 27 - Gageside

This is an area of "excellent" housing to the east of Gage Park which contains a high proportion of Polish residents. As no major traffic arteries pass through this area, except for King Street in the north-east, and the area borders on a large Park, the Gageside area has become a more desirable residential district. Consequently, it is

the upper-middle class residents that predominate here. In the extreme south of this area, however, next to the T.H. & B. Railway, there is a small district of middle and lower-middle class peoples.

No. 28 - Kingside

The Kingside area contains mostly "excellent" housing and extends on both sides of King Street. There is also a slight concentration of Ukrainian peoples in this area. The fact that the heavily-travelled King Street artery, with its commercial development, cuts through here, has a slight blighting effect upon the district. Consequently, the residents belong predominantly to the middle class. As with area No. 27, the railway to the south further deteriorates this area of "excellent" housing, so that a band of lower-middle class people can be found living next to the tracks.

No. 29 - Strathearn

This larger area to the north consists of only "good" housing in spite of its recent construction. This gives some indication of the large numbers of economy and wartime houses that are located in the area. In addition to cheap housing, the area also suffers from industrial encroachment from the north, and the commercial development along Barton Street. Thus, the residents of the area are predominantly members of the lower-middle class.

No. 30 - Bartonville

This small totally residential area between King Street and Main Street consists entirely of very recent housing in the "excellent" category. Thus, the residents of the Bartonville area are predominantly members of the upper-middle class. There is also a slight concentration of Polish people in this area,

No. 31 - Lawrenceville

This area along Lawrence and Cochrane Roads contains some of the less desirable housing in the south-east section of the city. The housing in much of this area is only classified as "good", while in the immediately surrounding districts it is "excellent". This area has been blighted by the heavy traffic using King Street in the north, and the T.H. & B. Railway which cuts across this area. The industry located along these tracks and King Street in the north, further deteriorate the residential atmosphere of this area. Consequently, the residents of this area are predominantly residents of the lower-middle socio-economic class.

No. 32 - Rosedale

This small residential area south of the T.H. & B. Railway tracks, consists almost entirely of recently constructed housing of the "excellent" category. The lack of blighting factors here, unlike area No. 31, makes this a more desirable residential area in which to live. Thus, the residents here are largely members of the

middle class.

No. 34 - McQuosten

This area to the west of the Red Hill Creek, was built on the old grounds of the Hamilton airport. Most of the housing is of the cheaper variety, and is only classified as "good", although there are some "excellent" areas to the east. The residents here, are predominantly of the lower-middle class, due to the small size and mediocre quality of the houses. Unfortunately, this area is located near the site for a future traffic circle linking the proposed East-West and Red Hill Expressways.

No. 35 - Glenviewdale

This is an area of predominantly "excellent" housing, located between Main Street and the T.H. & B. Railway. The northern part of this area is occupied by lower-middle class residents, while the residents of the better quality houses to the south are of the middle and upper-middle classes.

No. 36 - Cornsenville

This is the only large area of housing to the east of the Red Hill Creek, within the city of Hamilton. Consisting of recently constructed "economy" type homes, the residents are predominantly of the lower-middle class. The remoteness of this area means that it is without many of the services and facilities available to the older areas further west.

SECTION F - THE MOUNTAIN

Except for the older area along Concession Street, the Mountain consists largely of recently constructed homes, mostly in the "excellent" category. The Mountain is predominantly a middle and lower-middle class area, although there are some upper class areas along the brow. Predominantly an Anglo-Saxon area of single family dwellings, there are many members of almost all ethnic groups represented as well, although no particular ethnic concentrations have formed. Included in this section are cultural areas 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, and 46.

No. 38 - Westcliffe

This area consists of post World War II houses in the "excellent" category. Limited by the escarpment in the north and the extensive Ontario Hospital grounds to the east, this area is somewhat of an isolated residential pocket. The good quality housing and the availability of open space, enhances the residential character of the area, even though there is an almost complete lack of services and facilities, except for schools. The residents of this area are predominantly Anglo-Saxons, and are mostly members of the middle class.

No. 39 - Mohawk Bend

Also of recent construction, this area consists of smaller and cheaper houses of the "economy" type. Consequently, the residents of this small area to the south

are predominantly members of the lower class. It should be noted that this marginal area is the only lower class district on the Mountain, and therefore has been considered a separate cultural area despite its small size.

No. 40 - Centremont

Largely constructed prior to the Second World War, the Centremont area consists of predominantly "excellent" houses near the Mountain Brow. Although there are some older patches of "poor" housing, the area is largely an upper-middle class district of better homes, especially immediately adjacent to the brow itself. The Upper James Street major traffic artery, and the commercial strip development along it, does traverse this area, which largely accounts for the less desirable nature of some of the houses adjacent to it.

No. 41 - Upper James

This area further south from the brow consists largely of post World War II housing, except for a small area north of Fennel Avenue. This older section is only classified as "good", while the remainder of the area is in the "excellent" category. The Upper James Street, and Upper Wellington Street major traffic arteries both traverse this area and have a slight local blighting effect. In these newer areas, however, commercial ribbon developments have given way to the shopping sub-centre, which not only localizes commercial development, but also provides off street parking, much to the benefit of the surrounding residential

district. The residents of this area are predominantly members of the middle class.

No. 42 - The Brow

This small area north of Concession Street was constructed prior to the First World War, although some apartment buildings have been erected since then. Even though this district is immediately north of the heavily used and heavily commercialized Concession Street traffic artery, and is only classified as "good" housing, it is still predominantly an area of upper class residents. It is the commanding view of the city, more than any other single factor, that attracts these upper class people to this otherwise unattractive residential area.

No. 43 - Queensdale

This area to the south of Concession Street consists of smaller and older houses that were constructed previous to 1939,. Most of these houses are classified as "good" and "excellent" except for a couple of older blighted areas along Concession Street. The houses are constructed quite close together here, and since there is no scenic advantage in living south of Concession Street, this has become predominantly a lower-middle class district.

No. 44 - Linden Park

Similar to area No. 43, this is also a lower-middle class area further to the south. Although of recent construction, the houses in this area are small and cheap.

Many of these housing developments are only rated as "good" from the start. In addition, the area is poorly serviced with commercial, social, and cultural facilities, emphasizing the remoteness of the district even more.

No. 45 - Eastcliffe

This area adjacent to the Brow consists exclusively of recently constructed good quality housing of the "excellent" category. Although the Concession Street-Mountain Boulevard traffic artery does pass to the north, this area is still an upper-middle and upper class residential district. Again, it is the scenic advantages combined with the Mountain Brow parkway that lends prestige to the area.

No. 46 - Huntington Park

This area extends to the south of area No. 45, and maintains the same high standard of housing. The Huntington Park area, however, does not have the scenic advantages or prestige of the brow district, consequently its residents belong predominantly to the middle class. This area is also effectively cut off from the brow district by a large expanse of vacant land. As with many of the Mountain areas, this newer survey also suffers social and cultural handicaps.

CHAPTER IV NEIGHBORHOODS

The problem now is to determine which of these cultural areas are neighborhoods, and which are not. A neighborhood, as indicated previously, is defined as "a cultural area, the members of which meet on a common ground within their own area for primary social activities, and for organized and spontaneous social contacts". Having discovered cultural areas which satisfy the first part of the definition, it is now necessary to find out which ones, if any, actually possess the attributes of "neighborliness", the second criterion.

It was decided that the chief test of neighborliness in this report, would be the extent and concentration of social activities within each of the cultural areas. Therefore, the additional indices required are those which reflect the presence of such activities within the area. These additional indices are the location of

1. Churches (Map No. 14)
2. Clubs, Halls, Community Centres, and various other social, cultural, and recreational facilities (Map No. 15)
3. Public Schools and Parks (Map No. 16)

If these selected outward manifestations of social contact are concentrated within a cultural unit, then the area is thought to be a socially integrated neighborhood.

Public Schools and Parks, however, should not be given much weight as their spacing tends to be a reflection of population density, rather than social integration. For much the same reason, neighborhood shops (which include grocery, drug, and hardware stores) were omitted from the list. Although schools and shops are important neighborhood facilities, they are more the product of supply and demand than a manifestation of social integration.

Industry was also excluded from the list as nowadays the place of work is no longer a part of the urban neighborhood. The separation of industry and home is usually regarded as desirable although there is little doubt that neighborhood integration has been weakened as a result.

A quick examination of the social facilities located on maps 15, 16, and 17 shows which areas are socially integrated neighborhoods, and which are neighborhoods in name only.

The main faiths of the city are Anglican, United, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Baptist in that order (See Appendix VI for 1951 Church Membership).

Almost all parts of the city are within easy reach of some church, although the older and more central areas have both a greater number and a greater variety of churches. Some of the newer areas, however, do lack religious facilities within easy walking distance, an

important consideration for children attending Sunday School or one of the many youth organizations that commonly utilize church basements. This condition applies to the Ainslie Wood cultural area in Westdale, the Cormanville section east of Red Hill Creek, and the Eastcliffe, Westcliffe, and Huntington Park cultural areas on the Mountain.

Most of the ethnic churches are located in the Sherman Avenue-Barton Street district, where they serve the largest ethnic concentrations in the city.

There are two concentrations of Italian churches, corresponding to the major Italian cultural areas of the city. The Italians from southern Italy, around James Street North, are predominantly Roman Catholics (although a United Church for the Italians is also in this area), while the more industrial Italians from northern Italy, around Sherman Avenue North, support not only the Catholic, but the Presbyterian faith as well.

It is significant that there are no ethnic churches on the Mountain, despite the fact that many ethnic groups live there. This is possibly an indication that ethnic people who move to the Mountain are social climbers of a type and tend to leave their ethnicity behind.

The Polish, Ukrainian, Hungarian, German, Baltic, and Serbian groups of the city also support their own churches.

The missions, naturally enough, correspond to the major poverty and lower class areas of the city, especially north of the Central Business District.

When the clubs, halls, and community centres are observed, a similar pattern emerges. Certain areas are well endowed, while others are largely barren of such social amenities. Thus, the James Street North district has a full compliment of Italian clubs, while the Sherman Avenue-Barton Street area has a heavy concentration of ethnic facilities.

There is also a Croatian, Serbian, and Slovenian social centre, which is just north of the C.N.R. tracks east of Gage Avenue North. This is the same district in which a Serbian church was located. The fact that the ethnic sample did not allow for Serbians, Croatians, Slovenians, or even Yugoslavian peoples, probably accounts for the fact that this area did not show up as a distinct ethnic concentration, although it did show up as a predominantly mixed ethnic area. The fact that the new Serbian Centre is nearby, just to the east of the Shopping Centre, not only indicates the probable direction of migration for this small ethnic group as industry crowds it out, but also the perserverance of the group in Hamilton.

Similarly, the fact that the Ukrainians are moving east, is indicated by the new Ukrainian Centre at Barton Street and Parkdale Avenue.

