PEOPLE, SPACE AND TIME: LANDSCAPE CHANGE IN HAMILTON'S DURAND NEIGHBOURHOOD, 1946-1994

BY

WALTER GEORGE PEACE, B.A., M.A.

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WALTER GEORGE PEACE, M.A.

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AUTHOR: Walter George Peace, B.A. (McMaster University) 1975
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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the links between urban form and process as evidenced by buildings. Specifically, the objectives of the study are to describe, explain and interpret the post-WWII evolution of the Durand neighbourhood, an inner city residential area in Hamilton, Ontario. The focus in these objectives is placed on viewing buildings as markers or symbols of the forms and processes which characterize the inner city. Using a variety of primary and secondary sources of information, the postwar evolution of Durand is reconstructed featuring 'place/space vignettes' which illustrate the significance of buildings on the urban landscape. The findings suggest that buildings, in addition to being the products of broad societal forces, can also be viewed as spatial manifestations of actions by individuals and groups acting as knowledgeable agents. In Durand, the ideologies and aspirations of the residents and other key participants are evidenced by the fates of individual buildings. Taken in their totality, the buildings which comprise this urban landscape are both products and symbols of a variety of forces which shape our cities. This study demonstrates that a closer inspection of the urban landscape's constituent elements, e.g., buildings, can enhance our understanding of the city. It is argued that such a 'closer inspection' is possible through an interpretive approach to the study of the urban landscape. And while such an approach contains its own inherent limitations, it does provide insights into the urban landscape which otherwise might remain inaccessible.

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CHAPTER 1

The Meaning of Urban Form and Process

... a foundation stone, a tested stone,
a precious cornerstone, a sure foundation...

Isaiah 28:16

1.1 Introduction

A cursory survey of the urban landscape reveals great diversity in terms of pattern and process over space and time. This is especially evident in the visual appearance of residential areas in the city. Older, inner city neighbourhoods, for instance, differ from their newer, suburban counterparts in many important respects. Even within a single type of residential area, e.g., an inner city neighbourhood, there is considerable variation in such characteristics as lot size, tenure, architectural style, and so on. Furthermore, these and other aspects of the built environment are subject to change over time. Central to our observation and interpretation of these spatial and temporal differences between and within neighbourhoods lies the manner in which buildings, as cultural artifacts and manifestations of spatial processes, give character and meaning to the urban landscape. This study is an investigation into the links between urban form and process with particular emphasis on buildings as visual evidence and symbols of the form-process relationship.

The case of Whitehern, one of seven buildings in the City of Hamilton designated as National Historic Sites, provides an initial indication of the way in which the urban landscape derives meaning from buildings. Located in an inner city residential area known as the Durand neighbourhood, Whitehern was built in 1848 for industrialist Richard Duggan. In 1852 the home was purchased by Dr. Calvin McQuesten, one of the pioneers of industry in Hamilton. For the next 116 years Whitehern was occupied by McQuesten's descendants. Following the death of Rev. Calvin McQuesten, the last surviving family member in 1968, the house, its contents and grounds became the property of the City of Hamilton as per an agreement made with the family in 1959. In August, 1971, Whitehern was officially opened as a 'period piece' museum operated by the City's Department of Culture and Recreation. In October of that same year a plaque recognizing Whitehern's architectural and historical significance was unveiled by the Archaeological and Historic Sites Branch, Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario. Twenty-two years later in October, 1993, Whitehern was again commemorated with a Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada plaque. Today Whitehern stands as a nineteenth century oasis surrounded by structures of more recent vintage in central Hamilton.

Several questions arise from this brief description of Whitehern's history. What processes lie behind the history of Whitehern, and other structures like it? What is the significance of designating buildings as historic sites and erecting commemorative plaques for public display? What do such acts of commemoration mean for the building itself and the surrounding environs? Finally, what do these actions tell us about people in the neighbourhood and the city? These and other questions can be asked in regard to any and

all buildings which together comprise the urban landscape. Underlying these questions is a concern for the significance of buildings in relation to the surrounding landscape (urban form) and the forces (urban processes) which create that landscape.

1.2 The Purpose and Scope of this Study

The objectives of this study are to describe, explain and interpret the evolution of Hamilton's Durand neighbourhood in the post-WWII era. Embedded in these objectives is a concern for the links between urban form and process as evidenced by buildings and their histories. In other words buildings are treated as visual evidence and symbols of the underlying social, political and economic forces which produce the urban landscape.

The city as a subject of inquiry has received considerable attention from geographers and historians among others. The history of the city (see Mumford, 1938), its social character (see Ley, 1983), and its economic functions (see Jacobs, 1969) are but three examples of a diverse array of approaches to the study of cities and urbanization. The emphasis in most studies of the city is placed on the view that spatial forms are a result of spatial processes. Particular forms or patterns in the city, e.g. high density development in the (North American) city centre, are the product of particular processes operating over space, e.g., transportation technology and the centralizing tendencies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The urban landscape, in other words, is a product of social, political, cultural and economic forces (see Knox, 1994; and Harvey, 1973). These aspects of urban form and process have become part of a growing body of literature on the city. In this literature, urban form is frequently treated under the rubric of

the "built environment" or through generic labels such as "the inner city", "immigrant enclaves" and "middle-class housing." One aspect of the city which, until recently, has received relatively little attention, especially in the geographical literature, is the significance of buildings as cultural artifacts on the urban landscape or more generally as the elements which comprise urban form. The work of King (1980), Gad and Holdsworth (1988), Goss (1988), and Ford (1994), for example, suggests that buildings are not simply the incidental results of broader societal forces. Buildings are, among other things, reflections of society and markers of societal change in addition to being structures with utilitarian and economic value. In Ford's (1994, 9) words: "Our cultural ideologies, personal aspirations, economic constraints, and daily behaviours are all writ large in the structures we use." These themes will be explored more thoroughly in Chapter 2.

We know that cities look the way they do as a result of many factors, i.e., form is a function of process. But as Ford (1994, 3) notes:

> Social scientists assumed that form would follow function as building types were erected for particular activities and social classes. Variations in architecture would simply reflect social patterns and so would be of little unique importance.

The traditional view of urban form and process ascribed little significance to individual buildings, the very elements that give the urban landscape its texture, appearance and meaning. In fact, as we shall see in Chapter 2, buildings profoundly condition our cognitive and affective reactions to the urban environment. Ford (1994, 3) states that:

> Space must be 'fleshed out' with architecture if we are to develop meaningful models of the real world. ...In an architectural urban geography , both the buildings themselves and the imagery and ideology surrounding them create their own reality, a reality that is altered only with difficulty. While some social and spatial variables such as rent gradients and ethnic composition change continuously as the

> city grows, the built environment usually remains intact for some time, shaping and 'reproducing' the character of place.

Buildings warrant a closer look, but the question now becomes one of exactly how we should look at them. Given the purpose of this study there are three requirements to fulfill. First, we must identify a conceptual (theoretical) framework within which the relationship between buildings and urban form and process can be studied. Second, in light of this framework, we must find a method which enables buildings to be studied in the context of form and process. Finally, we require a study area where these assertions about buildings can be tested. Some preliminary comments on each of these requirements are in order at this point.

In terms of a conceptual framework the body of literature dealing with the inner city would appear to be a logical and potentially fruitful starting point. While this material is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, it should be noted at this point that the inner city can be readily viewed as an element of urban form which is one manifestation of societal processes affecting cities. In addition, the inner city, by virtue of its age and function, is an area where a broad range of forms and processes has been observed. Beyond these considerations of form and process, however, are considerations of cultural meaning and significance. In this regard, buildings are seen as more than incidental features of the built environment. It is here that the longstanding tradition of landscape studies in geography has much to offer this study. As the discussion in Chapter 2 indicates, landscapes are cultural creations and spatial manifestations of societal forces. Buildings in the urban landscape can be seen in objective terms, for example, as functional or utilitarian structures having economic value. They can also be viewed in subjective terms, as

symbols of societal norms, values and aspirations. One particularly useful aspect of landscape as a concept is its ability to encompass all that we see. When we look at a street or city block, for example, we are not thinking in terms of individual buildings as entities in and of themselves. Instead, we tend to think in terms of a collage of buildings, their sites, their relations to one another, and above all else, the symbolic significance of these cultural artifacts. In summary the conceptual framework for this study is rooted in geographical studies of the inner city and landscape. As we shall see in Chapter 2, the study of buildings on the urban landscape can be logically and usefully placed in these two contexts.

In light of these theoretical underpinnings it seems appropriate that we look for a method for this study in the landscape literature. As we shall see in Chapter 3, the fact that landscape can be viewed as a cultural creation has methodological implications for this research. In particular, the form of the landscape can be described; the origins of form can be explained through spatial processes; and the symbolic meaning(s) of form can be interpreted. The task of description is a seemingly simple one. Lewis (1985, 466) notes that: "The job of describing the surface of this planet - accurately and vividly - lies, and should be at the very core of geography as an academic discipline." He goes on to identify two types of description: (i) intellectual description which "provokes strong thought" and (ii) aesthetic description which "provokes strong emotion" (1985, 469). These two types of description are clearly important to the study of landscape, i.e., landscape artifacts such as buildings are amenable to 'intellectual description' while their symbolic meaning is clearly amenable to 'aesthetic description'. Such accurate and vivid descriptions are

necessary conditions for valid explanations (see Lewis, 1985). The focus of explanation in this study lies in the mix of local and societal forces which are played out on the urban landscape to produce a unique set of forms or patterns. Of particular interest is the manner in which these forces work and rework the landscape over time, thereby resulting in the accumulation of what Hoskins (1955, 303) termed 'cultural humus'. The final methodological concern lies in the interpretation of the landscape and its constituent elements. In the context of this study, interpretation is the attempt to uncover the intrinsic meanings of the urban landscape and its underlying processes. Through interpretation it is possible to reveal the underlying values and motivations of the individuals and societies responsible for its creation. In short, the methodology of description, explanation and interpretation makes form and process visible through one of the urban landscape's most basic elements: buildings.

Having sketched the concerns surrounding the theoretical framework and methodology it remains to identify a suitable study area. The Durand neighbourhood, an inner city residential area in Hamilton, appears well suited to the purpose of this study. Dating from the original survey of Barton Township in 1791, this area provides the opportunity to explore a lengthy history of form and process. Furthermore it is rich with evidence regarding landscape change as manifested in the histories of individual buildings. The example of Whitehern, cited at the beginning of this chapter, is but one of many 'building histories' which can add to our understanding of urban forms and processes through description explanation and interpretation.

1.3 The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 is a review of the literature dealing with three areas related to the purpose of this study. First, the inner city literature establishes the general context within which form and process in the Durand neighbourhood are studied. Second, the landscape literature acts as the basis for integrating form and process with buildings which are viewed as cultural artifacts. Finally, the existing literature dealing with the relationship between buildings and urban form is summarized. The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 establishes the conceptual background and has implications for the methods used in this study.

Chapter 3 explores the methodological issues stemming from the literature review (Chapter 2) and the purpose of this study. Specific characteristics of the study area (the Durand neighbourhood) and reasons for its selection are provided. Following this, the data requirements and sources are discussed. In addition, the ways in which the data are used in the description and explanation of Durand's evolving landscape are presented. Considerable attention is then devoted to issues surrounding landscape interpretation, emphasizing the challenges and inherent limitations of the method. Finally, Chapter 3 concludes with a photographic survey of the Durand neighbourhood in the early 1990s. This survey: (i) introduces the reader to Durand; (ii) provides an initial sense of how buildings are treated in this study; and (iii) acts as a prelude to the historical background presented in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4 provides the historical background of the Durand neighbourhood, tracing its evolution from 1791 to 1945. Two themes are emphasized in this history.

First, the history of the neighbourhood is set in the context of the city's growth and development. Second, emphasis is placed on buildings as cultural artifacts which reflect changing values and ideologies over time. This discussion of historical patterns and processes sets the stage for the detailed investigation of Durand in the post-WWII era as reported in the three subsequent chapters.

The postwar era is divided into three periods which reflect changing conditions in Durand and central Hamilton. Chapter 5 examines a period of decline in Durand which spans the years 1946 to 1962. The second period (Chapter 6), 1963-1975, is one of massive redevelopment as the forces of change result in a radically different appearance of the neighbourhood. Finally, in Chapter 7, the study is brought to a close as the process of revitalization produces a new stability in Durand from 1976 to 1994. In each of these three chapters Durand is viewed in terms of its spatial patterns and the local, regional, national and global forces which produce these patterns. Within the context of this 'neighbourhood history' the histories of individual buildings are discussed as manifestations of processes and as symbols or markers of values, ideologies and aspirations of individuals and the broader community. Throughout these three chapters the discussion is centred on the description explanation and interpretation of Durand as an evolving inner city landscape in the post-WWII era.

Chapter 8 summarizes the major findings of this research. In particular the treatment of buildings as markers of change on the inner city landscape is discussed in light of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. In addition, conclusions are drawn regarding this study of Durand and the extent to which it provides insights into the nature of change

in the inner city. Comments are also directed toward the methodological implications of this study. It is argued that the treatment of Durand as a landscape which can be described, explained and interpreted enhances our awareness and understanding of the form and meaning of city.

CHAPTER 2

The Inner City, Landscape, Buildings and Urban Form: Geographic Perspectives

> For someone of Pugin's temperment and abilities, art could never take a back seat. His vision of the past, of religion and of social reform alike, remained an aesthetic one.
>
> That is the core of Pugin's theoretical legacy -- the challenge and contradiction that lie at the heart of his writing. His many heirs and successors from Ruskin to Le Corbusier all likewise believed that there was some sort of two-way, chicken-and-egg link between architectural design and the state of society.
>
> Andrew Saint
> "The Fate of Pugin's True Principles"

2. 1 Introduction

In light of the objectives of this study, the purpose of this chapter is to review three bodies of literature which are germane to this study of Hamilton's Durand neighbourhood. The first body of literature discussed here focuses on the inner city as a distinct area in the broader urban realm. This literature will provide a sense of the spatial patterns and processes which have characterized the inner city in the twentieth century. In turn, we will see the extent to which these general patterns and processes appear in the Durand neighbourhood in Chapters 4 through 7. The second task in this literature review is to examine the concept of 'landscape' in terms of its meanings and the various ways in

which it can be studied. The methodological issue of landscape interpretation is discussed briefly in this review and more fully in Chapter 3. Following this general discussion attention is directed toward the specific case of urban landscapes. Finally, this review examines the connections between buildings (or architecture) and urban form. The nature of this relationship is such that buildings are among the most noteworthy features of the city. In fact, it will be argued that buildings are among the key determinants of the appearance and meaning of the urban landscape. This body of literature provides a sense of what to anticipate in Chapters 5 through 7 where the empirical landscape of the Durand neighbourhood is examined in terms of patterns and processes in the postwar era.

It is important to note that this is not intended as an exhaustive review of these themes. Rather, it is the intent of this review to highlight some noteworthy ideas and salient concepts in these three related areas of concern. This review provides us with clues as to what we might anticipate in the empirical investigation. As such it establishes the context within which this study of Durand is being conducted. In addition, this review has important implications for the methods used in this investigation (see Chapter 3).

2.2 The Inner City: A Zone in Transition

As noted earlier, the study area chosen for this research is Hamilton's Durand neighbourhood. This part of the city is typically labelled or characterized as an 'inner city' neighbourhood. What is meant by the term 'inner city', and how have geographers and others chosen to study it? The purpose of this first part of the literature review is to set the context within which specific places like Durand can be studied.

The terms 'inner city' or 'central city' are conventionally used in reference to the area immediately adjacent to or surrounding the central business district (CBD) of an urban place (city). This definition is admittedly vague, but Ley (1991, 313), in referring to the "...near impossible task of defining the inner city...", states that "... all classifications are useful rather than true, and this.... applies particularly to the classification of geographical regions." There is, in Ley's (1991, 313) words, "...no single criterion, or even a combination of criteria (that) permits boundaries to be reliably drawn around urban districts." And while we might face an impossible task if we attempt to determine its precise boundaries, it is probably true that there would be agreement on the fact that the inner city is an area possessing particular characteristics adjacent to the city centre. This, in fact, involves defining the inner city in terms of its relative location. The fact that geographers continue to identify and study urban districts such as 'the inner city' suggests that these concepts contain an intrinsic logic in addition to an intuitive appeal.

In addition to defining the 'inner city' in terms of its relative location, it is also important to recognize its function or role when considering the meaning of the term. The inner city has traditionally been viewed as a reception area for newly arriving immigrants to the city (Park and Burgess, 1925; Ward, 1971; Chudacoff, 1981). In the classic land use models of the urban ecologists, immigrants lived in inner city residential areas for two reasons: relatively inexpensive housing; and proximity to blue collar employment near the CBD. In 1925 Ernest Burgess referred to the inner city as the 'zone in transition', recognizing that rapid change in this part of the city was a result of the influx of newly arriving immigrants in addition to the land use changes stemming from the areal expansion

of the CBD. Subsequent characterizations revealed the inner city to be an identifiable area in both physical and social terms (Ley, 1983). The inner city was also the area where processes such as invasion and succession, filtering and ghetto formation were most conspicuous. Such processes were typically associated with (and predicated upon) a continued influx of immigrants (Ward, 1968). Thus, in historic terms, the inner city has been viewed as a 'reception area' for newly arriving immigrants and a 'zone in transition' in recognition of changing land uses and values associated with an expanding CBD.

2.2.1 Inner city decline

Since the end of the Second World War, two general trends of differing significance have been observed in North American cities. These are decline and revitalization. These trends are of particular interest given the objectives of this research as stated in Chapter 1, i.e. to study an inner city neighbourhood (Durand) in the postwar era (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7). In tracing the development of industrial economies in Western society, the inner city has traditionally been recognized as being at the forefront of economic, social and political change. Berry (1980, 3) notes that the older inner city areas were once leaders of the nation's (the United States) growth and that the distinctiveness of most metropolitan centres was closely linked to spatial patterns and processes observed in central city areas. Following this period of dominance the inner city came to be viewed as the focal point for a plethora of urban problems. Exactly when this shift in fortunes occurred is difficult to pinpoint, but as we will see below, there is little doubt that it was connected, in part, to the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial

economy in the North American context. Bourne (1982, 224) notes that: "Rapid and uncontrolled economic growth, unplanned and often poorly constructed working-class neighbourhoods and short-sighted government policies combined with inadequate social services, created a legacy of debt that was not to be called in for many decades." The term 'urban decline', then, "...embodies the idea that declining cities are in trouble, cities not as economically or socially healthy as they used to be or as they should be" (Bradbury *et al.*, 1982, 18).

Beginning in the 1980s numerous researchers described inner city decline in terms of: population (Solomon, 1980; Bradbury *et al.*, 1982); employment (Black, 1980; Bourne, 1982); and income (Black, 1980; Solomon, 1980; Bourne, 1982). Further study led to the conclusion that the inner city was the location of high crime rates (Rose and Deskins, 1980; Bradbury *et al.*, 1982). Finally, in the political arena, central city decline was manifested in the loss of both government funding and political representation (Kain, 1979; Long, 1982). In summary, the evidence clearly indicated that American central cities had experienced significant decline in economic, physical, social, and cultural terms. It should be noted that these characteristics of decline were more evident in American inner cities than was the case in Canadian inner cities. It was nevertheless true that Canadian inner cities had declined as evidenced by the work of Bourne (1993). Patterson (1993) notes that the federal government spent approximately 225 million dollars on urban renewal projects in Canadian cities between 1948 and 1973. An additional 185 million dollars was allocated to the Neighbourhood Improvement Programme between 1973 and 1978. There are, to be sure, some important differences between Canadian and American

cities, the details of which will be discussed below. For present purposes it is sufficient to note that, on average, the extent of decline in Canadian inner cities was noticeably less than was the case in their American counterparts.

A variety of factors contributed to the inner city decline observed in the post-WWII era. Bourne (1982) lists eight hypotheses or explanations for this decline. Before reviewing these hypotheses two points must be made. First, although inner city decline was recognized after the Second World War it was certainly the case that the forces underlying this decline were present much earlier in the twentieth century. This is important, for as we shall see in the case study of Durand, its physical and social characteristics in the late 1940s and early 1950s were clearly a product of processes affecting both the neighbourhood and the city much earlier in the twentieth century. The second point is that none of the following hypotheses or explanations is universal, i.e., each may or may not be relevant to particular places at particular times. The extent to which these processes influenced Durand is discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

The 'natural evolution hypothesis' described by Bourne (1982) views the inner city as having evolved from a reception area for immigrants to a haven for the service-dependent population. Over the course of this evolution the inner city lost its role as a 'stepping stone' for immigrants through the filtering process. Instead, the social character of at least some inner city neighbourhoods featured the ghettoization of ex-psychiatric patients along with other 'service-dependent' groups. In fact, Dear (1987, 138) refers to "the inner-city zone of dependence" as being the product of this ghettoization. A second explanation, 'the pull hypothesis', considers the effects of changing locational preferences

which attract people and economic activities away from the inner city to the suburbs (Berry, 1980). The 'obsolescence hypothesis' focuses on the effects of the natural aging process as it affects the inner city's buildings and infrastructure. In general this aging process served to make the inner city less attractive, thereby accelerating the decentralization of people and businesses (Yeates and Garner, 1980; Solomon, 1980). The 'unintended policy hypothesis' is based on the premise that transportation and housing policies of the postwar period indirectly contributed to the suburbanization process which, in turn, resulted in a declining inner city (Urban Institute, 1977). In the 'exploitation hypothesis' the declining inner city is viewed as a consequence of the power imbalance in decision-making between the older central city and the newer suburbs in the postwar era. In Bourne's words (1982, 239): "the inner city... becomes one of the spatial and social scrap heaps of modern capitalism." In a related line of reasoning the 'structural change hypothesis' accounts for inner city decline by viewing it as a result of broad changes in the national space economy and demographic structure. The decline of the manufacturing sector of the economy, for example, had severe repercussions for the inner cities of older, industrial-based metropolitan areas. As a result, the inner cities were left facing financial woes as costs escalated and revenues fell. This is the essence of the 'fiscal crisis and underclass hypothesis'. At the same time the cultural isolation and polarization embodied in the 'conflict hypothesis' were behind the well-documented 'white flight' of the 1960s and early 1970s (Muth 1969).

In summary, a variety of forces contributed to inner city decline in the post war era. While the precise nature and extent of decline varied from city to city, what was

becoming increasingly apparent was that the locational advantages of (along with the preferences for) the central city and concentrated development in general were no longer as strong as was once the case. At the same time there was an increasingly attractive alternative for a growing number of people: the suburbs. As a result of rising incomes, increased mobility and technological change, the forces of decentralization gained momentum. In fact, inner city decline and suburbanization were opposite sides of the same coin as well shall see in the empirical study of Durand (Chapters 5 and 6).

2.2.2 Cultural context and the inner city

The preceding discussion is based largely on the literature dealing with the American experience. There are, in fact, some important qualitative differences between Canadian cities and American cities (Goldberg and Mercer, 1986). The American cities which experienced decline were generally older than their Canadian counterparts, for example. Also, the racial tensions which contributed to 'white flight' in American cities were not as conspicuous in Canada. Finally, the process of suburbanization in the United States was certainly facilitated through massive investments in the interstate highway system and the fact that housing costs were generally lower than those in Canadian cities. In the concluding chapter of *The Myth of the North American City*, Goldberg and Mercer, (1986, 254) note: "...it is meaningless, and in the extreme dangerous and misleading, to talk about cities abstracted from their specific cultural contexts, since cities are both products and shapers of these contexts." In comparing cities in the two countries Goldberg and Mercer (1986, 174) note that Canadian cities are more compact in form,

rely more heavily upon public transit, and have lower status differences between the inner city and the suburbs.

The question which arises at this point is one of importance: what significance should be attached to these qualitative differences? It seems clear that the extent and severity of inner city decline which was witnessed in American cities was not matched in Canadian cities. Indeed it may well be a matter of degree. In other words, Canadian cities experienced similar trends and tendencies, but to a lesser degree. McLemore *et al.* (1975, 5) acknowledge that there are such differences and that "...inner city areas in Canadian cities exhibit a large variety of traits, trends and patterns of development." They go on to divide Canadian inner city areas into four basic types: decline; stability; revitalization; and massive redevelopment. The point is this; even if Canadian inner cities experienced decline to a lesser degree than those in the United States, there is still substantial variation in their character based on the broad range of characteristics implied in the above typology. This review of the largely American-based literature, then, provides a general sense of what to look for in the Canadian context.

2.2.3 Inner city revitalization

Beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s geographers and other students of the city began reporting evidence suggesting that private revitalization was occurring in at least some inner city areas of some cities. The term revitalization carries connotations of upward change in the physical condition of housing along with an increase in the social status of the neighbourhood (Ley, 1985). Two types of private revitalization are identified

by Clay (1979). The first, gentrification, refers to the process whereby inner city residential neighbourhoods undergo physical upgrading as middle and upper income households replace the former lower income residents. This, in effect, is a reverse-filtering process. The second type of private revitalization identified by Clay is incumbent upgrading. In this instance the housing stock is improved by the existing residents, not by newcomers to the neighbourhood. It is interesting to note that some of the early research on gentrification labelled the process as the 'back-to-the city' movement (Gale, 1976, 1977; Long, 1980). Later evidence (Lang, 1982; Bourne, 1982) suggested that this was not the case and that, in fact, the 'newcomers' were new households formed from existing city dwellers. The gentrifiers, by and large, were not suburbanites moving back to the city.

A variety of explanations was advanced to account for this apparent reversal of fortunes in the inner city. As was the case with the factors underlying central city decline, there was what London (1980, 83) labelled a 'constellation of factors' which constituted a complete and rigorous explanation of gentrification Four sets of explanatory factors underlying this revitalization process are identified in the literature. The first, referred to as the 'demographic-ecological' explanation, emphasizes the changing composition and structure of the population which contributed to the decline of familism. London (1980) identified familism as a critical component of the suburbanization process. As it declined, so, too, did one of the driving forces behind the move to the suburbs. These demographic changes fuelled the demand for certain types, locations and prices of housing. The net effect of such changes was to make central city housing relatively more attractive for a

greater number of households than was the case during the period of massive suburbanization.

The second set of variables linked to private, inner city revitalization is referred to as the 'socio-cultural' explanation. In this case the explanatory emphasis shifts to changing attitudes, values and ideals regarding urban living. Ley (1985) noted that the gentrification lifestyle was associated with culture, fashion and aesthetics of the city. Holcomb and Beauregard (1981, 2) observed that: "Many affluent professionals are not concerned simply with these economic issues but also with opportunities for an urban-life-style which a city, particularly a revitalized city, offers." In addition, Smith (1979, 538) noted that "... the search for socially distinctive communities as sympathetic environments for individual self-expression was a motivating force behind the revitalization process."

A third set of factors underlying inner city revitalization is included in the 'political-economic' explanation. This view explicitly acknowledges the role of the broader political and economic structures of society which shape the form and evolution of cities (Smith, 1979; London, 1980). Of particular interest here is Smith's (1979) 'rent gap' theory which emphasises the cyclical nature of investment in the city. Finally, the 'social movement' explanation is based on the premise that ideologically based social movements are used to evaluate struggles over the possession and use of resources. London (1980, 89) concludes that the emphasis is on ideologies of 'pro-urbanism'' (the social/cultural factors) by elites with land-based interests (the political economy factors) in order to motivate the behaviour (through the social movement) of large numbers of young

affluent households (the demographic factors). This explanation, as such, represents a synthesis of the various factors discussed above.

In summary, inner city revitalization is seen as a consequence of various trends and conditions operating at several scales. Knox (1994, 260) posits three conditions necessary to account for gentrification: (i) a pool of potential gentrifiers; (ii) a supply of potentially gentrifiable housing; and (iii) a degree of preference and demand for inner city living on the part of potential gentrifiers. The extent to which gentrification and other aspects of revitalization have actually manifested themselves on the inner city landscape has been the subject of considerable debate. Certainly in many inner city neighbourhoods there is clear evidence of private upgrading. At the same time it is also true that the spatial extent of gentrified neighbourhoods is usually quite restricted. Perhaps Berry (1980) stated it best when he described the central city as 'islands of renewal in seas of decay'. While the 'seas of decay' part of Berry's metaphor is undoubtedly overstated in the Canadian context, it is the juxtaposition of renewing and declining areas in the inner city which both Canadian and American cities share.

2.2.4 The contemporary inner city

As was noted earlier in the discussion of inner city decline, there are some fundamental differences between Canadian cities and their American counterparts in terms of private revitalization. Ley (1991, 17) notes that "... the stark image of polarization between inner cities and suburbs in the United States does not exist *at this scale* in Canada...". Ley (1991) also reports that revitalization is particularly evident in the larger

Canadian cities as compared to medium and smaller sized cities. Bourne's (1993) study of Toronto suggests that most inner city residential areas are characterized by a mix of decline, upgrading and stability. Ley (1993) identified three types of 'high status' areas in the metropolis: (i) old elite areas of the inner city and inner suburbs which have retained their former status and prestige; (ii) new inner city neighbourhoods whose status and wealth were created through luxury redevelopment; and (iii) new exclusive suburban areas. Ley (1993, 215) concludes that "... the social geography of Canadian cities reveals a select pattern of privileged inner (city) and inner suburban communities which have persisted." As we shall see in the empirical study which follows, Durand is treated as an inner city neighbourhood which retains some characteristics of its former status as an older elite area. At the same time, it is also an inner city area the status of which has been enhanced by redevelopment activities in the 1970s and 1980s. Knox (1994, 259) notes that: "the significance of gentrification really lies, ... in its qualitative, symbolic and ideological implications for urban change." These implications, as we shall see in the case of Durand, stem not only from the process of gentrification, but also from a variety of other forces and processes which ultimately create the urban landscape with its characteristic diversity.

Taken as a whole the inner cities of most larger Canadian metropolitan areas feature a range of neighbourhood types. To a considerable degree the inner city is still very much a 'zone-in-transition' although the character and sources of change are different from those of the 1920s when Ernest Burgess coined the phrase. Furthermore, the inner city remains a reception area, albeit for a different population than was the case in the

early decades of the twentieth century. It is in this part of the city that we now direct attention to the more general concerns of urban landscapes with particular emphasis on the relationship between buildings and urban form.

2.3 Landscape: The Broader View

The preceding discussion provides a sense of what might be anticipated in Durand in terms of general patterns and processes. Beyond these general concerns, however, it is the intent of this study to examine Durand as an inner city neighbourhood from a different, yet related point of view. Specifically Durand will be examined as an evolving inner city landscape emphasizing the importance of buildings as spatial manifestations of urban processes. In addition, Durand's buildings can be viewed as symbolic artifacts which reflect, amongst other things, the ideologies and aspirations of the people who build and use them. We turn first to the literature dealing with the broader issue of landscape and then to urban landscapes in particular.

A discussion of 'landscape' as a geographic concept might well begin with the premise that, regardless of how they are defined, landscapes are at once simple and obvious on the one hand while being elusive and fraught with complexity on the other. The student of landscape quickly discovers that things are not as they first appear to be; one is frequently confronted with an *opus contra naturam*, an effect contrary to nature. Because landscape can be many things at once, it is appropriate to begin this review of the landscape literature with a sample of definitions.

Schama (1995, 10) notes that the Germanic root of the word 'landscape' is *landschaft* which signified a unit of human occupation or a jurisdiction along with "... anything that might be a pleasing object of depiction." It is, then, an inherently geographical concept which is either implicitly or explicitly part of everything which practitioners of the discipline study. Meinig (1979, 6) defines landscapes as "expressions of cultural values, social behaviour and individual actions worked upon particular localities over a span of time." Cosgrove and Daniels (1988, 1) consider a landscape painting to be "... a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolizing *surroundings*" (emphasis added). In a similar vein to the idea of landscape as one's 'surroundings,' Relph (1987, 3) defines landscapes as "... the visual contexts of daily existence." Cosgrove (1984, 13) states that: "Landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world. Landscape is a way of seeing the world." This is important, for it suggests that landscapes exist not only in and of themselves but also, and perhaps only, through the eyes of their beholders. Carl Sauer (1925, 25) stated that landscape is ". . the unit concept of geography, a peculiarly geographic association of facts." While the list of definitions is indeed a lengthy one, those cited above (and probably most others) seem to embody three concerns. First, there is the clearly expressed sense of 'space' or 'place'. When we speak of landscape we are speaking of something that is inherently spatial in character. It is a contradiction in terms to conceive of an 'aspatial landscape'. There is, then, a strong foundation for Sauer's claim that landscape is 'the unit concept of geography' and for Hart's (1995, 23) contention that the visible landscape is "(t)he inevitable starting point for geography...".

A second commonality amongst these (and most other) definitions of landscape is the implicit or explicit recognition of culture. In simple terms, human activities produce cultural artifacts. In a variety of ways these artifacts are frequently given spatial expression. An urban landscape or the city, for example, can be viewed as a cultural artifact. In this sense landscape can be viewed as a cultural construction in that it is comprised of cultural artifacts organized in a particular spatial pattern.

The third basic element is that of time. If landscapes are viewed as cultural expressions in space it is at once apparent that they cannot be created instantaneously. The development of culture and its subsequent spatial expression clearly occur over 'a span of time' to use Meinig's phrase. A fitting metaphor for this process is the accumulation of 'cultural humus' (Hoskins, 1955, 303). The landscape, then, is a composite of legacies from the past which, to varying degrees, became part of the particular place presently before us. And while certain of these legacies endure longer and stand out more prominently than others, it is nonetheless true that to understand the present landscape "... it is imperative to know (the past landscape)" (Alanen, 1995, 140). In light of this discussion and for purposes of this dissertation the term 'landscape' is defined as a geographic space which is comprised of cultural artifacts accumulated over time and which has meaning for its creators, observers and users. Landscape, in short, is a combination of two things: where we live our lives; and the meanings we attach to the 'where'.

The preceding discussion on definitions of landscape raises the question of its importance. Why should we study the landscape? What can be gained by investigating

'where we live our lives'? What does the landscape reveal about individuals, communities and societies that other avenues of inquiry do not? Answers to these questions are necessary before we can broach the methodological issues raised in Chapter 3.

2.3.1 The significance of landscape

Any landscape, then, is a geographically defined space upon which cultural artifacts (or the human imprint) accumulate over time. Clearly there are many different types of landscapes which can be identified using this definition (see below). For purposes of addressing the issue of landscape's significance, let us consider the 'urban landscape'. What are the cultural artifacts which comprise such a setting? Among the myriad of artifacts could be included buildings, streets, signs, monuments, public spaces, and so on. Lynch (1960) identified five categories of physical features which make up the urban landscape: paths; edges; districts; nodes; and landmarks. In short, these are the very physical things that we see (and experience) in an urban setting. Three important observations can be made about these physical elements (or cultural artifacts) which comprise the urban landscape. First, their presence is, in general, deliberate; it is not, by and large, random, haphazard or idiosyncratic. A building, for example, is designed in a particular style and located on a particular site as a consequence of deliberate actions taken by architects, clients and planners amongst others. There is, in other words, intent on the part of individuals and groups which lies behind the presence of buildings on the urban landscape. The second observation pertains to the meaning of cultural artifacts. Buildings, as cultural artifacts, are imbued with meanings by their creators and their users.

This aspect of the built environment will be discussed in more detail below. Finally, the third observation about the physical elements of the landscape (which stems from the first two) is that they evoke emotional responses or reactions from those who experience them. Tuan (1974) suggests that we are confronted with a continuum of emotional reactions to place (and by extension, to its constituent elements). These reactions range from topophobia (the fear of places) to topophilia (the love of places). Consciously and/or subconsciously we respond emotionally to landscapes and their elements. As Schama (1995, 10) states: "At the very least, it seems right to acknowledge that it is our shaping perception that makes the difference between raw matter and landscape." Landscape, according to Conniff (1995, 275) is "... one source of our humanness."

Thus landscape is significant for two reasons. First, it is something that can be studied by researchers. In this case a particular landscape (Durand) is being described, explained and interpreted with a specific objective in mind. One could argue that the study of landscapes, either implicitly or explicity, lies at the core of geography and what geographers do. The second reason for landscape's significance lies in the fact that it is where we live our daily lives. This significance may be related to aesthetics, liveability, economic value and so on. For any number of reasons, then, we ascribe significance to the landscape of our daily lives. While this study emphasizes the significance of landscape as something which can be studied it also recognizes that a landscape's residents play an important role in creating what we are studying.

2.3.2 The study of landscape

The purpose of this study as stated in Chapter 1 is to describe, explain and interpret landscape change in the Durand neighbourhood. What, then, are implications of viewing landscape as "a place where cultural artifacts accumulate over time" for this research? What, in other words, is the rationale or justification for studying Durand as a landscape? Two inferences about landscape can be drawn based on the discussion thus far. First, because landscapes are cultural creations with attendant meanings to which we react, we must conclude that they (landscapes) exist not only in and of themselves but also through the eyes of their beholders. Second, for the same reasons, we are able to look at landscape as a "text" which can be "read" or interpreted with the aim of learning more about ourselves and the communities in which we live. In summary, because landscapes (and their constituent elements) are the results of (composites of) deliberate actions they can be viewed as being inherently meaningful. It is this deliberate intent to create something (i.e., a landscape) which is imbued with meaning that justifies our treatment of landscape as a 'text'. Furthermore, unplanned or unco-ordinated aspects of the landscape are also of cultural significance in our treatment of landscape as text. In either case, landscape can be read like a book or studied like a painting with the expressed intent of learning something about ourselves and the world we live in. We will return to the issue of landscape interpretation in Chapter 3. First, however, we must review the ways in which geographers have approached the subject matter of landscape in general and the urban landscape in particular.

The history of landscape studies in geography is discussed at length by Norton (1989) and need not be repeated here. It would be remiss, however, not to mention Carl Sauer's influence on cultural geography. Jackson (1989, 13) notes that the "... conception of morphological change, with its dual emphasis on form and process, proved highly influential in the development of Sauer's own ideas on the cultural landscape." Jackson (1989, 13) also notes that Sauer's influential paper 'The morphology of landscape' (1925) "... began by defining 'landscape' as 'the unit concept of geography', a 'peculiarly geographic association of facts." John Kirkland Wright's paper "Terrae Incognitae: The Place of Imagination in Geography" (1947) seems to have acted as a bridge between that of Sauer (rooted in cultural geography) and the humanists of the 1970s. Jackson (1989, 20) suggests that geographers such as Clarence Glacken, David Lowenthal and Yi-Fu Tuan "...sought to locate cultural and historical geography within (the) longer tradition of humane inquiry" by focusing: "...on landscape, on ideas of Nature and on human consciousness itself." As we shall see below, this work by Lowenthal, Tuan and others seems, in retrospect, almost anticipatory of the so-called 'new cultural geography' of the 1980s and 1990s.