The one social club for the Germans is centrally located centrally on King Street near Sherman Avenue, indicating not only the great dispersal of the Germans, but their lack of maintaining ethnic connections.

Further support for the hypothesis that people leave their ethnicity behind when they move to the Mountain, is the fact that there are no ethnic social facilities above the escarpment, despite the large numbers of ethnic peoples living there. Though, for that matter, there are few social facilities of any kind on the Mountain.

Although the new suburbs have very few social facilities, the upper class areas have none. Thus, areas such as Westdale, the Aberdeen Avenue district, and the Mountain Brow are completely void of social amenities. Whether this state of affairs is actually desired, due to lack of interest, or the adverse product of strictly enforced zoning laws, is still an open question.

The major concentration of social facilities is found in the Central Business District. The facilities here are usually city-wide as there are too few people living near by to maintain them.

This would seem to indicate two cities: An older more social-centre, and the new more mobile suburbs, where social integration is much less intense.

A quick perusal of other miscellaneous facilities shows the same pattern. The older sections of the city

have the greater number of almost every facility, be it beverage rooms, theatres, or even the more socially acceptable bowling alleys.

The location of beverage rooms is especially interesting. The fact that the majority are found in the lower class areas does not necessarily mean that lower class people drink more, but only that they drink more beer outside their homes. Probably overcrowded and dingy conditions at home force them to entertain and socialize in other places.

The concentration of more exclusive drinking facilities in the Central Business District, however, confirms the fact that the middle and upper classes of Hamilton do patronize beverage rooms and night clubs, as these are more expensive surroundings that the lower classes of the area could hardly support.

The only beverage room in Westdale is located off-centre to cater to the students and transient trade, rather than rounding out the facilities in the otherwise well-planned central "Village".

One other relevant point is that there is not a single social drinking outlet on the Mountain. At first, it appeared that the escarpment was coincident with the abstaining boundary, but a closer examination showed the presence of thriving liquor retail outlets on the Mountain. Thus, people on the Mountain obviously drink, but they do not

drink together in public places, possibly an indication that people are more socially "reserved" in the newer suburbs. Apparently, the only time they ever see each other on a neighborhood basis is in the more puritanical pursuits of attending church and P.T.A. meetings, while they apparently confine their drinking and other "less respectable" recreations to their homes, or downtown.

Theatres also show the same unequal pattern of distribution. One is located in Westdale, one on the Mountain, and the other fifteen in the older sections of the city. The Italians, as part of their full compliment of social facilities, have two theatres of their own.

Bowling alleys have been included as they not only represent socially acceptable year-round recreational facilities, but they are also rapidly becoming actual neighborhood meeting places. Even so, only three of these "more respectable" recreational facilities are located on the Mountain, one on the fringe of Westdale, and the remainder in the older sections of the city.

As for the location and number of parks and schools, however, the newer areas, if they are not too remote, are more fortunate. The suburbs not only have the newer and better schools, but the overcrowded conditions existing in many of the older areas are not a problem here.

In addition, the parks in these newer areas are more numerous and better spaced, while even the houses themselves have larger grounds, especially in Westdale

and on the Mountain. But for more organized recreation and special facilities, such as year-round swimming pools, children from the newer suburbs have to travel many miles into the city.

Each of the cultural units were examined for the variety, number, and concentration of the facilities listed above. The resulting map (No. 17) shows which areas have a more complete compliment of community facilities and social amenities. to classify as socially integrated neighborhoods.

It must be remembered, however, that the importance and rank of institutional facilities is not based on an accepted standard, but that it is derived from a comparison between the different cultural areas of Hamilton. Therefore, even the neighborhoods which are most adequately serviced, in relation to the others, might be found to be ill-provided by another yardstick. Moreover, only the quantity and variety of institutions are considered, but not their size and quality. Neighborhoods which have most of the essential services may not necessarily have the best of each of these.

The cultural areas which contained the greatest variety of institutional equipment, and showed the outward manifestations of primary social contacts, were thought to be socially integrated stable areas, and were classified as neighborhoods. There were ten cultural areas which met these requirements and qualified as neighborhoods.

These are mostly located in the older sections of the city and included the cultural areas of York (No. 5), James Italian (No. 12), Trackside (No. 13), Wentworth South (No. 16), Little Italy (No. 18), West Beach (No. 21), Little Poland (No. 22), East Beach (No. 24), Campbell (No. 25), and Dunsdale (No. 26).

CHAPTER V CONCLUSIONS

If nothing else, this thesis raises the difference between cultural areas and neighborhoods, providing a clearer definition of terms than than has existed in the past.

In addition, it is felt that the study, and discovery of cultural areas can provide a concrete base on which to build a realistic future planning programme. These cultural areas will not only give more useful sampling areas, but provide a culturally homogeneous setting in which to locate commonly desired amenities.

When these cultural areas are examined for institutional and social equipment, a definite pattern emerges. The greatest concentration and variety of social activity, excluding the Central Business District, occurs in the older and poorer areas of the city. Thus, it is the newer residential suburbs that are the most heavily taxed, but it is often the lower class residents of the blighted areas that enjoy the greatest variety of institutional and social equipment. Consequently, it is in the lower and lower-middle class areas that socially integrated cultural areas, or neighborhoods are found.

The city, therefore, is split, and has a type of

dual personality. It has been designed and built for two different times and two seemingly different purposes. The old part of the city was designed primarily for the working class, with rows of cheap and small houses built quickly and close to the factories. The new part of the city is intended for the more mobile middle class, with more solid and substantial houses, not only farther apart, but farther from the place of work.

Thus the old part is crowded, an array of brick and wood with hardly any green patches. But it is still the place for the most essential urban activities: work, trade, transportation, administration, and entertainment. Its people are sociable. Here are the slums, and here also is the warmth of the city.

The new part is both spacious and barren, not designed to draw people together, but rather to divide them from each other. It is free from the noise and the smoke of the old city. The countryside has been allowed to infiltrate here. There are some open spaces and landscaped parks, but there are few other urban amenities apart from schools and the most necessary shops. The area is both disjointed and frigid.

Thus, Hamilton suffers from social fragmentation and an unequal distribution of amenities throughout the city. In the poorer areas of the city, which house the greater

variety and concentration of social institutions, stable neighborhoods are formed. While in the newer districts, only cultural areas exist, with only limited social integration in certain isolated areas, such as Westdale.

Unfortunately, most of the more closely knit neighborhoods are in the districts, with the worst living conditions. It is exactly these lower class areas that will be first to be re-built or re-habilitated under the urban renewal programme, and consequently will be subjected to disturbances and population shifts. These closely integrated neighborhoods would clearly suffer more during the process than those cultural areas which are only loosely held together. Hence, the degree of social integration of each priority area should be investigated closely so that it will not be destroyed, or "lost in the shuffle".

It appears then, that Hamilton has very few socially integrated neighborhoods. In fact, neighborhoods seem to be the exception rather than the rule.

The major neighborhood formulating factors in Hamilton are the age and stability of residential districts, ethnicity, socio-economic class poverty, and geographic isolation.

The fact that there are no highly integrated neighborhoods in the newer suburbs seems to indicate an incomplete approach when these areas were first planned.

Thus, more social and community facilities are needed when planning future suburbs, if they are to be more than just cultural areas. Possibly when this is understood, one of the most deplorable defects of the new suburban surveys, the niggardliness of their institutional equipment, can be eliminated. This "people first, facilities later" type of present day planning is hardly conducive to the formulation of stable and desirable neighborhoods.

However, the implications of this surveys of neighborhoods are clearly controversial. Neighborhood integration appears to be the exception, and to be associated with a combination of negative factors such as poverty, geographic isolation, and sharp ethnic and class boundaries. Since it now exists in the setting of poverty and social and ethnic inequalities, can it now grow as the result of alternative conditions? Only the experiment of planning can provide the answer.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX I

Method of Surveying the Age and External Condition of Buildings in the Urban Renewal Study (1958).

In the summer of 1957, enumerators were sent into the field to record the following information for each building;

1. Street Address
2. Height (no. of storeys)
3. Age
4. Use of each floor.
5. Converted or not.
6. Principal exterior material.
7. Presence or absence of basement.
8. Condition of building.
9. Condition of entourage of building.

The condition of each building was rated as (A) Excellent, (B) Good, or (C) Fair to Poor, by enumerators who had a general knowledge of construction. The results were then plotted on 1" = 300' maps.

The three major classifications are described as
(A) Excellent

This category includes buildings of recent construction, and also buildings in a state of good repair and maintenance, and with a long life expectancy.

(B) Good

This category includes older buildings, but with foundations and walls in only fair condition, or with evidence of repairs. Such buildings have a medium life expectancy.

(C) Fair to Poor

This category includes buildings in poor condition, and appearing to have a short life-expectancy.

Of a total of 55,763 buildings inspected:
48% were in very good and excellent condition.
30% were in good condition.
22% were in fair to poor condition.

APPENDIX II

The information regarding population density, ethnicity, and social stratification were derived from a master sample map produced during the summer and fall of 1961 from the 1960 Vernon's City Directory of Hamilton.

The map was the result of a 5% random sample of all dwelling units in Hamilton. Since there are approximately 65,000 dwelling units in Hamilton, this provided a little better than 3,000 cases.

The occupation, surname, and address of the head of the house was recorded on cards for each case, the material being gathered from the 1959-60 Vernon's City Directory.

An occupational rating number based on Blishen's classifications (Appendix IV), and an ethnic colour code based on surname analysis (Appendix III), were then recorded at the proper address on a base map of 1"=800'. Thus, the social classification, ethnicity, and address of each case was recorded on one master map for each individual case in the 5% random sample.

It was from these plotted cases that the density of dwelling unit map was produced, representing approximately one out of every twenty dwelling units in Hamilton.

APPENDIX III

The ethnic affiliation of each of the sample cases was determined by surname analysis. Admittedly, this is not the best method for judging ethnicity, but the weaknesses of the method were continually kept in mind. The sample has been constructed so that if any error does occur it will produce more Anglo-Saxons than ethnic cases. Any name that was questionable was grouped with the Anglo-Saxons, therefore, those ethnic cases that occur on the map definitely do exist. Thus, the map should show actual ethnic concentrations if they do exist, although possibly in a less intense form.

Mr. John Fliss, who is a Hamilton Justice of the Peace, and former European newspaper editor, did the initial sorting of cards into major ethnic groups. These results were then rechecked by a qualified ethnic leader from each of the major groups represented. Any names that were questionable were added to the non-ethnic pile or Anglo-Saxons. The net product is that Anglo-Saxons are over-represented, but there is complete agreement on the Ethnic members represented in each category.

Immigrants from the British Isles have not been differentiated due to the obvious difficulty of distinguishing British and Canadian names. In addition,

some of the groups were too small to record individually and have been collapsed. For example, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians have been grouped together as Baltics. Similarly, as with British Isles immigrants, the surname analysis technique can hardly be expected to differentiate Jewish people from German or other ethnic peoples.

It was felt that any group represented by less than 20 cases (approximately 100 families), would not be plotted on this map as they could hardly represent a cultural unit of any significant size. Thus, there are 146 ethnic members not recorded on this map, representing such minorities as Greek, Japanese, Chinese, Finnish, Armenian, Bulgarians, Romanians, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and other miscellaneous groups.

APPENDIX IV

Bernard Blishen's occupational hierarchy * was employed to indicate the prestige and social class rating of each test case according to occupation.

Blishen's method was chosen, as it is not only a Canadian classification, but is based on all the occupations listed in the 1951 Census of Canada. Basically what Mr. Blishen (University of British Columbia) has done is to take all the occupations listed in the 1951 Census, and weigh the amount of education required, in addition to the average income received based on the national average. In his classification, he has given 50% of the weight to education required, and the other 50% to the income received. This 50-50 method gives a per-centage hierarchy of social rating for all listed occupations, with Judges at the top of the prestige list with 90%, and Hunters and Trappers at the bottom with a mere 32.0 %. The complete list covers 343 occupations, and consequently has not been reproduced in this report, but can be referred to in Mr. Blishen's article.

* Bernard Blishen, The Construction and Use of an Occupational Scale, Canadian Journal of Political and Economic Science (Nov. 1958)

One change, however, has been made to Blishen's ratings. The occupational rating of all steelworkers in the city has been raised 0.2% in order to compensate for the fact that Hamilton steelworkers get paid a corresponding increase in wages over the national average. There is also increased prestige for a steelworker working in a steel producing city.

Blishen divides the 343 listed occupations into 7 classes, but it was felt that these divisions were rather detailed for this study. Consequently, Blishen's 7 categories were generalized into 3 main ones;

Upper Class (including Blishen's classes I and II) with a rating of 57.0 and up.

Middle Class (including Blishen's classes III, IV, V, and VI) 47.0 to 57.0.

Lower Class (including Blishen's class VII) with a rating of 47.0 or lower.

All random test cases were then plotted at their address on a second base map in a colour representing one of the above three classifications. From this, the areas of predominantly Upper, Upper-Middle, Middle, Lower-Middle, and Lower classes were differentiated, and formed the basis for the Social Stratification Map in this report.

APPENDIX VIChurch Membership of HamiltonSource - 1951 Census of Canada

Adventist	119
Baptist	10,529
Christian Science	406
Church of Christ	128
Church of England	52,215
Confucius and Buddhist	219
Evangelical	2,319
Greek Orthodox	3,544
Jewish	3,158
Lutheran	3,755
Mennonite	60
Mormon	280
Pentecostal	989
Presbyterian	25,791
Roman Catholic	47,866
Salvation Army	1,376
Ukrainian Catholic	3,159
United	48,339

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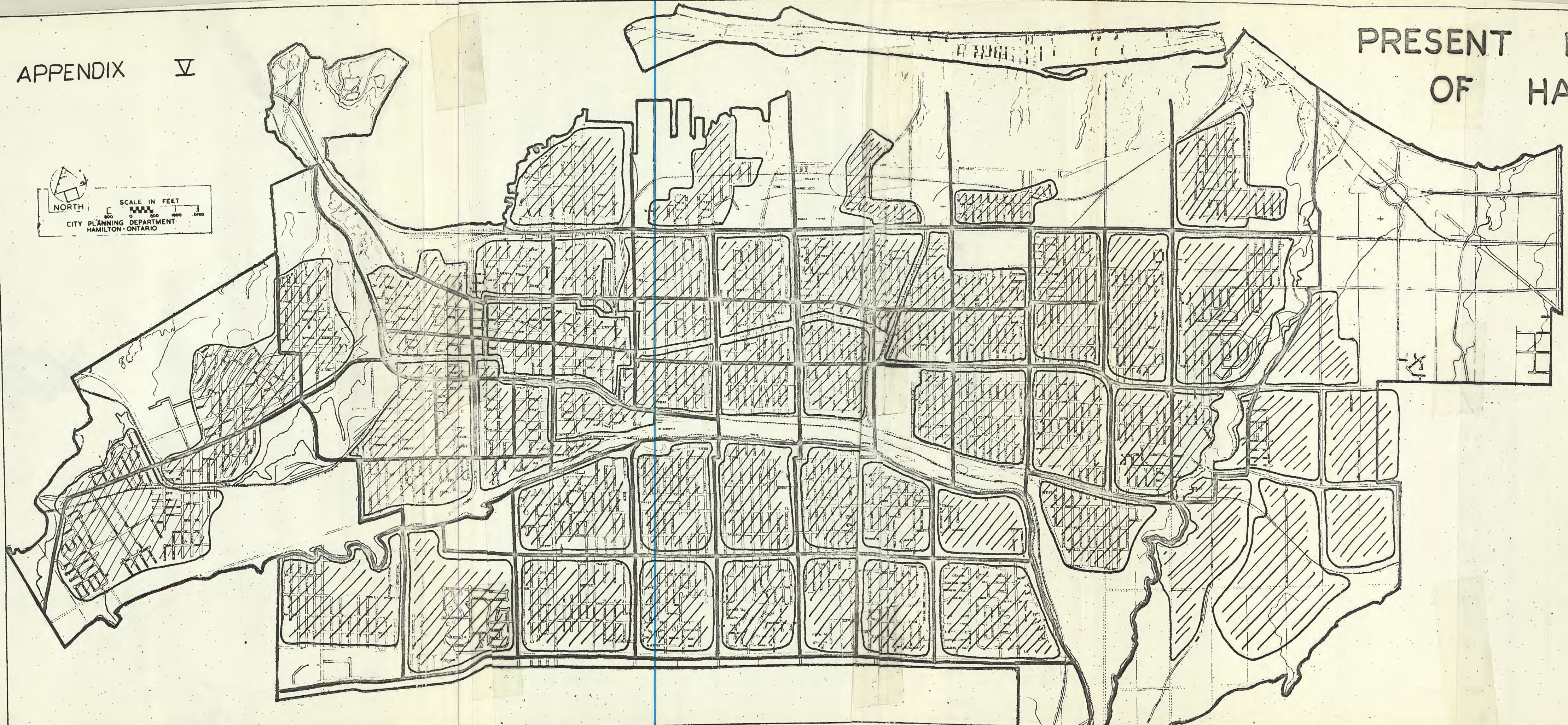
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Hamilton, 1946

PRESENT DIVISIONS OF HAMILTON

NORTH

SCALE IN FEET

CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT
HAMILTON - ONTARIO

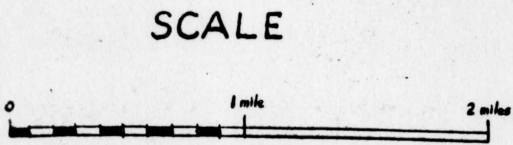


LEGEND

- CENSUS TRACT BOUNDARIES
- ▨ PROPOSED PLANNING DISTRICTS (1958 URBAN RENEWAL STUDY)

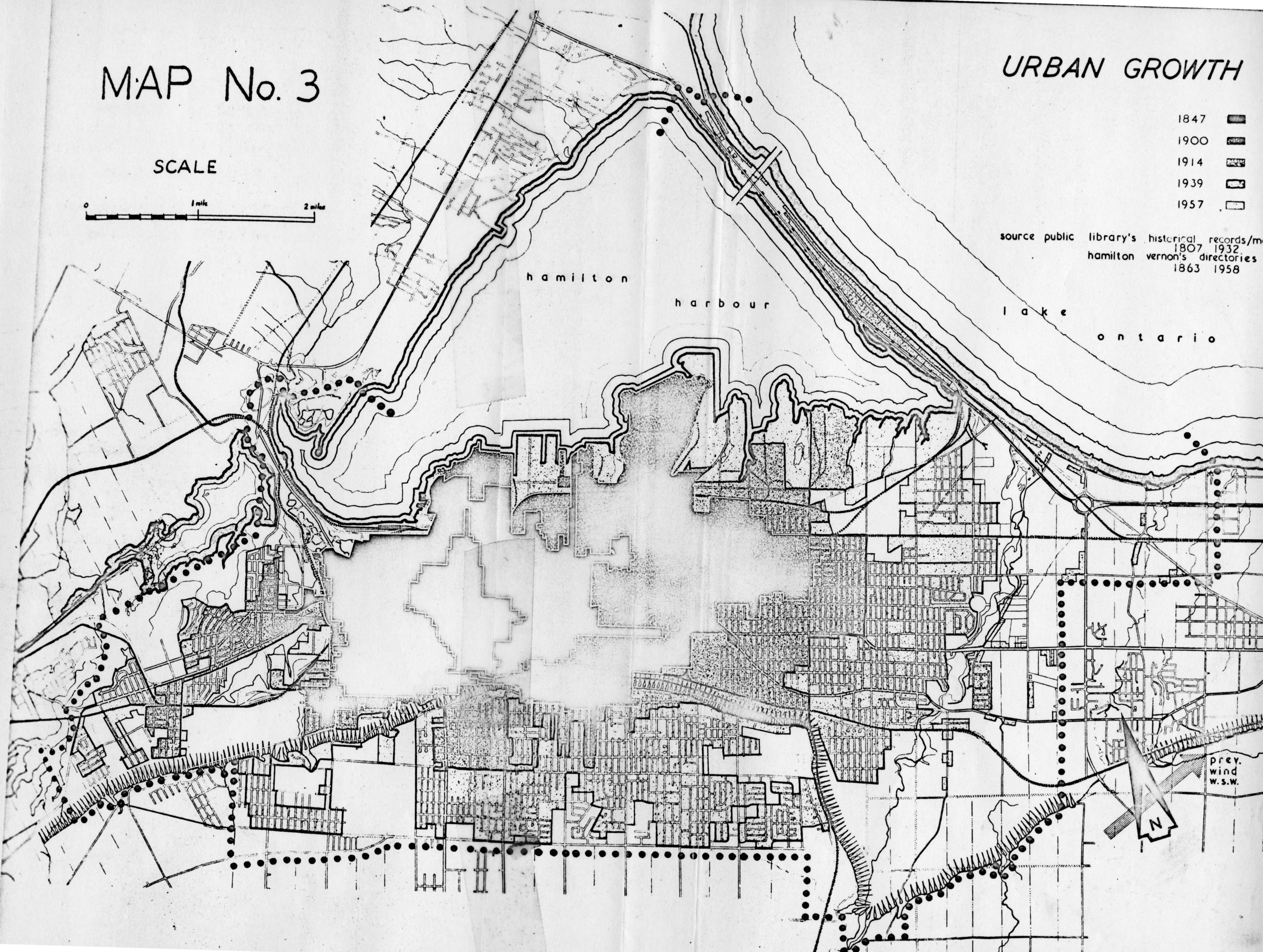
MAP No. 3

URBAN GROWTH



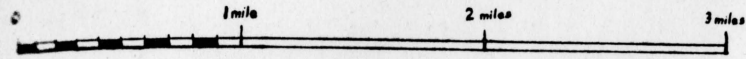
- 1847
- 1900
- 1914
- 1939
- 1957

source public library's historical records/maps
1807 1932
hamilton vernon's directories
1863 1958