A review of works by geographers and others that have explicitly identified landscape as a central theme provides us with a sense of how the subject matter has been approached. Two fundamental ways to treat landscape can be identified in the literature. The first involves the study of a particular place as a landscape. A city, region or nation, for instance, could be studied as a geographically defined space or landscape. Perhaps the classic example of such a study is Hoskins' (1955) *The Making of the English Landscape*

in which the evolution of the British landscape is traced across the broad sweep of time from pre-Roman times to the 'landscape of towns' in the 1950s. In a similar vein *The Making of the American Landscape* by Conzen (1990; 5) is a collection of essays comprising a 'landscape history' of the United States which "... gives precedence to time as the key element in landscape formation." At a much smaller scale are geographical studies of regional and local landscapes. *Niagara's Changing Landscapes* (Gayler, 1994), for example traces the physiographic and cultural evolution of the Niagara Peninsula in southern Ontario. Kosydar and Kosydar (1989) examine the meaning of the physical environment at the head of Lake Ontario in *Natural Landscapes of the Dundas Valley*. Finally, specific places such as cities are the focus of studies such as Peace's (1989) "Landscapes of Victorian Hamilton" and Schuyler's (1995) "The Sanctified Landscape: The Hudson River Valley, 1820 to 1850."

A second approach involves the study of more generic landscape types. Most, if not all, spatial phenomena can be viewed as 'landscapes'. We can, for example, study industrial landscapes, social landscapes, economic landscape, urban landscapes, and so on. Relph's (1987, 2) *The Modern Urban Landscape* is an example of such a study in which the stated aim was "... to give an account of the development of the appearance of cities over the last 100 years in order to explain how they have come look as they do." Similarly, Schuyler (1986, 7) examined the "... vision of the new urban landscape (which) reflected a desire to redirect the course of urban culture and city form in the nineteenth century" in his book *The New Urban Landscape*. Finally, in *Landscape and Memory* Schama (1995, 19) uses the theme of landscape to take "... a journey through spaces and

places..." which reflects the sacredness of nature in the cultural habits of humanity. It is, of course, difficult to distinguish between studies of particular landscapes (e.g., the English landscape) and generic landscapes (e.g., the urban landscape); the overlap is clear and unavoidable. One cannot talk about the landscape of a particular place and time (e.g., Victorian Hamilton) without recognizing that it was a nineteenth century industrial landscape in an important Canadian manufacturing city. In other words, specific landscapes must be seen in their spatial and temporal contexts. Similarly, when speaking in general terms about, say, urban or natural landscapes, it is difficult if not impossible to ignore specific examples or case studies if for nothing other than purposes of illustration.

There are, then, an almost limitless number of landscapes across time and space for the geographer to study. In addition, there are many different geographic phenomena which can be studied as landscapes. As noted above, we readily speak of, for example, economic landscapes, social landscapes, cultural landscapes, and so on. The question which arises at this point is one of how to look at and think about landscape once we have settled on particular temporal and spatial reference points.

There are many perspectives or viewpoints from which geographers can study landscape. In *Landscape in America* (Thompson, 1995), for example, specific case studies are used to illustrate three themes: landscape as history; landscape as myth and memory; and landscape as art. In a similar fashion Meinig (1979) identifies ten different ways of looking at landscape in an essay entitled "The Beholding Eye". These are landscape as : nature, habitat; artifact; system; problem; wealth; ideology; history; place; and aesthetic. It is readily apparent that if we choose to study landscape as 'history', for

example, our conclusions will differ from those we might reach if we had opted to view landscape as 'problem'. In the case of the Durand neighbourhood the 'landscape as history' viewpoint would consider the legacy of people and events from the past in the context of successive periods of development in Hamilton. In Meinig's (1979, 43) words we would be viewing Durand as a "complex cumulative record". In contrast, by looking at Durand from the viewpoint of 'landscape as problem' we would consider "a condition needing correction" (Meinig, 1979, 39). Once such condition in Durand might be the concern expressed by some residents over the increasing number of group homes in the neighbourhood in the 1970s and 1980s. Clearly our understanding of landscape is conditioned, in part, by how we choose to look at it.

This review of the landscape literature to this point has addressed issues relating to the definition of the term, the justification for studying it and the different ways it has been treated by geographers and others. (As mentioned earlier, specific issues surrounding the interpretation of landscape will be addressed in Chapter 3.) With these theoretical issues surrounding the inner city and landscape in mind we now turn attention to the urban landscape and the way it has been studied by geographers.

2.4 The Urban Landscape: Looking at the City

As noted earlier most, if not all, geographical phenomena can be viewed as comprising or being part of either specific or generic landscapes. Cities, as a subject of geographic inquiry, have been studied extensively. They are clearly cultural creations (Mumford, 1938) and as Vance (1990, 4) notes that: "Cities are culture and geography's

largest artifact, the product of a very complex play of greatly varied forces." Eyles and Peace (1990, 74) suggest that: "while there is disagreement over the most dominant force, it is now a commonplace to suggest that cities and their urban fabrics are the outcomes of societal, political, economic and cultural forces." Relph (1987, 1) avers that few people pay serious attention to modern urban landscapes, further noting that: "There are thousands of books, both academic and interesting, which examine the structure and form of twentieth century cities; of these only a handful has anything to say about their appearance." It is Relph's use of the word 'appearance' in this statement that is important for, as he goes on to say, "(l)andscapes are the visual contexts of daily existence..." (1987, 3). Furthermore, Relph (1987, 8) suggests that landscapes are "... made within a context of well-attested ideas and beliefs about how the world works, and how it might be improved." Of particular interest here is the way in which the physical form or morphology of the city and the forces which create that form combine to produce an urban landscape which contains and proclaims social meaning.

The following examples illustrate these perspectives on the city. The morphology or physical form of the city across times has been chronicled in *The Continuing City* by Vance (1990) while Mumford (1938) in *The City in History* has placed cities and their evolution in a cultural context spanning five thousand years of urban history. Finally, Olsen's (1986) book *The City as a Work of Art* examines London, Paris and Vienna as "...deliberate artistic creations intended not merely to give pleasure but to contain ideas, inculcate values and serve as tangible expressions of systems of thought and morality." Based on these examples and earlier observations it appears that the concept of landscape

is potentially very fruitful in studying the city. How then, have urban landscapes been studied? Four Canadian examples, three of which are explicitly works about landscapes are discussed below to answer this question.

In "Evolving Urban Landscapes" Holdsworth (1993, 33) attempts to categorize Canadian urban landscapes emphasizing the "... elements within the palimpsest of built environments that are further imbued with significant social meaning." He adds: "It is in the textures of distinctive places, the lived worlds of streets, houses, shops and offices, that memories accumulate, attitudes are shaped, and cultural and political preferences are defined." Three 'distinctive milieus' are identified by Holdsworth: metropolitan downtown, small town 'Main Streets' and metropolitan residential neighbourhoods. In each instance specific examples or 'vignettes' are used to illustrate the distinctive forms, processes and problems associated of each landscape type. Holdsworth concludes that metropolitan dominance, government agencies (at all scales) and localism are critical determinants of the character of these urban landscape types in Canada and that each type has both unique and generic elements or features resulting from these determinants. These conclusions, along with Holdsworth's use of vignettes, are of significance to this study of Durand as we shall see in Chapter 3.

The second example of research on urban form to be discussed here is Caulfield's (1994) study of four inner city neighbourhoods in Toronto. Entitled *City Form and Everyday Life* this study does not explicitly recognize 'landscape' *per se* but is mentioned here for two reasons: first, it deals with changes in inner city residential neighbourhoods; and second, the subject matter of this study clearly fits the definition of landscape provided

earlier in this chapter although it is not labelled as such. Caulfield's description of four inner city neighbourhoods in Toronto is followed by a discussion of the forces which influence urban and neighbourhood change. An important finding of Caulfield's analysis is that factors such as urban growth and historically situated economic and political forces are not sufficient to explain particular urban phenomena:

> ...while economic and political forces generating growth or functional transition in a city are the necessary conditions for the fact of urban change, they do not constitute the sufficient conditions for the appearance of particular urban forms.... These sufficient conditions include the emergence of the ideas of specific landscape forms in situated contexts of everyday life and the socio-economic infrastructure through which these forms are actually produced (Caulfield, 1994, 44).

Caulfield's (1994, 92) study of gentrification in four neighbourhoods in Toronto's inner city suggests that "... urban forms and spatial arrangements are not merely epiphenomena - unarticulated local expressions - of overarching structural determinants but are the creations of social agents situated in particular historical settings." Ultimately Caufield concludes that the characteristics of particular neighbourhoods are to a considerable extent a result of ... the unfolding and nature of the city's specific processes of change" and that gentrification "... as it has occurred in Toronto has, in part, constituted an urban social movement." Central to this movement are political activism by the left-populist movement and the actions by the city's more affluent communities which were "... oriented to more cautious and urbane planning policies and to conservation of the city's traditional architectural fabric" (Caulfield 1994, 222). This work is relevant to the study of Durand reported here, particularly in terms of its explicit links between form and process at the neighbourhood level. We now turn our attention to a paper by Ley which explicitly acknowledges the importance of buildings to the changing residential landscape.

In "Past Elites and Present Gentry: Neighbourhoods of Privilege in the Inner City" Ley's (1993) concern is directed toward the 'characteristic landscapes' of older elite neighbourhoods in Canadian cities. Residential landscapes of Canada's urban elites in such areas as Montreal's Square Mile, Toronto's Rosedale and Vancouver's West End in their halcyon days are described:

> Nonetheless the exuberance and individuality of architectural styles fitted well with the optimism of the imperial frontier, while the layering of historical references, variously Roman, Greek, medieval and renaissance, offered both comfortable and romantic nostalgia and instant status to a new aristocracy emerging in a resource-rich province. In this landscape of personalized ostentation gaudiness seemed next to godliness (Ley, 1993, 218).

Ley (1993, 232) notes that "...gentrification is creating new landscapes of privilege in the inner city. ...in gentrifying areas the mutual reinforcement of landscape and identity is revealed in a new form of 'residential credentialism'." The power and wealth of elites, are expressed in their "... occupancy of residential space and their manipulation of it to advertise and to produce positions of privilege." He concludes that:

> The landscape symbolism of the old elite is not the vocabulary of the parvenus, and demolition of old mansions and their replacement by new expensive structures of a style as yet unnamed declares a new layering of privilege, a synthesis of identity and landscape, of society and space (Ley, 1993, 233).

The point is clear; different urban landscapes (in both time and space) contain and proclaim different meanings. And while this paper by Ley focuses on elite neighbourhoods, it is apparent that buildings in all residential areas play a prominent role in 'announcing' their status. This, as we shall see, is of direct relevance to the interpretation of Durand's evolving landscape discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

The final treatment of this subject matter to be reviewed here is Relph's (1987) *The Modern Urban Landscape*. Relph's focus is on the form of the built environment as characterized or defined primarily by structures, streets and spaces. "The approach is to consider how modern cities and new parts of towns have come to look as they do by tracing separate yet interconnected changes which have occurred in architecture, planning, technology and social conditions since about 1880." Relph (1987, 81) goes on to say that although the book is "... in part a review of familiar historical developments...", it "... also adds to these, casts them in a new light, and puts them in context by interpreting them in terms of their contribution to the overall appearance of cities." His approach is to chronicle the changing appearance of cities resulting from new ideas and innovations in planning architecture and technology placed within the changing social, political and economic contexts of cities and urban development. Relph (1987, 11) makes the important point that "(l)andscapes are made by ideas as well as by construction..." thereby explicitly acknowledging that the landscape and its constituent parts are not only deliberate cultural creations, but also contain meanings derived or implanted by the societies which created them. Relph (1987, 27) notes, for example:

> As the eighteenth century turned into the nineteenth there was a widespread reaction against all forms of classicism, and a plea for more romantic, spiritual and emotional types of art, poetry and architecture. The architectural style which suggested itself was Gothic, and as a result of a self-conscious effort by individuals such as A.W.N. Pugin, the architect of the English Houses of Parliament and the art critic John Ruskin, Gothic styles were revived.

Technological innovation also contributed to a newly emerging urban landscape. Relph notes, for example, that masonry construction of tall buildings was rendered obsolete by 1889 with innovations such as the elevator and skeleton steel frame construction. These

and other technological changes produced unprecedented changes to the urban landscape. The most obvious change was that cities (or at least their downtowns) began to grow vertically. Relph (1987, 39) notes that tall buildings constructed in the first half of the twentieth century were "...accurately described as stretched temples, elevated palaces and elongated cathedrals" referring to The Woolworth Building in Lower Manhattan (1913) as "a great Gothic elongation".

In addition to changes in technology, architectural styles and tastes, and societal conditions, Relph notes that the emergence of town planning in the twentieth century had a variety of impacts for the urban landscape:

> At first town planning was conceived as a way of providing grand solutions to all urban problems, either by radical redevelopment for city beautification or by the construction of entirely new garden cities. It soon became clear that such utopian solutions were not going to be implemented on more than a limited scale, and planners, ... reduced their sights to finding ways of separating incompatible land uses and designing good residential neighbourhoods. It is chiefly these that have left a mark on the patterns and forms of modern cities.

The importance of Relph's work for this study of Durand is clear: the urban landscape is a product of a range of conditioning factors (i.e., technology, planning, architectural trends and societal conditions). The interplay of these (and other) factors is manifested on the urban landscape in the form of the city and its constituent parts. This study will consider the extent to which Relph's (1987, 267) contention that "... modern urban landscapes, like all landscapes, are reflections rather than causes of the human condition" applies to the Durand neighbourhood.

The preceding review of the urban landscape literature has several implications for this study of Durand as an evolving inner city landscape. In various ways Holdsworth,

Caulfield, Ley and Relph have raised questions regarding the specific role played by buildings as cultural artifacts on the urban landscape. As was noted in Chapter 1, a purpose of this study is to assess the significance of buildings as markers or indicators of changes in form and process on the urban landscape. In particular, the issue is whether or not buildings can provide insights into the nature of the changing landscape in Durand. Two questions arise at this point. First, what can buildings tell us about ourselves and the society we live in? Second, how can buildings be studied so as to evoke such revelations? The second question will be addressed in Chapter 3. For now, the final task in this chapter is to examine the literature dealing specifically with buildings and their relation to society in general and the urban landscape in particular.

2.5 Buildings and Urban Form

Geographers and urban historians alike have devoted considerable attention to city and its multitude of characteristics. In so doing they have studied the city's morphology (Vance, 1990), its social character (Ley, 1983; Knox, 1987) and its relation to broader cultural processes (Mumford, 1938) to cite but three general concerns. The interrelationships amongst these and other perspectives on cities almost inevitably leads to consideration of what has become known as the 'built environment' or, more generally, the urban landscape. In simple terms, we are interested in "... the relationship between social forms and built forms, between society and the built environment" (King, 1980, 1). While the term 'built environment' embodies something more than just physical structures (or 'buildings') these words are used more or less synonymously. Buildings, it could be

argued, lie at the root of these relationships between society and culture on the one hand and urban landscapes where we live our daily lives on the other. The purpose of this section is to examine the literature dealing with the relationship between buildings and urban form. In so doing we will make connections between the concrete, tangible and familiar elements of the urban landscape, that is buildings, and the broader concerns of urban form and process. We begin this discussion by looking at the importance of buildings.

In calling for geographers to pay greater attention to the built environment, Goss (1988, 32) notes that: "Geography has generally failed to come to terms with the complexity of architectural form and meaning...". Ford (1994, 1) states that: "while the need for increasing integration between the architectural and the social science approaches to understanding the city is gradually being recognized, there are still niches that beg to be filled." Carter (1986, 267), speaking from the urban historian's point of view states her concerns in the following terms:

> Is man (sic), then, so divorced from these structures that historians - the students of recorded man - can afford to ignore them as irrelevant or treat them as minor peripheral entities? When men established and develop their cities, they build buildings. They live in buildings everyday of their lives, they expand their cities, fulfil civic needs, and recognize personal aspirations by building buildings. Buildings should be central to the study of urban history.

Knox (1994, 146) notes that: "The design of the built environment is what gives expression, meaning and identity to the broad sweep of forces involved in urbanization. It provides cues for all kinds of behaviour. It is symbolic of all kinds of political, social and cultural forces."

Based on earlier discussion in this chapter one could argue that the starting point for the study of landscape can or should be its visual appearance. A city's buildings and their sites determine its 'look'. After allowing for variation in site, the similarities and differences between and among cities in terms of appearance are largely if not exclusively determined by buildings. Buildings, after all, give a city its skyline; indeed buildings are the city's skyline. The physical profile of the city is intimately linked to the way in which residents and non-residents alike view the city. Koltun (1980, 13) suggests that: "... the first purpose of architecture is territorial... the architect sets out the stimuli with which the observer creates an image of 'place'...". A strong argument could be made for the explicit inclusion of buildings in our urban histories and geographies. As Carter (1986, 267) succinctly notes: "Without buildings, a city does not exist."

Buildings serve two fundamental purposes. In functional terms they provide unique spaces for a range of daily activities. Domestic, commercial, recreational and religious activities, among others, take place in separate and distinct structures. King (1980, 21) notes that the subject index of the Royal Institute of British Architects Library catalogue "...lists over a thousand terms, from abattoirs to zoos, describing building forms that have identifiable, culturally significant differences; ...". At times several more or less related activities are combined in one structure or complex as is the case with shopping malls. Still, the fundamental characteristic of separate spaces for separate activities persist. Buildings are 'produced' by developers and architects in order to be 'consumed' by individuals, firms and organizations for specific uses. This view of buildings as physical commodities implicitly recognizes the exchange value of a structure, i.e., "... its value on

the market as a commodity embodying labour and capital" (Goss, 1988, 394). As physical entities buildings give the urban landscape its form and appearance. As noted earlier, the work of Relph (1987) on urban landscapes focuses on the appearance and form of cities as manifested in the changing uses and styles of buildings. Furthermore, King (1980, 1) notes that:

> As changes in society occur, so too does change in its built environment. New building types emerge and existing ones become obsolete. Some buildings are modified, extended and take on different functions; others may simply disappear. Society produces its buildings, and the buildings, although not producing society, help to maintain many of its social forms.

As physical entities, then, buildings are 'created' for practical or functional reasons. Together, the buildings that make up the urban landscape are largely responsible for the look of the city. But this is only part of the picture; when we look at buildings, we are seeing more than just physical structures.

Beyond their physical presence, buildings are important for the meanings that they embody. Goss (1988, 394) argues that architecture should be viewed, "as a social product, as the spatial configuration of the built environment incorporating economic, political and ideological dimensions." Buildings convey messages of social difference and status. They can be viewed as symbols of wealth, power and prestige (or the absence thereof). In their totality buildings contribute to the identity of streetscapes, neighbourhoods and cities. Buildings, then, tell us about both the societies which construct them and those that use them. The question which arises at this point concerns the manner in which the symbolic meaning of buildings is linked to urban form. The

architectural historians provide some useful insights into the link between these two aspects of landscape.

In *Cities and People* Girouard (1985) traces the evolution of cities from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century. The intent of Girouard's work was "... to start with the functions which have drawn people to cities, and to work outwards from them to the spaces and buildings which grew up to cater for them" (1985, v). Three examples will illustrate the connections among buildings, urban form, and urban society. Girouard (1985, 41) speaks of the medieval city in the following terms:

> Nobles, merchants, shopkeepers, entrepreneurs and artisans all lived under the authority of the Church. Its importance in the medieval city can scarcely be exaggerated; in terms of buildings it is made abundantly clear by any visit to a historic medieval city, and even more by bird's-eye views or prospects made before the alteration and destruction of later centuries. However grand the townhalls or market halls, however formidable the walls or the ruler's castle, however cumulatively impressive the private towers, in every medieval town nothing could equal ecclesiastical buildings for combined splendour of architecture and richness of furniture and fittings.

Manchester, the 'shock city of the age', is described by Girouard (1985, 258) as follows:

> ...factory chimneys far outnumbered church towers, eight-storey mills towered over squalid little houses, opulent warehouses, some of them as large as the mills, were grander and bigger than the town hall. ... For Thomas Carlyle, Manchester was 'every whit as wonderful, as fearful, as unimaginable, as the oldest salem or prophetic city.

Finally, Girouard (1985, 322) describes the skyscraper craze in New York City:

> All the early New York high buildings were designed to make a splash rather than to give the maximum commercial return. They were the headquarters of insurance companies, of newspapers, and of cable or telegraph companies which were often in competition with each another, and knew the value of height, splendour and a memorable silhouette in establishing their image or increasing their sales.

The point is clear; throughout urban history buildings convey messages and meanings to people who use them, work in them, and live in them.

The work of Scully (1991), an art historian, is based on the premise that the history of architecture is a reflection of humanity's reaction to the natural world. His treatment of the Gothic cathedral is relevant to this discussion concerning buildings, their meanings and relation to urban form. In a chapter entirely devoted to the physical structure of the Gothic cathedral Scully (1991, 123) notes that buildings inherently possess meanings:

> All works of art have to do with meaning. We can never, in fact, experience form without deriving meaning from it. All forms have their physical and associational meanings built into them, and all those meanings, but especially those involved with association, will change as cultures change.

It should be noted that this point about meanings changing with cultural evolution has been demonstrated in the context of cities (see Eyles and Peace, 1990) so it is not unreasonable to suggest that buildings would undergo similar changes. In the chapter devoted to the experience of the Gothic cathedral and its site, Scully notes:

> But the church is as intensely related to the town as it is to the landscape. ...As we approach the church... perhaps on an early-winter morning in a chilling fog, the impression is of some dark monster looming out of the mist.

Further: "It seems apparent that the exterior massing of most cathedrals was intended to evoke that ultimate image, taking shape in a crowd of towers, rising from every conceivable point to construct... a heaven on earth." Not only did the cathedral and its site possess meaning, but so, too, did all of the various components of the building from the rose window to the vaults to the flying buttresses and the gargoyles whose strategic positions on the exterior of the cathedral ensured that evil remained outside the House of

God. Scully (1991, 155) observes that the builders of these structures "... regarded themselves as building the image of a divine order, which would be made wholly manifest to the worshipper who finally stood in the crossing and faced the altar." While all buildings certainly do not evoke the same degree of symbolic meaning as do religious structures, it is nonetheless true that each one will, by itself or in association with other buildings, evoke particular associations for particular people.

It is clear from the discussion to this point that buildings are cultural creations with cultural meanings. Historian David Olsen (1986) examines cities and buildings in this light in *The City as a Work of Art*. It is here that the basis for the interpretation of buildings as elements of the urban landscape begins to materialize. In describing London, Paris and Vienna, Olsen notes that: "Each is, above all, a work of art, a collectively created complex of buildings, streets, phenomena, experiences and activities existing in time as well as in space, that serves, to paraphrase Biggon, to promote the happiness and exalt the dignity of mankind." Olsen (1986, 6) argues for an interpretive approach to the understanding of extravagant buildings and streets in London:

> To grasp the meaning of such self-indulgences such display, the techniques of the economic historian are useless, those of the social historian inadequate. The art historian and the intellectual historian are better qualified to illuminate our understanding of cities that, like London, transcend in both aspiration and achievement the merely practical and utilitarian.

Like Relph (1987), Olsen (1986, 253) concludes that:

> In the building of a city the links between political, social, economic technological, aesthetic and even intellectual history are obvious and inescapable. Whatever may have been true of earlier periods, if we wish to understand Western culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its cities are a good place to begin.

Olsen's treatment of 'the city as document' seems to parallel the earlier discussion here regarding the 'landscape as text'. Architecture, according to Olsen is the key to understanding the 'spirit of the age'.

To varying degrees geographers have considered the importance of buildings in their study of the city. The work of Lynch (1960) was instrumental in pointing geographers to the significance of the city's buildings and its physical form. Perception and understanding of the city, Lynch argued, were related to the 'imageability' and 'legibility' of the urban landscape. King (1980, 27) examined the connections between buildings and society across time and space, concluding that: "Built environments encode or give expression to a particular set of cultural rules and also influence both social and cognitive environments. How people build not only results from but also influences how they think. Knox (1987, 355) discusses interpretations of architecture "... as culture and as politics, the role of architects and architecture in relation to capital accumulation and circulation, legitimation and social reproduction, and the role of architects as urban managers." Domosh (1987) has studied the link between a particular building type (skyscrapers) and perceptions of the city. Harvey (1979, 362) notes that "The Basilica (of Sacré Coeur, in Paris) finally completed and consecrated in 1919, was for many years seen as a provocation to civil war and to this day is still interpreted as a political symbol." The work of Goss (1988) and Relph (1987), both cited earlier, represent attempts to bring buildings to the forefront in the study of the city. Goss (1988, 402) argues that: "An invigorated architectural geography would have as its basis the realization that all architectural forms must be located in space, and that buildings are at the same time

commodities embodying social values and meaning which impart character to that space." Finally, in *Cities and Buildings* Ford (1994, xii) links buildings and their meanings to the urban landscape when he states:

> I have walked and snooped and lurked for days on end in cities, making every effort to take it all in - to decipher the elusive essence of place.

Indeed it is this 'elusive essence of place' which lies front and centre in this study of the Durand Neighbourhood. Ford (1994, 3) notes that space must be 'fleshed out' with architecture in order to develop meaningful models of the real world adding that: "Building style and architecture cannot be generalized out of the picture if location in space is to have any meaning" (1994, 4). Through discussions of a variety of building types Ford (1994, 9) concludes that: "By fleshing out city structure with real landscapes, we cannot only make better use of and add to the rich literature of urban and cultural geography but also those of architecture and social history, urban design and social theory."

2.6 Summary

The objectives of this research as stated in Chapter 1 give rise to the structure and content of this literature review. Four concerns are emphasized in this review. First, the character of the 'inner city' as an identifiable part of the urban landscape was discussed in terms of its spatial patterns and processes. Second, the broad concept of 'landscape' was introduced and discussed as a way of studying geographic phenomena e.g., specific places such as the inner city. Third, the review narrowed the focus of the landscape discussion to consider the specific instance of the 'urban landscape'. The urban landscape, it was

argued, can and should be an integral part of our studies of the city because it embodies both form and process. Finally, we turned to buildings, perhaps the most concrete and tangible elements of the urban landscape. It was concluded that our understanding of the city can be more complete if, in the words of Ford, our studies are 'fleshed out' with consideration of buildings.

Where do we go from here? This literature review has important implications for the methodology to be used in this study. Specifically, questions regarding exactly how buildings can be studied and how the landscape can be interpreted through the study of buildings emerge from this literature review. Writing of the legacy of Augustus Welby Pugin, leading proponent of the Gothic Revival in 19th century Britain, Saint (1995, 273) describes the link between architectural design and the state of society as follows:

> Architecture mattered because it was the most eloquent of all witnesses to the moral and physical condition of a city or a nation. Improve it, and you have gone some way to improving the world; yet you cannot hope to improve architecture very much until you have first improved the world. Since few artists who hold this view have the patience or austerity to lay aside their art while they are improving the world, the world generally ends up a queer and not very logical mixture of design, polemic and social action.

We have established that buildings (and, more generally, architecture) are important elements of the urban landscape. But how can buildings be used as markers or indicators of the links between urban form and urban process? This and other methodological questions are taken up in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

Looking at the Landscape: Methodological Issues

> Beyond that of any other discipline. ...the
> subject matter of geography approximates
> the world of general discourse; the palpable
> present, the everyday life of man on earth,
> is seldom far from our professional concerns.
>
> David Lowenthal
> "Geography, Experience and Imagination"

> Everyday life consists of the little things
> one hardly notices in time and space.
>
> Fernand Braudel
> *Civilization and Capitalism,*
> *Vol. I: The Structures of Everyday Life*

3. 1 Introduction

As noted in Chapter 1 the objectives of this study are to describe, explain and interpret the evolution of Hamilton's Durand neighbourhood in the post-WWII era. Literature dealing with the inner city, urban landscapes and the links between buildings and urban form was reviewed in Chapter 2. In light of this literature the specific research question addressed by this study is as follows: what can buildings, as elements of the urban landscape, tell us about its underlying processes? The answer to this question, it is argued, can add to our understanding of urban form and its meaning. This chapter

explores the methodological issues arising out of the purpose of this study as stated in Chapter 1 and the literature review in Chapter 2. Specifically, what are the data requirements given this study's objectives in terms of description, explanation and interpretation? This chapter is structured as follows. First, the location and general character of the study area, i.e., the Durand neighbourhood, is described. In addition, reasons for the choice of Durand as the study area are presented. Second, the data requirements and sources are discussed. Specifically, what information about form and process in Durand is needed and used to address the issue of buildings and their significance? Once this information has been collected, questions arise as to how it can be best used to fulfill the purpose of this study. This leads to the third part of this chapter which deals with landscape interpretation. In this section questions and issues regarding the nature of landscape interpretation and its inherent difficulties are discussed. Finally, the chapter concludes with a photographic survey of the Durand neighbourhood in the 1990s. The intent here is to provide an overall sense of Durand's character and how it is to be studied in terms of its buildings and their relation to processes affecting the neighbourhood. Furthermore, by looking at Durand today we will be in a position to ask how it came to look this way. As such the photographic survey acts as a prelude to the historical background of Durand presented in Chapter 4.

3.2 The Study Area: Hamilton's Durand Neighbourhood

The name 'Durand neighbourhood' or simply 'Durand' is used to refer to that part of Hamilton's inner city lying to the southwest of the city's central business district (CBD)

(see Figure 3.1). Its boundaries are the present day: James Street South (on the east); Queen Street South (on the west); Main Street West (on the north); and the Niagara Escarpment (on the south). Durand is one of several inner city neighbourhoods in Hamilton. As a spatial entity on the map of Hamilton it was not formally named and delimited as such until the early 1970s when the entire city was divided into 'neighbourhood planning units' for the purpose of devising local (neighbourhood) level plans (City of Hamilton, Planning Department, 1973). This 274 acre planning unit more or less coincides with three census tracts in Hamilton's inner city. Despite this apparent artificiality of the neighbourhood it remains a viable unit of analysis if only for the reason that it is readily identified as a 'neighbourhood' by its residents, the residents of other areas in the city and by local politicians. Even though the neighbourhood *per se* did not formally exist until the 1970s, Durand was, in part, the legacy of events which took place nearly two hundred years earlier. In 1791 Deputy Provincial Surveyor Augustus Jones completed the first survey of Barton Township at the head of Lake Ontario. The boundaries of what later became the Durand Neighbourhood are to be found in Jones' survey. Durand's northern boundary, the present day Main Street, was the boundary between Concession II and Concession III. Within each concession, land was divided into pairs of 100 acre lots. The Durand of today is actually lots 15 and 16 in Concession III of Jones' survey. Lot 15 was bounded by James Street (Durand's eastern boundary) and what later became Bay Street while lot 16 was bounded by Bay Street and Queen Street (Durand's western boundary). To the south the Niagara Escarpment acted as a physical boundary for the neighbourhood despite the fact that it did not correspond with Jones'

survey of lots and concessions. The neighbourhood was named after James Durand, a partner in land speculation with the City's founder, George Hamilton, in the early 1800s (Weaver, 1981, 65). While Durand did own property in what is now central Hamilton, ironically, he did not actually own the land in the neighbourhood which now bears his name.

Durand today is a largely residential inner city neighbourhood which displays many of the characteristics of inner city areas discussed in Chapter 2. Given the objectives of this study and the emphasis placed on buildings and their relation to urban form and process, Durand was chosen as the study area for two reasons. First, Durand has been subject to the various processes affecting inner city areas discussed in Chapter 2. As we shall see in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, for example, the four neighbourhood dimensions (decline, stability, revitalization and massive redevelopment) discussed by McLemore *et al.* (1975) are all part of the Durand's evolving landscape in the post-WWII era. In short, the spatial forms and processes of the 'typical' inner city neighbourhood are, to varying degrees, in evidence in Durand. The second reason for selecting Durand as the study area for this investigation lies in the neighbourhood's buildings. As we shall see later in this and in subsequent chapters, Durand's buildings feature a broad range of characteristics in terms of use, age, architectural style, modifications, and meaning. They thereby provide visible evidence on the landscape to inform the analysis of the relationship between spatial form and temporal process in the inner city of Hamilton.

3.3 Data Requirements and Sources

The discussion of urban landscapes in Chapter 2 revealed three things. First, urban landscapes consist of buildings which are cultural artifacts. Second, buildings are given meanings by those who produce and use them. Finally, the urban landscape and its constituent elements (like buildings) are dynamic. In simple terms, the built environment and the social character of the city, both elements of urban form, are constantly evolving as a consequence of social, economic and political processes. Herein lies the key to what we should look for in this study of the urban landscape. As noted in Chapter 1, this study has three objectives. These are the description, explanation and interpretation of the Durand neighbourhood in the post-WWII era. Each of these objectives has implications in terms of this study's data requirements.

The first objective, description, requires that we know what Durand 'looked like' throughout its history in general and during the post-WWII era in particular. Specifically we need to know when and where particular buildings were constructed, who designed and/or built them, how they were used, and how they were modified. In short, a history of the built environment of Durand must be constructed. This history must take into account both details regarding particular buildings as well as the more general character of Durand's built environment. The descriptive objective of this study also requires that we explore the evolution of the demographic and social character of the neighbourhood. We need to know for example, something about the patterns of income, education and occupation of Durand's residents. These variables can then be used to paint a picture of Durand's social landscape which, like the built environment, changes over time. Together,

the histories of Durand's built environment and social landscape fulfill the descriptive objectives of this study. In particular, this history provides both evidence and examples of change in Durand.

The second objective of this study, explanation, requires that we understand the forces underlying the observed patterns in Durand's built environment and social landscape. In short, this objective requires that we ask the following question: "why did Durand look the way it did at particular times in its history?". To meet this explanatory objective we must look to the various forces and trends which have impacted Canadian cities in general and Hamilton in particular. These forces include economic, social, cultural and political processes, the spatial manifestation of which is the urban landscape. These broader forces set the context within which more local or idiosyncratic processes are played out on landscapes such as the Durand neighbourhood. Within the context of processes operating at a variety of scales are the actions of individual architects, developers, politicians and neighbourhood residents which are manifested on the landscape of Durand. Together these local, regional and national trends, in combination with individual actions meet the explanatory objective.

The third objective of this study, interpretation, hinges on the description and explanation of Durand's landscape as discussed above. Before commenting on the data requirements of this study's interpretive objective we must provide a sense of what is meant by interpretation. Unlike description, which asks the question 'what?' and explanation, which asks the question 'why?', interpretation is much more ambiguous. Ley (1988, 121) notes that:

> Interpretive research is concerned to make sense of the actions and intentions of people as knowledgeable agents; indeed, more properly it attempts to make sense of their making sense of the events and opportunities confronting them in everyday life.

Ley suggests that this view of interpretive research leads the geographer to view landscapes as the 'active construction of human groups': "Places are not the inevitable outcome of seemingly irreversible and impersonal forces. Rather people make over places in their own image as they confront the opportunities and limits of a local environment..." (1988, 121). This leads to the conclusion that: "Any place is more properly an object for a plurality of subjects, there is a regional sociology, and the realities of social stratifaction introduce class, power, lifestyle and interest group cleavages to the intersection of people and place" (Ley, 1988, 121). Interpretation, then, involves reading "... the symbolic code which gives coherence to a diverse set of cultural forms..." (Ley, 1988, 124). Not only can we describe cultural forms such as the landscape in the context of their underlying processes, we can also look for the meanings of the intentions and actions of people which lie behind the forms we see. It is this act of 'looking behind the scenes' which lies at the heart of interpretation. A brief return to the example of Whitehern, will provide a sense of what we do when interpreting the landscape. As noted in Chapter 1, Whitehern has been officially designated as a historic site by the provincial and federal governments. Such acts symbolize the recognition of our heritage and its importance to, among other things, our current condition and sense of identity. The past, in other words, is important to us. We proclaim this importance through such actions as the designation of buildings as historic sites. Interpretation, in this case, is the act of 'looking behind the scene' for such

fundamental intentions and their meanings. Issues surrounding interpretation are discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

In light of these comments the question remains as to the data requirements for the interpretive objective of this study. In fact it is the history of Durand in terms of pattern and process (i.e., description and explanation) which is the subject of the interpretive method. In other words, the landscape as a cultural form was 'created', in part, through individual actions and motivations in the context of prevailing societal forces. In order to interpret the landscape we must know something about the motivations underlying individual and group actions. Furthermore, we need symbols from the landscape itself. The identification of these symbols, of course, rests on the detailed and thorough description and explanation of Durand's landscape. In summary, the method used in this study centres on the description and explanation of a reconstructed history of Durand's built environment and social character. This reconstructed history provides the basis for interpreting the meaning and significance of landscape change in Durand in the post-WWII era. Ley (1988, 122) notes that "... interpretive research requires an interpretive methodology..." the aim of which is to "... pick up the nuances of social life in a place while not missing the broader contexts which structure the life chances of local people - sometimes in ways that may not be readily apparent to them." We now turn attention to the sources of information used in this study given the stated purpose and objectives.

The information sources which permit the description, explanation and interpretation of Durand as an evolving landscape fall into two categories based on time: (i) the historical background covering the period 1791 to 1945; and (ii) the study period

itself covering the period 1946 to 1994. First we must investigate the historical background of the neighbourhood (see Chapter 4). The time period encompassed by this historical background extends from Augustus Jones' survey of Barton Township in 1791 to 1945 and the end of the Second World War. Four main sources of information are used in Chapter 4 to construct this 154 year history. First, general histories of Hamilton by Evans (1970), Weaver (1982) and Bailey (1983) provide an overall picture of Hamilton's development from a frontier town in the early nineteenth century to an industrial city of the mid-twentieth century. Details regarding specific aspects of the city, and its people are to be found in a growing body of Hamilton-specific literature (see Chapter 4). Of particular importance here are the three volumes of the *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography* (*DHB*) (Bailey, 1981, 1991, and 1993). Evidence of Durand's evolving landscape is to be found in a variety of cartographic and photographic materials. Among the nineteenth century maps used to reconstruct Durand's physical development are the Marcus Smith map of 1851-52, and the Bird's Eye View maps of 1876 and 1893. Details concerning specific buildings and sites are available in the Fire Insurance Plans of Hamilton for the years 1898 and 1911.

Beginning with the latter part of the nineteenth century photographs become an important, if not indispensable source of information about Durand's landscape. Two books published in the 1890s, *Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada* (The Times Printing Co., 1893) and *Art Work on Hamilton* (W.H. Carre, 1899) provide detailed if incomplete photographic surveys of the city and its buildings. In addition to these and other more recently published photographs, there is a large number of historic photographs housed in

the Hamilton Public Library, Special Collections, which have provided information concerning Durand's buildings. These sources have important limitations which are discussed more fully in Chapter 4. Nonetheless these photographs, maps and Fire Insurance plans provide necessary and sufficient information to reconstruct the evolution of Durand's built environment.

The social contours of the neighbourhood are described through the biographical sketches of Hamiltonians from all walks of life found in the *DHB*, City Directories and the 1900 Society Blue Book. These sources are especially useful in Durand in light of its status as the preferred location of many of Hamilton's elite in the second half of the nineteenth century. Durand was by no means an exclusively elite area; nonetheless, these sources provide insights into the social character of several areas within the neighbourhood. Information concerning the first half of the twentieth century was also taken from the general histories and more specific studies of Hamilton. In some instances more recent planning reports and documents provide information concerning particular aspects of Durand. A study of high density residential development in Hamilton (Planning and Development Department, Hamilton-Wentworth Region, 1987), for example, provides details concerning Durand's low rise apartments built between 1910 and 1945. The historical background discussed in Chapter 4 ends in 1945 which more or less coincides with the publication of the 1941 census data in the *Housing Atlas of Hamilton* (Minister of Trade and Commerce, 1946). This document provides the starting point for the post-WWII era through its profile of Hamilton in terms of social, economic and housing characteristics. These sources, then, provide the required data in light of the

study's objectives of description, explanation and interpretation in the context of Durand's historical background.

The detailed account of Durand's evolution in the post-WWII era begins in Chapter 5 and concludes with Chapter 7. While the general histories written about Hamilton continue to be a source of information for these chapters, they fail to provide sufficient detail. As such more specialized sources of information are needed to recreate the evolution of Durand's built environment and social contours. Five such sources enable these data requirements to be met. First, census data from 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 enable a portrayal of Durand's changing social character in the postwar era. Of particular interest here are census variables pertaining to, for example, income, occupation, education and housing tenure. A second source of information in these chapters is found in planning reports and documents. Studies of both Durand and the city as a whole contain information regarding land uses, housing and zoning changes, for example. These studies begin with Hamilton's first Official Plan (1946) and culminate in the revised Durand Neighbourhood Plan (1987). A third source of information concerning the general character of the neighbourhood and details regarding specific residences in Durand is the *Spectator*'s weekly real estate guide 'Spec homes'. A collection of about 40 such papers featured homes in Durand between 1981 and 1994. These articles provide information regarding specific residential structures during the period when the forces of revitalization brought change to Durand. In addition, the articles are useful in that they provide a sense of the neighbourhood's overall character. A fourth source which is used extensively in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 is the *Durand Neighbourhood Association*

Newsletter, first published in 1973. This newsletter provides a detailed chronology of events and issues which were part of Durand from 1972 to 1994. It proves to be especially useful in tracing the histories of many buildings in Durand.

Finally, four 'key informants' provided information concerning events in Durand over the period 1946 to 1994. These informants were selected on the basis of their direct participation in matters and events in Durand. Those interviewed were: Nina Chapple, City of Hamilton Planning Department; Alan Seymour, Restoration Architect; Diane Dent, Chair, Hamilton Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee and former President of the Durand Neighbourhood Association; and William McCulloch, Ward 2 Councillor, Hamilton City Council and Hamilton Historical Board member. Together these five sources permit a detailed reconstruction of Durand's history and a recreation of the patterns and processes manifested on the landscape of Durand in the post-WWII era. These sources, in other words, provide the data necessary to meet the study's objectives of the description, explanation and interpretation of Durand's landscape in the post-WWII.

There is, as noted earlier, a question that lies behind the description and explanation of landscape appreciation and preference. This has to do with the manner in which we as individuals and societies find meaning in landscape. This meaning or significance is derived through both our conscious and unconscious interpretation of the landscape. We have seen in Chapter 2 that cities as well as buildings can be treated as cultural artifacts. As such they perform functions and also contain symbolic value or meaning. In the case of buildings, architects intend that their buildings convey particular

messages. Similarly, individuals and firms who commission buildings do so with the intention of making a public statement. These are but two examples of meanings that become part of the urban landscape as a result of deliberate intent. Meanings can also be ascribed or conferred upon buildings and the urban landscape by those who see or use them. Buildings and the urban landscape then, are 'real objects', but they also have metaphoric or symbolic content (Eyles and Peace, 1990). When we 'read' or interpret the urban landscape we are examining "... the 'text' of the city and interpretations of that text simultaneously" (Eyles and Peace, 1990, 75). In terms of this study of Durand as an inner city landscape, the 'text' is provided through the descriptive and explanatory objectives of the study. The 'interpretation' of this text is centred on the symbolic meaning and significance of Durand's landscape. In some respects the former (description and explanation) is, more or less, an objective exercise, although there may be disagreement over matters such as the significance of certain explanatory variables. On the other hand, interpretation is, by definition, much more subjective. Landscape interpretation is much like viewing a painting in an art gallery; different viewers see different things, have different reactions and ascribe different meanings to the same painting.

A definition of interpretation was provided earlier in this chapter. Like the concept of landscape itself, the act of reading or interpretation is both simple yet complex at the same time. Meinig (1979, 6) states that: "Every landscape is a code, and its study may be undertaken as a deciphering of meaning, of the cultural and social significance of ordinary but diagnostic features...". Lewis (1979, 12) suggest that, because landscapes have cultural meaning: "It follows... that we can 'read the landscape' as we might read a book.

Our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations and even our fears, in tangible, visible form." Indeed Lewis' (1979, 15) first axiom for reading the landscape makes explicit what we should look for:

> The man-made (sic) landscape - the ordinary run of the mill things that humans have created and put upon the earth - provides strong evidence of the kind of people we are, and were, and are in process of becoming. In other words, the culture of any nation is unintentionally reflected in its ordinary vernacular landscape.

Meinig (1979, 34) notes that "... any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads." The implication of this statement is that it is possible to go beyond describing and explaining what we see on the landscape. We can, in fact, go beneath the surface of what and why, i.e. patterns and processes, to consider the deeper meaning and symbolism of what we see. In Tuan's (1979, 90) words:

> If the essential character of landscape is that it combines these two (objective and subjective), it is clear that the combination can take place only in the mind's eye. Landscape appears to us through an effort of the imagination exercised over a highly selected array of sense data. It is an achievement of the mature mind.

Conzen (1990, 1) suggests that "...landscape holds an intellectual interest in offering a palimpsest of signs for 'decoding' and analyzing our human use of the globe.

In summary, the 'interpretation' of the landscape can be viewed as the attempt to explore the cultural meaning and significance which lie behind what we see. Interpretation is predicated on the belief that what we see, e.g., cultural artifacts such as buildings, do, indeed, reflect something of the human condition. This, it seems, is a plausible starting point. There is, to be sure, a broad range of levels at which our interpretations can be invoked. At one end of the spectrum is Clay's (1987, 1) *Right Before Your Eyes*, which provides a practical view of landscape in which "... there exists an observable and

universal order..." that "... emphasizes the reality of (the) world." On the other hand Schama's more esoteric *Landscape and Memory* explores landscape across the broad sweep of cultural history emphasizing the relationship between humanity and nature. This interpretation of Hamilton's Durand Neighbourhood lies somewhere between the practical and the esoteric. The work of Eyles and Peace (1990) provides some clues as to how interpretation is treated in this study.

In a study of Hamilton's image as 'Steel City', Eyles and Peace (1990) examine the societal context within which urban images are formed. We note that cities (like buildings) are cultural artifacts and as such can be understood in terms of ideology, myth and metaphor. Cities (like buildings), then, can be viewed using both objective and subjective terms of reference in order to comprehend the meaning of place. Using methods of iconology (the interpretation of symbols) and iconography (the description of symbols), we conclude that the city's image stems from four sets of factors: national identity; economic life; political location; and cultural logic. Of these the latter two were deemed to be the most important to an understanding of Hamilton's image. We (1990, 75) note that: "When 'reading' the city, we are dealing with a 'real object' and its metaphoric and symbolic content. We must thus examine the 'text' of the city and interpretations of that text simultaneously." Herein lies the nature of this interpretation of Durand. The neighbourhood and its buildings are described as 'real objects' with 'metaphoric and symbolic content'. If we are correct in asserting that there are relationships between cities and culture which can be interpreted, it would seem reasonable to suggest that there exists a similar relationship between neighbourhoods (and

their buildings) and culture which can also be interpreted. There are difficulties associated with 'interpretation' as a method (see below). Nevertheless, it is a necessary and worthwhile exercise for many reasons. As we (1990, 86) note: "We need to make sense of the world and understand how we make sense."

Before leaving the subject of landscape interpretation it seems appropriate to identify and comment on some of the method's inherent difficulties and limitations. The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 revealed that 'landscape' is inordinately complex. It is this complexity along with other facets of the landscape which make it difficult to 'make sense' of what we see. We must recognize that we are more than passive bystanders. When we attempt to interpret (make sense) of what we see, we immediately become active participants in something that involves more than just observation. Even the phrase "look for meaning" evokes connotations of inherent personal biases, hidden agendas, and any number of other challenges to an objective point of view. However, the search for meaning in landscape (like that in art or literature) cannot and should not be an exercise in objectivity. Attempting to 'make sense' is difficult and challenging, but as Sennett (1990, 85) notes, it is worth the effort: "The more a person surveys the world in an open, uninhibited spirit, the more he and she becomes involved in it as a critic and an actor." He further notes that:

> Whatever challenges adults make to the existing social order, they will make not in a spirit of alienation and rejection but rather in the name of life that 'makes sense' - these two simple words that ask for so much.

Why is it that 'making sense' asks for so much?

There would appear to be three general issues or problems we, as landscape interpreters, must confront: these are complexity, familiarity and perspective. The problem of complexity is illustrated in Scully's (1991, 155) description of the experience of a Gothic cathedral:

> "... how various the experiences of works of art can be; how inexhaustible those works of art in terms of meaning and how they can be studied in any number of different ways. They never embody one truth - a fact that human beings seem afraid to acknowledge - but multiple truths, always exceeding the intentions of their makers in depth, ambiguity and variety, and changing over time as those who perceive them change.

Thus, the potential for variation in both what we see and along with what we think it means is enormous.

The second problem, that of familiarity, is rooted in an apparent and inherent contradiction of landscape itself. Relph (1987, 3) puts it succinctly: "So landscapes are at once obvious and elusive; it seems we know exactly what they are until we try to think and write about them, or to change them in some way, and then they become enigmatic and fragile." John Fraser Hart (1995, 23) describes the contradiction in the following terms: "The inevitable starting point for geography is the visible landscape, because it is the most obvious feature of any place, although of course we transcend it almost immediately in our search for explanations." In short, we are confident about certain things, i.e., the landscape, at some level, until such time that we undertake a deliberate investigation. At that point the thing about which we were so sure seems to vanish 'right before your eyes' to borrow a phrase from Clay (1987).

The third general problem confronting those who wish to ascribe order and meaning to a complex and familiar world or place is that of perspective. Literally and

figurately we are never quite sure where we should stand when we look. Tuan (1974, 137) describes the perplexing problem of perspective as follows:

> The Gothic cathedral baffles the modern man (sic). A tourist with his camera may be impressed by the beauty of the nave with its aisles, transepts, radiating chapels, and the span of the vaults. Should be seek a position to set up his camera, he will find that there is no privileged position from which all these features may be seen. To see a Gothic interior properly one has to move about and turn one's head.

Simply stated, what you see depends on where you are standing. Thompson (1995, xiii) goes so far as to suggest that "landscape is a point of view". Walt Whitman said: "Architecture is what you do to a building when you look at it" (quoted in Fram, 1988, 1). My grandmother used to say, "you can't see the forest for the trees". All these suggest that we must look carefully *and* be careful about from where we choose to look.

There are undoubtedly other difficulties to be encountered in the quest to 'make sense'. Relph (1987, 8) notes that: "Landscapes are substantial if intangible things. We know something is there, but we aren't sure what to make of it." Despite these rather formidable obstacles there is an allure to the landscape, which draws us closer to find meaning. This is not unlike the Sirens tempting Ulysses or, in the words of Wood (1995, 5) "... one can be bewitched by the incantation of light and land...", ultimately falling under the 'spell of the land'. John Fraser Hart (1995, 23) wrote "... I might define geography as curiosity about places. Geographers have both the privilege and the duty of trying to understand and explain the character of places." If landscape is, indeed, the logical and appropriate place to start in an attempt to satisfy this curiosity, then we must allow ourselves to come under the 'spell of the land'. An interpretive approach seems well suited

to understanding this aspect of landscape. The remainder of this chapter provides a brief introduction to the landscape of the Durand Neighbourhood in the early 1990s.

3.4 Durand in the 1990s: A Photographic Survey

Implicit in the preceding discussion is the fact that landscapes are primarily visual. We need to see them first before we can describe, explain and interpret them. As a prelude to the historical background of Durand (see Chapter 4) the remainder of this chapter consists of a photographic survey of Durand in the early 1990s. The intent is to provide a visual impression of the current landscape of Durand with these photographs. In so doing the landscape is made more concrete as opposed to the rather abstract concept of an 'inner city neighbourhood'. In addition, this photographic survey provides a preliminary sense of the way in which landscapes and buildings can be used as information sources as well as cultural artifacts which can be interpreted. The photographs have been selected so as to depict the variety of building types and uses in Durand. A map showing the locations of these buildings and views is found in Figure 3.2

The view of Durand from the escarpment (Figure 3.3) reveals one of the neighbourhood's most noteworthy characteristics. Specifically, population density and intensity of land use decreases from north to south. The northern half of Durand (from Main Street to Charlton Avenue West) contains thirty-four of the neighbourhood's forty-two highrise apartment buildings (greater than 5 storeys). Examples of these highrise buildings, all of which were built in the 1960s and early 1970s, are found in Figure 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, and 3.7. Included amongst these highrise apartments are a small number of

highrise condominium buildings built in the 1980s (see Figure 3.8). There are no highrise buildings south of Herkimer Street.

In contrast to the high density development in the northern half of Durand is the much lower density found in the southern half, especially in the area immediately adjacent to the Niagara Escarpment. Figures 3.9 and 3.10 are examples of former single family dwellings that once belonged to some of the city's wealthiest families. During the mid-twentieth century changing preferences and tastes regarding residential location resulted in these two homes being converted into rental apartment units. In the 1980s both of these buildings were converted into luxury condominium units. Another example of low density, prestigious residential development from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is seen in Figure 3.11. In general most of the area south of Aberdeen Avenue is characterized by larger houses dating from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century.

A second noteworthy characteristic of Durand revealed in the photographs is the considerable diversity of housing types and conditions. This diversity is found across the entire neighbourhood as well as within relatively small subareas. Figure 3.12, for example, depicts late nineteenth century working class housing on Bruce Street which is located a mere two blocks from the prestigious homes on Ravenscliffe Avenue seen in Figure 3.11. In another example, Figure 3.13 depicts a typical cottage on Chilton Place, once known as Chauffeurs' Row. These modest brick and frame homes (which originally belonged to chauffeurs, gardeners and servants of the elite) are located within two blocks of the far more substantial residences shown in Figure 3.9, 3.10, and 3.14. At the scale of the entire

neighbourhood, the contrast in housing characteristics is evidenced by comparing the luxury condominiums in historic homes shown in Figures 3.9 and 3.10 to the much more modest working class bungalows shown in Figure 3.6 Along individual streets, considerable variation in housing characteristics is seen by comparing two views on Markland Street (see Figure 3.15 and 3.16). This is typical of the variation in single family housing throughout Durand.

Durand also features considerable contrasts between the old and the new. This is true of older buildings that have been put to newer use such as the conversion of former single family dwellings and rental units into luxury condominiums (see Figure 3.9 and 3.10). There are also several examples of former single family dwellings being converted into non-residential uses. Figure 3.17 shows a former single family dwelling converted into office/commercial uses. Such conversions are especially prominent along James Street South. Figure 3.18 depicts the former residence of the Anglican Bishop of the Niagara diocese which was converted into office and studio space by CHCH Television. These examples are typical of areas which have experienced the process of gentrification. Durand also features old and new examples of the same building type as exemplified by the pre-WWII walk-up apartment building shown in the foreground of Figure 3.7 which stands in stark contrast to the 1960s highrise apartment in the background. Another example of the pre-WWII walk-up apartments in Durand is seen in Figure 3.19. Some twenty-six such older apartment buildings are scattered across Durand.

The final feature of Durand which is both implicit and explicit in this photographic survey is the historical character of the area. Most of Durand was developed by the end of

the nineteenth century. Following the destruction of many Victorian era buildings during the highrise boom of the 1960s and early 1970s, the forces of citizen participation in planning and heritage preservation led to the preservation of several buildings. Of particular note are Whitehern (Figure 3.20) and Sandyford Place (Figure 3.21). Both of these buildings have been designated as National Historic sites because of their architectural and historical significance. Durand also has one Heritage District on MacNab Street South (not shown) and a total of twenty-five buildings which were designated under the Ontario Heritage Act between 1975 and 1994. Despite the architectural losses of the 1960s and early 1970s (see Chapter 6) Durand is recognized as one of the city's most historic areas.

In summary, Durand is an area of considerable diversity in terms of density, housing characteristics and land uses. This photographic survey provides an initial sense of this diversity. It is important to note that Durand of the early 1990s is a product of forces which have affected the city and the neighbourhood over two centuries. Beyond this, however, these forces have manifested themselves in the built environment. Individual buildings have been constructed, modified, renovated, recognized as historic sites and demolished across Durand's history. These events and their impacts on individual buildings are not incidental; they do, in fact, provide buildings with meaning. This concern, of course, lies at the core of this research. With this view of Durand in the 1990s in mind we now turn attention to Durand's historical growth to understand how it came to look this way.

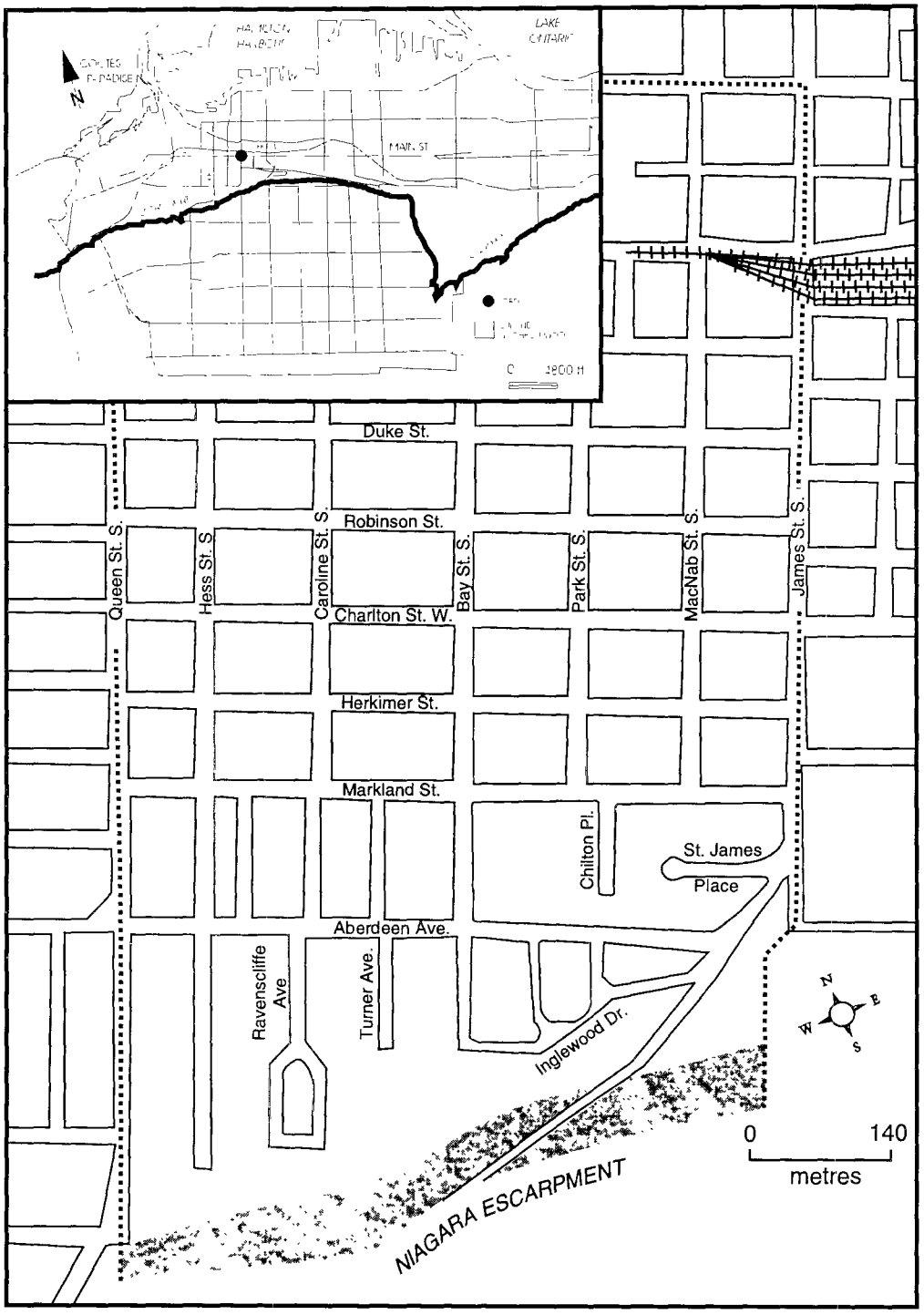

Figure 3.1: Hamilton's Durand Neighbourhood.
This map shows the boundaries of the Durand neighbourhood and its relative location in the City of Hamilton.

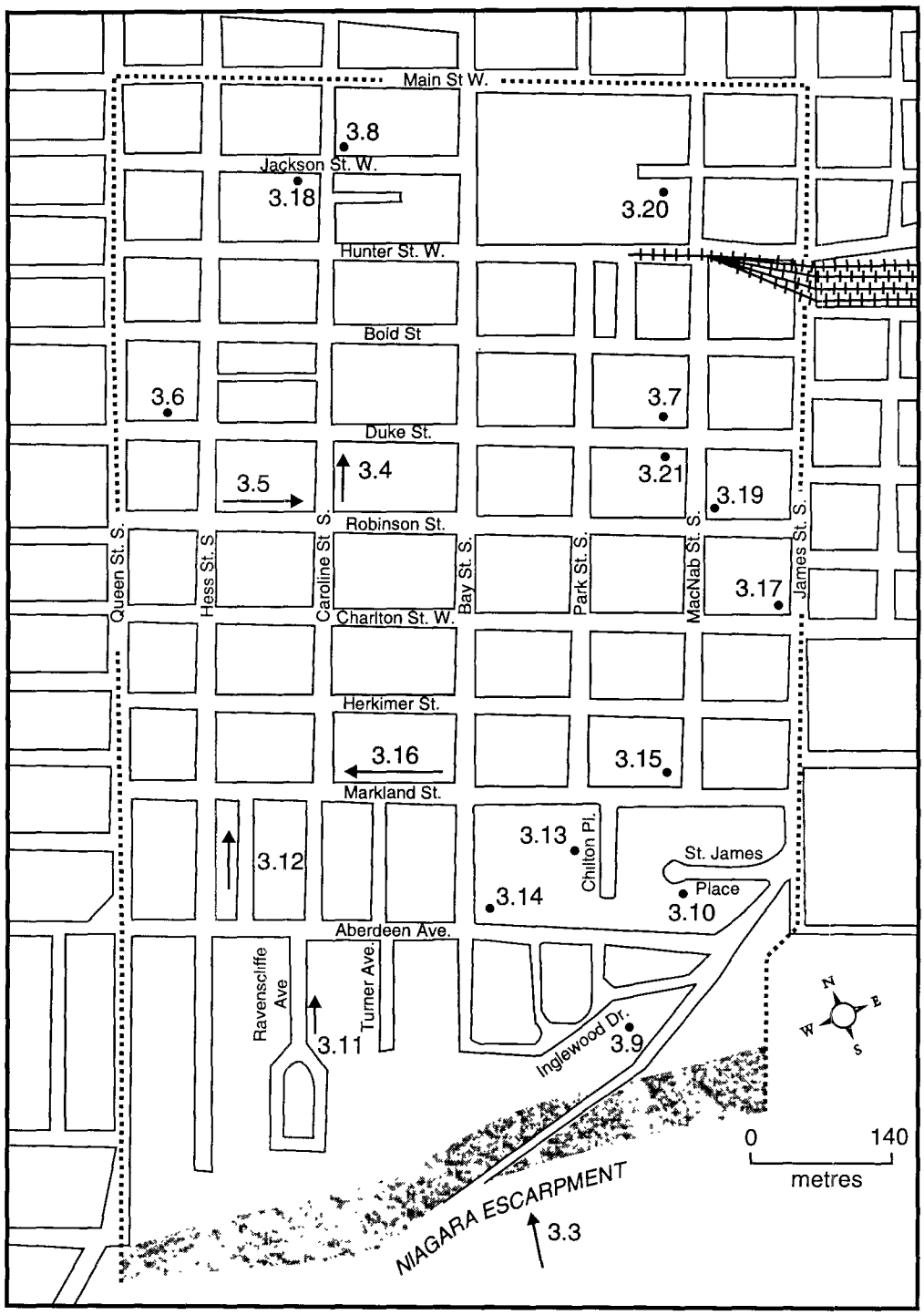

Figure 3.2: Locations of Buildings and Street Scenes in the Photographic Survey of Durand.

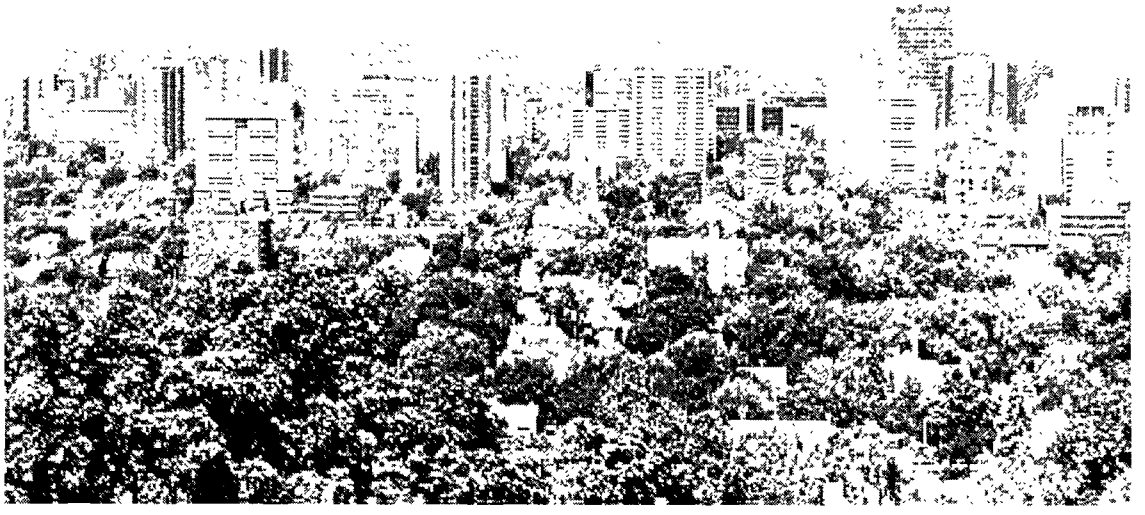

Figure 3.3: A View of the Durand Neighbourhood from the Niagara Escarpment.
A view of Durand as it appears today, looking northwest along Bay Street toward Hamilton Harbour. The northernmost part of Durand, seen in the middle of this photograph, features some of the city's highest residential densities. Virtually all of the highrise structures seen in this part of Durand were built in the 1960s and early 1970s. The southern part of Durand (visible just above the trees in the foreground) features more of the neighbourhood's nineteenth century character in terms of architectural styles. Over 77 per cent of land in Durand is devoted to residential uses.

Figure 3.4: Caroline Street South (looking north).
This view depicts the variety of housing characteristics found in the northern part of Durand. The double brick bungalows in the foreground were constructed in the 1880s. The brick houses in the middle ground date from the 1870s. The highrise apartments in the background were built in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Figure 3.5: Robinson Street (between Hess Street South and Bay Street South).
The upgraded homes in the foreground are typical of middle class residences constructed in the late nineteenth century. Immediately behind these single family homes is 140 Robinson Street (the white structure), built in 1974. It is 19 storeys and contains 130 units. In the background is 200 Bay Street South, one of Durand's largest highrises. Built in 1975, it is 25 storeys and contains 306 units.

Figure 3.6: Duke Street (between Queen Street South and Hess Street South).
These modest homes are typical of working class cottages built between 1850 and 1900 as part of an infilling process in Durand. The white frame cottage on the right appears on the 1898 Fire Insurance Plan. The brick cottage to the left does not. In the background are three highrise apartment building constructed in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

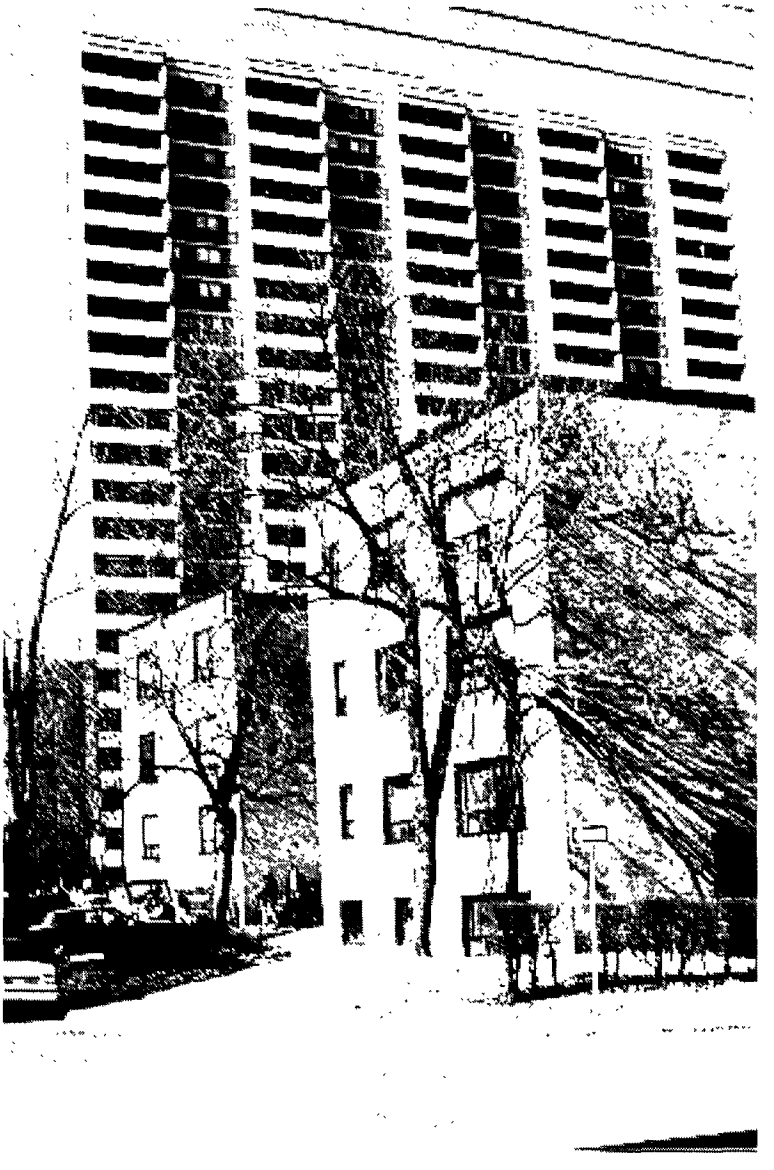

Figure 3.7: Duke Street (at MacNab Street South).
This scene features the two types of apartment buildings found in Durand. In the foreground is a three storey walk-up building, one of five structures on the site which together comprise 145 units. These lowrise units were built in 1934 on the former site of William Hendrie's 'Holmestead'. In the background is 155 Park Street South, a 22 storey building with 397 units.

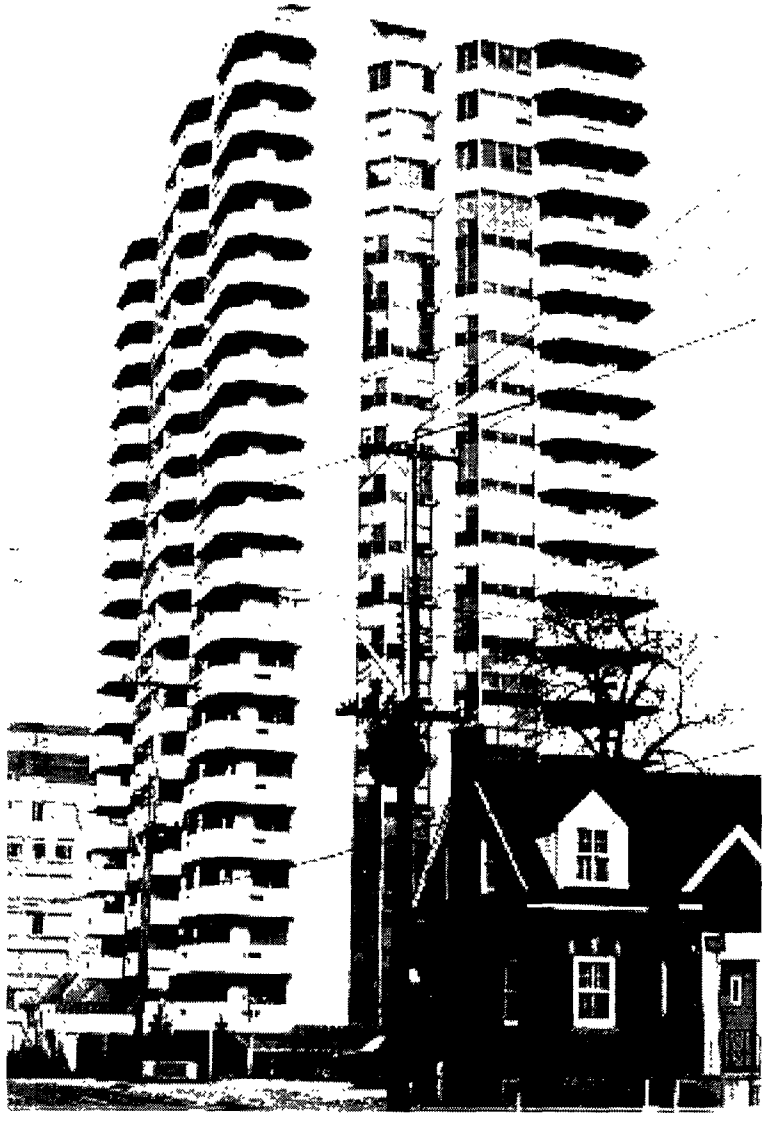

Figure 3.8: Caroline Street South.
In addition to highrise apartments built in the 1960s and early 1970s, Durand also features a small number of highrise condominium structures built in the late 1970s and 1980s. The brick bungalow in the foreground stands on the former grounds of Wesanford (see Chapter 3).

Figure 3.9: Inglewood, James Street South.
Built circa 1855, this Gothic Villa was designed by architect William Thomas. It was typical of several mansions belonging to some of Durand's (and Hamilton's) wealthiest and most prominent families. In the 1980s Inglewood (like Ballinahinch shown in Figure 3.10) was converted from apartment rental units into condominiums.

Figure 3.10: Ballinahinch, James Street South.
Like Inglewood (see Figure 3.9) Ballinahinch was designed by architect William Thomas. Built in the late 1840s for dry goods merchant Aeneas Kennedy, Ballinahinch became the home of some of Hamilton's most prominent families in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The home was converted into eight rental apartments in the 1940s. Later, in the mid 1980s, it was converted to eight luxury condominium units.

Figure 3.11: Ravenscliffe Avenue.
One of Durand's and the city's most prestigious addresses, Ravenscliffe Avenue features impressive homes built in a variety of styles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among the amenities offered by this site at the base of the Niagara Escarpment is a panoramic view of Hamilton.

Figure 3.12: Bruce Street (between Markland Street and Aberdeen Avenue).
A total of six, two-storey brick homes were built on Bruce Street just before the turn of the century. All of these houses, along with others on the street are typical of more modest homes in Durand that have been renovated in the past two decades.

Figure 3.13: Chilton Place (south of Markland Street).
This frame bungalow is part of a small group of modest homes located on what was once known as Chauffeur's Row. These cottages, once home to chauffeurs, gardeners and servants of Durand's elite, were built between 1840 and 1870. All of these homes have been renovated.

Figure 3.14: Bay Street South (at Aberdeen Avenue).
This Queen Anne style home was built in 1898-99 for Francis Whitton, an executive in several Hamilton manufacturing firms. There is a small number of large homes in the neighbourhood which are still used as single family dwellings but most, including this one consist of more than one unit. This particular home consists of two units totalling 5,000 square feet.

Figure 3.15: MacNab Street South (at Markland Street).
This late Victorian era brick home was built for J.T. Glassco, a wholesale merchant. It is typical of homes built in Durand for the city's entrepreneurial and industrial elite. Glassco's neighbour Luther Sawyer, President of the Sawyer Massey Company, lived in the house which is partially visible on the right side of the photograph. This house along with many others like it in Durand have been renovated and converted into apartments.

Figure 3.16: Markland Street (between Bay Street South and Caroline Street South). This view is typical of many streets in Durand in that it features a wide variety of housing designs from the late Victorian era. Some of these homes are single family dwellings while others have been converted into duplexes and triplexes.

Figure 3.17: James Street South (at Charlton Avenue West).
Built in 1889 for Thomas Lawry, Merchant, this building is typical of many former single family dwellings on the eastern side of Durand which have been converted in commercial, office and/or apartment uses.