MAP No. 4

SCALE



EXISTING LAND USE

condensed

public properties
(educational, governmental,
institutional, religious)



residential (within boundary)



commercial



industrial



public open space



vacant land



city boundary january 1958 ●●●

source — planning department survey 1957

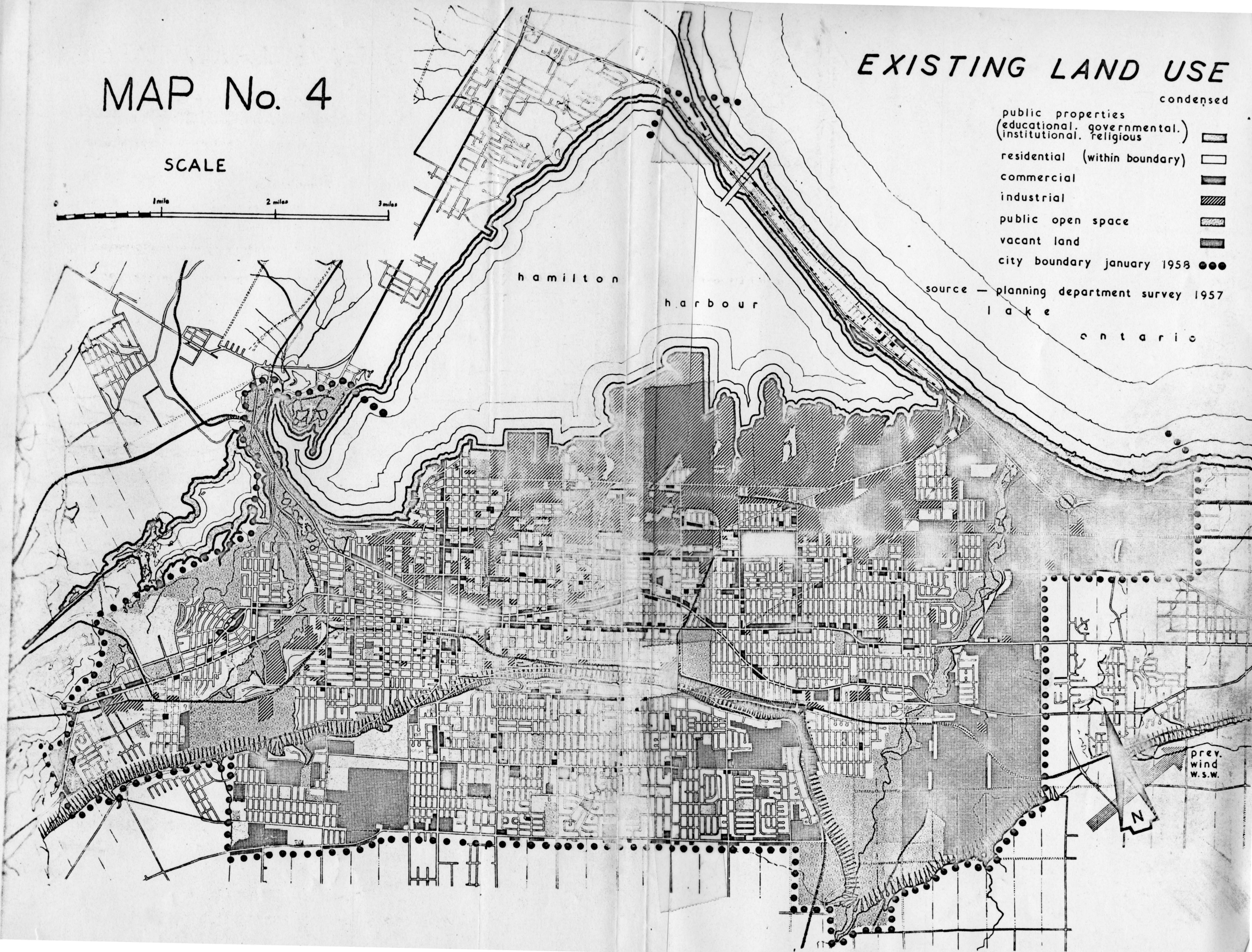
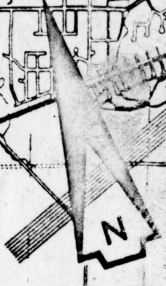
l a k e

e n t a r i o

h a m i l t o n

h a r b o u r

prev.
wind
w.s.w.



MAP No. 5

MAJOR TRANSPORTATION ARTERIES

NORTH

SCALE IN FEET

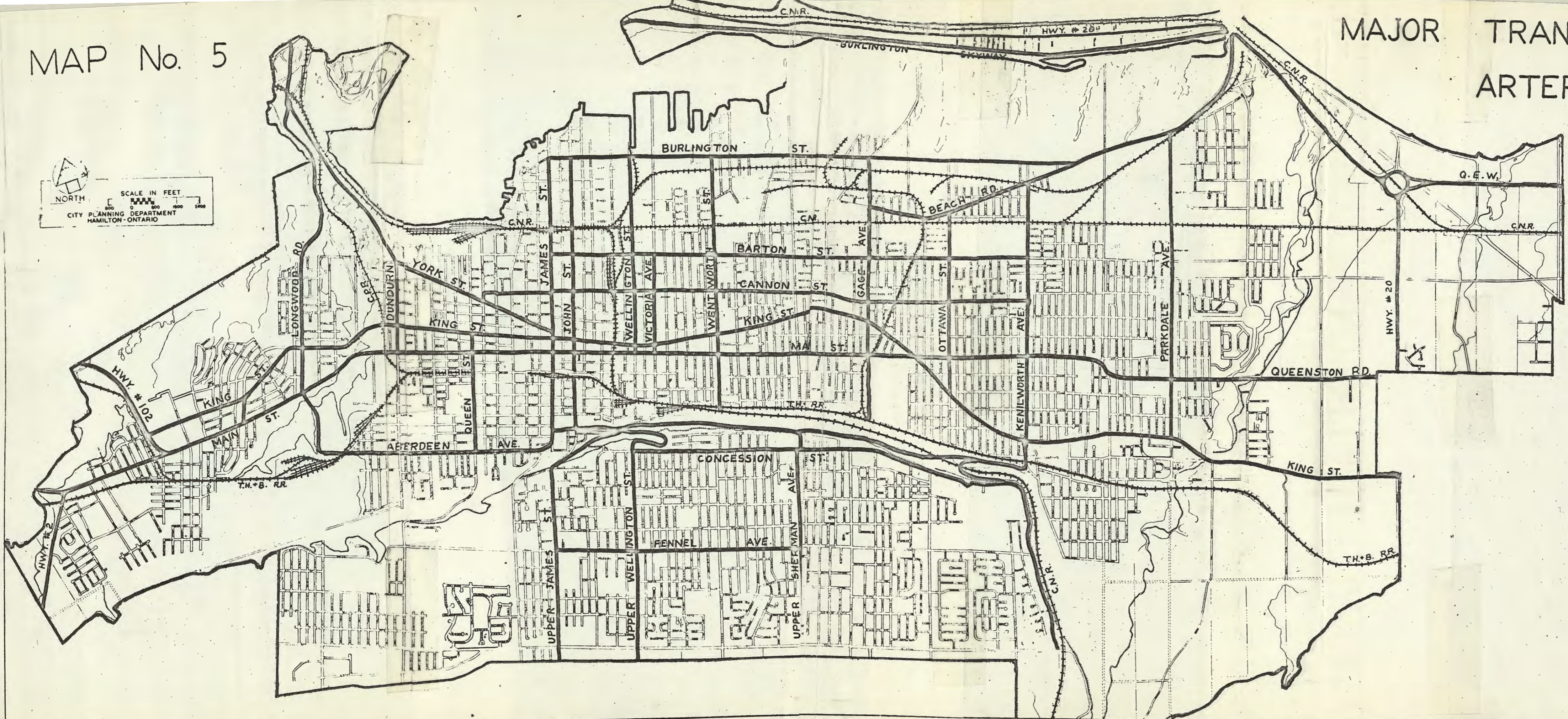
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CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT
HAMILTON - ONTARIO

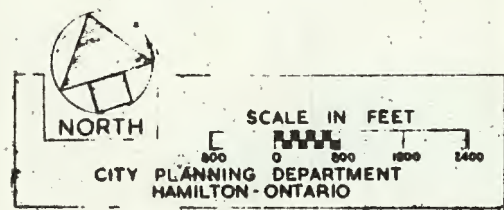
LEGEND

+++++ RAILWAYS

———— MAJOR ROADS
(OVER 10,000 VEHICLES
PER DAY)