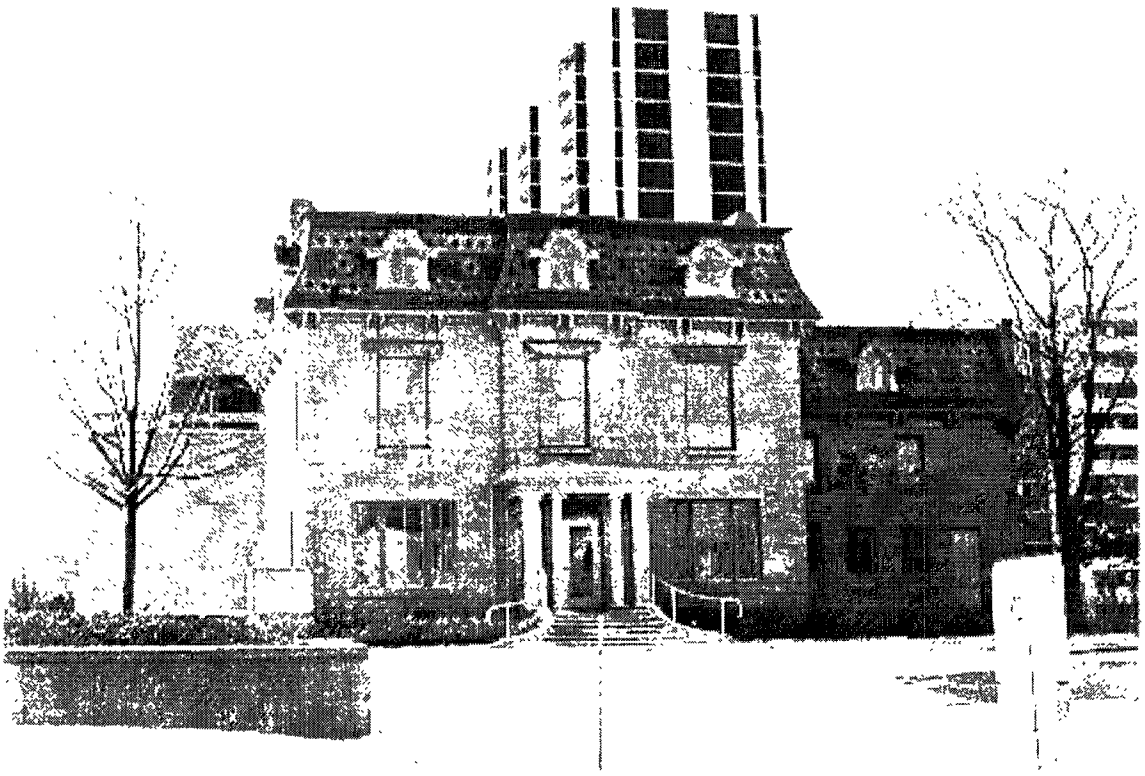

Figure 3.18: Jackson Street West (at Caroline Street South).
Formerly known as 'Bishophurst' when it was the residence of the Anglican Bishop of the Niagara Diocese, this building was one of a small group of impressive estates collectively known as Knob Hill. In the mid 1950s the structure was purchased by CHCH TV and used for offices and studio space. In 1983 the building was extensively renovated and a modern addition was added at the rear.

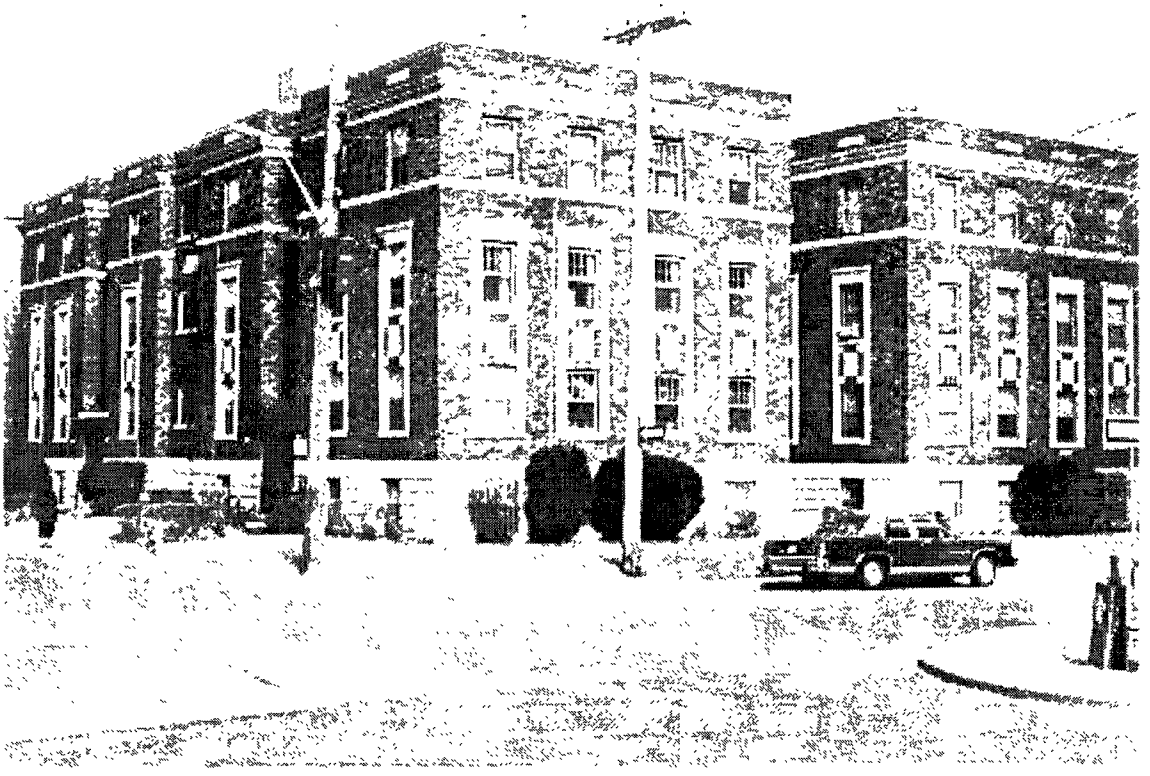

Figure 3.19: The Suffolk and Essex Apartments, (corner of Robinson Street and MacNab Street South). Built in 1931, these three storey apartment buildings are typical of walk-up, multiple-occupancy structures in Durand. In this case, the two buildings consist of 28 units.

Figure 3.20: Whitehern, Jackson Street West.
This stone, Georgian style home was built in the 1840s for industrialist Richard Duggan. In 1852 Calvin McQuesten purchased the home. It subsequently remained in the McQuesten family until 1968, after which it was deeded to the City of Hamilton. It opened as one of the City's museums in 1971. In 1993 Whitehern was formally recognized as a National Historic Site, one of three such sites in Durand.

Figure 3.21: Sandyford Place, Duke Street.
This four unit, three storey stone terrace was built in the late 1850s on the former estate of Peter Hunter Hamilton, half brother of the City's founder George Hamilton. In the 1970s Sandyford Place was the site of a protracted and bitter struggle between a developer and the residents of Durand. The residents were successful in their bid to preserve the building and in 1976 it became the first structure in Hamilton to be designated as a National Historic Site. The structure was converted into condominiums in the early 1980s.

CHAPTER 4

Setting the Stage: the Historical Background of Hamilton's Durand Neighbourhood, 1791-1945

How will we know it is us without our past?

John Steinbeck
The Grapes of Wrath

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 concluded with a photographic survey of the Durand neighbourhood in the early 1990s. In light of this survey we now begin the task of determining how Durand came to look this way. In short, we must reconstruct its history. This chapter is a historical overview which highlights three aspects of Durand as an evolving cultural landscape: the built environment; its social character; and its symbolic meaning as evidenced by buildings. These characteristics of the landscape are, as noted in Chapter 2, spatial manifestations of a variety of processes operating at a range of scales. Throughout this chapter concern is directed toward what the landscape looked like and how and why it changed. This chapter, then, serves as the historical background to the detailed discussion of the post-WWII era discussed in Chapters 5 to 7.

As indicated in Chapter 3, a variety of sources, e.g., maps, lithographs, photographs and city directories, is used to provide insight into these changing patterns and processes. Together these sources enable a reconstruction of what Durand looked

like and how it was experienced at various points in its evolution. The appearance and experience of this cultural landscape will be linked to the social, political and economic conditions interacting at a variety of scales at any given point in time. In addition, it is important not to neglect the impacts of those individuals who, as 'actors' or 'agents', play a pivotal role in generating local manifestations of these larger scale forces.

The study of landscape or place reveals a strong link between history and geography (see Norton, 1989). Indeed 'the past' has received considerable attention from geographers (see Lowenthal, 1985). Before proceeding with this historical overview, some comments on the question 'why is the past important?' are warranted. There are, it would seem, some obvious and some not-so-obvious issues raised in this question. Clearly the historical overview which follows will 'set the stage' for the detailed treatment of the post-World War II era in chronological terms. It would not make sense to simply begin the discussion with the situation as it stood in 1946. Thus, in order to understand Durand as a place in a geographical sense, it is essential to say something about events prior to 1946. Beyond this readily apparent fact, however, lies a more subtle reason for acquiring this 'sense of time'. Indeed, the ideas of a 'sense of time' and a 'sense of place' are intricately linked in that any cultural landscape is, in fact, a composite or a 'palimpsest' (Meinig, 1979, 6) of events which have taken place over successive periods of time. In short, what is seen in Durand today is a reflection of patterns, processes and people both past and present. Place and time, then, merge in the evolving cultural landscape.

As a cautionary note, an additional observation should be made at this point. Simply put, there are difficulties faced by researchers in their attempts to recreate the past.

Some of these difficulties pertain to the inherent limitations of the particular information sources used. The recreation of nineteenth century Durand in this chapter relies heavily on visual sources, e.g., maps and lithographs. The limitations of such sources must be acknowledged in order to ensure that they are used in a reasonable and enlightening fashion (Peace, 1989).

At a more general level, these difficulties (of recreating the past) may be seen as intrinsic conditions of what historians actually do when they write their histories. According to Handlin (1963, 7):

> His (sic) (the historian's) task is not to predict, but to order the past from which the present grows in a comprehensible manner. He can illuminate the growth of the modern city... To make clear what was permanent and what transient, what essential and what incidental in its development.

Such a task, according to Schama (1991, 319) is "... much like entering the enemy's lines to get back one's dead for burial." Schama goes on to say that the answers to the questions historians ask must be qualified answers at best:

> But the certainty of such answers always remains contingent on their unavoidable remoteness from their subjects. We are doomed to be forever hailing someone who has just gone around the corner and out of earshot.

Bearing these warnings in mind, we begin the recreation of the past in Durand.

4.2 Durand: Neighbourhood Origins and the Physical Setting

As was noted in Chapter 3 the Durand neighbourhood as a spatial entity on the map of Hamilton was not formally identified as such until the early 1970s when the entire city was divided into 'neighbourhood planning units' for the purpose of devising local level plans (City of Hamilton Planning Department, 1973). The boundaries of this 274

acre planning unit are largely a result of the first survey of Barton Township completed by Deputy Provincial Surveyor, Augustus Jones in 1791 (see Chapter 3). At this time, a considerable amount of land was either occupied by settlers or held by absentee landowners. Many of these original landowners were United Empire Loyalists who had received grants of land after the American Revolutionary War of 1775-1783. The present day Burlington Street was chosen as the survey's base line. Moving south from this base line were Concession lines which were superimposed on the landscape. Concession I extended from (present day) Burlington Street to Barton Street; Concession II from Barton to Main Street; and Concession III from Main to Concession Street (later renamed Aberdeen Avenue). Jones' survey ended with Concession VIII which is the present day southerly limit of the city, Rymal Road (Campbell, 1996, 20).

Within each concession, land was divided into pairs of 100 acre lots with allowances for side roads running north and south. The Durand of today was actually lots 15 and 16 in Concession III. Lot 15 was bounded by James Street and by what later becomes Bay Street, while lot 16 was bounded by Bay and Queen Street. In his survey of 1791, Jones indicated that these two lots were owned by Caleb Reynolds who may well have been an 'absentee landowner', as his name is not mentioned in any early accounts of the area.

In the early 1800s, William Wedge owned these lots. He soon sold Lot 16 to Peter Hess and probably sold Lot 15 to George Hamilton, the founder of the city. Subsequently, in 1813, George Hamilton sold Lot 15 to his brother Peter Hamilton (Campbell, 1966, 20). The irony of all this, as noted in Chapter 3, is that the

neighbourhood was named after James Durand, a partner in land speculation with George Hamilton (Weaver, 1981, 65). While Durand did own the adjacent property to the east (Lot 14, Conc. III), and he did play a prominent role in the city's early development, he did not actually own the land in the neighbourhood which now bears his name.

Two important conclusions can be drawn from this account of these early events. First, the seemingly simple act of drawing lines on a map (or landscape) is the very act which sets out the roles of constraint and opportunity for any subsequent development of such land. The survey lines, in other words, determined what parcels of land could be bought and sold. Second, it is critical that we acknowledge the role of elite landowners in giving substance to this framework of survey lines. By virtue of buying, selling and subdividing land, these landowners literally controlled who lived where. Doucet and Weaver (1984, 75) demonstrate the link between urban form and social stratification in Hamilton in the 1830s, noting:

> The layout of the city, the vital promotional actions of the civic elite, a concentration of wealth, and the spatial expression of economic and social traits all have deep roots - extending to the earliest decades in the case of Hamilton... .

The net result of these influencing factors was a city with "... a working class east end and south western (Durand) bourgeois areas" (Doucet and Weaver, 1984, 81).

To be sure, the physical landscape of Durand had a significant influence on the evolving cultural landscape. The most noteworthy aspects of the physical setting were as follows. First, elevation increased from (present-day) Main Street in the north to the top of the Niagara Escarpment in the south by about 200 feet. Second, an elevated ridge of land, a sand bar in the former (post-glacial) Lake Iroquois, ran diagonally (from southeast

to northwest) across the northern half of the present day neighbourhood. Finally, the southern half of the area was drained by three small streams which flowed from the base of the escarpment toward the west into what later became known as Chedoke Creek.

This, then, was the physical setting prior to the arrival of James Durand and others. Augustus Jones' survey of Barton Township in 1791 initiated a process of 'taking up land' and signified the beginning of a new cultural landscape in a frontier wilderness.

4.3 The Victorian Legacy

The fundamental character of Durand as both a neighbourhood and a cultural landscape evolved over the Victorian era. This evolution was coincident with Hamilton's transformation from frontier town to lakeport city and thereafter from railway city to industrial city by the end of the century (Weaver, 1982). In attempting to revisit and recreate this Victorian legacy, visual sources such as maps, lithographs and photographs were found to be particularly useful. Such sources are, in fact, both depictions and interpretations of what the artists, cartographers and photographers of the day thought was important, and hence, worth recording (see Daniels, 1988; Osborne, 1988; Peace, 1989). These visual sources enable us to chronicle the evolution of Durand from 1842, when human activity was very limited, to the end of the century, by which time the 'neighbourhood' was more or less fully developed.

4.3.1 The early years

In 1842, five years after the reign of Queen Victoria began (1837) and four years prior to its incorporation as a city (1846), the Town of Hamilton was home to approximately 3,500 people. The town was, at this time, a commercial centre which serviced the wheat economy of Upper Canada, acting as a supplier of household items and farm equipment for the rural population of its hinterland (Weaver, 1982, 15). Hamilton gained supremacy over nearby communities such as Ancaster and Dundas after being named the district town for the District of Gore in 1816 (Gentilcore, 1973).

A map entitled 'Plan of the Town of Hamilton: District of Gore, Canada' (1842) featured three elements of an evolving cultural landscape in what later becomes the Durand Neighbourhood (see Figure 4.1). The first of these elements was a direct consequence of Augustus Jones' survey half a century earlier; streets which later become boundaries of Durand (Queen and James) were named on the map. Both of these streets extended as far south as the escarpment (a third present-day boundary). In fact, James Street actually traversed the formidable barrier of the escarpment, thereby enhancing its importance as a primary thoroughfare in the town. The fourth boundary (the present-day Main Street West) was named Brougham Street and was shown extending west of James Street for slightly more than two blocks. Main Street, in fact, was the boundary between Concession II and Concession III in Jones' survey of 1791. A second feature of the map was the location of approximately ten buildings near the intersection of Brougham Street and James Street. Furthermore, about ten other buildings were shown scattered

throughout Durand. Finally, the map depicted the house and estate of Peter Hamilton, situated on the elevated stretch of land which was a former sandbar in Lake Iroquois.

The extent of human activity in Durand as shown on the 1842 Plan of Hamilton was best described as being very limited. This area was, in many respects, peripheral to the activities of commerce and administration in the small but growing town. The location of Peter Hamilton's estate was of considerable significance, however, being a portent of the future. Peter Hamilton was a successful merchant, judge and legislative councillor (Bailey, 1981, 93). His estate was one of the first of many in a part of the town which was rich with amenities of the physical setting such as the higher elevation and the panoramic view. Soon, this setting would also be upwind and far removed from the disamenities of the city below, thereby enhancing its attractiveness.

4.3.2 Hamilton at mid-century

Hamilton was officially incorporated as a city, on January 1, 1847. Its population had increased to nearly 14,000, reflecting the prosperity of its lakeport functions on the eve of the railway era. The 1850-51 map drawn by Marcus Smith depicted a city poised for growth and a neighbourhood (Durand) which has already become a favoured location for many of the city's more prosperous families.

Four aspects of Durand's evolution stood out on Smith's map (See Figure 4.2). First, the present day grid of streets had been laid out over the entire neighbourhood. With but three or four exceptions, these street names persist to the present day. Second, about one-third of Durand (the area bounded by Queen Street, Bold Street, Bowery - now

Bay - Street and Concession- now Aberdeen - Street) was shown as belonging to Peter Hess Esq. The remainder of Durand had been subdivided into lots, though not necessarily built on. Third, several prominent landowners and their estates were identified. In addition to Peter Hess, the following names appeared on the map: Peter Hamilton (see above); Tristram Bickle (druggist); Aeneas Kennedy (publisher); and Archibald Kerr (merchant). Other non-resident property owners identified include George Tiffany (lawyer and politician) and Alan Napier MacNab (lawyer, businessman and politician). Finally, at the corner of James Street South and Maiden Lane (now Jackson Street), Smith located a wood frame building known as St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, and to its immediate southwest on Hunter Street, a block identified as 'Public School Property' where Central Public School would be constructed in 1853. Both the church and the school were a sign of things to come in both Durand and the city over the ensuing half century.

Smith's map indicated that the process of 'taking up the land' in Durand was well under way and that many of the growing city's wealthier families had chosen to locate in this area. In fact, many of the city's entrepreneurial elite were of Scottish descent; before the end of the century, the churches of three of the city's four Presbyterian congregations would be located in Durand. (In contrast, the adjacent Corktown Neighbourhood was inhabited largely by poorer, Irish Catholic families.) As we shall see shortly, many of the city's elite built imposing mansions in the most desirable locations at the base of the escarpment and along the former sandbar where Peter Hamilton's estate was already located. The emerging picture, then, was one in which the "... patrician environment of southwest Hamilton..." (McKay, 1967, 26) was beginning to flourish.

The physical setting within which this cultural landscape was evolving was captured on canvas by Edwin Whitefield and Robert Whale, both prolific artists in mid-nineteenth century Canada. Both painted views of Hamilton on the eve of the Great Western Railway's arrival (see Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4). Both paintings emphasize "... the conquest of nature and the process of evolution" (Hamer, 1990, 85) as the wilderness is transformed into a cultural landscape. Whale's 'View of Hamilton' (1853) (Figure 4.3) features the city set in the " ...irregularity and disorder of the wilderness" (Hamer, 1990, 85) while Whitefield's 'Hamilton, Canada West' (1854) (Figure 4.4) "... diminishes and tames nature and emphasizes order and regularity" (Hamer, 1990, 148). It is within this overall setting of a city that was literally 'taking shape' that the architectural topography of Durand is embellished with several structures in the 1850s. Among these were: Central Public School (1853); Sandyford Place (c1856); St. Andrew's (later St. Paul's) Presbyterian Church (1854-57); and MacNab Street Presbyterian Church (1856). Beyond the confines of Durand, the Custom House (1858) on Stuart Street and the Pump House (1857-60) on Woodward Avenue attested to the prosperity and growth of the city.

Throughout the years prior to Confederation the cities and towns of Upper Canada were heavily influenced by Britain as the colonial power. For example, more than 600,000 immigrants originating in the United Kingdom arrived in Canada between 1825 and 1856 (Harris and Warkentin, 1974, 117). In addition, the cultural landscapes of the colony's cities, towns and villages provided the setting for the works of various British architects. William Thomas was one such architect whose influence was particularly far-reaching.

Following his arrival in Upper Canada in 1843, Thomas "... established a successful practice in Toronto and soon received important commissions... in other communities including Hamilton, Guelph, London, Niagara-on-the-Lake and Chatham" (Seymour and Peace, 1993). His first work in Hamilton appears to have been the Bank of British North America building on King Street East (1846). In 1847 he designed 'Undermount' for John Young, a Scottish merchant who was also a founder, elder and trustee of St. Andrew's (now St. Paul's) Presbyterian Church. Undermount was situated at the base of the escarpment on James Street South, literally across the street from Thomas' first building in Durand, a mansion known as 'Wilderness House', built for Scottish merchant Aeneas Kennedy in 1848. By 1851 Thomas had opened a second office in Hamilton. In 1852 he designed 'Inglewood' for Archibald Kerr, yet another Scottish merchant (see Figure 4.5). This impressive Gothic Villa was subsequently occupied by Archibald's brother, Thomas, who, as an elder of St. Andrew's, was instrumental in mounting a campaign to build a new church. Following a disastrous fire at 'Wilderness House' in 1853, Thomas designed 'Ballinahinch', an Italianate villa nestled at the base of the escarpment for Kennedy. This connection between Thomas and the Scottish Presbyterian elite of Hamilton clearly played a significant role in the decision taken by the St. Andrew's congregation to hire Thomas as the architect for the new church (see Figure 4.6) and an accompanying manse in 1854. The result was "... one of the city's finest buildings and Thomas' most successful composition" (Seymour and Peace, 1993, p. 46). It was also to be his last building in Hamilton.

In summary, Thomas contributed no less than five structures to the evolving landscape of Durand and at least ten buildings in the city. That one of the "founders of the Canadian architectural profession" (Einarson, 1987, 877) should have had such a compelling presence in this part of Hamilton suggests that Durand was more than just a typical neighbourhood in a typical mid-nineteenth century city in British North America. An understanding of the connections between Thomas and the mercantile and entrepreneurial elite of the city provides additional insight into the process of city building and neighbourhood evolution in Hamilton.

Other architects, of course, left their mark on Durand as well. F.J. Rastrick, for example, designed 'Highfield' (1850s) for Adam Brown, Archibald Kerr's partner in the wholesale dry goods business. Highfield and its setting were described in *The Hamilton Spectator* (October 26, 1899) in the following terms:

> Built of stone hewed from the side of Hamilton's famed mountain, and erected to withstand the wear and tear of many years to come, stands Highfield, recognized far and near as occupying one of the choicest sites in this position of beautiful Wentworth, with a range of scenery and the purest of air that are unsurpassable in few places in the broad Dominion.

Rastrick was Hamilton's first professionally trained architect, having articled with Sir Charles Barry, one of the architects of the British Houses of Parliament (Price, 1981, 169). His other noteworthy embellishment of Durand was 'Amisfield', (later known simply as 'The Castle') built between 1857 and 1860 on a large estate on James Street South at Duke Street (See Figure 4.7). "Designed as a Scottish baronial caste, and meant to recall 'Abbottsford' (Sir Walter Scott's country home on the River Tweed in the Scottish Lowlands), The Castle stood originally amidst large grounds well above street

level and contained in a stone wall (McKay, 1967, 16). Originally built for Colin Reid, barrister, The Castle was one of several imposing residences built by Rastrick in the southern part of Hamilton in the 1850s.

William Thomas and Frederick Rastrick were the two most prominent architects in Hamilton at mid-century. Just as Augustus Jones had left his mark on the landscape a half century earlier, so too, practitioners like Thomas and Rastrick made their presence conspicuous through their architecture. In recreating the past in Durand, what we are in fact witnessing is the gradual accretion of cultural artifacts on the landscape. The character and meaning of these artifacts was partly derived from the societal trends and forces of the time, e.g., the Gothic Revival style of ecclesiastic architecture in the nineteenth century. Within the context of these large scale forces, however, individual people produced local manifestations which became part of the everyday experience for those living on the landscape, e.g., Thomas' design of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church was "...his most brilliant rendering of the (decorated Gothic) style..." (Price, 1981, 195); and Rastrick's 'The Castle' was "(a) reflection of the vast popularity of Sir Walter Scott's novels ..." (MacKay, 1967, 16). The cultural landscape, in other words, bears witness to the people who, by design, literally 'left their mark'. In some instances the cultural landscape is modified by accident. In the case of Durand, the fire which destroyed Aeneas Kennedy's 'Wilderness House' set the stage for William Thomas to design 'Ballinahich'. Later, as the century drew to a close, a fire at Central Presbyterian Church on Jackson Street led to a new edifice being built on Caroline Street South.

4.3.3 The emerging industrial city

By 1876 the population of Hamilton stood in excess of 32,000, and the beginnings of the industrial city were firmly rooted. One of the more popular means used by cities for purposes of promotion and boosterism at this time was the 'bird's eye view' map. Fox (1972, 38) notes that:

> ... artists were commissioned to draw bird's eye views which were partly intended to promote the image of the town depicted. Artistic licence was usually employed to emphasize what were considered at the time to be the more desirable urban attributes of grand buildings, thriving industry and bustling commercial areas and transportation facilities.

Despite the promotional intent of such maps, they are, by and large, accurate (Peace, 1989). As such they can be valuable sources of information in recreating a city's past.

The 'Bird's Eye View of Hamilton' drawn in 1876 depicts a city poised for industrial greatness and a Durand neighbourhood which is more than half built up (see Figure 4.8). Only two blocks in Durand are completely devoid of housing. The area on the Marcus Smith map (1851-52) formerly owned by Peter Hess has been significantly developed. The 1876 view is one of the first depictions of the city to clearly illustrate what was becoming an enduring feature of Durand; the mixture of housing and social class characteristics. In conjunction with other sources, e.g., assessment rolls and city directories, it is possible to see this mixture close-up. In Durand's southeast corner, for example, we find the estates of the city's elite, e.g., the previously mentioned Ballinahinch and Inglewood, literally 'cheek by jowl' with cottages on a tiny street running south from Markland Street. Officially known as Ontario Street at the time, its unofficial name was 'Chauffeurs' Row'. Here, chauffeurs, gardeners and servants of the nearby elite lived in

modest cottages within sight of imposing mansions. Gilford and Meredith (1970) note that these houses:

> ...varied in style according to the personal whim and financial powers of the owner. One is a frame bungalow, another a stucco dwelling typical of the homes of English tenant farmers, a third is a miniature Victorian townhouse.

Gilford and Meredith may or may not be correct with their assertion that "the seemingly small, but significantly social importance of the Chauffeurs' Row Lane is unique to Hamilton." Throughout Durand there were numerous other instances of these social contrasts. At the corner of Caroline Street South and Jackson Street West in the 1870s, for example, stood three imposing mansions: 'Wesanford' (built in the 1840s), home of William E. Sanford; Senator and manufacturer; 'Fonthill' (built 1858), home of Benjamin Greening, manufacturer, and 'Pinehurst' (built in the 1840s), home of Tristram Bickle, druggist. These homes were among the more noteworthy structures "... of the prosperous residential neighbourhood known as Knob Hill" (Henley, 1994, 92). Within two or three blocks of these prestigious residences were numerous small cottages and typical Victorian single family brick homes. This was especially true along Caroline Street immediately south of these mansions (see Figure 3.4).

Such mixing of social classes was not unusual in the pre-industrial city as Sjoberg (1960) has shown. In speculating as to how this mixture of housing type and social class came into being in Durand, there were two probable contributing factors. First, in the case of Chauffeur's Row, a relationship of either benevolence or, perhaps, tolerance may have existed between the elite and their domestic employees. Second, and more generally, the central role of the timing of growth must be acknowledged. Most of the more

prominent homes and estates were situated in the amenity rich settings associated with land either at the base of the escarpment or along the elevated ridge which was the former sandbar in Lake Iroquois. Subsequent development could be viewed as an 'infilling' process not yet constrained by zoning by-laws. Given that, in absolute terms, the number of elite families would be rather limited in a city with Hamilton's potential for population and economic growth, then this infilling would almost out of necessity be carried out by families with a range of socio-economic backgrounds. Simply put, there were not enough people of elite status to make this an exclusively elite area in the fashion of Montreal's 'Square Mile' for example. There was, by this time, a general gradation of social and economic status from north to south, i.e., as one travelled south toward the escarpment, the socio-economic status of Durand's residents generally increased. Nevertheless, there was still this 'cheek by jowl' mixture alluded to above. These features would emerge as two of Durand's most enduring characteristics.

In 1893 the Times Printing Company of Hamilton published a promotional book entitled *Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada*, thereby heralding that the industrial city had come of age. The city's population stood at just under 50,000 and nearly 7,000 people were employed in almost 200 manufacturing establishment (Roberts, 1964). The 'Bird's Eye View of Hamilton', printed in 1893, enables us to trace the development of Durand to its completion in terms of the taking up of land. Indeed, all tracts of land in the neighbourhood have been built on by this time (see Figure 4.9). In conjunction with the city directories this view of the city revealed the continued presence of the mixture of housing types and social classes. By this time Durand features several noteworthy non-

residential structures including seven churches and two schools. The only other non-residential land use (apart from commercial uses near the intersection of James Street and Main Street) was found at the corner of Robinson Street and Park Street South where the Hamilton Thistle Club was located. The mansions and estates of Durand's more prominent families were still visible, and the process of infilling had reached its end. Indeed, there was the sense that the neighbourhood and its residents had literally and figuratively reached a plateau from which to view events elsewhere in the city, at least for a while.

One additional feature of the 1893 Bird's Eye View map warrants mention. The map shows the recently completed City Hall on James Street North. This prominent public edifice was designed by James Balfour, one of the leading architects in Hamilton at the end of the nineteenth century. Balfour designed many of the city's more noteworthy buildings including the City Hall (1888); the Canada Life Assurance Co. Building (1880s); the YMCA building (1889); the Tuckett Tobacco Co. Factory (1890); and the Hamilton Boys Home (1892). Within Durand itself, Balfour designed no less that eight homes including several imposing mansions such as 'Blinkbonnie' at 136 Bay Street South (1902) and 'Ravenscliffe' (1893) on Ravenscliffe Avenue. Balfour was also responsible for renovations to Central School (1890); and the Central Presbyterian Church Sunday School (1892). His influence on Hamilton's architectural topography in the 1880s and 1890s bears striking similarity to that of William Thomas in the 1840s and 1850s. Both architects were heavily influenced by the trends of their day: Thomas being the "... leading exponent of the Gothic Revival in Canada West" (MacRae and Adamson, 1975, 146);

Balfour being heavily influenced by the Romanesque Revival championed by Henry Hobson Richardson. In Balfour's case, his renderings of the Richardsonian Romanesque led to his Hamilton buildings being "... locally dubbed 'Balfouresque'..." (Bailey, 1981, 14). More importantly, however, both architects made significant contributions to the architectural topography of the City of Hamilton as well as the Durand neighbourhood. Their legacies would prove to be of considerable significance during the 1970s, when citizen participation in municipal planning and the heritage preservation movement would have profound influences on Durand; buildings designed by both Thomas and Balfour would be directly involved in several specific issues arising out of these trends (see Chapters 6 and 7).

4.3.4 Au fin du siècle

The process of taking up land in Durand began (officially, at least) with Augustus Jones' survey in 1791. By the end of Queen Victoria's sixty-four year reign in 1901, the entire physical setting in Durand had become a continuously changing cultural landscape. The city itself had evolved from a small clearing in the frontier wilderness of Upper Canada to a lakeport town serving an agricultural hinterland and finally, to a manufacturing city in what was rapidly becoming the nation's industrial heartland. The evolving cultural landscape of Durand was, in part, a testament to the prosperity of the city and many of its residents. In fact, Durand seemed to be a microcosm of the broader city and society in the sense that it was home to individuals and families of considerable social heterogeneity. To be sure, the well-to-do were conspicuous. The 1900 society

Blue Book lists nearly 550 Hamilton families, over half of which lived in Durand. Indeed the 'high society' of Durand on numerous occasions hosted members of the British Royal Family on visits to Canada. William Hendrie's 'Holmstead' on Bold Street was the site of one such event in October, 1901, when the Hendrie family held a reception for the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall, the future King George V and Queen Mary. At the same time, the modest dwellings of Chauffeurs' Row provided a stark, yet almost tranquil contrast to the wealth and affluence of the city's elite. With these essential qualities from the nineteenth century firmly rooted in Durand, the first half of the new century would be years of relative (and, perhaps, deceptive) stability.

4.4 The Twentieth Century to 1945

The end of the Victorian era marks the beginning of a long period of what on the surface, at least, could be termed relative stability in Durand. With all available land taken up by development, the pressures of city growth were manifested in other, more peripheral locations. Except for a limited number of low-rise or walk-up apartments (three or four storeys, usually), the architectural topography of Durand remained more or less intact. During the period 1901 to 1946 Hamilton's population increased from slightly less than 53,000 to approximately 175,000. To a considerable extent both population and economic growth in the city were a direct result of the prominence of the city's manufacturing sector during the two World Wars. Durand, in fact, becomes home to many of the newly emerging industrial elite, with names such as Copp, Greening and Gartshore found in the City Directories in the early years of the new century. Two

questions arise at this point. First, what evidence is there of this 'stability' in Durand over the period 1901 to 1945? Second, why did this stability persist for nearly half of a century?

In a sense the answer to the first question is, in part, a tautology. Durand experienced stability because things did not change. Beyond this we can find examples of what exactly it was that 'did not change'. In particular, if we return to the themes of Durand's social character, built environment and the landscape's symbolic meaning, the 'stability' label emerges as being appropriate.

As noted above, Durand was, for all intents and purposes, completely built up by the end of the nineteenth century. The only significant additions to the architectural landscape of the neighbourhood appeared in the form of several low rise walk-up apartment buildings. One of the first of these buildings, the Herkimer Apartments (1914) at the corner of Herkimer Street and Bay Street South is described by Weaver (1982, 142) in the following terms:

> Located in a pleasant district, it boasted assorted conveniences: offices for doctors and dentists, a service elevator, refrigerated food lockers and a basement laundry area. At completion, it was the best of about thirty structures of uneven quality.

Twenty-four of these buildings were constructed in Durand between 1910 and 1945 (see Figure 4.10). All but one were three storey buildings; the exception being the Duke of York Apartments at 43 Herkimer Street (1923) which was a five storey structure. By comparing the 1898 Fire Insurance Plan with the updated 1914 edition, the nature of this change on the landscape becomes clear. The 1898 Atlas shows that the property on which the Herkimer Apartments were built in 1914 was occupied by substantial two and one half

storey brick dwelling owned by James Lottridge, merchant. The property also featured a brick coach house and an additional outbuilding. These structures were demolished to allow for the construction of the Herkimer Apartments. In a similar fashion, the property at 27 Bold Street was occupied by a large, one and one half storey brick building which was demolished to make way for the Pasadena Apartments (1914). A further example of this process was found on Herkimer Street between Park Street South and MacNab Street South. The 1898 Fire Insurance Plan shows three structures along the south side of Herkimer in this block: William Thomas' Presbyterian Manse (1857) and two imposing brick structures (numbers 27 and 39 Herkimer), each set on a large piece of property. The 1927 (revised 1947) Plan shows these three buildings along with the five storey Duke of York Apartments (1923) and the three storey Elgin Apartments (1923) on the same block of Herkimer Street. In short, these and other examples illustrate the gradual process of intensified development which was taking place in Durand over this time period. Through this process the social composition of Durand's population began to change. This same process, as we shall see, would reappear in the 1960s on a much large scale.

Other noteworthy examples of land use change occurred in Durand during the early decades of the twentieth century. In 1913 the Carnegie Library was built on Main Street West between MacNab Street south and James Street south. This further strengthened the northeast corner of Durand as a location for non-residential land uses, most notably, institutional (e.g., the library and at least three churches) and commercial activities. Being closest to the commercial activities on James Street and King Street in the city's core, this part of Durand (i.e., the northeast corner) gradually acquired new land

uses, typical of the zone-in-transition adjacent to the CBD in Burgess' (1925) concentric zone model of urban structure.

Elsewhere in Durand, two noteworthy events occurred in the 1930s. First, 'Holmstead', stately residence and '... gracious symbol of the city's high society during the Victorian era..." (Henley, 1994) was demolished in 1936. This Bold Street mansion was originally the home of Peter Hamilton. It was subsequently owned by one of the city's most prominent families, the Hendries, for more than sixty years. Following the demolition of 'Holmstead', the property was subdivided and three low rise apartment buildings were constructed soon after. In the second instance, another of Durand's most visible architectural monuments was removed from the landscape when 'Wesanford' (see Figure 4.11) was demolished in 1939. Originally the residence of Edward Jackson, this home which stood at the corner of Jackson Street and Caroline Street South was described as being "one of the most magnificent and luxurious homes in the Dominion" (Henley, 1994). The home was extensively renovated in the early 1890s by Senator William Eli Sanford. Following Senator Sanford's death in 1899, his wife Harriet lived in the mansion until she passed away in 1938. The building was subsequently demolished and replaced by thirteen brick bungalows on a cul de sac (see Figure 3.8).

These events were evidence of the gradual 'changing of the guard' with respect to Durand's elite, long-term residents. Mrs. Sanford had resided at 'Wesanford' for thirty-nine years following the death of her husband. Other examples of long term residents included: the Hendrie family (see above); Mrs. Jenny Greening, who lived in 'Fonthill' at Jackson and Caroline streets for fifty years; and the three generations of the McQuesten

family which resided at 'Whitehern' on Jackson Street over 116 years. Many of Durand's finest homes were successively occupied by the city's elite during this period. 'Inglewood', for example, was home to: John Stuart, President of the Bank of Hamilton; Henry Kittson, President of the Hamilton Board of Trade; and later William Southam, publisher of the Hamilton Spectator. 'Ballinahinch' was owned by: William Southam, who rented it to Frank Ker, who succeeded Southam as publisher of the Spectator; and Frank McKune, Superintendent of the Steel Company of Canada. In short the social character of Durand retained the singular feature of heterogeneity as the elite and those less privileged co-existed in a fashion more typical of the pre-industrial city.