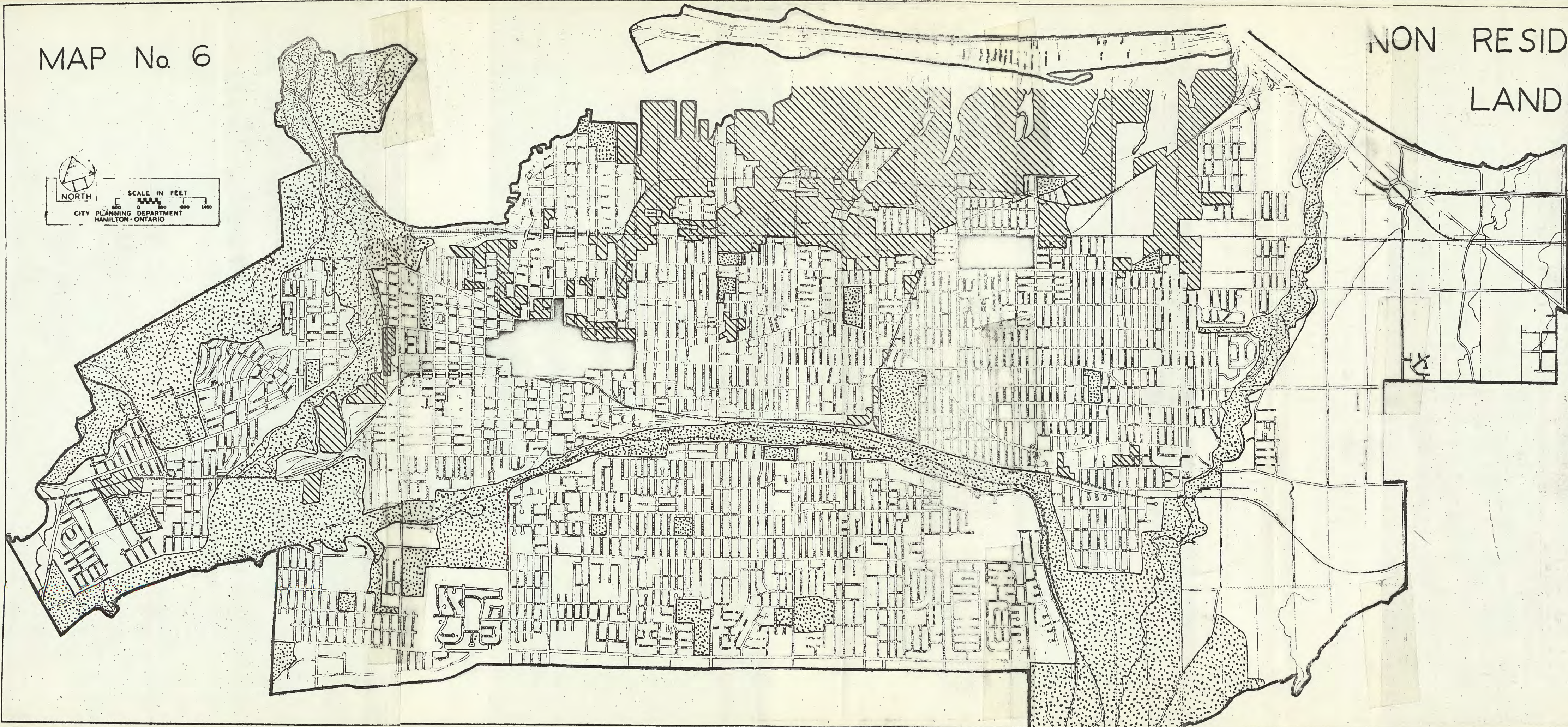
MAP No. 6



NON RESIDENTIAL LAND USE

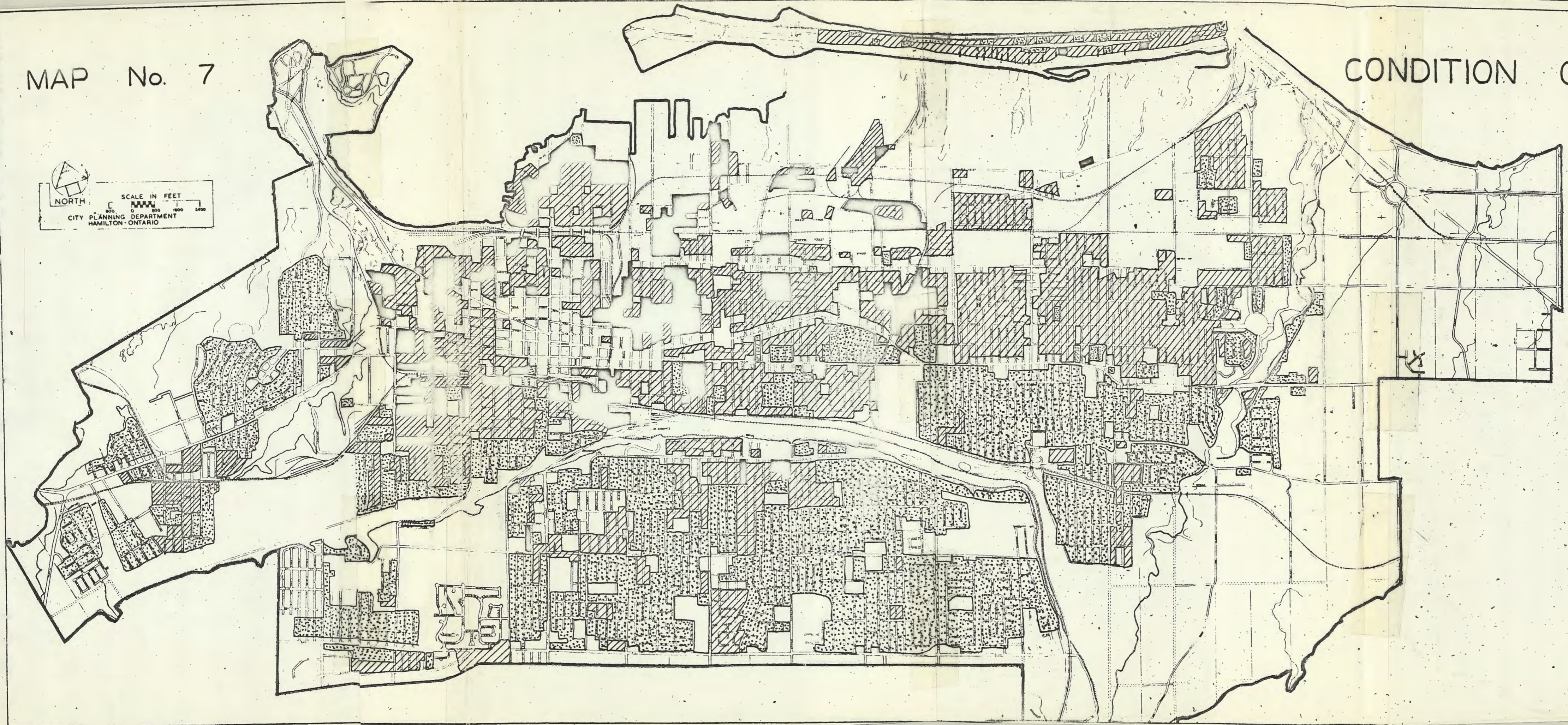
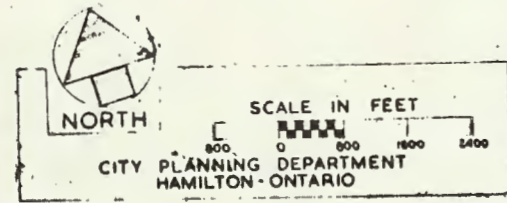
LEGEND

- MAJOR COMMERCIAL AREAS (NOT LOCAL)
- MAJOR INDUSTRIAL AREAS
- MAJOR AREAS OF PUBLIC OPEN SPACE, OR INSTITUTIONS



MAP No. 7

CONDITION OF HOUSES



LEGEND

- POOR TO FAIR
- GOOD
- EXCELLENT

MAP No. 8

DENSITY OF DWELLING UNITS

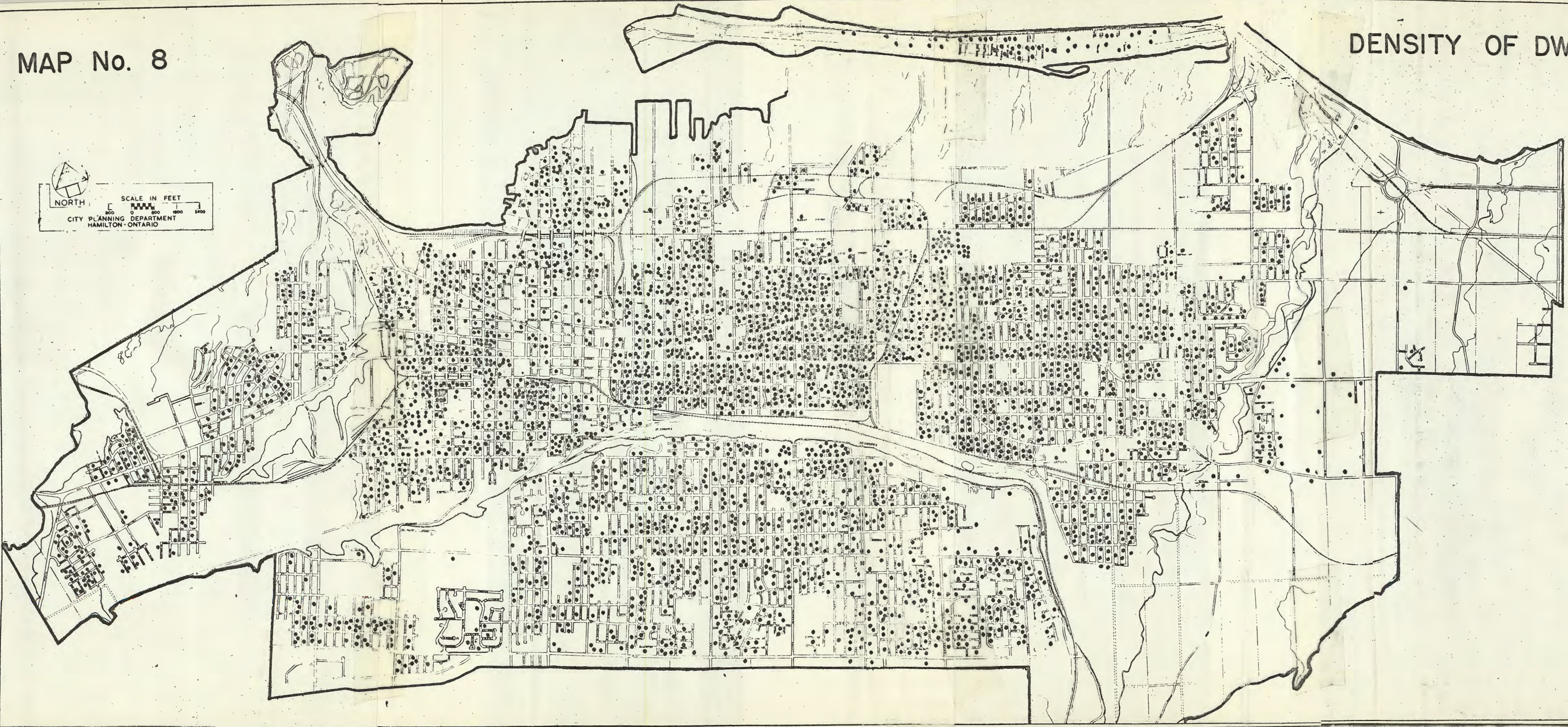
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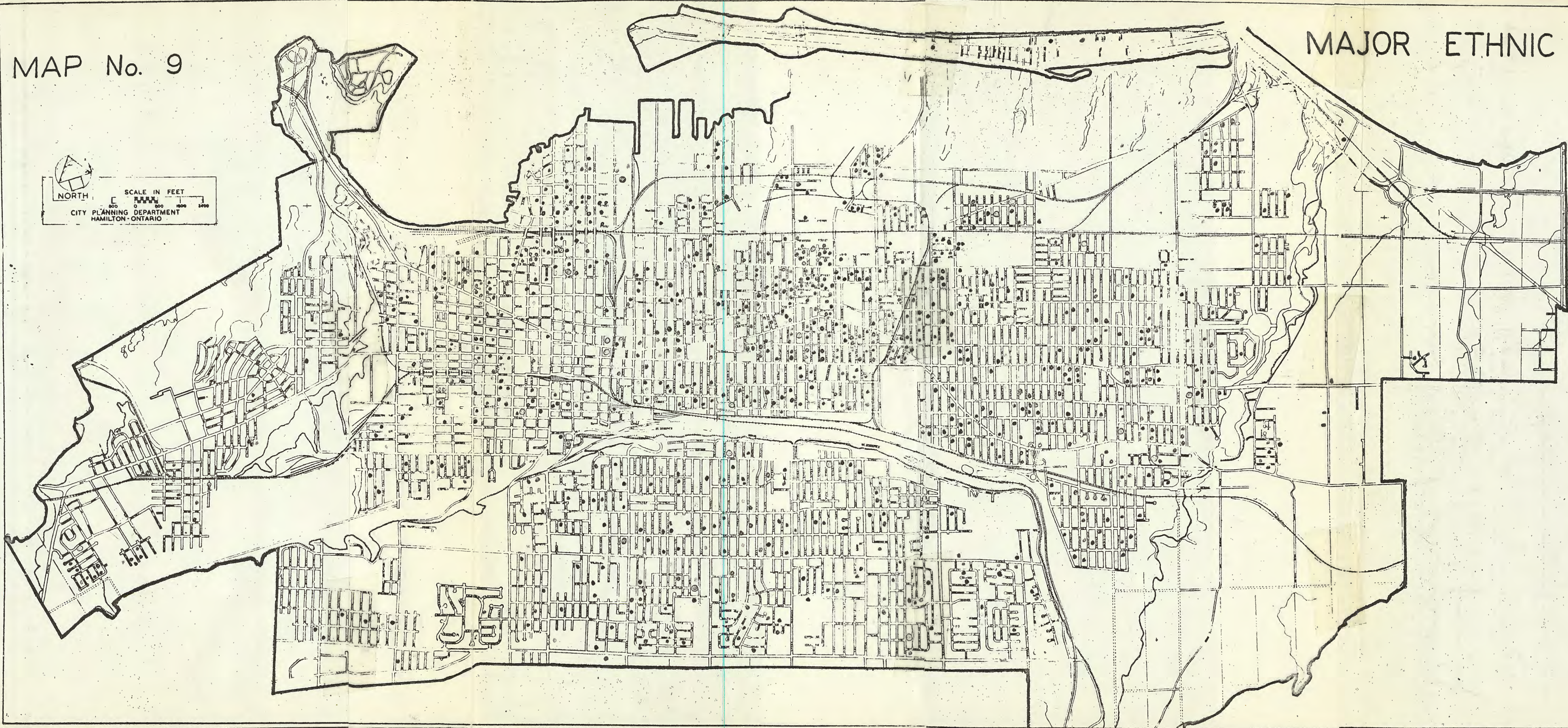
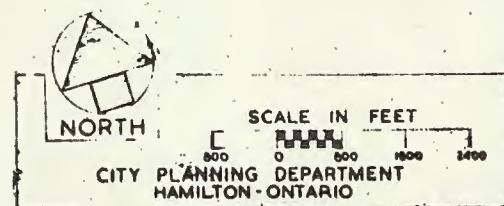
CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT
HAMILTON - ONTARIO

LEGEND

• EACH DOT REPRESENTS
20 DWELLING UNITS



MAP No. 9



MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS

LEGEND

• ITALIAN	290
• POLISH	156
• GERMAN	151
• UKRAINIAN	128
• BALTIC	114
• FRENCH	91
• CZECHOSLOVAKIAN	59
• HUNGARIAN	37
• DUTCH	33
• RUSSIAN	26

(ANGLO-SAXONS, AND 146 MEMBERS OF MINOR ETHNIC GROUPS NOT REPRESENTED)

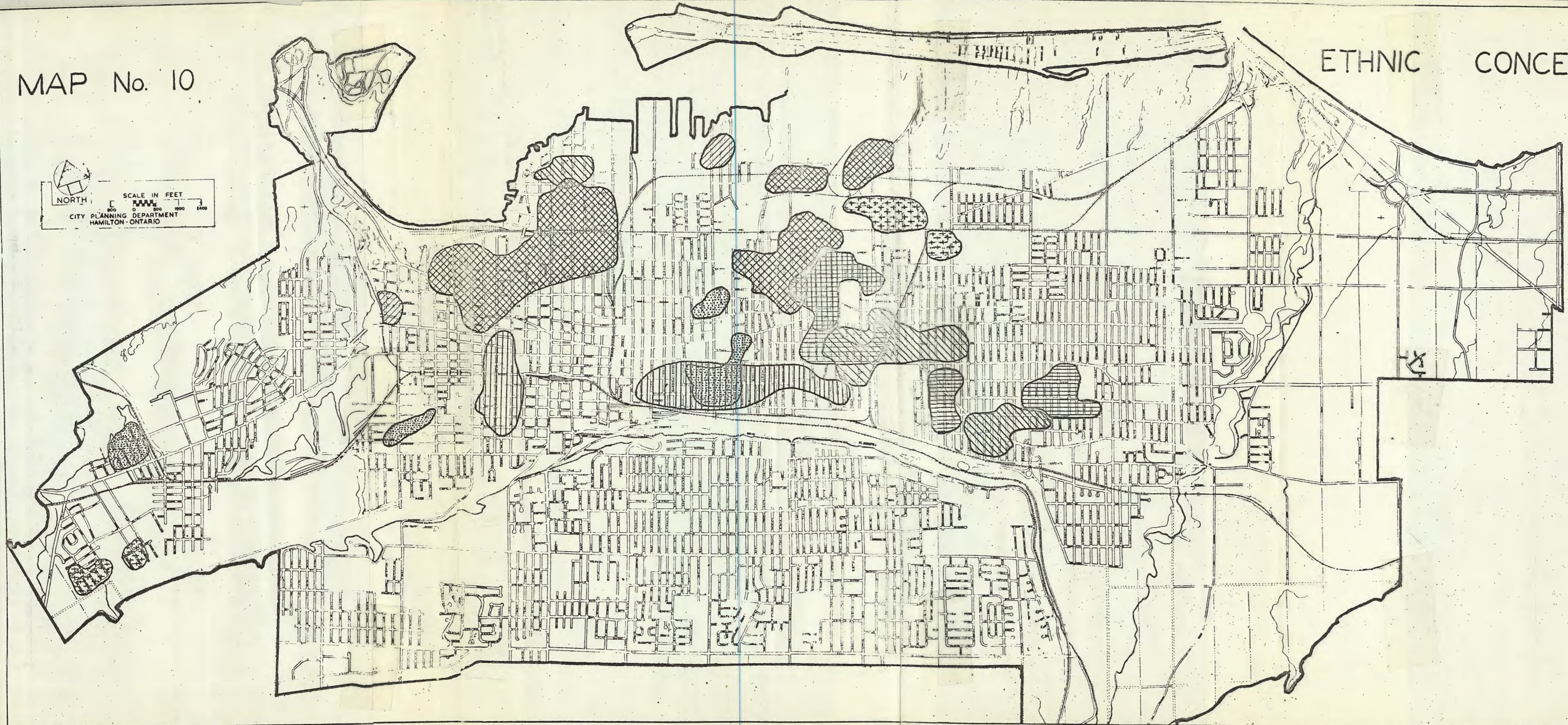
MAP No. 10

NORTH
SCALE IN FEET
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CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT
HAMILTON - ONTARIO

ETHNIC CONCENTRATIONS


LEGEND

-  ITALIANS PREDOMINATE
-  ITALIAN CONCENTRATION
-  POLISH PREDOMINATE
-  POLISH CONCENTRATION
-  UKRAINIAN "
-  BALTIC "
-  GERMAN "
-  MIXED ETHNIC GROUPS PREDOMINATE

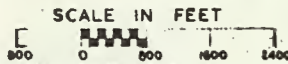


MAP No. 11

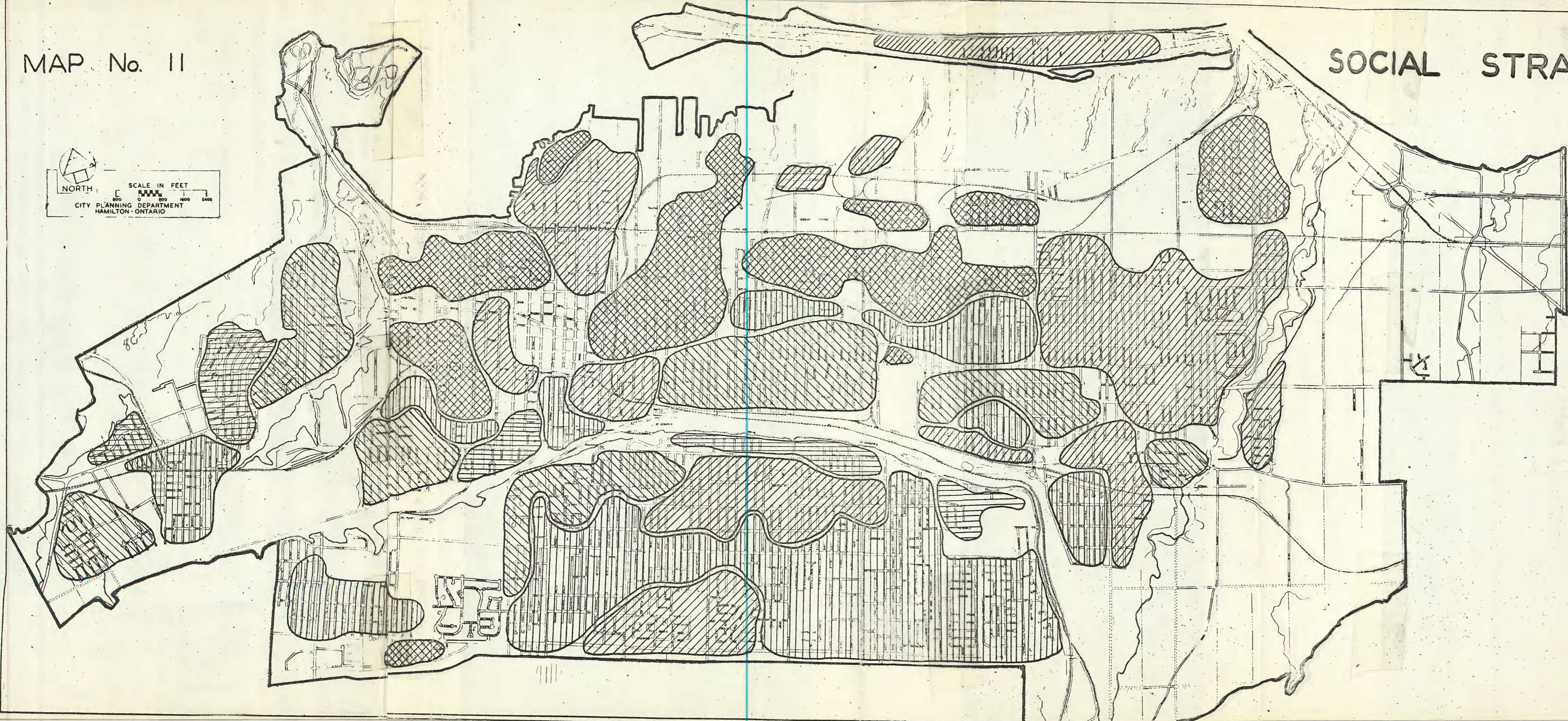
SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