4.5 Summary

This extended period of time has been described as one of relative stability in Durand. There are several factors underlying this condition. Before outlining these factors, it should be noted that use of the term 'stability' does not imply the absence of change. Rather, use of the term 'stability' connotes a gradual or incremental change as opposed to a sudden, large scale change. Much of Durand's stability over this period can be attributed to the nature and timing of growth in Hamilton. The first factor contributing to this stability lies in the fact that virtually all of the neighbourhood was built up by the end of the Victorian era, leaving, in effect, little space for any new, large scale developments in the twentieth century. The construction of low-rise apartments (discussed above) occurred where either existing structures were demolished (e.g., the Pasadena Apartments on Bold Street) or where parcels of land were severed from larger

properties (e.g., the Hendrie property on Bold Street). A second consideration involves the fact that Durand had not yet experienced any significant degree of obsolescence or deterioration. Simply put, large scale redevelopment was neither warranted, nor feasible; Durand was evolving into a mature inner city neighbourhood. When these two aspects of Durand were coupled with the fact that there was plenty of room for the city's expansionary forces to be accommodated in the more peripheral areas, the reasons for this era of stability come clearly into focus. Residential development was taking place through annexation (e.g., the east end) and planned suburbs (e.g., Westdale). The cultural landscape of Durand, for the time being, at least, was the scene of limited and sporadic changes.

These peripheral developments featured both residential and non-residential land uses. Schools, (e.g., Delta and Westdale in 1930), were built in the peripheral locations for the growing suburban population. Commercial strips flourished along major transportation routes such as Barton Street. While the full impacts of these changes were not to be felt until the post-World War II era, it is clear that both the CBD and inner city neighbourhoods like Durand were, in a sense, biding time as the forces of decentralization gained momentum. In the downtown itself, significant alterations to the built environment were limited. The Carnegie Library (1913), the Bank of Montreal (1928) were both built in Durand's northeast corner which was actually in the fringe of the CBD. Additionally, the Pigott Building, Hamilton's first 'skyscraper' (1928), the new Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railway Station (1933), and the new Post Office (1936)

were among the more noteworthy additions to the central city. Otherwise, the CBD was an area of unspectacular and incremental change. In Durand, the most significant building added to the landscape in nearly half of a century was the new Central Presbyterian Church (John Lyle, architect). Its predecessor on Jackson Street West was destroyed by fire in 1906; the new edifice at the corner of Caroline and Charlton was officially opened in 1909.

Durand at the end of the Second World War featured a mixture of social classes, a characteristic well established in the nineteenth century. There was a clear gradation of social status from north to south, but the area was not exclusively elite. The neighbourhood, in comparison to the rest of the city, was average to above average in terms of housing conditions. In addition, the first half of the twentieth century featured few major physical changes save for the construction of low rise apartment buildings (a gradual process extending over three decades) and the occasional demolition of older dwellings.

The roughly one hundred and fifty year history of Durand extending from Augustus Jones' survey of 1791 to the end of the Second World War reveals the manner in which local, regional and national scale forces become manifested on the urban landscape in terms of patterns and processes. By the end of this period Durand was ripe for change. Despite labelling the period 1900 to 1945 as one of stability it is apparent that the currents of change were stirring beneath a seemingly 'stable' landscape. The point here is that in using the term 'stable' to describe Durand, we should not misconstrue this as being static. Durand had reached a point of maturity on the eve of both massive

suburbanization and significant deterioration of the city's CBD. Furthermore, by implication, the use of the term maturity almost necessarily suggests that some form of natural aging and obsolescence is ongoing, and that the impacts of this maturation are just around the corner. In this respect, perhaps Durand was not atypical. In other respects, as well shall see in Chapter 4, both Durand and the City of Hamilton were unique in comparison with other places. Weaver (1982, 191) concludes his history of Hamilton by suggesting that it (the city) is both unique and typical: "To a considerable degree, local economic events, housing attributes, cultural features, themes in labour organization and political practices have had and will continue to have counterparts throughout the North American system." He further notes that the city's singular features include its site, an economy based on heavy manufacturing and its proximity to Toronto, Canada's premier metropolis. And it is this combination of both common and singular features which provides each neighbourhood (and resident) with its own sense of place. Neighbourhood, in fact, is one manifestation of the urban experience for residents, politicians, planners and the host of others who live and work in the city. The nature of this 'urban experience' is undeniably influenced by the past, albeit in different ways for different individuals. As we shall see in the succeeding three chapters, events of the postwar years were, in part, a consequence of processes which shaped Durand and Hamilton in the first half of the twentieth century.

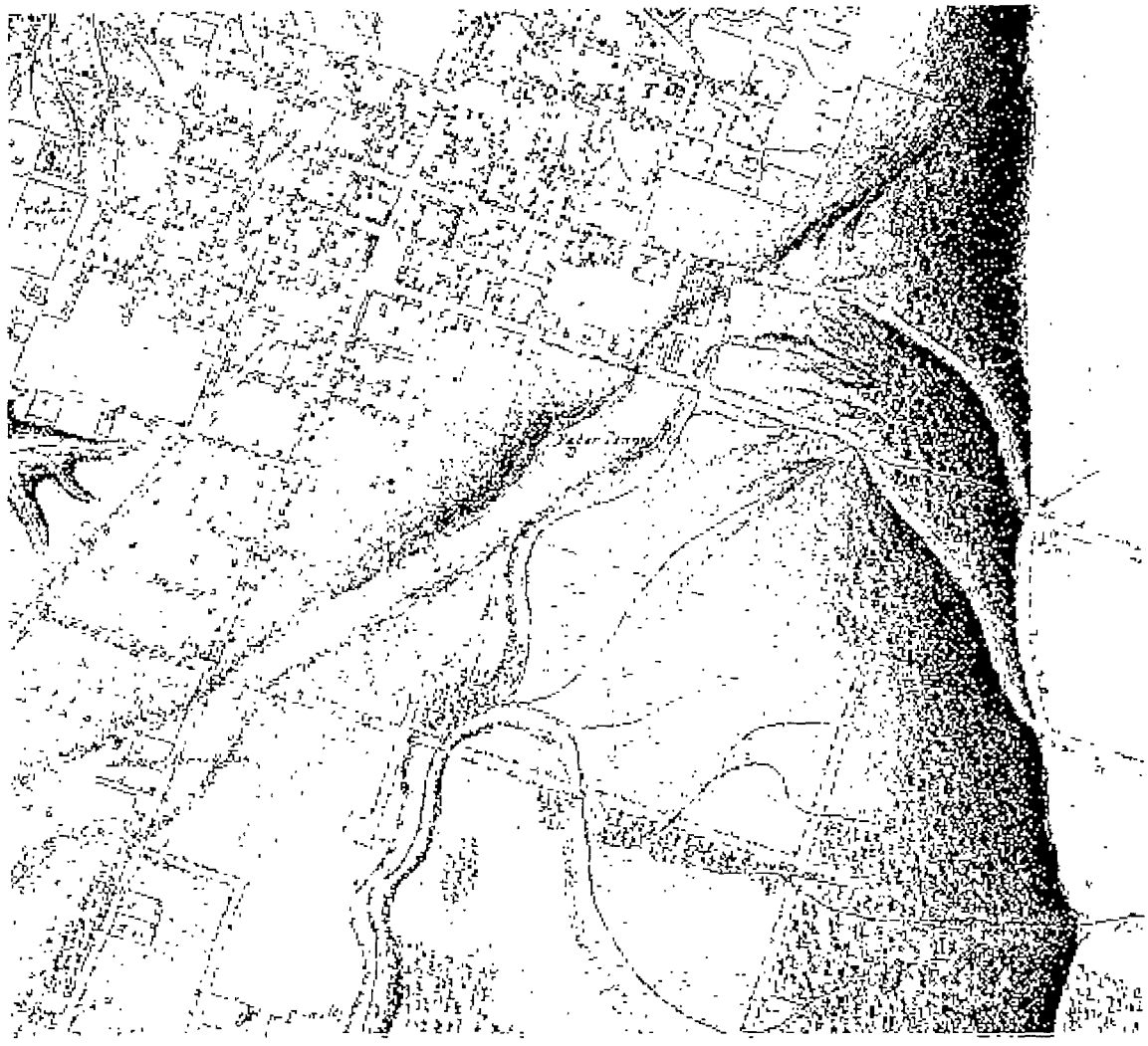

Figure 4.1: "Plan of the Town of Hamilton: District of Gore, Canada" (1842) (detail). This map shows Durand just prior to Hamilton's incorporation as a city. The estate of Peter Hamilton was situated on a former sandbar in post-glacial Lake Iroquois.

Figure 4.2: "Map of the City of Hamilton in the County of Wentworth, Canada West" surveyed and drawn by Marcus Smith, 1850-51 (detail).
By the middle of the nineteenth century more than half of Durand had been surveyed, though not necessarily built on. The estates of several prominent Hamiltonians are identified on this map, including those of Archibald Kerr and Aeneas Kennedy.

Figure 4.3: 'View of Hamilton' (1853) by Robert Whale.
Whale's portrayal of Hamilton emphasizes the city set in the irregularity and chaos of the frontier wilderness. This view is rather different from Edwin Whitefield's painted one year later (see Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4: 'Hamilton, Canada West' (1854) by Edwin Whitefield.
Whitefield's depiction of the city downplays the physical setting compared to Whale's painting (see Figure 4.3), and emphasizes the order and regularity of the site.

Figure 4.5: Inglewood.
Built c. 1855, this Gothic Villa was designed by William Thomas, one of the 'founders of the Canadian architectural profession'. Originally owned by Archibald Kerr, this was one of several large mansions built at the foot of the Niagara Escarpment in the second half of the nineteenth century. (This building is also shown in Figure 3.9)

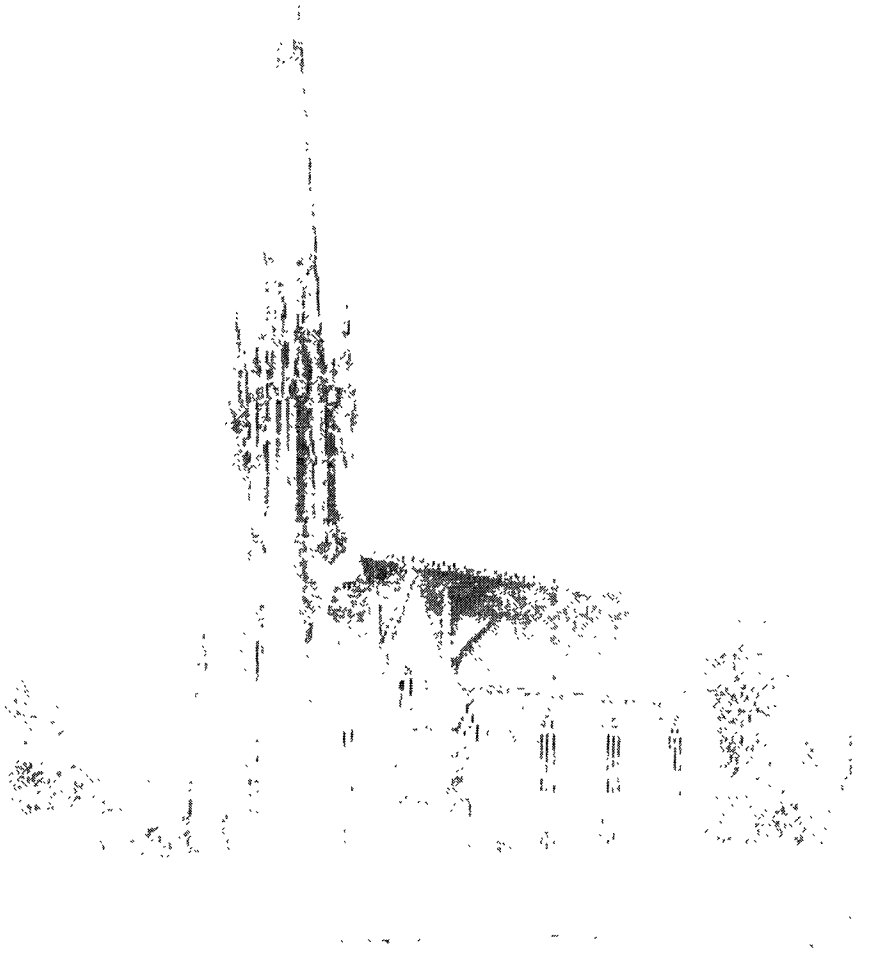

Figure 4.6: St. Paul's (formerly St. Andrew's) Presbyterian Church.
Built between 1854 and 1857, St. Paul's was designed by William Thomas, one of the most prolific architects in mid-nineteenth century Canada. Thomas designed no less than five structures in Durand including Inglewood (Figure 4.5) and Ballinahinch (Figure 3.10).

Figure 4.7: The Castle.
Built between 1857 and 1860, 'The Castle' (formerly known as 'Amisfield') was designed for Colin Reid, barrister, by Hamilton's first resident, professionally-trained architect, F.J. Rastrick. Rastrick's design was meant to recall 'Abbotsford', Sir Walter Scott's home in Scotland.

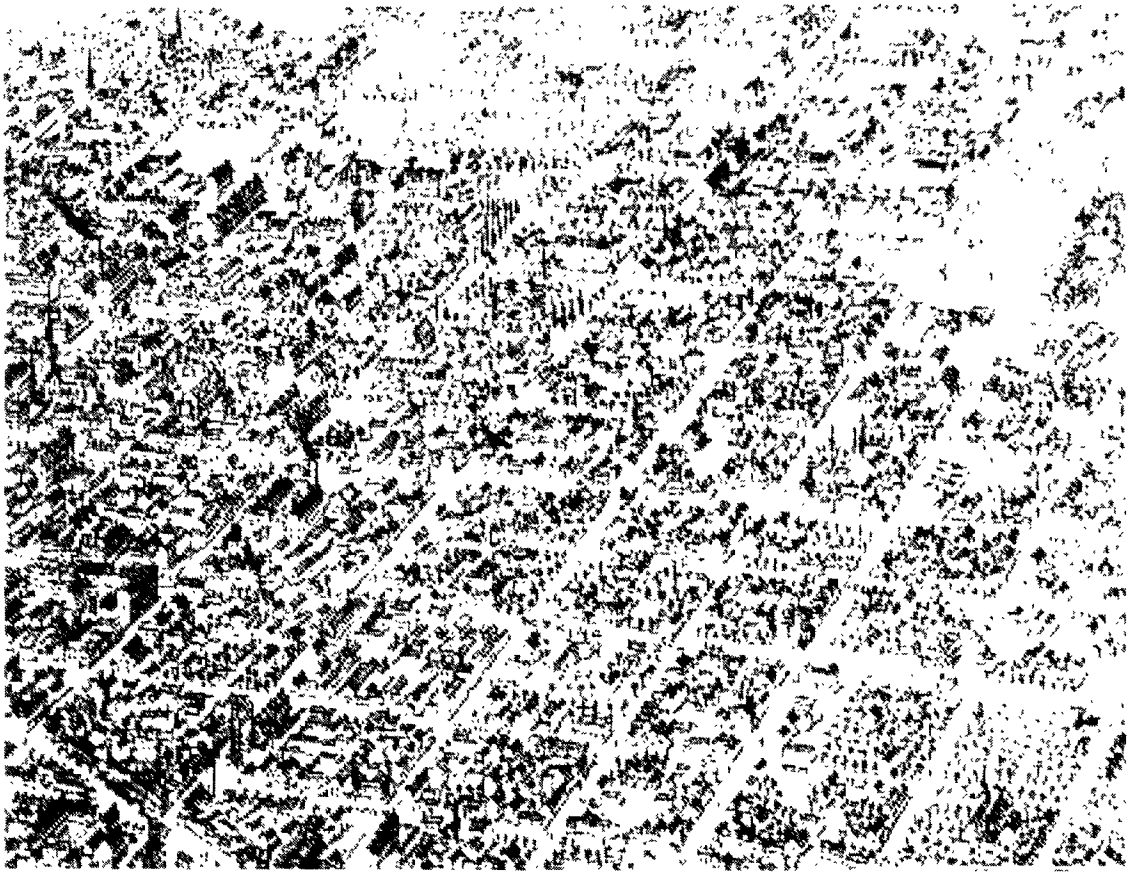

Figure 4.8: 'Bird's Eye View of Hamilton', 1876, (detail).
In comparison with the 1850-51 Marcus Smith map (see Figure 4.2) this detail shows Durand almost completely built up. While there was considerable mixing of housing and social class characteristics, in general, socio-economic status increased from north (Main Street) to south (the escarpment).

Figure 4.9: 'Bird's Eye View of Hamilton', 1893, (detail).
As the nineteenth century drew to a close Hamilton proclaimed itself as the 'Birmingham of Canada' and Durand was now completely built up. In addition to the variety of residential structures which occupied most of Durand, there were six churches and two schools in the neighbourhood.

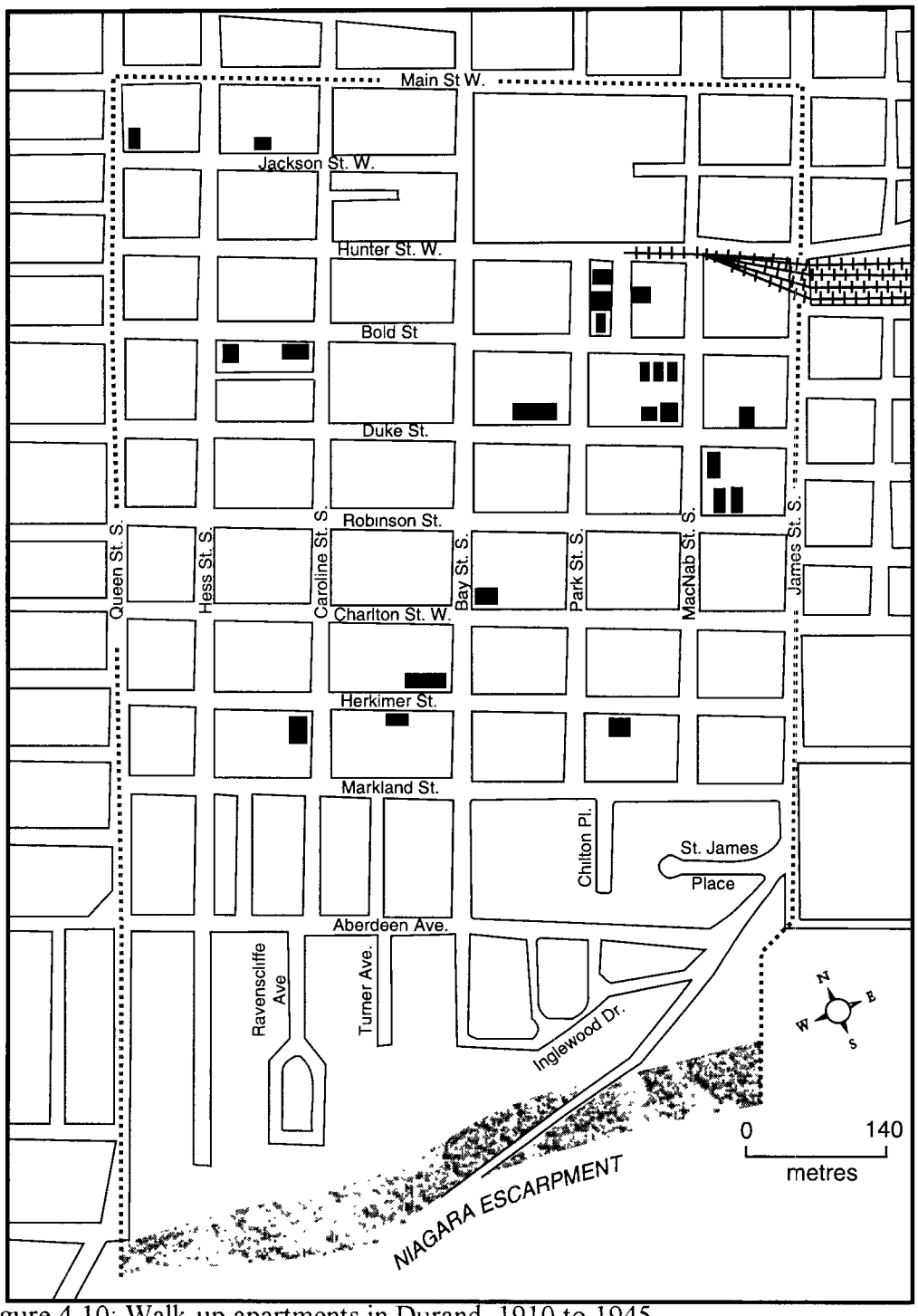

Figure 4.10: Walk-up apartments in Durand, 1910 to 1945.
This map shows the locations of walk-up (three to five storey) apartments built in Durand between 1910 and 1945. The twenty-four such structures containing a total of 525 units were concentrated in the northern and eastern parts of Durand. Examples of these buildings are shown in Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.19.

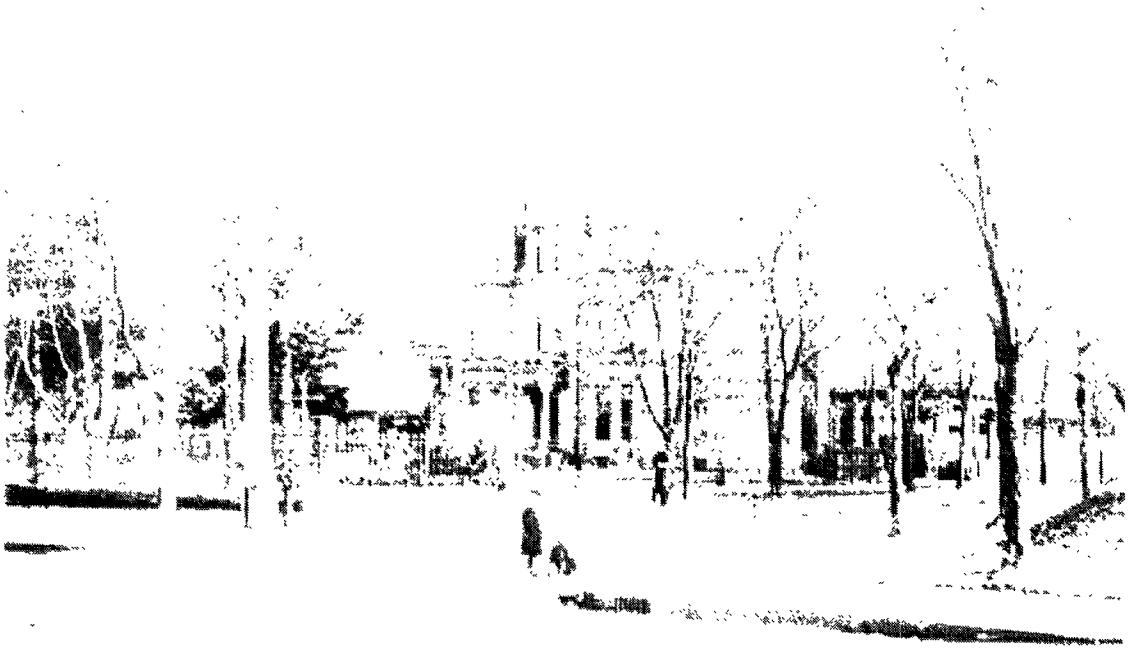

Figure 4.11: 'Wesanford', Jackson Street West.
Built in the 1840s for Edward Jackson, this was one of several imposing mansions which stood on the former sandbar in Lake Iroquois. This area was known locally as 'Knob Hill'. The home was extensively renovated by Jackson's nephew, Senator William E. Sanford, being described as 'one of the most magnificent homes in the Dominion'.

CHAPTER 5

Suburban Growth and Inner City Decline: Durand, 1946-1962

> This concern for human well-being has built up,
> along with individual enterprise, one of the
> most progressive communities in Canada,
> which has long boasted the name of 'The Ambitious City'.
>
> J. Wreford Watson
> "Industrial and Commercial Development"
> in *The Hamilton Centennial*, 1846-1946

5. 1 Introduction

The preceding chapter established the geographical and historical contexts within which the Durand neighbourhood evolved from 1791 to 1945. With these contexts in mind, this and the following two chapters examine Durand across three time periods in the post-WWII era. This empirical study emphasizes the links between spatial patterns and processes as evidenced by buildings. The fundamental changes in the neighbourhood are highlighted with 'place/space vignettes' in a chronology of key events. In particular, attention is directed at the extent to which buildings in Durand serve as evidence and symbols of the more general inner city forms and processes discussed in Chapter 2.

The period 1946 to 1962 is one in which significant events in Hamilton's evolution took place beyond the confines of Durand. Suburbanization and decentralization (see Chapter 2) produced a variety of direct and indirect impacts on Durand and the city centre

in the early postwar years. Before proceeding, a word of clarification about the dates chosen for this and the following two time periods is in order. Any chronology must, out of necessity, be somewhat arbitrary in terms of the dates selected to open and close specific time periods. The dates chosen in this chronology are based on two considerations. First, a general concern involves assessing where Durand 'fits' into the neighbourhood typology of McLemore *et al.* as discussed in Chapter 2. Second, the specific years which begin and end each of these three periods were chosen so as to coincide with significant events in the history of Hamilton and/or Durand. In this chapter, 1946 presents a convenient starting point for three reasons. First, 1946 is literally the first year of the post-World War II era. Second, 1946 represents the beginning of the modern era in urban planning for Hamilton with the unveiling of the City's first official plan. Finally, 1946 marks the celebration of Hamilton's centennial, a landmark in time of considerable significance for the city and its residents.

The first time period concludes in 1962 for two related reasons. First, 1962 marks the end of Lloyd D. Jackson's term as Mayor of Hamilton. In conjunction with his predecessor, Sam Lawrence, who served as mayor from 1944 to 1949, Jackson played a major role in reshaping the face of Hamilton in areas beyond the central city. The second reason for choosing 1962 as the end of this period concerns conditions in the CBD and the surrounding inner city neighbourhoods. Specifically, city planners and politicians began to redirect attention toward the city centre in the wake of the Urban Renewal Study (1958) and the designation of 260 acres in the city's north end as a 'renewal area' in December, 1961 (City of Hamilton, 1959).

Five principal, sources have been consulted to reconstruct the first of the three postwar time periods. First, the 1941 Housing Atlas of Hamilton provides information for 1941 concerning social and housing conditions in both the neighbourhood and the city early in the postwar era. Second, planning documents such as the 'High Density Residential Development Study' (Hamilton Wentworth Region, Planning and Development Department, 1987) are used to reconstruct major development trends in Durand and the city centre. Third, archival material from the Hamilton Public Library, Special Collections Department was consulted to document the building histories which appear in three vignettes in this chapter. Fourth, articles from and special editions of *The Hamilton Spectator* provided information on specific buildings and events in Durand and the city centre during this period. Finally, census data from 1941, 1951 and 1961 provides an indication of social change in Durand in the first postwar period.

5.2 The Postwar Era: The Early Years

As discussed in Chapter 2, the term 'inner city decline' is used to imply the loss of the area's former vitality and viability in economic, social, political and physical terms (Bourne, 1982). General and specific factors have been cited as explanatory variables in this process of decline and deterioration. As we shall see, many of these factors are, to varying degrees, relevant to the explanation of deteriorating conditions in central Hamilton in the early postwar years. Before proceeding with the description, explanation and interpretation of Durand's 'decline', a cautionary note is in order. The use of the term 'decline' must be qualified. The intent is not to suggest that all or even most of Durand

was in the process of becoming an urban wasteland, for this was certainly not the case. There is, however, clear evidence to suggest that socially and physically, Durand was showing signs of its age. As we shall see, manifestations of this aging processes varied within the central city. Similar observations can be made regarding other general processes such as renewal and revitalization as will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

5.2.1 The 1941 *Housing Atlas of Hamilton*

The 1941 *Housing Atlas of Hamilton* indicated that Durand's population was approximately 6,500 persons while the city's population stood at 166,337 (Minister of Trade and Commerce, 1946). Various social and housing characteristics of Durand can be extracted from this atlas. Before proceeding with this description, however, some comments on the limitations of this source of information are warranted. In Chapter 4 it was noted that visual sources of historical information (e.g., maps and photographs) contain inherent limitations and biases. The 1941 Housing Atlases produced for larger Canadian cities are similar in this respect. One limitation rests with the fact the maps are based on evidence for wage-earner households only, thereby excluding about one-third of the population. Other problems stem from the fact that some maps contain too much detail while others suffer from poor quality of reproduction (Harris, 1993). Despite these limitations "...the housing atlases constitute the only reliable, systematic and easily used source of information about the social geography of Canadian cities before 1951" (Harris, 1993, 146). Seven chloropleth maps for wage-earner households contained in the

Hamilton atlas are discussed here in order to depict social and housing conditions in Durand at the beginning of the postwar era. As was noted in Chapter 4, one of the more noteworthy features of Durand's social landscape was the tendency for socio-economic status to increase from north to south. For this reason, Durand, as depicted in the seven maps in the 1941 Housing Atlas, is discussed in terms of its northern and southern halves. Each half contains thirty-three blocks of varying sizes. The seven maps are summarized in Table 5.1.

Most of Durand's northern half (i.e., 24 blocks) had between sixty and seventy-nine percent of households as 'wage-earner households'. The remaining nine blocks in the northern half featured forty to fifty-nine percent wage earner households. In contrast, the southern half of Durand had sixteen blocks in the zero to thirty-nine per cent range and seventeen blocks in the forty to fifty-nine percent range. Of particular interest is the fact that the most affluent part of Durand (south of Aberdeen Avenue) fell into the lowest category of wage earner households, i.e., between zero and thirty-nine percent. This apparent contradiction makes sense when the other occupational status categories (besides 'wage-earner') are considered. These other categories include 'own account', i.e., self-employed' 'retired'; 'other income'; and 'homemaker'. It is quite probable, based on the evidence presented thus far, that there was likely a high proportion of the first three of these categories. Indeed, nowhere else in the city is there a similarly low proportion of wage earners in such an affluent area.

More than half of Durand's northern part (i.e., twenty blocks) features between ten and nineteen percent of households characterized as crowded (i.e., less than one room per

Table 5.1: Summary of Conditions in Durand based on *Housing Atlas of Hamilton*, 1941 (Minister of Trade and Commerce, 1946).

Neighbourhood Sub-area	Characteristic							
	Wage earner households		Crowded households		'Double-up' families		Average family earnings	
Northern Half of Durand (Main Street to Robinson Street)	40-59%	- 9 blocks	0%	- 4 blocks	0%	- 4 blocks	$1,000-$1,749- 33 blocks	
	50-79%	- 24 blocks	0-9%	-2 blocks	0-9%	- 3 blocks		
			10-19%	- 20 blocks	10-19%	- 22 blocks		
			20-29%	- 7 blocks	20-29%	4 blocks		
Southern Half of Durand (Robinson Street)	0-39%	- 16 blocks	9%	- 27 blocks	0%	- 15 blocks	$1,000-$1,749	- 12 blocks
	40-59%	- 17 blocks	10-19%	- 4 blocks	19-49%	- 12 blocks	> $2,500	- 21 blocks
			20-29%	- 2 blocks	> 30%	- 6 blocks		

Neighbourhood Sub-area	Characteristic					
	Housing Conveniences		Low rents		Home ownership	
Northern Half of Durand (Main Street to Robinson Street)	Level *1		0%	- 9 blocks	0%	- 18 blocks
	Level 2		0-19%	- 21 blocks	0-9%	- 2 blocks
	Level 3		20-39%	- 3 blocks	10-19%	- 1 block
	Level 4				20-29%	- 6 blocks
	Level 5 - 33 blocks				30-49%	- 4 blocks
	Level 6				50-79%	- 2 blocks
					> 80%	- 0 blocks
Southern Half of Durand (Robinson Street to escarpment)	Level *1		0-%	- 18 blocks	0%	- 0 blocks
	Level 2		0-19%	- 4 blocks	0-9%	- 0 blocks
	Level 3		20-29%	- 11 blocks	10-19%	- 4 blocks
	Level 4				20-29%	- 11 blocks
	Level 5 - 6 blocks				30-49%	- 10 blocks
	Level 6 - 27 blocks				50-79%	- 8 blocks
					> 80%	- 0 blocks

* Level 1 is the lowest, Level 6 is the highest

person. The remainder of the northern half had zero percent crowded households in four blocks; zero to ten percent crowded households in two blocks; and twenty to twenty-nine percent crowding in seven blocks. The southern half of the neighbourhood featured considerably less variation: twenty-seven blocks had zero percent crowded households; four blocks along James Street South and between ten and nineteen percent crowded households; and two blocks featured twenty to twenty-nine percent crowding. In comparing Durand to the rest of the city, only ten of sixty-six blocks fell into the second highest category of crowding (twenty to twenty-nine percent) and none fell into the highest category (greater than thirty percent).

Most of Durand's northern half (i.e., twenty-two blocks) featured between ten and nineteen percent of families classed as 'doubled-up' (i.e., more than one family living in one dwelling) as shown in Figure 5.1. (See Figure 5.1) The remainder of the northern half was a mixture of three categories of doubled-up families: zero percent (four blocks); zero to nine per cent (three blocks) and twenty to twenty-nine percent (four blocks). The southern half of Durand exhibited similar variation: nearly half (15 blocks) had zero percent doubled up families; twelve blocks with ten to nineteen percent doubling; and six blocks in the highest category (greater than thirty percent).

Again there was a curious anomaly in the most affluent part of Durand similar to that noted above regarding wage-earner households. Four blocks south of Aberdeen Avenue and two blocks in the Bay-Aberdeen area featured the highest category (greater than thirty percent) of doubling-up. (None of these blocks was categorized as 'crowded'.) Several factors may have contributed to this condition. Most of the dwellings in this area

were very large and could easily have accommodated more than one household without producing crowded conditions. This availability of space, coupled with the emerging housing shortage (discussed later in this chapter), resulted in some pressure for people to take in second families as part of their patriotic duty in the war effort (see Weaver, 1981, 145). Further, more doubled-up families were expressed as a proportion of wage-earner households. As noted above, this part of Durand had a low proportion of wage earner households. The high proportion of doubled-up families is possibly a statistical artifact of these conditions. In any event, it was certainly true that doubling-up in this part of Durand was not associated with substandard housing conditions or social misfortune.

Average family earnings in Hamilton in 1941 were $1,503. The entire northern half of Durand was characterized by family earnings in the range $1,000 to $1,749 (see Figure 5.2). Family earnings in the southern half fell into two categories: $1,000 to $1,749 (twelve blocks); and over $2,500 (twenty-one blocks). Once again it should be noted that non-wage income was not included in these figures. As such, the level of affluence in the southern part of Durand was likely underestimated in the Housing Atlas.

One of the more interesting maps in the Atlas depicted 'prevailing levels of housing conveniences'. Level I, the lowest category referred to buildings "...requiring external repair or lacking private toilet and bath or electric light and having none of the following: gas or electric stoves, refrigerator, vacuum cleaner, telephone or automobile", while Level 6, the highest category, referred to households that: "...live in homes in good repair with private toilet, bath and electric light and have all the conveniences listed above." (Minister of Trade and Commerce, 1946, 15). Levels 2 to 5 comprised a

gradation between these extremes. In Durand, the entire northern half fell into Level 5 (the second highest) while the southern half featured six blocks in Level 5 and the remainder (twenty-seven blocks) in Level 6, the highest category.

The term 'low-rent' was applied to wage-earner tenant households paying less than $20 per month for rent. (The city average was $28 per month). The northern half of Durand featured: nine blocks with no low rents, twenty-one blocks with zero to nineteen percent low rents; and three blocks with twenty to thirty-nine percent low rents (See Figure 5.3). The southern half of the neighbourhood had: eighteen blocks with no low rents; four blocks with zero to nineteen percent low rents; and eleven blocks with twenty to thirty-nine percent low rents. There were no areas in Durand in the two highest categories of low rents (forty to fifteen-nine and greater than sixty percent).

The final map in the Atlas discussed here showed home ownership among wage earners. Of the maps considered, this one featured the greatest variation within Durand. The northern half of Durand had the following rates of home ownership among wage earners: zero percent (eighteen blocks); zero to nine percent (two blocks); ten to nineteen percent (1 block); twenty to twenty-nine percent (six blocks); thirty to forty-nine percent (four blocks); and fifteen to seventy-nine percent (2 blocks). The southern half of the neighbourhood featured slightly less variation: ten to nineteen percent (four blocks); twenty to twenty-nine percent (eleven blocks); thirty to forty-nine percent (ten blocks); and fifteen to seventy-nine percent (eight blocks). No area in Durand fell into the highest category (greater than eighty percent of home ownership). Only the recently developed

suburb of Westdale and a three block area in the city's east end featured home ownership rates in the highest category.

Several features of Durand's social landscape emerge from the maps found in the 1941 *Housing Atlas of Hamilton*. First, as the preceding discussion illustrates, there were noteworthy variations in social conditions both within Durand itself and between the neighbourhood and other parts of the city. Indeed the evidence pointed to a continuation of the neighbourhood's internal diversity in terms of socio-economic conditions. As noted in Chapter 4, this characteristic of Durand was well established long before Hamilton became an industrial city. Specifically, the 'cheek by jowl' feature of socio-economic diversity of Durand was still visible in the early postwar period. In addition, the evidence clearly pointed to a somewhat larger scale patterning from north to south. In particular, the 1946 Housing Atlas reveals that higher socio-economic status households continued to reside in the southern part of the neighbourhood. This, too, was a feature of Durand which was established by the mid-nineteenth century. Indeed, few other areas of comparable size in Hamilton appeared to display similar internal variation in 1946

The second conclusion to be drawn from this depiction of Durand concerns its status relative to other residential areas in the city. Despite the first conclusion regarding internal variation, Durand, in many respects ranked higher than the city average in terms of family earnings and condition of housing. It ranked lower than the city average in terms of crowded households and low rents. Based on this evidence, Durand was clearly a 'decent' place to live for many and an exclusive place to live for a select few. At the city scale, then, Durand was certainly an average to above average residential area. These

conclusions must be viewed in the context of local, national and international forces impacting Canadian cities in the early postwar era. In the introduction to the Housing Atlas, reference is made to 'the housing problem'. In retrospect, it is apparent that a rapidly growing population was a consequence of several factors: economic prosperity sparked by the war; immigration; and returning veterans. The combined result of these conditions was an increase of nearly 22,000 persons in Hamilton's population between 1936 and 1946. Indeed Weaver (1982, 197) identifies the period from 1946 to 1950 as the beginning of the postwar housing boom. This upsurge in housing construction coincides with an increasing fertility rate (i.e., the 'baby boom') and rising postwar immigration. Of the city's population classed as 'immigrant' in 1961, 13.7 percent arrived between 1941 and 1950, while 46 percent arrived between 1941 and 1961 (Weaver, 1982, 199). In the political arena, the City of Hamilton took steps to accommodate both existing and anticipated growth by annexing nearly 9,000 acres of land on its periphery between 1949 and 1956 (Weaver, 1982, 199). As we shall see below, these demographic, economic and political changes in postwar Hamilton were already manifesting themselves on the landscape of Durand in a variety of ways.