 NORTH






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HAMILTON - ONTARIO



LEGEND

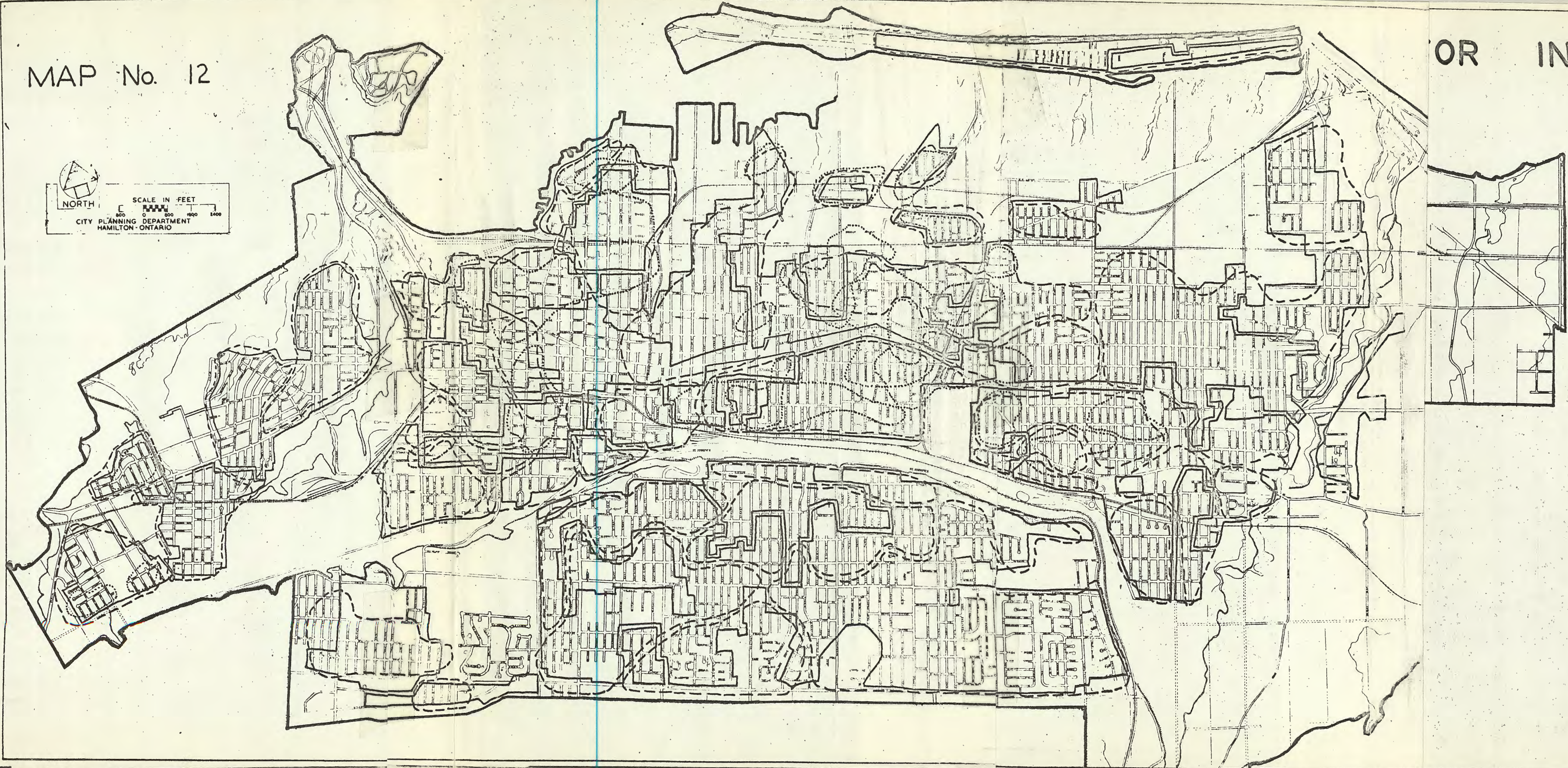
-  UPPER CLASS
-  UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS
-  MIDDLE CLASS
-  LOWER-MIDDLE CLASS
-  LOWER CLASS

MAP No. 12

NORTH

SCALE IN FEET

CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT
HAMILTON, ONTARIO



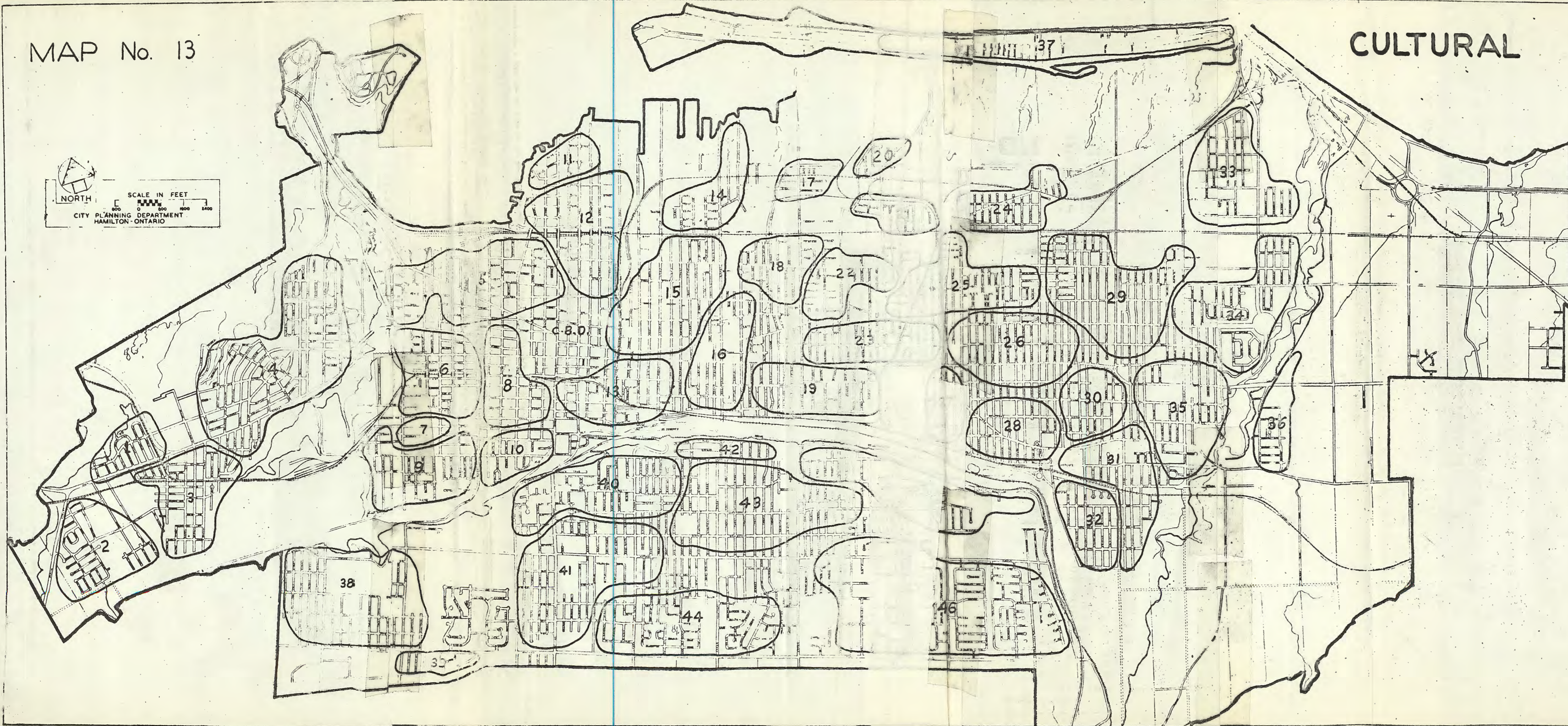
OR INDICES

LEGEND

- CONDITION OF HOUSES BOUNDARY
- - - SOCIAL STRATIFICATION BOUNDARY
- ETHNIC BOUNDARY


MAP No. 13

CULTURAL AREAS

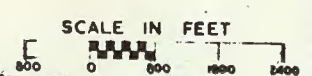


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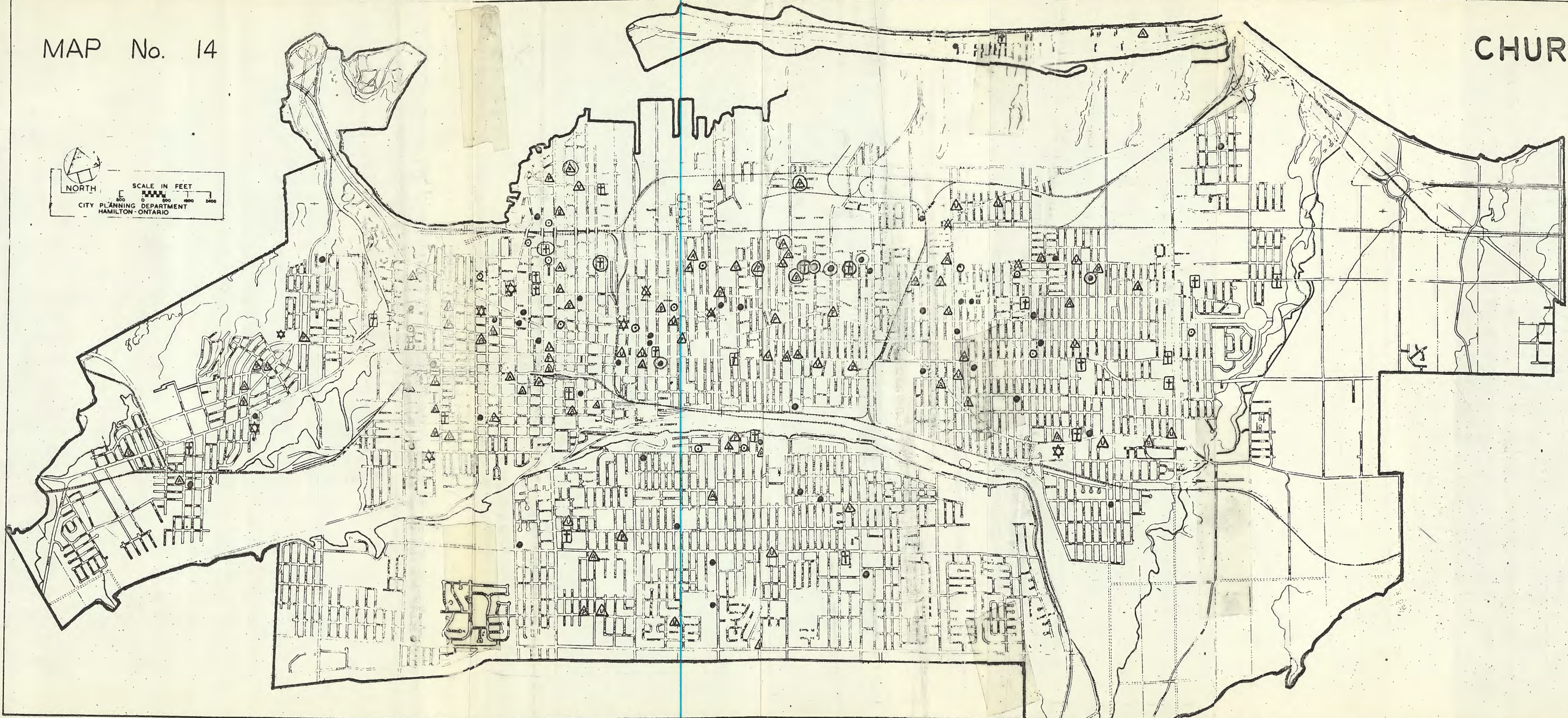
1. Gaza Strip
2. Ainslie Wood
3. Emerson
4. Westdale
5. York
6. Locke
7. Stanley
8. Old South West
9. Undermount
10. Aberdeen
11. Bayside
12. James Italian
13. Trackside
14. Wentworth North
15. Landsdale
16. Wentworth South
17. Gerhard
18. Little Italy
19. Mapleside
20. Bright Side
21. West Beach
22. Little Poland
23. West Dunsmore
24. East Beach
25. Campbell
26. Dunsdale
27. Gageside
28. Kingside
29. Strathearn
30. Bartonville
31. Lawrenceville
32. Rosedale
33. Batesboro
34. McQuesten
35. Glenviewdale
36. Cormanville
37. Beach Strip
38. Westcliffe
39. Mohawk Bend
40. Centremount
41. Upper James
42. The Brow
43. Queensdale
44. Linden Park
45. Eastcliffe
46. Huntington Park

 NORTH
















SCALE IN FEET



CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT
HAMILTON - ONTARIO



LEGEND

-  ANGLICAN
 -  UNITED
 -  ROMAN CATHOLIC
 -  PRESBYTERIAN
 -  BAPTIST
 -  JEWISH
 -  MISSIONS
 -  CLOSED, NOT USED
 -  MISCELLANEOUS
-
-  ITALIAN
 -  POLISH
 -  GERMAN
 -  UKRAINIAN
 -  HUNGARIAN
 -  BALTIC

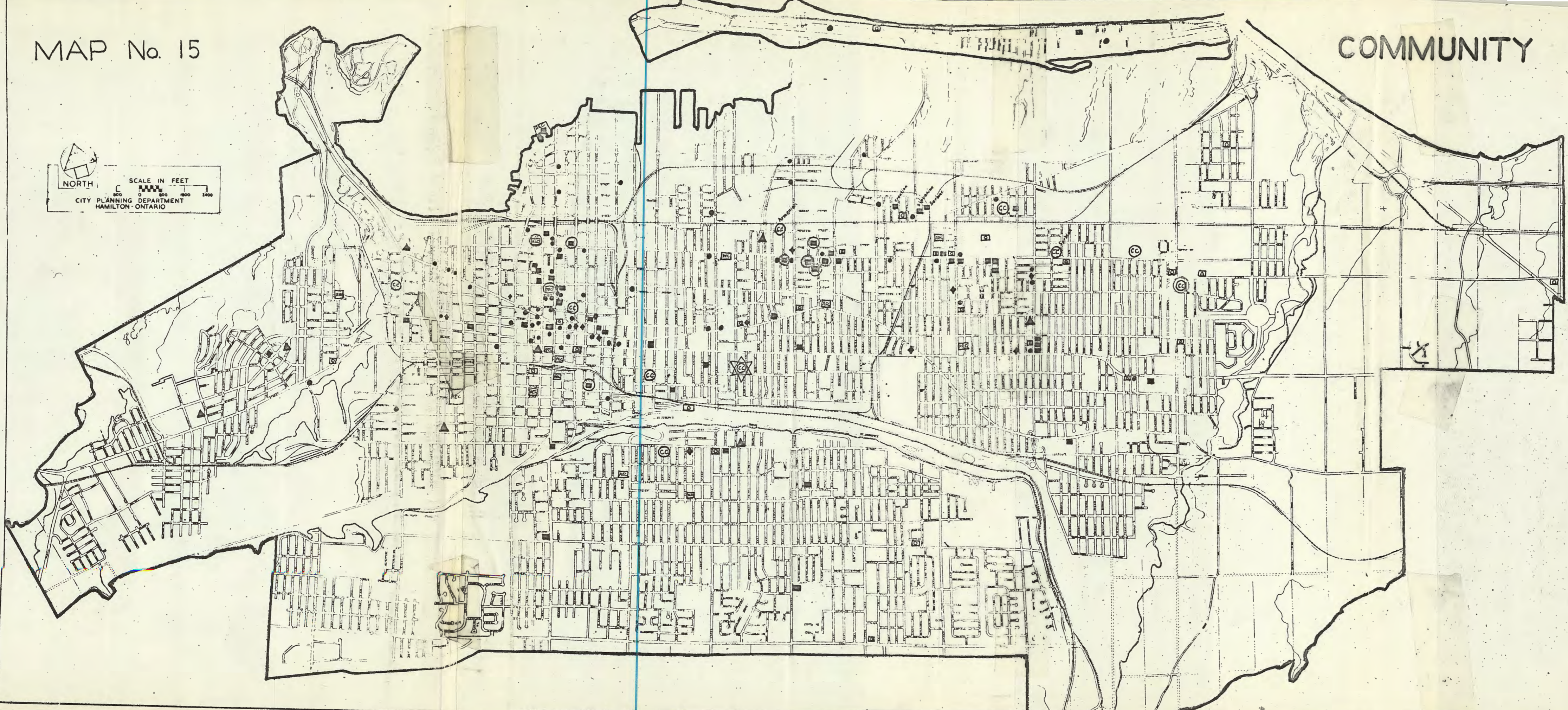
MAP No. 15

COMMUNITY FACILITIES

NORTH

SCALE IN FEET

CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT
HAMILTON - ONTARIO



LEGEND



- CLUBS AND HALLS
 - ⊕ COMMUNITY CENTRES
 - HOTELS, PUBLIC HOUSES, AND TAVERNS
 - ⊞ BOWLING ALLEYS
 - ◆ THEATRES
 - ⊞ RECREATIONAL FACILITIES
 - ▲ LIBRARIES, MUSEUMS, ART GALLERIES
-
- ITALIAN
 - POLISH
 - GERMAN
 - UKRAINIAN
 - HUNGARIAN
 - RUSSIAN
 - ☆ JEWISH

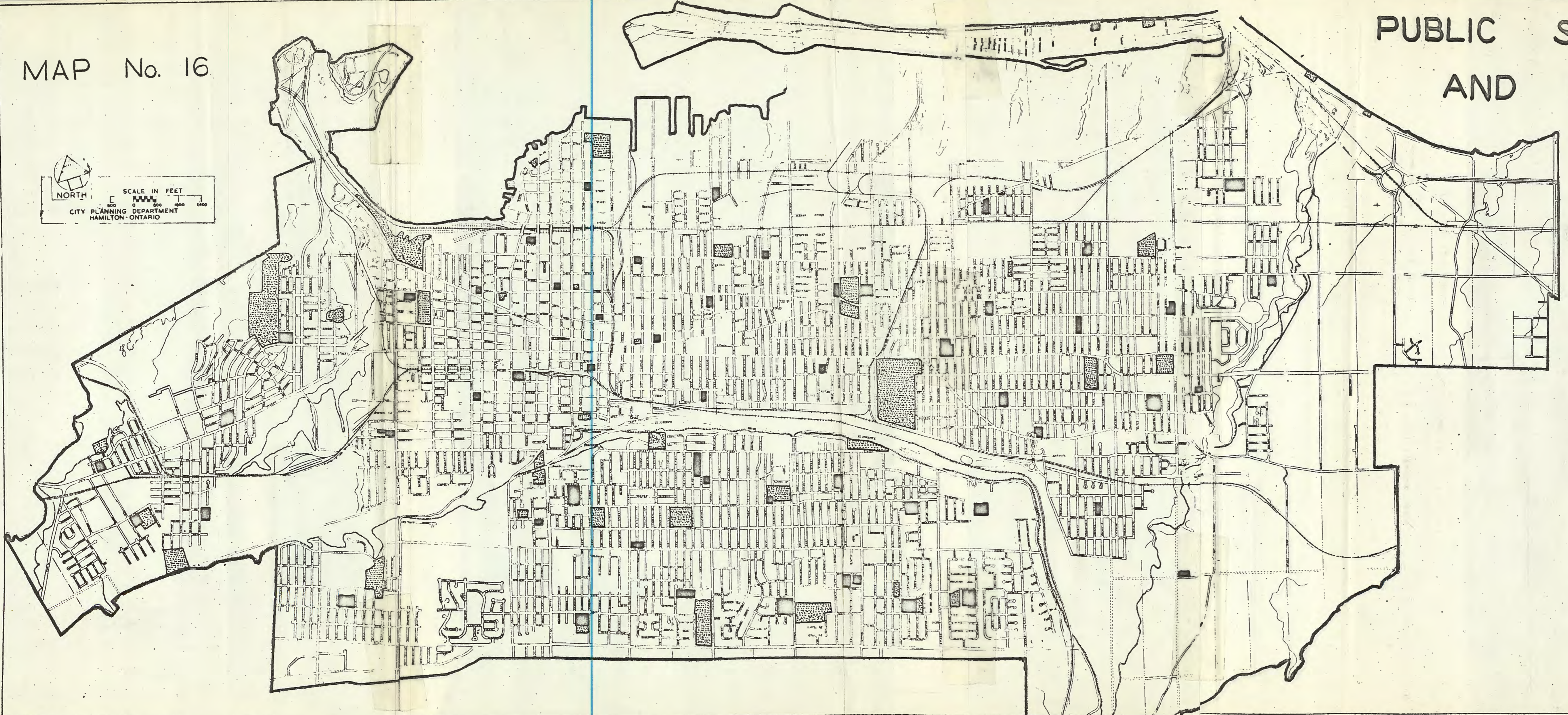
MAP No. 16



PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND PARKS

LEGEND

-  ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
-  PARKS



MAP No. 17



NEIGHBORHOODS

NORTH

SCALE IN FEET

CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT
HAMILTON - ONTARIO

LEGEND

-  NEIGHBORHOODS
-  CULTURAL AREAS