5.2.2 Changing social and architectural topographies

As noted in chapter 4, Durand was the location of some of the city's earliest low-rise, walk-up apartment buildings with twenty-seven such structures appearing between 1910 and 1945. The early postwar years witnessed a continuation of this trend as shown in Figure 5.4. Between 1946 and 1959 twenty additional apartment buildings (containing

a total of 327 units) were constructed in Durand (Hamilton Wentworth Region, Planning and Development Department, 1987). All of these buildings, save two, were either two or three storeys and contained from six to twenty-nine units. As Figure 5.4 reveals, there was a tendency for these buildings to be concentrated on the north and east sides of Durand, i.e., the area closest to the CBD. None of these buildings was constructed south of Herkimer Street. The area bounded by Hunter Street, Bay Street South, Herkimer Street and James Street South contained eleven such structures while the area bounded by Bay Street South, Charlton Avenue, Queen Street South contained eight.

This process of intensified development is typified by the east side of MacNab Street South between Herkimer Street and Charlton Avenue West where three apartment buildings were constructed between 1952 and 1954. The first (223 MacNab Street South) was two storeys and contained twenty-two units. The second and third buildings (227 and 231 MacNab Street South) were both three storeys, each containing fifteen units. This property was formerly owned by John Crerar, a prominent Hamilton lawyer. Crerar's stone mansion stood on half of the block bounded by MacNab Street South, James Street South, Charlton Avenue West and Herkimer Street. It was Crerar's property which was used to build the three walk-up apartments mentioned above. In other instances, for example, 38 Charlton Avenue West, a more typical single family dwelling gave way to a five storey apartment building in 1959. The net result of these and similar events over the decade of the 1950s would be to increase the neighbourhood's total population, population density, and proportion of tenants. In 1941 Durand's population stood at 6,500 (estimate based on the 1941 *Housing Atlas of Hamilton*) with a population density

of 23.7 persons per acre. By 1951, Durand's population had risen to 8,452, with a density 30.8 persons per acre. In part, these increases were due to the construction of seven apartment buildings with a total of 117 units being built between 1941 and 1951.

This trend was, in fact, a continuation of the construction of multiple occupancy units in Durand which had begun at the time of the First World War (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, this intensified development would take place on a much larger scale in the 1960s (see Chapter 6) when zoning by-laws were amended to permit higher density developments in central city neighbourhoods such as Durand. As if to announce the arrival of the next time period, four larger apartment buildings were constructed in Durand between 1960 and 1962. Each of these buildings was five or more storeys in height. To this point only one such building could be found in Durand. Three of these four buildings contained more units than the largest apartment built between 1946 and 1959 (see Table 5.2). In virtually all of these cases, the construction of these apartment buildings necessitated the demolition of older housing.

Change on the cultural landscape was not restricted to the demolition of older structures in order to construct progressively higher apartments. Another factor underlying the increase in Durand's population and density was the conversion of older, single family dwellings into multiple occupancy units. Such conversions took place in a wide variety of building types and sizes. The increasing number of these conversions through the 1950s and into the 1960s provided clear evidence that Durand had indeed reached a turning point in its evolution. The following examples will serve to illustrate this dimension of landscape change in Durand.

Table 5.2: Apartment Buildings Constructed in Durand, 1946-1962

Address	Year built	No. of storeys	No. of units
120 Caroline Street, South	1946	3	6
33 Herkimer Street	1948	3	7
27 Duke Street	1949	3	29
79 Duke Street	1949	3	21
60 Robinson Street	1949	3	28
56 Bold Street	1950	3	17
142 Duke Street	1950	3	9
223 MacNab Street, South	1952	2	21
170 Jackson Street	1953	3	15
119 MacNab Street, South	1954	3	22
227 MacNab Street, South	1954	3	15
231 MacNab Street, South	1954	3	15
179 Bold Street	1955	3	13
137 Duke Street	1956	2	10
133 Robinson Street	1956	3	11
215 Jackson Street	1957	3	14
38 Charlton Avenue, West	1959	5	16
75 Duke Street	1959	5	16
200 Hunter Street, West	1959	3	19
125 Park Street	1959	3	23
174 Herkimer Street	1960	5	19
150 Charlton Avenue, West	1961	5	30
249 Caroline Street, South	1962	6	34
92 Robinson Street	1962	9	41

Source: Planning and Development Department, Hamilton-Wentworth Region. 1987. *High Density Residential Development Study*.

F.J. Rastrick's Jacobean castle "Amisfield' (later known as 'The Castle') on James Street South was built in the 1850s for Colin Reid, a prominent Hamilton lawyer (see Figure 4.7). The estate was subsequently purchased by lumber merchant Robert Thompson in 1887. The building remained a conspicuous monument to the city's elite until the death of Thompson's widow in the 1940s. The Castle is shown in the 1946 Fire Insurance Plan as having been converted into a boarding house. In the 1950s an apartment block was attached to the Duke Street facade of The Castle (see Figure 5.5).

Further east on Duke Street, Sandyford Place (35-43 Duke Street) stood on land originally owned by Peter Hunter Hamilton, half-brother of the city's founder, George Hamilton. Built by Scottish masons circa 1858 this stone terrace was typical of housing built in Hamilton in the mid-nineteenth century (see Figure 3.21). Early in Sandyford's history its occupants were members of Hamilton's well-to-do classes as evidenced by the city directories. In 1865, for example, the units were occupied by: P. Dewar (clerk); Mrs. Hunter (lady); E. Marten (barrister); and J. Watson (merchant). By 1920, it appears that one unit (no. 39 Duke Street) had been subdivided into smaller apartment units. Each of the other three units was listed as being owned and occupied by a single household. By 1960, the process of apartment conversion was complete: no. 43 had two apartment units; no. 41 had three apartments; no. 39 lists five occupants; and no. 35 had nine occupants. By the end of the next time period (see Chapter 6) Sandyford Place would become the focus of conflict between a developer and the neighbourhood's residents.

A third example of this conversion process was found on James Street South at the base of the escarpment. William Thomas' Italianate Villa 'Ballinahinch' (see Figure 3.10),

was built in the 1850s for Aeneas Sage Kennedy, a Scottish dry goods merchant. As noted in Chapter 4, Ballinahinch had been home to several of the city's wealthiest families until the 1940s. Among its owners in the twentieth century were William Southam and Frederick Ker, both publishers of the *Hamilton Spectator* and Frank McKune, superintendent of The Steel Company of Canada. In 1944, the mansion was purchased by Samuel Henson who converted it into eight apartment units. Henson also built the ten homes on St. James Place after severing property from the Ballinahinch estate.

The emerging picture in the first period of the postwar era is one of change within Durand. While some of the neighbourhood's nineteenth century characteristics persisted, both the architectural and social landscapes were changing in response to demographic and economic forces operating beyond its immediate confines. The city's rapidly growing population, for example, had to be housed; Durand afforded a variety of opportunities to accommodate this need through the conversion of former single family dwellings into duplexes, triplexes and rooming houses as evidenced by the above examples. In fact, Samuel Henson, who converted Ballinahinch into apartment units played a significant role in this process. Beginning in the mid-1930s Henson began buying larger, older homes in south central Hamilton (mostly in Durand) and converting them into rental accommodations. By 1959 Henson owned twenty-three such homes containing a total of 220 tenants (*The Hamilton Spectator* 4 November 1959). Many of these homes formerly belonged to some of the city's most prominent families including the Hendrie, Mewburn, Gibson and Park families. While there was clearly an economic motivation underlying

Henson's purchase of these homes, there was also his explicitly stated intent to preserve elements of Hamilton's architectural heritage:

> But with the right plans these old places can be remodelled into efficient modern duplexes or apartments. .... Of course there is a place for the big apartment blocks. But they should be in an apartment district. The lovely old private homes, with their lawns, shade trees and quiet air of dignity should be preserved altogether. (*The Hamilton Spectator* 4 November 1959)

In fact Henson refused to sell a building if the new owner intended to demolish it in order to build an apartment building. Henson's preservation motivations were clearly not shared by many others at this time. Indeed some of his buildings would later fall to the wrecker's ball (see Chapter 7). Many others, however, would remain as integral elements of Durand in the 1980s and early 1990s.

The architectural topography of Durand changed as the construction of low rise, walk-up apartments continued in the postwar years. In addition, the conversion of former single family homes into rental units contributed to a changing social landscape as the proportion of the neighbourhood's residents classed as tenants continued to rise. In combination, these changes (apartment construction and conversion) were apparent in nearly all parts of Durand. While some areas of the neighbourhood retained a distinctively Victorian aura, it was clear that the character of Durand in 1962 was rather different from that of a mere sixteen years earlier when the postwar era began. The currents of change were about to sweep across Durand with unprecedented force. Before placing these changes in the broader context of the time, we must revisit the decision made in the 1950s to build a new City Hall on Main Street West in the northeast corner of Durand.

5.3 City Hall Comes to Durand

On January 13, 1890, the first official meeting of Hamilton City Council was held in Architect James Balfour's newly completed City Hall on James Street North. It was the third such municipal structure (including the temporary use of the Federal Building) which had been located on James Street North. In fact, the seat of municipal government in Hamilton had been located on James Street North from the time of the City's incorporation in 1846 until November 21, 1960 when Governor General Georges P. Vanier officially opened the present edifice on Main Street West. In order to make way for the new building, it was necessary to expropriate a sizeable number of properties which comprised the 8.7 acre (3.5 hectare) site (see Figure 5.5). Based on the 1947 Fire Insurance Plan, at least five businesses, the Knights of Columbus Hall, the Beth Jacob Synagogue, Fire Station No. 2 and about eighty-five residences were demolished in the area bounded by Main Street West, Bay Street South, Hunter Street West and Charles Street (see Figures 5.3 and 5.4). Expropriation of this property began in June, 1958 (Missett, 1995).

There were several consequences of this decision for Durand and the city centre, both of which were showing signs of age. First, the construction of the City Hall on Main Street West signalled a shift in the location of municipal government away from James Street North where it had been firmly entrenched for more than a century. In retrospect, this decision represented the first step in the shift of the 'heart of the city' away from the intersection of King Street and James Street to the area bounded by Main Street, Bay Street, James Street and York Boulevard.

Second, the fact that such a large number of properties could be assembled for this project suggests something about the nature and extent of change taking place in Durand. Specifically, it suggests that a substantial degree of decline had occurred. Such decline, however, could probably have been found elsewhere in the inner city. Indeed, other sites proposed prior to the selection of the Main Street West site would have allowed the assembly of sufficient property to construct the facility. These alternative sites included: the site of the former Central Collegiate School on Wellington Street South; the site of the 1889 City Hall on James Street North; and the old Macassa Lodge grounds in the city's North End. Mayor Jackson's preference for the Main Street site was based on the fact that the area in question was one of "depreciating property values" (Henley, 1992). The question remains: why was this site in Durand chosen? The answer to this question lies, in part, in the fact that Durand still displayed some very positive attributes which were deemed sufficient to warrant the selected site. In other words, the decline was sufficient to lower property values, thereby allowing the assembly of the property. At the same time, decline had not reached an extreme level which would have precluded the construction of an important municipal building in this area. Campbell (1966, 269) observed in 1966 that: "Only today is the wisdom of that choice fully apparent"; implying that the new location was a good one for the city and its downtown.

A third consequence of City Hall's arrival in Durand was the fact that three city blocks were razed in preparing the site for construction (see Figure 5.5). In retrospect, this foreshadowed a time when demolition would become the norm in Durand and the city's core (see Chapter 6). The forces of decline had clearly set the stage for massive

revitalization in central Hamilton as discussed in Chapter 2. Standing at the centre of these changes was architect Stanley Roscoe's new City Hall.

At the opening ceremony, Governor General Vanier stated that he "... hoped it (the new City Hall) would become a symbol of orderly and logical urban development." The *Hamilton Spectator* (22 November 1960) proclaimed that the new building should be "... the physical and psychological impetus for an era of great progress in all ways for Hamilton." Nearly everything about the new City Hall was different. In addition to its new location, its appearance was unprecedented in that: "architecturally... (it) had no connections with the historic stone and brick of Hamilton's built environment" (Weaver, 1982, 193). Even the building's 'cornerstone' found a new location in the middle of the front facade. And just as the opening of the new structure signalled the arrival of a 'new order' in central Hamilton, it also meant that the older order was disappearing. Three city blocks in Durand were razed in order to build the new structure; once it was built, demolition began on James Balfour's 1889 edifice on James Street North. The view from the escarpment overlooking Durand in 1960 (see Figure 5.10) was now dominated by the new City Hall. As we shall see in Chapter 6, similar changes on an even larger scale would alter the appearance of both Durand and the city centre in the 1960s and 1970s.

5.4 City and Neighbourhood in Transition

How, then, are we to view these changes in Durand in light of events elsewhere in postwar Hamilton? Several aspects of change to the city and its neighbourhoods warrant discussion at this point. First, as noted earlier, Hamilton's population grew by more than

100,000 people from 1941 to 1961, the combined result of immigration, returning veterans, annexation and the postwar 'baby boom' (Weaver, 1982, 196). The net result of this rapidly increasing population was an increase in the demand for housing. Indeed Weaver (1982) identifies the period 1947 to 1957 as one characterized by a shortage of rental units in the city. As discussed earlier in this chapter, this shortage is coincident with the construction of low rise, walk-up apartments and the conversion of older homes into rental units in neighbourhoods like Durand.

On the economic front, Hamilton's economy was still booming well after the war effort had ended. The value of building permits issued in the city increased steadily from 1946 to 1960 (Weaver, 1982, 200). Meanwhile, the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959 was accompanied by $10 million worth of improvements to Hamilton Harbour, thereby reinforcing the continued expansion of the city's *raison d'être*: the steel industry. The city's labour force continued to expand, growing from 69,712 in 1941 (Weaver, 1982, 197) to 151,637 in 1961 (Peace and Burghardt, 1987, 289). Finally, while the labour force continued its unprecedented growth, its composition was showing signs of change. In particular, while the steel industry continued as the city's largest employer, the overall share of the labour force employed in manufacturing was beginning to decline. At its peak in 1951, manufacturing accounted for 52.2 percent of Hamilton's labour force. Scarcely a decade later, this figure had decreased to 40.3 percent (Peace and Burghardt, 1987, 287).

Within these broader contexts of an expanding economy and a growing population, various changes were seen in the physical form of the city. The most

significant of these changes which had important ramifications for inner city neighbourhoods like Durand was the rapidly increasing mobility of the population. Weaver (1982, 201) notes that non-commercial passenger vehicle registration in Hamilton rose from 28,183 in 1941 to 71, 616 in 1962, thereby decreasing the ratio of residents per vehicle from 5.9:1 to 3.7:1, despite the rapidly growing population. It is here in both space and time that we begin to notice the coincidence of mutually reinforcing tendencies in the growth of the city. As noted in Chapter 2, inner city decline and suburbanization were, in fact, opposite sides of the same coin.

The central city could not accommodate the level of growth which characterized the early postwar years at the same time that mobility was rapidly increasing. There was really only one possible outcome: suburbanization. Thus, typical of the North American city in the postwar era (see Chapter 2), the face of Hamilton was radically altered by the forces of decentralization. Beginning in 1955 with the opening of the Greater Hamilton Shopping Centre in the city's east end, retailing activities moved to more suburban locations both in pursuit and in advance of the consuming public. This was the first suburban retail project of its kind in Hamilton and the largest in Canada at the time of its opening. It was, of course, a 'chicken and egg' situation, but the point is that the suburbanization of people, retailing and employment were mutually reinforcing trends, as discussed in Chapter 2. By the end of the 1950s the city had more or less used all available space for new development in the east and west ends. The stage was set to shift the focus of development to the south above the escarpment.

In 1943, 7,600 Hamiltonians lived above the escarpment; at the end of the war this figure stood between 10,000 and 12,000; and by 1963, it stood in excess of 77,000 (Campbell, 1966, 256). The escarpment had historically been a formidable, physical and psychological barrier to Hamilton's development in the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed, the very term used by residents to describe the escarpment - 'The Mountain' - suggests that the barrier was significant. As the figures above suggest, a flood of development was the immediate consequence of making land above the escarpment more accessible. It is here, in the realm of infrastructure provision, that an additional factor comes into focus as the City of Hamilton expanded.

Under the leadership of Mayor Lloyd D. Jackson, the City of Hamilton invested heavily in the provision of infrastructure to accommodate expansion above the escarpment. Jackson, who served as mayor from 1950 to 1962 was an advocate of growth. Through capital expenditures on roads and sewers along with the reorganization of civic management, Jackson sought a long-term solution to the problem of mountain access roads. Indeed, Campbell (1966, 256) describes Jackson as having a 'big city vision' while Jackson himself was quoted as saying: "Hamilton is changing from the early days, becoming more cosmopolitan." During Jackson's tenure as mayor, both the Jolley Cut in central Hamilton (1950) and the Kenilworth-Flock Road Access in the city's east end were upgraded to facilitate movement between the lower and upper tiers of the city. Beyond infrastructure improvements which enhanced growth, Jackson's efforts ushered the city into the modern era. Weaver (1982, 19) describes the changes in the local political climate as follows:

> The legacies of most Hamilton mayors had been trivial; the position had been largely honorific and the opportunities for placing a personal stamp on the city were minimal. ....He (Jackson) had promised a new administration without ideological or political bias, but rather one dedicated to running the city like a business. ....Jackson proposed large expenditures on streets, sewers, recreational facilities and city beautification. His call for an end to austerity coincided with industrial and suburban growth.

One final event in this time period which would directly impact Durand passed largely unnoticed in 1961. In 1961 the zoning bylaws covering inner city neighbourhoods like Durand and Corktown (immediately east of Durand) were amended to allow the construction of highrise apartment buildings. As shown in Table 5.2 none of the apartments built in Durand from 1946 to 1961 exceeded five storeys. In 1962 two apartments surpassed this height. First, a six storey, thirty-four unit structure was built at 249 Caroline Street South (at Charlton Avenue). This building was constructed on a site which previously featured a bakery, three semi-detached brick houses (6 units) and one frame house. The evolution of this site is shown in Figure 5.8. The second apartment building to exceed the height of five storeys was built at 92 Robinson Street (at Bay Street South). This structure was nine storeys and contained forty-one units. In this instance the site was previously occupied by one large brick home with a brick garage. This home was built for James Thomson, a prominent Hamilton textile manufacturer. The evolution of this site is shown in Figure 5.9. The construction of these two apartment buildings involved the demolition of eight homes in total. The significance was threefold. First, the process of property assembly and building demolition prior to the construction of new structures was not new (see Chapter 4). What was new, however, was the scale of these projects. In earlier instances the gradual addition of walk-up apartments to Durand's

landscape was usually limited to two or three storey structures. These two structures built in 1962 were, in retrospect, additional signs of massive redevelopment (see Chapter 2) in the wake of the new City Hall. Second, these projects revealed that the broader forces discussed above were having direct and indirect impacts on inner city neighbourhoods like Durand. In particular, the rapidly growing population had to be housed. Development on the periphery and conversion of older homes into rental units absorbed some, but not all of this demand. With new zoning by-laws which permitted higher density development, it was only a matter of time before highrise apartments would dominate the architectural topography of Durand. The third noteworthy aspect of these two projects is their relative location in Durand. As discussed earlier (see Chapter 4) socio-economic status generally increased from north to south. In fact, deteriorating conditions in the northeast corner of Durand preceded the new City Hall. What was unusual about the two highrise buildings constructed in 1962 was their location in the southern half of Durand: one was built on Robinson Street; the other two blocks further south (Robinson Street marks the approximate midpoint between Main Street West and the escarpment.) We can conclude, therefore, that the areas of Durand which could accommodate these changes were widespread.

5.5 Summary

Between 1946 and 1962 the city was in the midst of change, and while the Durand of the Victorian era was no longer, its historical aura persisted in selected locales. It was noted earlier that the term decline (as discussed in Chapter 2) was too strong as a

characterization of Durand in the period 1946 to 1962. There were, nonetheless, important physical and social changes in Durand which pointed in the direction of deteriorating conditions in selected areas. It is here that evidence from a variety of sources revealed how these processes manifested themselves in specific building histories. As was noted in Chapter 2, buildings are not incidental features on the urban landscape; they are markers and symbols of change. The fate of 'The Castle', Frederick Rastrick's masterpiece on James Street South is but one example discussed in this chapter. Furthermore, the buildings presented here as evidence or manifestations of these broader processes are not isolated incidents in Durand.

These changes must be viewed in the context of Hamilton, 'The Ambitious City', poised for growth and change. As discussed in this chapter, the demographic, political and economic forces of the period conspired to produce decentralizing tendencies, i.e., suburbanization. One unintended consequence of decentralization was the decline of the central city. One of the most poignant symbols of this decline in the core was the removal of the 1860 cast iron fountain from Gore Park in 1959. For one hundred years "... the immense fountain had been the centrepiece of the Ambitious City's downtown oasis..." (Henley, 1993, 112). Around the corner, on James Street North, the 1889 City Hall designed by James Balfour would soon be demolished, having been replaced by the new edifice in the northeast corner of Durand.

The effects of a declining CBD quickly spilled over into the adjacent inner city neighbourhoods. By the end of the time period the call for the renewal of the city centre was loud and clear. As Lloyd D. Jackson's term as mayor drew to a close, the city was

poised to look inward at its deteriorating core. Just as Jackson had spearheaded the Hamilton's march toward metropolitan status by expanding its horizons, it became the mandate and ambition of Victor Kennedy Copps, first elected as mayor in 1962, to redefine and renew the city centre left behind by people and businesses in their flight to the suburbs during the 1950s and early 1960s.

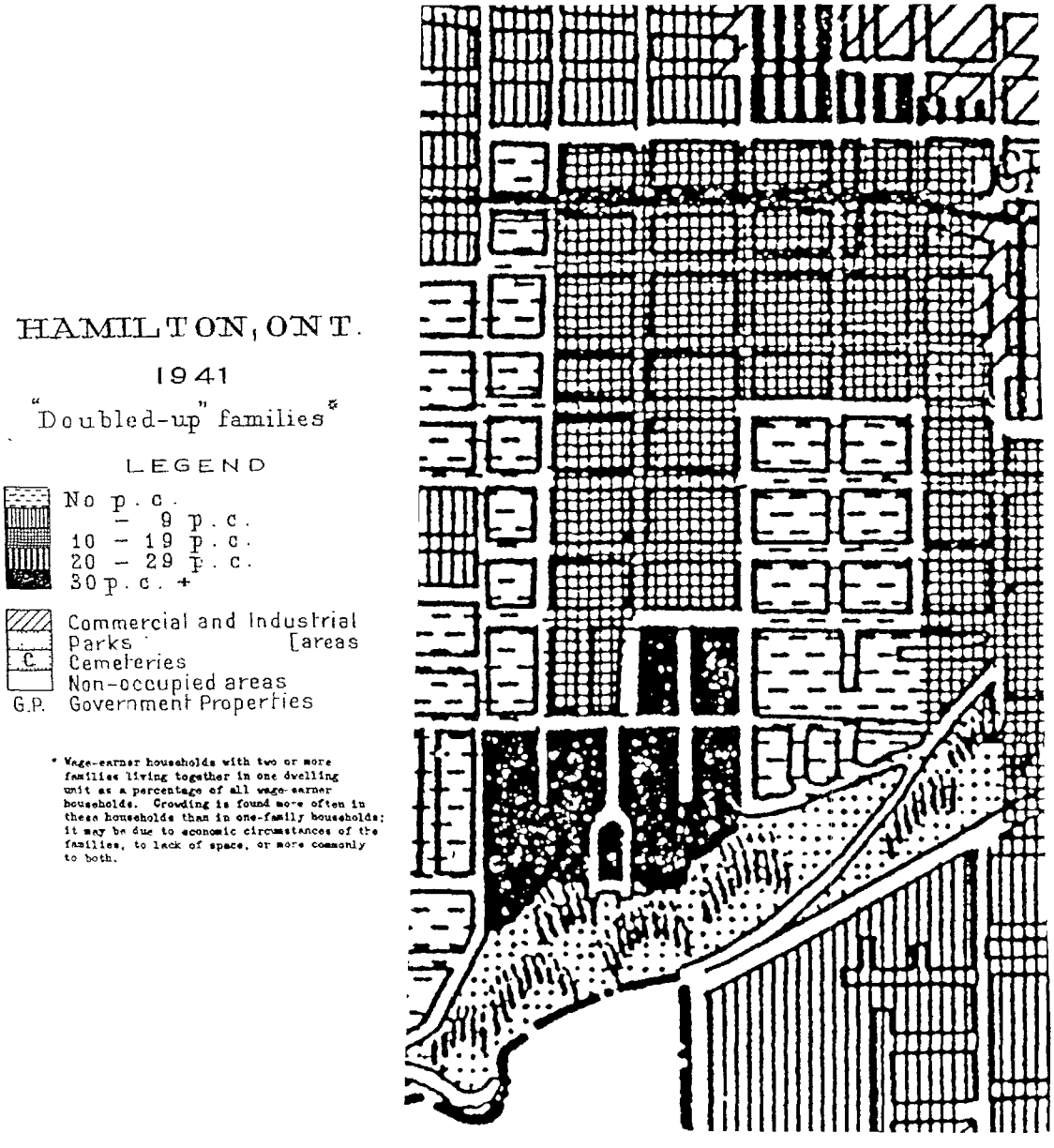

Figure 5.1: *Housing Atlas of Hamilton*, 1941: 'Doubled-up families'.
This detail from the 1941 Housing Atlas shows 'doubled-up' families in Durand.
(Minister of Trade and Commerce, 1946).

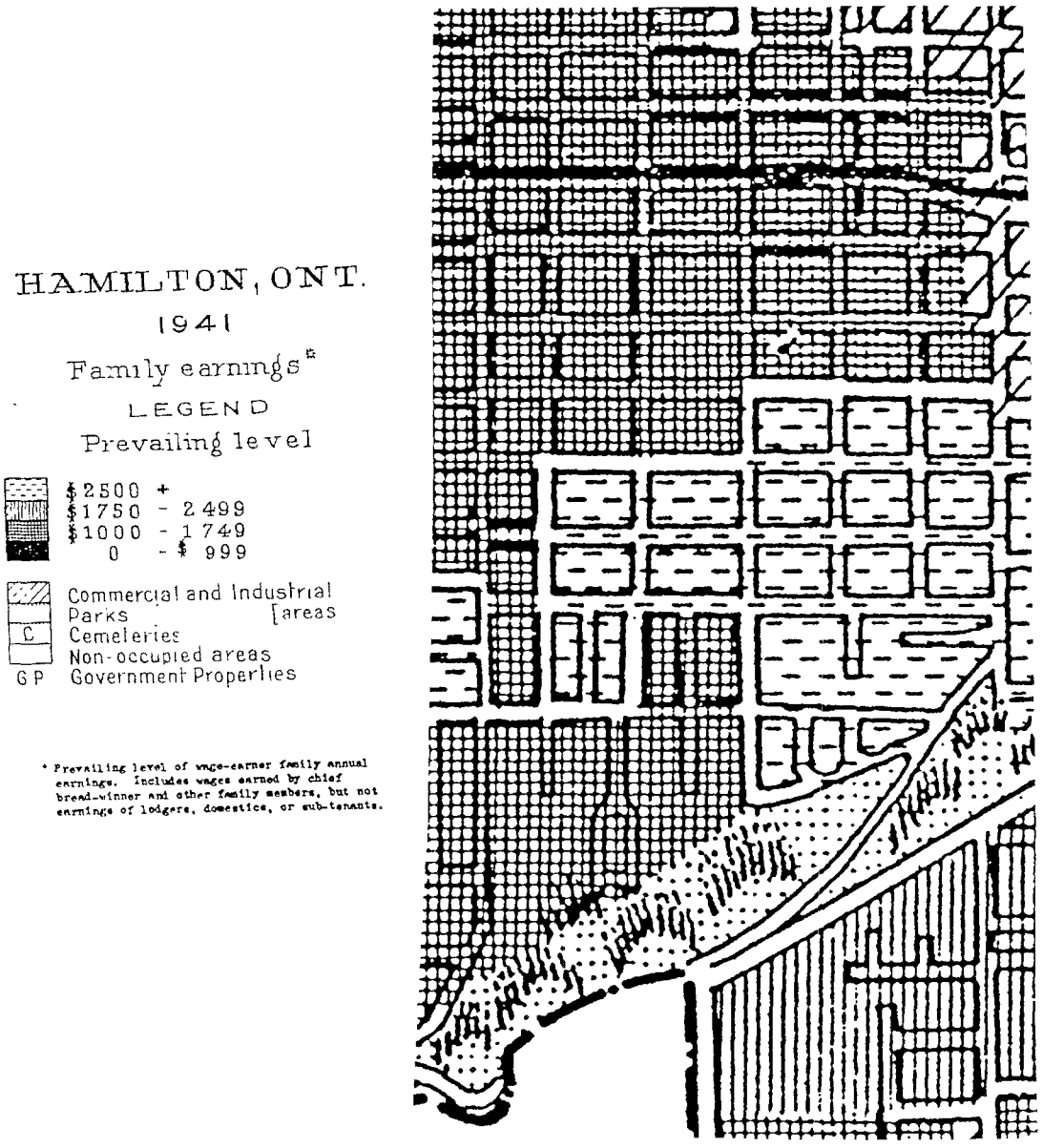

Figure 5.2: *Housing Atlas of Hamilton*, 1941: 'Family earnings'.
This detail from the 1941 Housing Atlas shows 'family earnings in Durand. This map is based on 'wage earner households' only (approximately 71 percent of all households) (Minister of Trade and Commerce, 1946).

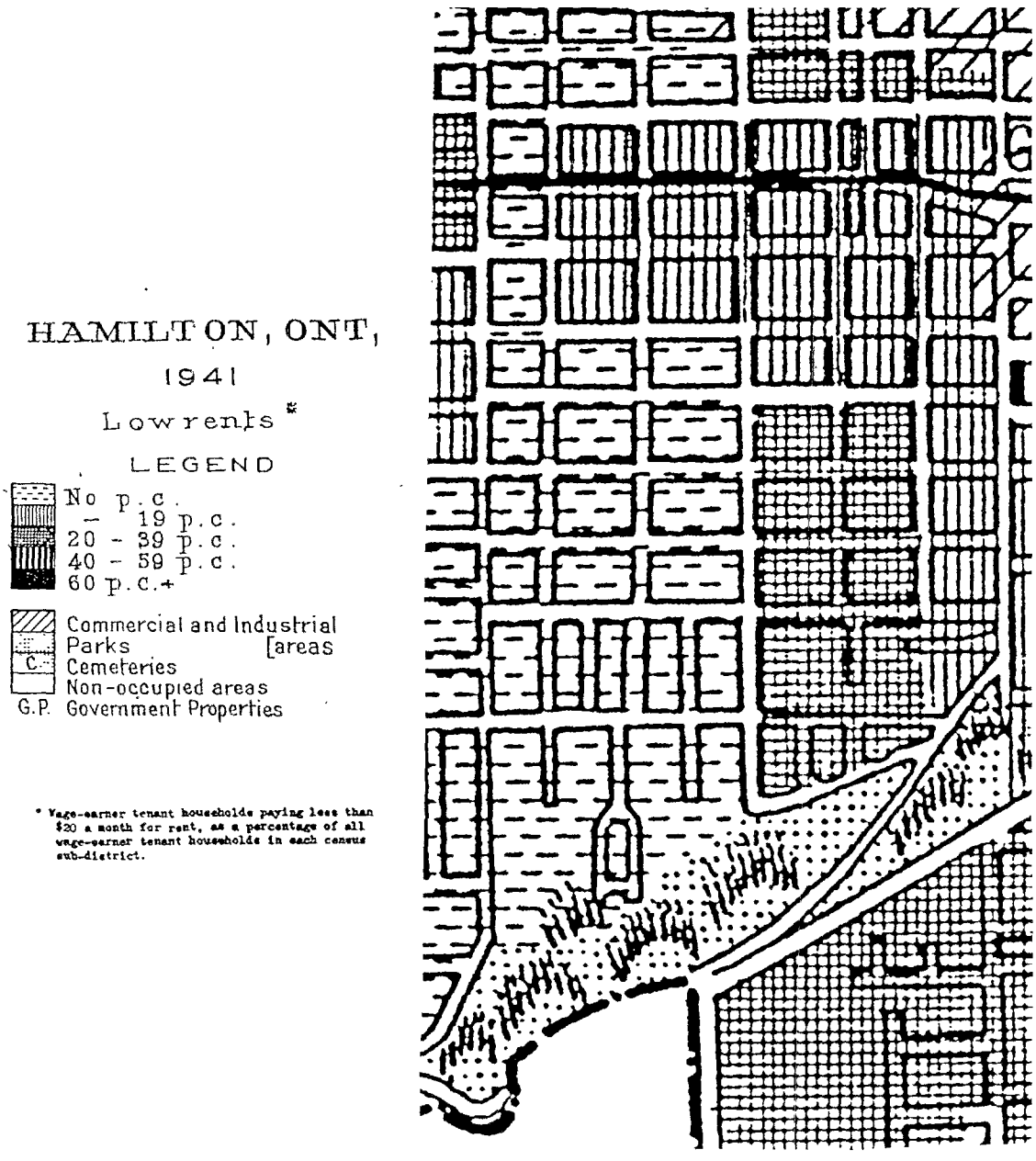

Figure 5.3: *Housing Atlas of Hamilton*, 1941: 'Low rents'.
This detail from the 1941 Housing Atlas shows 'low rents' in Durand (Minister of Trade and Commerce, 1946).

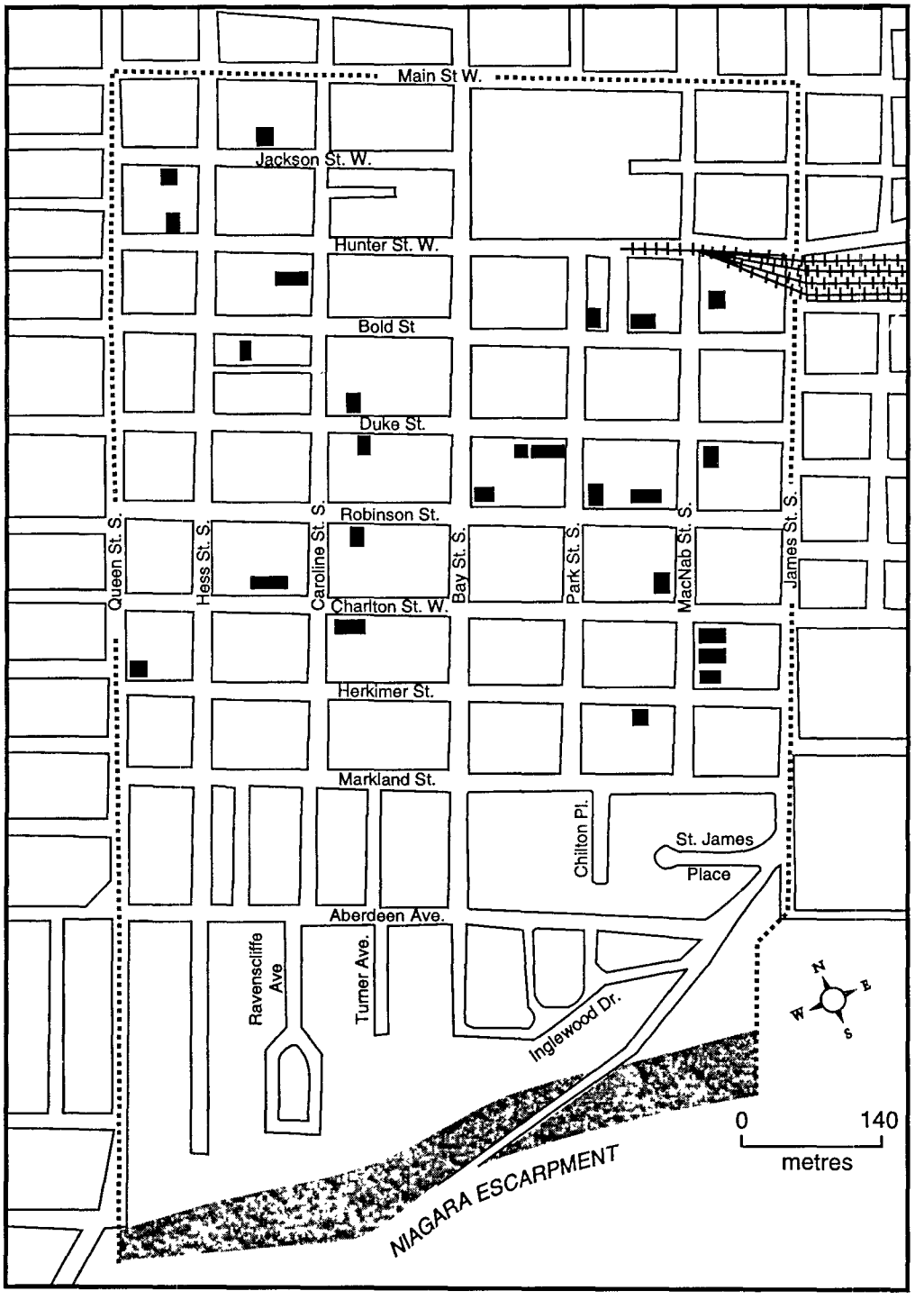

Figure 5.4: Low rise, walk-up apartments in Durand, 1946-1962.

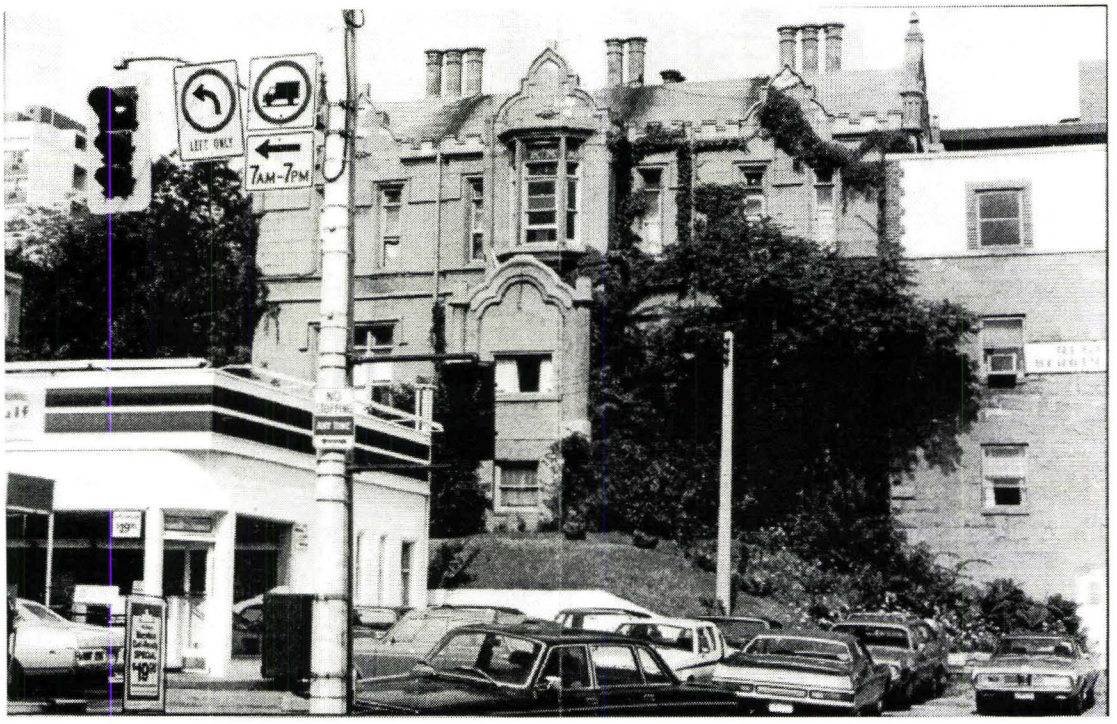

Figure 5.5: 'The Castle', James Street South.
By the mid 1950s 'Rastrick's masterpiece' (see Figure 4.7) had been converted into a boarding house. The formerly lavish grounds were now occupied by a gas station and a walk-up apartment attached to the Duke Street side of The Castle.

Figure 5.6: The Site of the New City Hall.
This photograph shows the area bounded by Charles Street South, Main Street West, Bay Street South and Hunter Street West. This entire area was expropriated beginning in 1958.

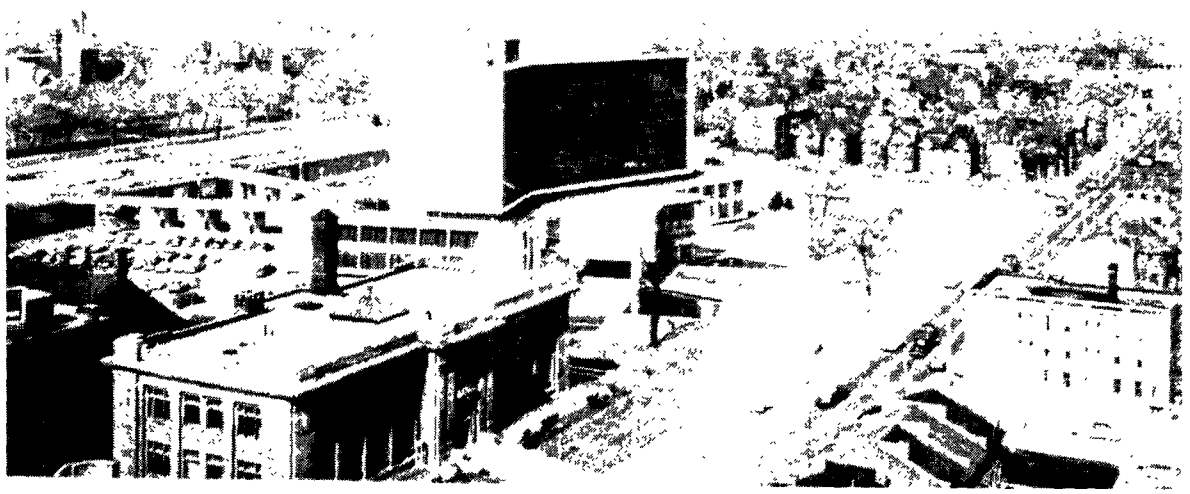

Figure 5.7: The New City Hall.
The same area shown in Figure 5.4 as it appeared in 1960. The new City Hall differed from its predecessors in terms of location and architectural style.

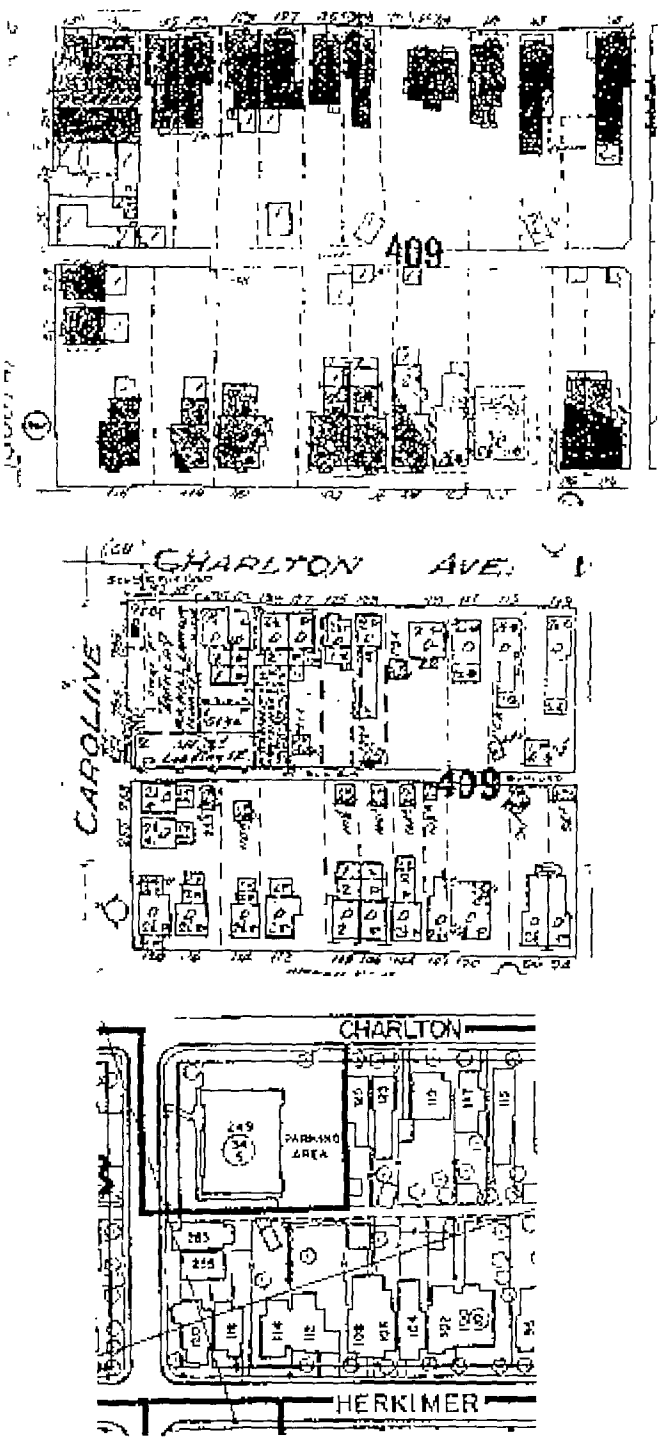

Figure 5.8: The Site of 249 Caroline Street South.
(a) 1898 Fire Insurance Atlas; (b) 1947 Fire Insurance Atlas; (c) 1981 zoning map.

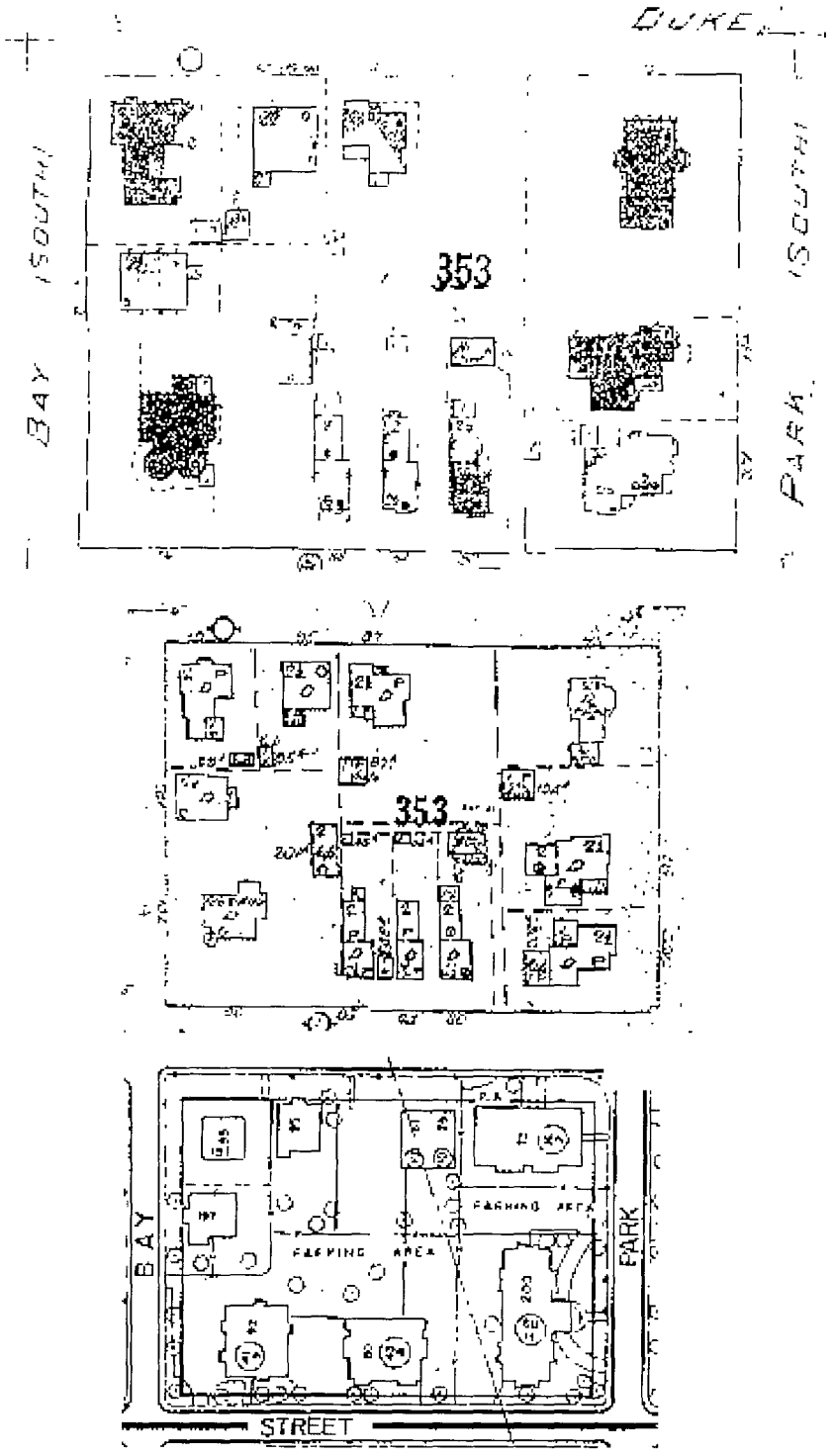

Figure 5.9: The Site of 92 Robinson Street.
(a) 1898 Fire Insurance Atlas; (b) 1947 Fire Insurance Atlas; (c) 1981 zoning map.

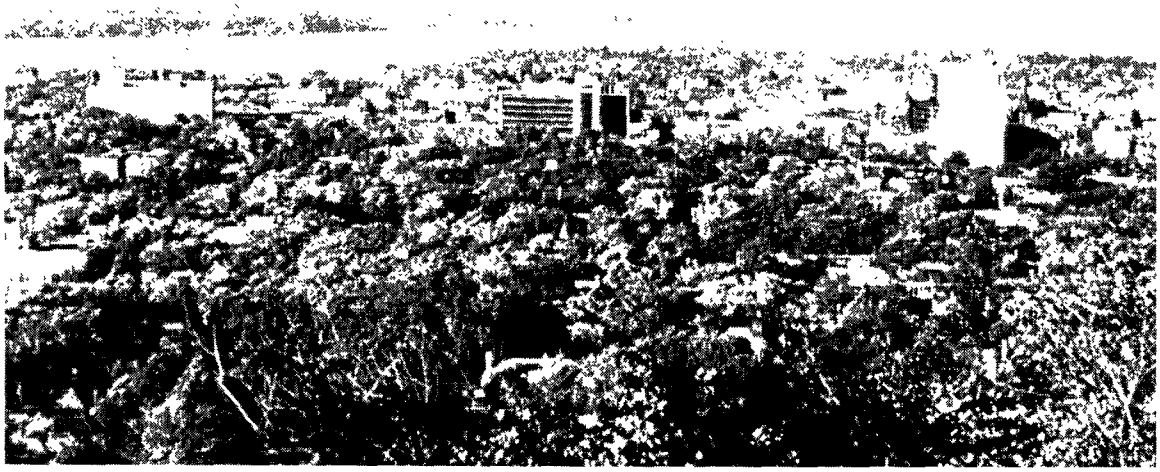

Figure 5.10: View from the Escarpment Overlooking Durand, c. 1960.
This photograph shows Durand in 1960 following the completion of the new City Hall (centre). A mere fifteen years later, the same view would be radically different (see Figure 3.3).

CHAPTER 6

The Changing Face of Central Hamilton: Durand, 1963-1975

> The Gothic cathedral baffles the modern man A tourist with his camera may be impressed by the beauty of the nave with its aisles, transepts, radiating chapels and the span of the vaults. Should he seek a position to set up his camera, he will find that there is no privileged position from which all these features may be seen. To see a Gothic interior properly one has to move about and turn one's head.
>
> Yi-Fu Tuan
> *Topophilia*

6. 1 Introduction

The preceding chapter revealed the nature and extent of change in both Durand and Hamilton during the first postwar period (1946-1962). This chapter examines the second period in the postwar era extending from 1963 to 1975. Again, emphasis is placed on the links between spatial form and temporal process as evidenced by buildings in Durand. As was the case in Chapter 5, neighbourhood change is illustrated through a series of place/space vignettes which reveal the significance of buildings as evidence and symbols of the inner city characteristics discussed in Chapter 2. Three trends covering the period 1963 to 1975 are discussed in this chapter. The first is, in some respects, a

continuation of an already established trend in Durand: the construction of apartment buildings. The second theme centres on the city's efforts to revitalize the CBD and the resultant impacts on Durand The third theme concerns the formative years of neighbourhood politics and heritage preservation activities, issues which fall under the rubric of citizen participation in local politics and planning. The net impact of these trends was to give a new appearance to and chart a new course for the evolving landscapes of central Hamilton and Durand.

This time period begins in 1963 for two reasons. First, 1963 marks the beginning of Victor Kennedy Copps' term as Hamilton's mayor. Copps, as we shall see, was the driving force behind the renewal of Hamilton's core. This renewal had several important repercussions for Durand, not the least of which was to make the inner city more liveable. Second, 1963 also coincides with the beginning of the high rise apartment boom in central Hamilton. The period terminates in 1975 for reasons related to two acts of provincial legislation which significantly affect Durand's landscape. Two Acts were important. First, a growing awareness of and concern for the heritage-related matters in the early 1970s contributed to the passage of the Ontario Heritage Act (1974). Second, 1975 saw provincial legislation concerning rent control. The net effect of rent control was to bring the high rise apartment construction boom of the 1960s and early 1970s to an abrupt halt.

Six principal sources have been consulted to reconstruct the second of the three postwar time periods. First, census data from 1971 provided an indication of social conditions in Durand in addition to enabling comparisons to be made with the first period (see Chapter 5). Second, planning documents contained crucial information regarding

changing conditions in both Durand and the CBD. In conjunction with historical sources such as the Fire Insurance Plans of 1898 and 1947, it was possible to reconstruct the evolution of particular sites which are presented as vignettes in this chapter. Archival material from the Hamilton Public Library, Special Collections Department, was a third source consulted to document change in Durand and the city during this period. Fourth, independent studies such as Henry and Pineo's (1973) study of urban renewal in Hamilton and Taylor's (1987) factorial ecology study of the city and its central area were used. A fifth source of information included articles from and special editions of *The Hamilton Spectator*. These articles provide information regarding specific buildings in Durand; neighbourhood issues, and the rebuilding of the city's core. Finally, interviews with key informants along with issues of the Durand Neighbourhood Association Newsletter provided first hand accounts and assessments of critical events in the early days of citizen participation in neighbourhood planning and local politics. Together, these six sources enabled the reconstruction of this brief, yet critical period in the evolution of Durand's landscape.

6.2 The New Durand: High Rise and History Removed

The neighbourhood typology of McLemore *et al.* (1975) (see Chapter 2) has been used to describe Durand as 'stable' over the period from 1900 to 1945 and 'declining' from 1946 to 1962. As we shall see, the second period in the postwar era (1963-1975) is best viewed as a combination of the 'massive redevelopment' and 'revitalizing' neighbourhood types. Here again, concern is directed toward the evolving physical, social

and symbolic dimensions of Durand during this period. In particular, three aspects of the neighbourhood are discussed here: (i) physical form and density; (ii) the disappearing Victorian legacy; and (iii) the changing social landscape. The description and explanation of these features of Durand are highlighted with specific examples of buildings which serve as markers or indicators of the processes affecting the inner city. These events are then placed in the broader context of change in Hamilton and beyond to understand their origins and significance.

6.2.1 Physical form and density

The most obvious change to Durand through the 1960s and into 1970s was the proliferation of high rise apartment buildings constructed primarily in the northern half of the neighbourhood. A comparison of Figure 3.3 with Figure 5.10 reveals the dramatic change in Durand's architectural topography. The former is a view overlooking Durand circa 1991 while the latter shows the view from a similar vantage point as it appeared in 1960. It should be noted that virtually all of the high rise buildings in the 1991 photograph (Figure 3.3) were constructed between 1963 and 1975. In fact, no fewer than thirty-six high rise apartment buildings were built in Durand during this time period. The spatial pattern of these developments is shown in Figure 6.1. Two features of this pattern are noteworthy. First, high rise development is, by and large, confined to the northern half of Durand (there are twenty eight such buildings between Main Street and Robinson Street). Furthermore, there are no high rise developments south of Herkimer Street. This concentration of high density developments was a direct consequence of zoning by-laws

passed by city council in the late 1950s (see Chapter 5). The second feature of the pattern shown in Figure 6.1 is its similarity to the pattern of low rise, walk-up apartments shown in Figure 4.10 and 5.4. The construction of low rise buildings between 1910 and 1959 had clearly set a locational precedent for higher density development in the 1960s and early 1970s. In stark contrast to this brief, but intense period of development from 1962 to 1975, only two high rise structures, both condominium units, were built in 1976 and 1977 after the introduction of rent control legislation by the provincial government.

The apartment buildings constructed between 1963 and 1975 ranged from three to twenty-five storeys (the average was 12.8 storeys) containing between twelve and three hundred and ninety-seven units (the average was 97.6 units). This concentration of high rise developments in Durand exceeded that of any other neighbourhood including the adjacent Corktown. Table 6.1 reveals that more than half (51.3 percent) of all apartment units in central Hamilton's high density residential zone were located in Durand. In comparison, Corktown contained 24.3 percent of the units in this zone. While there are some important differences between these two neighbourhoods (Corktown, for example, had more non-residential land use), the figures clearly show that Durand received more of this type of development.

This proliferation of high density developments caused Durand's total population to increase from 7,851 in 1961 to 10,393 in 1971. Not surprisingly, population density in the neighbourhood increased from 28.6 persons per acre to 37.9 persons per acre over the

Table 6.1: Apartment Units in Central Hamilton Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhood	No. Units	% of High Density Residential Zone Total
North End West	164	1.3
North End East	280	2.5
Industrial Sector (part)	0	0.0
Central	859	7.7
Beasley	1,005	9.1
Landsdale (part)	186	1.7
Durand	5,696	51.3
Corktown	2,674	24.1
Stinson (part	255	2.3
Total	11,101	100

Source: Hamilton-Wentworth Region, Planning and Development Department 1987. *High Density Residential Development Study: Background Report.*

same period (Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton, 1986, 9). The spatial pattern of high rise developments was a direct consequence of zoning by-laws which effectively divided Durand into three areas based on permitted densities. An area of high density development (up to twenty-four storeys) extended from Main Street to Robinson Street. An area of medium density (less than twelve storeys) was bounded by Robinson Street and Markland Street. Finally, no high rise development was permitted in the low density area south of Markland Street. In some respects, these zoning regulations were congruent with earlier observations (see Chapters 4 and 5) regarding the general increase in socio-economic status from north to south. In other words, higher density developments would generally not be expected in higher socio-economic status areas. At the same time, such developments were both permitted and possible in areas of lower socio-economic status. Thus, despite a radically different appearance (compare Figure 3.3 with Figure 5.10), long established tendencies regarding Durand's social contours remained conspicuous.

6.2.2 The disappearing Victorian legacy

The massive redevelopment described above could only be accommodated in Durand through the demolition of older structures on selected sites. In addition to radically altering the physical appearance and reaffirming the social contours of Durand, this process whereby older structures were replaced with higher density developments was, in retrospect, a catalyst for citizen participation in the planning process. So extensive was this trend in Hamilton that, by early 1973, it was estimated that "... at the (then)

current rate of demolition, every designated heritage building would be gone in fifteen years" (Falkner 1975, 5). Such a claim may have been exaggerated, but, while this process had nearly run its course by 1973, there was no doubt as to its impact in terms of erasing the Victorian legacy. A pamphlet produced by the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation (n.d., 1) noted that: "The no-deposit, no-return attitude towards our architectural heritage had reached its peak."

The nature of the demolition process varied from site to site in Durand. In some cases, one or two houses gave way to a high rise structure. Such was the case at the corner of Bay Street south and Bold Street. In this instance, two houses were demolished to permit the construction of a high rise building (see Figure 6.2). One was a typical, two storey brick house from the Victorian era. The other was 'Blink Bonnie' (see Figure 6.3), the former home of Colonel James Robert Moodie, designed by the noted Hamilton architect James Balfour. Henley (1994, 98) notes that this magnificent structure, built in 1902, was "... the acclaim of those who delighted in the masterpieces of the architect's art...". Following the deaths of Moodie and his wife, the house was sold and converted into eight luxury apartments. An advertisement in *The Hamilton Spectator* in January, 1937 described the apartments: "...each of which measures up to the ideals of those who desire apartment service with home surroundings of the exclusive type, Blink Bonnie maintains the home atmosphere while satisfying the apartment desire. ...No expense has been spared to maintain the high standard set in creating Hamilton's most exclusive residential apartment homes." Thirty-one years later, in 1968, it was announced that Blink Bonnie would be demolished to make way for a fifteen storey, 108 unit high rise

apartment. The new structure was aptly, and perhaps with some degree of irony, named the 'Blinkbonnie Apartments'.

In other instances, much larger numbers of houses were demolished to enable apartment construction. The block bounded by Hunter Street West, Hess Street South, Caroline Street South, and Bold Street is a case in point. Two high rise structures were built on this site in the early 1970s (see Figure 6.4). The first, at 175 Hunter Street West was twelve storeys and contained 133 units; the second, at 180 Bold Street was twenty-three storeys and contained 209 units. Based on the 1898 and 1946 Fire Insurance Plans, a total of twenty-two frame and brick houses were demolished prior to the construction of these two apartment buildings.

The largest (in terms of units) of Durand's high rises at 155 Park Street South was built in 1969. At twenty-two storeys, this structure (which is visible in Figure 3.7) consisted of 397 units. It was built on half of the block formerly occupied by 'Holmstead', residence of the Hendrie family for over sixty years (see Chapter 4). Indeed the history of this block (bounded by Duke Street, Park Street South, MacNab Street South and Bold Street) captures the noteworthy phases of development in Durand to this point. As noted in Chapter 4, this block featured the estate of Peter Hunter Hamilton on the 'Plan of the Town of Hamilton' map of 1842. Later Hamilton's home was occupied by the Hendries. Following the demolition of 'Homestead' in 1936, the property was subdivided. Four walk-up apartments were built on the east half of the block. Later the 'Homestead Apartments' a three storey structure was built facing Duke Street (see Figure 6.5). This structure was then demolished in 1969 when 155 Park Street was built.

The tallest building in Durand, at twenty-five storeys, was built at 200 Bay Street South in 1975. (This apartment can be seen in Figure 3.5). In this case, nineteen Victorian era buildings were demolished prior to construction. With the completion of this structure, the west side of Bay between Jackson Street and Robinson Street featured five high rises ranging in height from eight to twenty-five storeys and containing a total of 715 units.

A stylish, three unit brick terrace designed by James Balfour (built in 1877) at 42-56 Herkimer Street was the scene of one of the more bizarre demolitions in Durand during this time period. In 1971, the easternmost unit was removed from Balfour's terrace to make way for a seven storey apartment. Literally in the 'dark of night' a brick building (quite possibly a two unit version of 42-46 Herkimer) was also demolished (see Figure 6.6). The result of these events left two units of Balfour's terrace standing in stark contrast to the abutting, nondescript, brick apartment.

Overall, by comparing the Fire Insurance Plan maps of the late 1890s to the current land use maps of Durand, it appears that approximately 200 buildings (virtually all of which were single family dwellings) were demolished, making way for the construction of thirty-nine structures greater than five storeys between 1963 and 1975. This total does not include the eighty-five buildings demolished for the construction of City Hall (see Chapter 5), nor does it include the ten structures demolished in the block bounded by Bay Street South, Herkimer Street, Park Street South and Charlton Avenue West. This block, originally slated for another high rise development, ultimately became Durand Park. From the late 1950s when property for the new City Hall was expropriated to the end of the

high rise boom in the mid 1970s, in excess of 300 buildings in Durand were demolished in this period of massive redevelopment. In the process a new dimension was added to both the physical and social landscapes of Durand. The range of housing types demolished was broad, including everything from small, wood frame structures to the 'typical' two storey Victorian brick home to impressive brick and stone mansions which belonged to the city's elite from years gone by. In their place stood a forest of modern, high rise apartment towers. As we shall see later in this chapter, this metamorphosis would be one factor contributing to the birth of neighbourhood politics and the heritage preservation movement in Durand.

6.2.3 The changing social landscape

As discussed in the previous chapter, a precedent had already been set for the conversion of large, older, single-family dwellings into rental accommodations. A resultant change in Durand's demographic profile was the growing number of tenants. Table 6.2 shows Durand to be a neighbourhood of tenants with nearly 90 percent of all residential units were rental units in 1973. In fact the proportion of dwellings which had been converted into duplexes and triplexes (8.6 percent) was only marginally less than the proportion of single-family units (10.5 percent). To satisfy the increasing demand for rental accommodation, Durand appears to have taken on a considerable number of tenants housed in both high rise and conversion units. According to the 1961 Census, tracts 10 and 11 (which comprised about 75 percent of Durand) featured fewer persons per

Table 6.2: Housing in Durand, 1973

Category	No. Buildings	No. Units	%
Single	563	563	10.6
Duplex	162	324	6.0
Triplex	47	141	2.6
Apartment (> 4 units)	124	4,288	79.8
Apartment/commercial	29	58	1.1
Rowhousing	9	0	0.0
Total	925	5,374	100

Source: City of Hamilton Planning Department 1973. *Durand Neighbourhood, Background Data.*

household and fewer children per family than both the city and metropolitan area. Furthermore, these two census tracts reported a total of 1,639 tenant-occupied units. Only two other tracts in 1961 (both in north-central Hamilton) had more tenants.

By 1971 the high rise boom was nearing its peak. Durand's housing characteristics as shown in Table 6.2 reflect the continuing growth of the rental housing market. The two census tracts which covered about 75 percent of Durand in 1971 (tracts 30 and 39; formerly tracts 10 and 11) were characterized by 89 and 80 percent rental units respectively. Between 1966 and 1971 the populations of these two tracts increased by 791 persons (tract 38) and 100 persons (tract 39). In comparison with the rest of Hamilton, only one other census tract rivalled these ones in Durand in terms of population density. Tracts 38 and 39 had population densities of 25,780.0 and 26,713.3 persons per square mile respectively in 1971. Only tract 35 (bounded by Main Street East, Wellington Street South, Wentworth Street South and the T.H.&B. Railway had a comparable density of 26,094.74 persons per square mile. In fact, of the seventy-three tracts which comprised the city, only seven outside Durand had a population density exceeding 20,000 persons per square mile.

Between 1961 and 1971 home ownership level in Durand had declined by ten percent. This overall increase in the proportion of tenants was accompanied by other changes to the social and demographic profiles of the neighbourhood. The increasing proportion of childless couples and single person households was reflected in the declining enrolment at Central Public School. From 1972 to 1975 enrolment at the school decreased from 284 to 162 students (Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton,

1986, 33). The role of Central School, as it turned out, would be crucial in the emergence neighbourhood politics and planning in Durand by the end of this time period (see Chapter 7.).

Further evidence of the changing social landscape in Durand is provided by Taylor (1987) in a factorial ecology study of Hamilton. Taylor's study revealed that Hamilton's inner city (defined as the area bounded by Highway 403 on the west, the harbour to the north, Wentworth Street to the east and the escarpment to the south experienced a statistically significant decline in socio-economic status between 1961 and 1971 (1987, 151). In keeping with inner city trends discussed in Chapter, 2, Taylor (1987, 151) notes that: "These results are consistent with expected socio-economic trends prior and subsequent to revitalization in the inner city." Of particular interest is census tract 37 which included the northern third of Durand. This tract exhibited "... a marked decline in (socio-economic) status between 1961 and 1971 (1987, 152). In terms of family status, Hamilton's inner city was consistently below the city average. Tracts 37 and 38 (both in Durand) had the lowest family status of any in the city. Finally, in terms of ethnic status, the inner city as a whole was above average, but tracts 37, 38 and 39 (Durand) were significantly lower than the other tracts in the city's core. Durand, it seems, featured many of the inner city characteristics described by Bourne (1982) and Ley (1991) as discussed in Chapter 2.

The preceding discussion has provided a sense of the changes which characterized Durand during the period 1963 to 1974. Physically the landscape took on an entirely different look and texture as the construction of high rise apartment buildings swept across

the northern half of the neighbourhood. Socially, Durand was becoming a neighbourhood of renters, characterized by declining socio-economic status and family status. In terms of ethnic status parts of Durand (especially the southern extreme) retained its distinctively British (Canadian) flavour. In this respect, Durand exhibited some of the characteristics described by Ley (1993) in "Past Elites and Present Gentry" discussed in Chapter 2.

Before placing these changes in Durand in the context of broader events in the city, it is worth commenting on what, in retrospect, was *not* yet an influential force on the urban landscape. The sweeping changes described above occurred at the expense of what, in hindsight, was part of a priceless architectural and historical legacy. Through the 1960s and into the 1970s there was a void in terms of an awareness of and concern for heritage preservation issues. As we shall see later in this chapter, 'official' sanctioning of these interests does manifest itself by the end of this time period, but not before the forces of massive revitalization and renewal had altered the appearance and character of Hamilton's core and the surrounding neighbourhoods.

6.3 Central Hamilton Revived: Urban Renewal and Neighbourhood Politics

One of the persistent and singular features of Hamilton's history has been its dominance by Toronto. Indeed Weaver (1982, 194) notes: "No Canadian city has had to endure comparable rivalry from a nearby metropolis." Toronto, by the mid 1970s, was on the verge of surpassing Montreal as Canada's premier city. Hamilton's position in the Canadian urban system, meanwhile, remained largely obscure, being linked almost exclusively to its image as 'Steel City' (see Eyles and Peace, 1990). For these reasons, it

may well have been the case that Hamiltonians chose to look inward for their sense of identity and place. This introspective view was, no doubt, an important part of the changing city scene in the early 1970s.

Between 1961 and 1971, the city's population grew from 273,991 to 309,173 while the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) had reached 500,000. Expansion of the postwar economy continued even as the first signs of a changing labour force appeared. By the early 1970s, there is clear evidence of a growing proportion of the labour force being employed in the tertiary or service sector. At the same time, the secondary sector of the city's economy accounted for a shrinking share of the local labour force (see Table 6.3). These economic changes would later be important for Durand since, as noted in Chapter 2, empirical evidence suggests that private revitalization, i.e., gentrification, has been linked to service sector employment in the CBD.

Other changes to the city were becoming increasingly apparent at this time. Between 1960 and 1970, what had previously been a trickle of population growth above the escarpment became a flood as the number of people living on Hamilton's 'mountain' increased to 100,000, more than one-third of the city total. This both necessitated and was made possible by infrastructure improvements. Beginning with the expenditure of $850,000 to improve access to 'the Mountain', particularly via the Jolley Cut, civic politicians embarked on an ambitious period of infrastructure improvement. Subsequent upgrading occurred in the east end of the city at the Flock Road access (1956) and in the central city with the construction of the Claremont Access in 1972.

Table 6.3: Labour Force Change in Hamilton, 1951-1981

	1951		1961		1971		1981	
Industry group	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Primary industries	1,598	1.5	4,501	2.9	3,935	1.8	5,380	1.9
Manufacturing	59,553	52.2	61,090	40.3	73,295	34.5	89,320	32.0
Construction	7,246	6.4	10,585	7.0	13,390	6.3	16,285	5.8
Transportation, Communication, and utilities	6.939	6.1	9,374	6.2	10,380	4.9	14,770	5.2
Wholesale, retail trade	16,240	14.2	24,028	15.8	32,195	15.1	46,290	16.6
Finance, insurance, and real estate	2,775	2.4	4,969	3.3	8,410	4.0	13,630	4.9
Community, business, and personal services	15,242	13.5	28,830	19.0	49,520	23.3	78,770	28.3
Public, administration and defence	3,385	3.0	5,438	3.6	7,960	3.7	11,045	3.9
Unspecified	905	0.8	2,822	1.9	13,575	6.4	3,255	1.4
Total	113,983	100.0	151,637	100.0	212,660	100.0	278,745	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada

Private sector developments in the city centre were limited in the 1960s. The most noteworthy office buildings of the decade were Alexandra Square on James Street South (1967) and the IBM Building on Main Street West (1970) near the new City Hall. Otherwise, the decentralizing forces and their associated infrastructure improvements continued to carry both people and economic activity away from the core. Thus the mutually reinforcing trends of suburbanization and inner city decline (see Chapter 2) were actually setting the stage for an opportunity to benefit from the introspective tendencies of Hamiltonians mentioned earlier.

"In 1957, the National Housing Act was amended to permit the use of federal funds in renewal projects" (Weaver 1982, 179). It was this legislation which enabled Hamilton's planners and politicians to rework the city's core.. In 1958 an Urban Renewal Committee was established to "prescribe an essential course of action" (Corporation of the City of Hamilton, 1962, 2) in light of the fact that "...the appeal of Hamilton's once proud business district ha(d) been consistently declining...". Three separate renewal projects contributed to the core's revitalization. The north end renewal program was described by Campbell (1966, 286) as follows:

> As approved by the Ontario Municipal Board, urban renewal plans call for a massive face lifting, with removal of blighted buildings and others needed to provide space for facilities; renovation and improvement of run-down buildings,...; new schools, parks and recreational areas; a shopping centre; public housing for residents who wish to remain in the area, but whose homes have been demolished...

This plan, described as being "[u]nique in Canada..." (Campbell, 1966, 285) called for sweeping changes to a 257 acre residential area north of the CBD. While the final outcome was a somewhat watered down version of the original plan, there were at least

two major impacts for the city centre. First, a severely blighted area was, at least in some respects, upgraded. To be sure, there were serious problems associated with the displacement of residents arising from the project (see Henry and Pineo, 1973). Nevertheless, the designation of the neighbourhood in the North End as an 'urban renewal area' (Corporation of the City of Hamilton, 1959) in 1961 foreshadowed the two other major renewal projects involving the cooperation of the Federal, Provincial and Municipal governments.

The second and third projects followed on the heels of the North End renewal project in 1968 when the city "...authorized the urban renewal committee to undertake similar studies of the York Street and downtown areas, the former a narrow, congested, shabby street linking the city's landscaped western approach to its prosaic business core" (Campbell, 1966, 287). Weaver (1982, 190) refers to the renewal of York Street as the removal of a "...chaotic collection of shops (which) was not a stunning entrance to the city centre." The resultant landscape was a "...sterile concession to the efficient movement of cas and trucks (which) carved up inner city neighbourhoods" (Weaver, 1982, 190). This project was completed in 1975.

Between the completion of the North End project and the commencement of the York Street project, the City focussed its renewal on the declining business core. Despite serious difficulties with financing and developers the project, known initially as the 'Civic Square', began with an official ground-breaking ceremony in April, 1970. Construction began on the first phase of the project six months later. Conventional wisdom of the day was based on the premise that "...a major redevelopment is the only process to enable

commerce to flourish and people to be attracted in large numbers to the core of our City" (Corporation of the City of Hamilton, 1969, 2). At the official opening of phase I, The Hamilton Spectator (August 22, 1972) heralded the event with the headline: "The city's new heart will beat tomorrow." Following Phase I, Hamilton Place (a theatre-auditorium complex) was opened in 1973. The subsequent decade would witness several projects which were part of the 'Civic Square' plan. In an ironic twist of fate, the project was named the 'Lloyd D. Jackson Square' after the former mayor whose 'big city vision' inadvertently contributed to the core's demise through the provision of infrastructure improvements to and in the suburbs as discussed in Chapter. 5.

6.3.1 Victor Kennedy Copps

Just as Lloyd Jackson gave Hamilton its 'big city vision' in the 1950s, another political figure played a central role in the entire renewal process in the 1960s and early 1970s. Victor Kennedy Copps succeeded Jackson as mayor in late 1962. Copps, who had steered the renewal process through some particularly difficult times, declared the Civic Square to be "...the most exciting thing that has ever happened to Hamilton!" (Campbell, 1966, 289). Upon his death in 1988, a *Spectator* (Oct. 17, 1988) editorial proclaimed that "Probably no single individual has left so many marks on the Hamilton community as Victor Kennedy Copps...". Having served as mayor from 1962 to 1976, Copps "...spearheaded a construction boom in downtown Hamilton during the 1960s and early 1970s that included the completion of previous mayor Lloyd D. Jackson's dream of a civic square development, Terminal Towers, Century 21, Hamilton Place and the

Hamilton Football Hall of Fame. His wife Geraldine noted that "He wanted to de-emphasize, or tried to stay away from malls along the city's edge because he believed so strongly that a city must retain its downtown core" (*The Spectator*, 17 October 1988).

While there is no question that each of these renewal projects had negative consequences in terms of the displacement of residents and businesses alike, there is also little doubt that each of these three projects contributed to the rebirth of Hamilton's core (see Peace and Burghardt, 1987). One of the positive spinoff consequences of this rebirth was the renewed sense of optimism felt by both politicians and residents of the inner city neighbourhoods adjacent to the core. Nowhere was this optimism more apparent than in the words and actions of Mayor Copps.

6.3.2 Heritage Renewed

In the wake of both private and public redevelopment projects in the city's core and surrounding neighbourhoods, a growing concern over the loss of the city's architectural heritage was being expressed in the early 1970s. Indeed, as already noted, Durand had witnessed the loss of a significant part of its Victorian legacy. By the early 1970s the issue had reached the forefront of local politics in Hamilton. It is sometimes difficult, if not impossible to pinpoint the origins of some trends or movements, but in the case of what is best termed the 'heritage preservation movement' in Hamilton, there can be no doubt that Canada's Centennial celebration in 1967 was a catalyst for this new concern for history and heritage. Locally, the City of Hamilton chose as its official Centennial project the restoration of Dundurn Castle, Sir Allan MacNab's Regency

mansion built in the romantic Italiante style (McKay, 1967). The Centennial year also witnessed the publication of *Victorian Architecture in Hamilton*, written by Alexander McKay and published by the Hamilton-Niagara Branch of The Architectural Conservancy of Ontario. McKay's book appeared one year after Marjorie Campbell's (1966) history of Hamilton entitled *A Mountain and a City*, the first full-length publication dealing with local history to appear in two decades. (The previous such publication was *The Hamilton Centennial*: 1846-1946 edited by A.H. Wingfield.)

Following the restoration of Dundurn and the nation's Centennial year the scope of the heritage preservation movement broadened. Two events stand out among the early noteworthy actions of this movement in Hamilton at this time. First, Rock Castle the former home of Senator Donald Innes which sat "(p)oised confidently on various levels on the side of Hamilton Mountain..." (McKay, 1967, 12) was saved from demolition in 1970. In this case, the City of Hamilton acquired title to the home and property by allowing a developer to build a high rise apartment adjacent to Rock Castle. The second event involved the demolition of the former Canada Life Assurance Building (later known as the Birk's Building) at the corner of King Street East and James Street South. This Romanesque style building, designed by Hamilton architect James Balfour, had stood opposite Gore Park from 1883 until its demolition in 1972. Of particular interest was appearance of protesters expressing their opposition to the building's fate by picketing the site. In addition, numerous letters to the editor of *The Spectator* lamented the impending loss (Henley, 1994). Such opposition to the demolition of historic structures would become more frequent and vocal over the next decade. While both of these events took

place just beyond Durand's boundaries, they were, nonetheless, of crucial significance for the heritage preservation movement in the neighbourhood as well as the city. In fact this expression of opposition to the development trends of the early 1960s and early 1970s was heard in many Canadian cities. Among those instances commanding national attention were the successful opposition to the Spadina Expressway in Toronto (Lemon, 1985) and the unsuccessful opposition to the demolition of the Van Horne mansion in Montreal (Berku, 1975; MacKay, 1987). While the outcomes of these conflicts varied, the underlying motivation for such citizen uprising was more or less the same in all Canadian cities. Richards (1989, 123) describes Montrealers protesting the proposed demolition of the historic Shaughnessy House (1874, W.T. Thomas, architect) as follows:

> ...Montrealers became determined to confront the wanton destruction of the city's fabric through misguided development and superficial design. Not only were historic buildings of value coming down, but entire neighbourhoods were being devastated through the careless insertion of inappropriate building types or simply by the proliferation of weed-filled, desolate lots. The city seemed bent on erasing its own history.

In the eyes of a growing number of citizens, Hamilton, too, seemed 'bent on erasing its own history'.

In defiance of the trends in retailing in the 1960s and early 1970s a small area of shops, boutiques and offices known as Hess Village opened in 1971. Hess Village contained "...late Victorian single and semi-detached residences which had gradually declined until they were in danger of being razed for future development. As a result of private investment in the four block area: The buildings (were) restored with care to retain as much as possible of their original character and detail; the redecoration of the interiors has been designed to enhance their Victorian charm." (Hamilton Historical Board, 1989,

3). Suddenly, the old and dismal streetscape from the Victorian era became new and exciting (and different) when juxtaposed with the modern looking city centre of the 1970s. While Hess Village was not, strictly speaking, located in Durand, there is little doubt that its proximity did have an influence on the neighbourhood itself. Specifically, the Hess Village project provided a clear demonstration of the way in which older buildings could be reused to meet contemporary needs. This was not unlike the changing conditions in downtown Toronto when neighbourhoods such as Yorkville and Cabbagetown were revitalized (see Lemon, 1985).

In tandem with this swelling, grassroots interest in heritage-related matters came a much more 'official' recognition and sanctioning of their significance. Locally, the Hamilton Historical Board was established in 1973. This advisory board to Hamilton City Council, as part of its mandate would: "...provide advice and make recommendations on matters pertaining to Hamilton's prehistoric and historic heritage; celebrate events, persons, buildings and properties of historical significance and interest;" and "...promote the broader understanding of the principles underlying and the necessity of heritage conservation." (Hamilton Historical Board, 1989). At the provincial level, the Ontario Heritage Act (OHA) became the enabling legislation for the heritage movement in 1974. The OHA would subsequently lead to the formation of Hamilton's Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee (LACAC) in 1976. As we shall see in the next chapter, both the HHB and LACAC would have a profound influence on the evolution of Durand from the mid-1970s onward.

One additional piece of provincial legislation passed in 1975 was the introduction of rent controls. The effect of this legislation was to limit returns on investment, thereby bringing about an abrupt halt to the construction of high rise apartment buildings in Durand. Thirty-eight high rise buildings were constructed in Durand between 1963 and 1975. After rent control legislation the only high rise buildings to appear in Durand were condominium buildings. As a result of changing economic conditions, i.e., apartments were now less profitable investments, and growing citizen opposition to unplanned development, the neighbourhood was set to chart a new path of development.

6.3.3 Grassroots politics and Sandyford Place

In the wake of a changing inner city and a growing desire for citizen participation in local planning and politics, we return to Durand. On October 17, 1972 the first general meeting of the Durand Neighbourhood Citizens' Association (later renamed the Durand Neighbourhood Association - DNA) was held at Ryerson School on Queen Street South. *The Durand Neighbourhood Newsletter* which reported on the meeting summarized the concerns of citizen as follows:

> With the recent increase in volume of construction in Durand, it has been apparent that no guidelines for neighbourhood planning or development exists. As this unrestricted and unregulated development was felt to be jeopardizing and future planning activity by the City and citizens of the neighbourhood, the Neighbourhood Association began a series of representations to the Planning Board and City council with the intent of restricting further development and demolition until planned. (*Durand Neighbourhood Newsletter*, 1973)

Following this meeting the DNA presented a brief to the Hamilton Planning Board on February 22, 1973 requesting: that site plans be made mandatory (this was passed by

City Council in March, 1973); and a holding regulation prohibiting development in Durand over a specified time (this was denied). At a meeting on March 8, 1973, a second request to halt demolition and construction "...until the Durand neighbourhood is planned..." was supported by a petition with 2,000 signatures. On April 9, 1973 the DNA met with the Board of Control of the City of Hamilton requesting "..that emergency measures be taken in regard to demolition in Durand" (DNA Newsletter, April 1973). Subsequently, a thirty-day delay on demolition permits for buildings listed by the Architectural Conservancy of Ontario was passed by City Council on April 10, 1973. By December of 1973 a neighbourhood plan for Durand was to be sent to City Council for approval. (The November 1973 DNA Newsletter referred to the plan as "... a rather emasculated version of the original..."). The version of the plan that was finally approved to City Council contained several amendments to the 'emasculated' version, largely due to Alderman William McCulloch who represented Ward 2 (of which Durand is a part). By the fall of 1974 City Council had approved the amended Durand Neighbourhood Land Use Plan. By mid-1975 these actions had received the approval of the Ontario Municipal Board. Thus, within two years of the original meeting of the neighbourhood association, Durand became the first neighbourhood in Hamilton to have its own plan.

One indication of the political climate in the mid 1970s was the publication of *You Can Fight City Hall*, written by Vince Agro (1975). Agro was, at the time, one of the City's Controllers and had previously served as an alderman representing Ward 2. Agro (1975, 46) notes that "(t)he Durand neighbourhood controversy represents the best example of citizen participation in the planning process in Hamilton's history. ...(The plan)

was not only a great victory for the citizens of the Durand neighbourhood but in the opinion of many people, a victory for the City as a whole." In fact, Diane Dent, the first President of the DNA noted in an interview that it was largely through the efforts of Vince Agro that the residents of Durand gained credibility in the eyes of city politicans. As we shall see in Chapter 7, Mr. Agro was one of several individuals who helped establish a political cimate within which the residents' views would be heard.

By 1975 Durand had become the scene of several intense conflicts over development proposals. William Thomas' Presbyterian manse at 51 Herkimer Street proved to be a particularly contentious issue. In this case, the manse was purchased by the City in 1973 to save it from demolition. It was later sold to a restoration company, Heritage Hamilton. This firm, under the direction of Dr. Grant Head, was involved in the purchase and renovation of several buildings in Durand during the 1970s. Interviews with Bill McCulloch, Diane Dent and Nina Chapple (see Appendix) confirmed that Dr. Head's activity through Heritage Hamilton led to the preservation of several noteworthy structures in Durand. In another instance, half of the block bounded by Herkimer, Park, Charlton and Bay Streets was designated as a park in the neighbourhood plan. A legal battle between the DNA and a private developer, who intended to build a high rise apartment building on the site, went to the Supreme Court of Ontario before the developer finally sold the property to the City in late 1974. The site was officially opened as 'Durand Park' in September 1975. Diane Dent indicated in an interview that establishment of the park was one of DNA's most important victories in the early 1970s.

Finally, Sandyford Place on Duke Street (see Figure 3.21) was to be the scene of a protracted struggle between developers and the citizens of Durand. The year 1975 turned out to be a significant one for this building in particular and, more generally, for the subsequent fate of many other buildings in Durand. Built in the 1850s, Sandyford Place is described by MacKay (1967, 8) as "...the finest terrace block in Hamilton, and the best surviving (west) of Montreal, ... Mounted on land purchased from the original estate of Peter Hunter Hamilton, ..., (it stands) as a proud reminder of the Scottish settlers of the mid-19th century." In a report issued by the Conservation Review Board of Ontario (August 22, 1975) Sandyford Place was described as "...an indicator of the character of living and the aspirations of the citizens in mid 19th century Hamilton." Over the years the units of Sandyford Place were home to many of Durand's well-to-do residents. By the 1950s, however, the building was converted into apartments and soon fell into disrepair. In 1973 the developer-owner of Sandyford Place attempted to obtain a demolition permit with the intention of building a high rise apartment complex on the site. Following a lengthy series of events involving the private developer, local residents and city officials, Sandyford Place was spared the wrecker's ball, becoming the first building in Hamilton to be designated under the Ontario Heritage Act in August, 1975. This designation appears to have been an influencing factor in the decision of the owner-developer to sell the property to the City with the financial assistance of the Ontario Heritage Foundation. In 1976 the Federal government announced the designation of Sandyford Place as a National Historic Site; this was the first building in Hamilton to receive this designation In assessing the significance of this particular event, Nina Chapple (City of Hamilton Planning

Department) noted in an interview that the preservation of Sandyford Place was a 'turning point' in Durand in the 1970s. The success of the DNA and local residents was especially significant in that the proposed demolition of Sandyford Place was the first such incident following the demolition of the Birk's Building discussed earlier.

The events surrounding Sandyford Place did, indeed, comprise a turning point for Durand. By the end of this time period a new set of forces which would shape the future character of Durand was in place. As developers retreated from Durand, civic politicians responded to the call from citizen groups (such as the DNA) for a greater say in planning their neighbourhood.

6.4 Summary

A variety of primary and secondary sources has enabled the reconstruction of the second period in Durand's postwar history. The short period from 1962 to 1975 saw monumental changes sweep across the neighbourhood. The social landscape and architectural topography of the neighbourhood were reworked by a variety of forces and trends affecting the inner city. As such, Durand was not unlike inner city neighbourhoods discussed in Chapter 2. Most notable among these forces were the massive redevelopment which manifested itself in the form of the high rise apartment construction boom and the various urban renewal projects in the city centre. By the end of this period these wholesale changes were being tempered by an emerging spirit of citizen participation in planning and development issues in Durand. And while neighbourhood planning with citizen input became *de rigeur* in Durand, this did not mean that the future would be one

of calm and acquiescence. As the high rise developers departed, new sources of conflict loomed on the horizon.

A number of buildings stood (or fell) as symbols of this changing inner city landscape. During this period Hamilton acquired a new skyline (see Figure 3.3 and 5.10). From its completion in 1857, St. Andrew's (later St. Paul's) Presbyterian Church on James Street South was the city's tallest structure (185 feet) until the Pigott Building (190 feet) opened in 1929. The skyline or architectural topography of the city was otherwise largely low-rise until the 1960s. The opening of the 'new' City Hall in 1960 was heralded as "the physical and psychological impetus for an era of great progress in all ways for Hamilton" (*The Hamilton Spectator*, 22 November 1960). The architectural topography of Hamilton and inner city neighbourhoods like Durand was in transition. The heart of the city was transformed with the completion of Phase I of the Civic Square project. Hamilton reached new heights (450 feet) in 1974 with the construction of Century 21, an office/apartment complex on Main Street East at Catherine Street. In Durand the landscape was taking on a cleaner, more updated appearance as private revitalization became more common by the end of the time period. Buildings such as William Thomas' Presbyterian manse at 51 Herkimer Street and Sandyford Place on Duke Street were visible symbols of the processes shaping Durand in the 1970s.

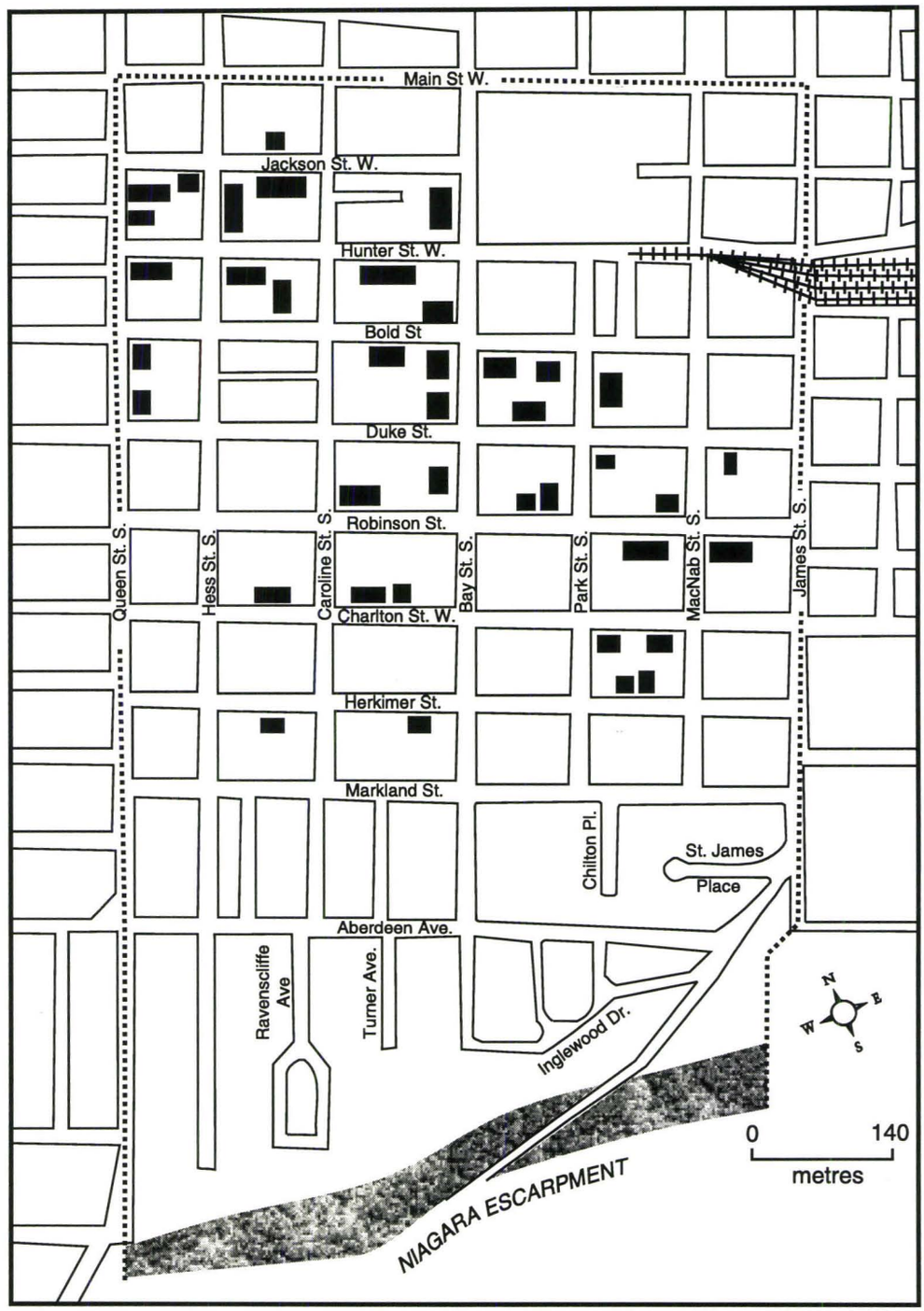

Figure 6.1: High Rise Development in Durand, 1963-1975.
This map shows the pattern of high rise development in Durand from 1963-1975. It reveals a similar pattern to that of low rise development (1946-62) shown in Figure 5.4.

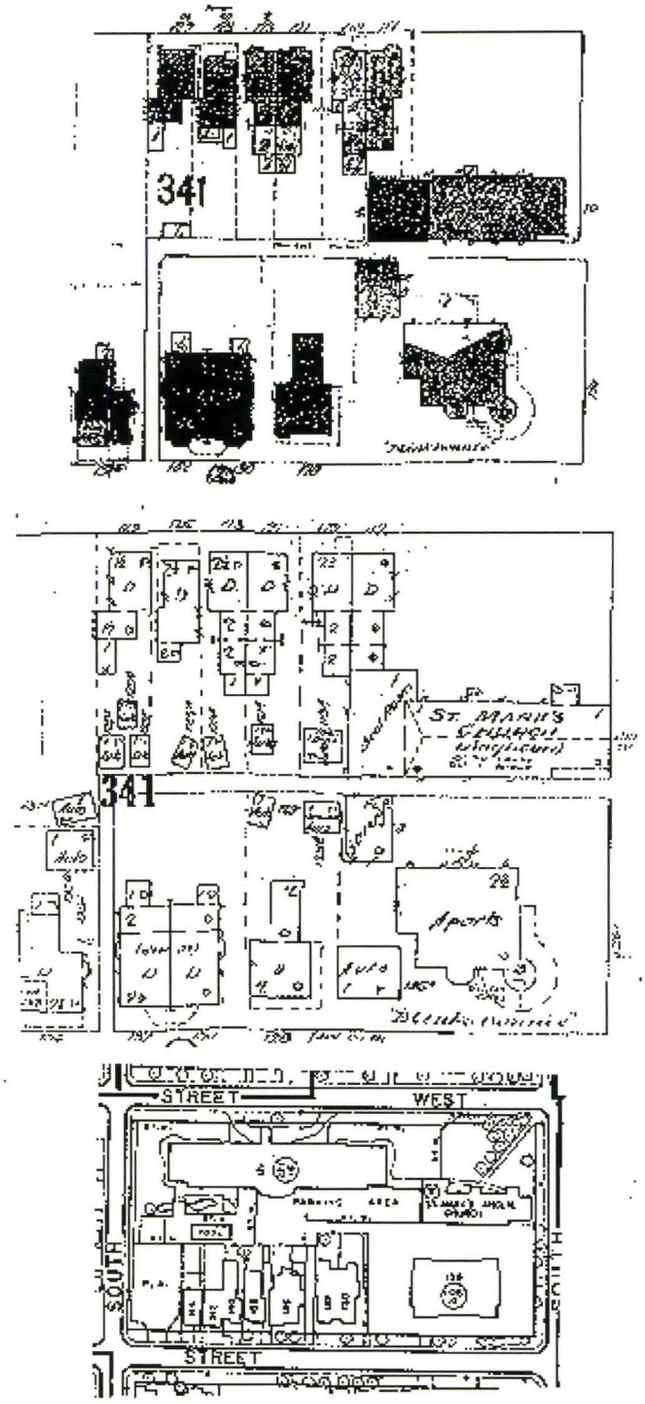

Figure 6.2: History of the Northwest Corner of Bay Street South and Bold Street. (i) 1898 Fire Insurance Plan; (ii) 1947 Fire Insurance Plan; (iii) 1981 City of Hamilton Zoning Map.

Figure 6.3: 'Blink Bonnie'.
Built in 1902 for Colonel James Moodie, 'Blink Bonnie' was one of several imposing mansions built on the elevated ridge which was a sandbar in the former postglacial Lake Iroquois. The home was demolished in 1968.

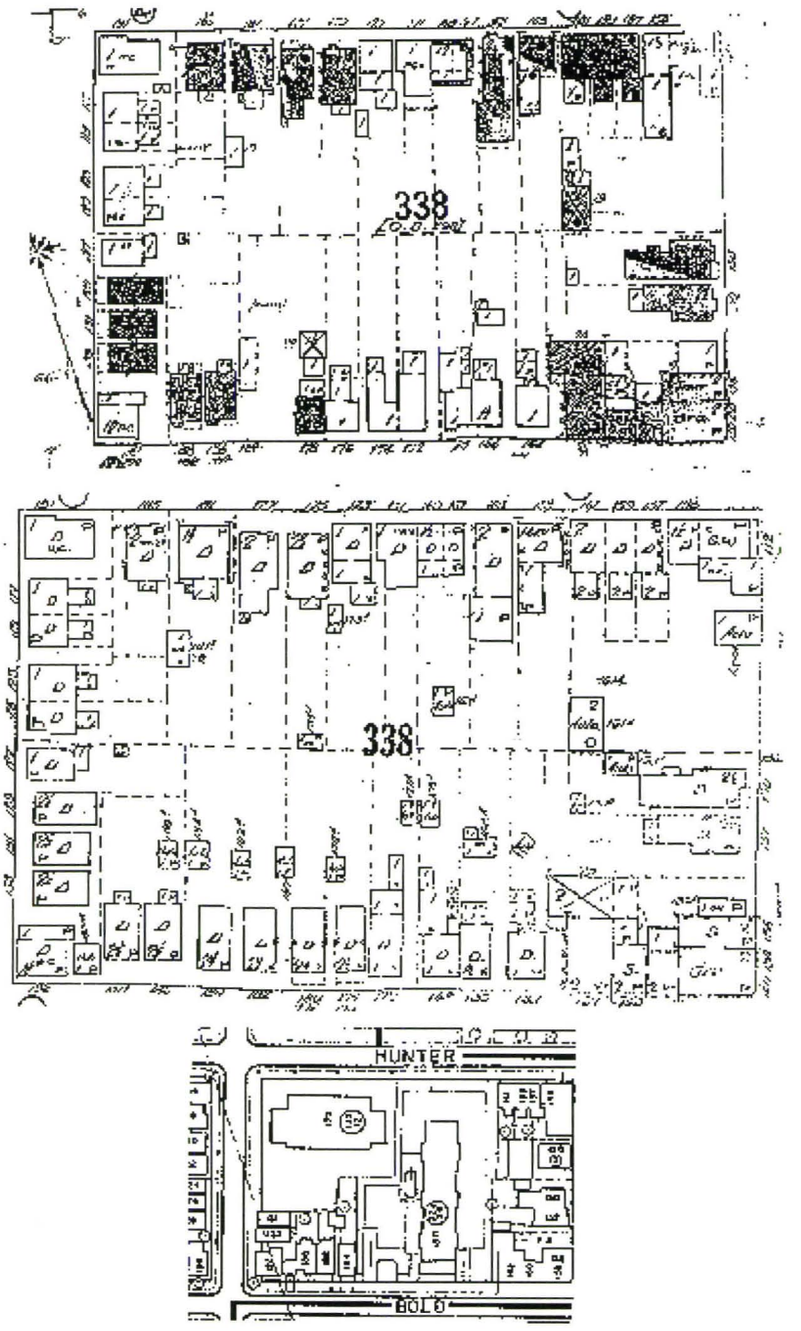

Figure 6.4: History of the Block Bounded by Hunter, Hess, Caroline, and Bold.
(i) 1898 Fire Insurance Plan; (ii) 1947 Fire Insurance Plan; (iii) 1981 City of Hamilton Zoning Map.

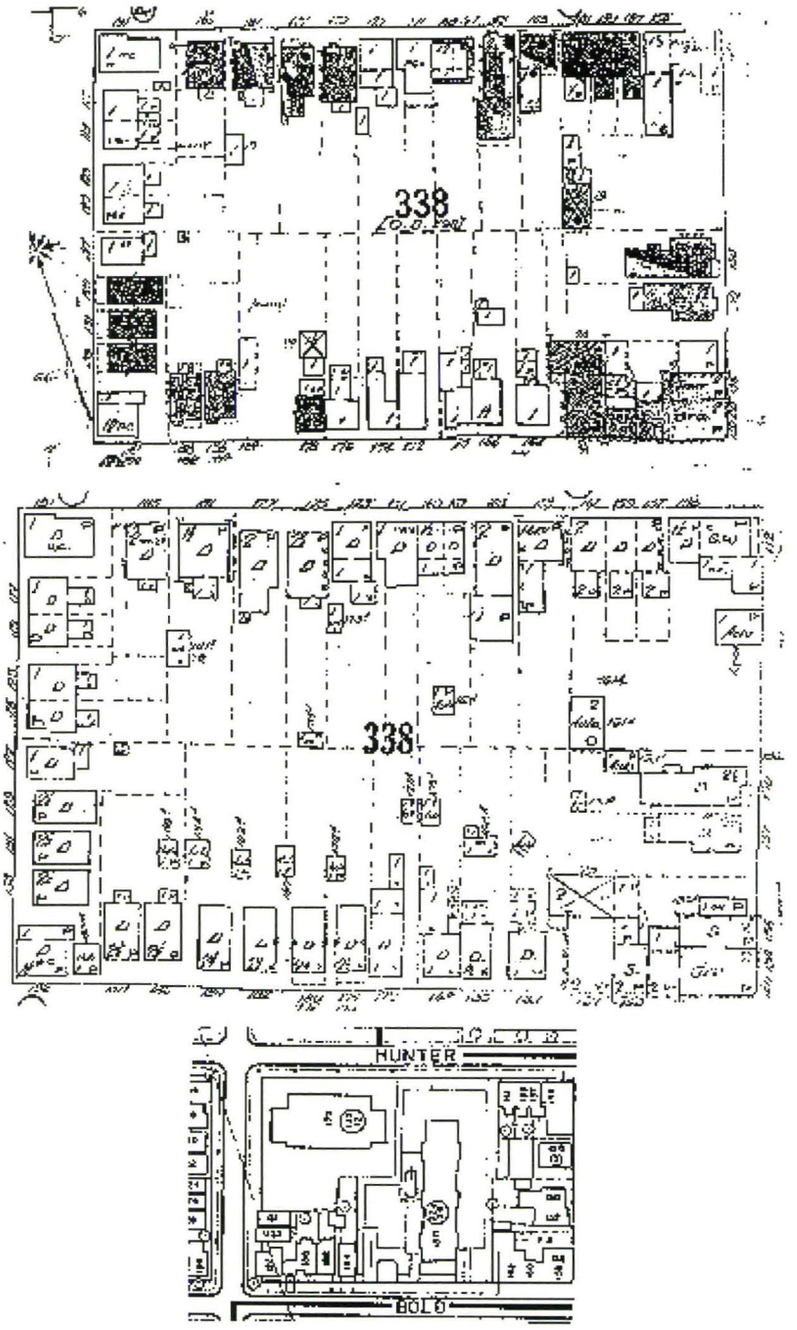

Figure 6.5: History of the Block Bounded by Duke, Park, MacNab and Bold.
(i) 1898 Fire Insurance Plan; (ii) 1947 Fire Insurance Plan; (iii) 1981 City of Hamilton Zoning Map.

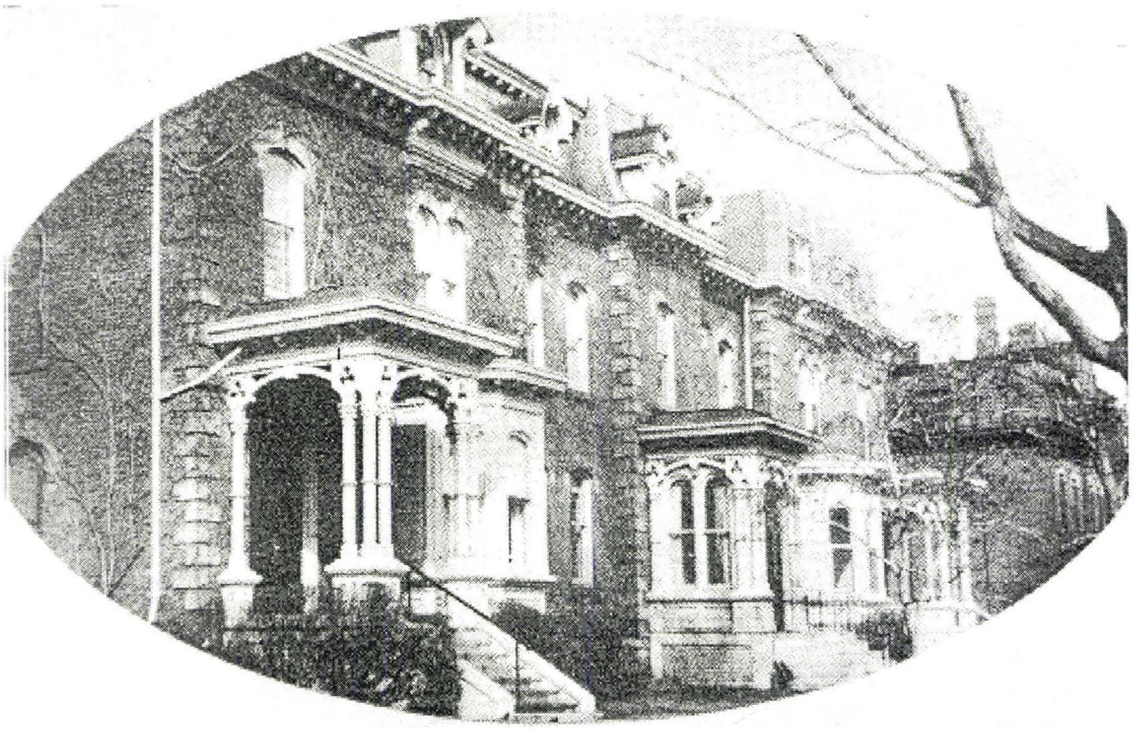

Figure 6.6: Herkimer Street (between Park and MacNab).
In the early 1970s, the eastermost unit of James Balfour's 1877 terrace and an adjacent, two unit terrace were demolished 'under the cover of darkness'. Two high rise apartments were then built on this site.

CHAPTER 7

Looking Ahead to the Past: Durand, 1976-1994

> ...historians are left forever chasing
> shadows, painfully aware of their inability
> ever to reconstruct a dead world in
> its completeness, however thorough or
> revealing their documentation.
>
> Simon Schama
> *Dead Certainties*

7. 1 Introduction

This chapter examines the last of three periods (1976-1994) in Durand's postwar evolution. The year 1976 marks a convenient and logical beginning to this period for three reasons. First, in the wake of the Ontario Heritage Act (1974), the City of Hamilton established its own Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee (LACAC). This board, as we shall see, would play an important role in preserving buildings of architectural significance in Durand. Second, 1976 was the first full year of rent control in Ontario. As such, it coincided with the end of the high rise apartment boom discussed in Chapter 6 and the beginning of a new development path in Durand. Finally, Sandyford Place, one of the neighbourhood's major battlegrounds in the early 1970s (see Chapter 6) was declared a National Historic Site in 1976. This was the first building in Hamilton to receive such designation. This time period terminates in 1994 for two reasons. From

1976 to 1994 the evolution of Durand was characterized as 'renewal' and a (regained) 'stability' using the neighbourhood typology of McLemore *et al.* discussed in Chapter 2. In other words, the evidence presented in this chapter points toward a period of nearly two decades where the primary forces affecting Durand, along with the resultant outcomes, are remarkably uniform. The second reason involves the designation of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church on James Street South as a National Historic Site in November, 1994. St. Paul's became the third building in Durand to be so designated. This event marks a convenient and symbolic end to the final period in this study of Durand's postwar evolution.

The period 1976 to 1994 was characterized by two general conditions in Durand. First, there was an intensification and entrenchment of the trends which began to emerge at the end of the previous period (see Chapter 6). These trends include: the heritage preservation movement; citizen participation in municipal and neighbourhood planning; and widespread opposition to further massive redevelopment in Durand. The second general condition involves qualitative changes to the housing stock. In particular, trends such as gentrification and the emergence of a 'service-dependent ghetto' (see Chapter 2) became highly visible in Durand during this period. The previous period (1963-1975) was characterized by 'massive redevelopment' and 'revitalization' (see Chapter 6). In contrast, the final period featured more subtle, qualitative changes to the architectural topography and social landscape of the neighbourhood. During this period Durand both retained its diversity and recaptured its former status in certain areas. In the process, Durand began to assume its role as one of Hamilton's premier historic areas.

The difficulties facing historians as they attempt to write their histories were discussed in Chapter 3. In the quote cited at the beginning of this chapter, Schama (1991, 320) suggests that our reconstructions of the past will always be incomplete. At the other end of the temporal spectrum are events which have 'just happened' 'or are currently unfolding. At first glance, it might seem that the difficulties faced when reconstructing the distant past are absent when we record the 'history' of more recent events. It turns out, however, that the task of writing the history of the recent past is also problematic. The reason for this lies with the fact that it is difficult to know what is important without the perspective afforded by the passage of time. Simply put, recent events have not yet acquired a 'historical patina' which helps us to assess their significance. Thus it is ironic that the events of the distant past can never be recaptured in their totality by virtue of their remoteness in time, yet the events of the recent past lack that certain historical quality which enables us to say they are or are not important. This, then, is the challenge confronted in this chapter: how can we make historical sense of Durand's most recent years?

Throughout this discussion, as in the previous two chapters, emphasis is placed on buildings as markers or symbols of the links between form and process in the inner city. The reconstruction of this final period in the postwar era was based on a variety of primary and secondary sources. Primary census data, in conjunction with studies of Hamilton's social geography (e.g., Taylor 1987; Lierman, 1996), have been used to describe Durand's changing social landscape. Archival material from the Hamilton Public Library and LACAC documents provided a basis from which to reconstruct the histories

of individual buildings. Housing market conditions in Durand were assessed using a collection of forty-two editions of 'Spec Homes' (*The Hamilton Spectator*) featuring houses in Durand which were for sale between 1980 and 1994. Planning reports and issues of the *Durand Neighbourhood Association Newsletter* (1973 to 1991) provided information regarding significant events in the neighbourhood. Finally, interviews with 'key actors' (see Appendix) and field observations provided additional information regarding these and other aspects of Durand. Together these sources enabled a reconstruction of Durand's recent past, highlighted with place/space vignettes which reveal the symbolic significance of buildings on the urban landscape.

7.2 Preserving the Past: Success and Failure

The period 1963 to 1975 (see Chapter 5) witnessed dramatic changes to the architectural landscape of Durand. Two crucial dimensions of these changes were the demolition of older homes and the construction of high rise apartment buildings, especially in the northern part of the neighbourhood. As noted previously, the city and Durand both acquired a new skyline during this period of massive redevelopment. This activity came to an abrupt halt with the Ontario government's Residential Rent Regulation Act in 1975. A study conducted by the Hamilton-Wentworth Region Planning and Development Department (1987) revealed that forty-four high rise apartment buildings (three storeys or more) were constructed in Durand between 1960 and 1975. Only three high rise buildings were constructed after the introduction of rent controls in 1975. Furthermore, of these three post-1975 high rises, none was a rental building; all were condominiums. Despite

the fact that apartment construction and its prerequisite demolition had "tailed off" after rent controls were introduced (Doucet and Weaver, 1991, 417), changes, albeit more subtle changes, were still altering Durand's architectural topography. These changes included the usual additions, deletions and modifications to the existing housing stock. Beyond these, however, qualitative changes to many homes in Durand were becoming apparent. Many of these changes were the result of ambitious activity on the part of the growing heritage movement and citizen participation in neighbourhood planning.

The most significant aspect of these qualitative changes was the 'official' recognition of buildings in Durand which had historical and/or architectural significance. Such recognition was made possible and officially sanctioned by virtue of the Ontario Heritage Act (OHA), 1974. Fram (1988, 204) notes that: "The Act enables municipal governments to designate and protect properties deemed to be of architectural or historic interest, whether singly or in districts, and further permits the establishment of local architectural conservation advisory committees (LACACs) to advise municipal councils. Hamilton's LACAC was established in 1976. On August 25, 1975, Sandyford Place (see Chapter 6) became the first building in Hamilton to be designated under the Ontario Heritage Act. Between 1975 and 1994, eighty-one buildings in Hamilton were designated under the Act; nearly one-third (twenty-six) of these were located in Durand (LACAC, 1995). Between 1977 and 1988, six buildings in Durand designated under the OHA were officially recognized with plaques awarded by the Hamilton Historical Board (Hamilton Historical Board, 1989). In 1991, the Hamilton Historical Board and LACAC established a Joint Plaquing Sub-committee, thereby initiating a new plaquing program for designated

properties. Of the first ten plaques awarded at the 1991 Heritage Day ceremony, five were given to buildings in Durand. In total, this program awarded plaques to twenty of Hamilton's buildings, eight of which were located in Durand. In addition to recognizing the architectural significance of individual buildings, Hamilton's LACAC was directly responsible for work on two Heritage Districts in Durand: (i) the MacNab-Charles Heritage District (1992); and (ii) the Durand-Markland Heritage District (1994).

Four buildings in Durand have received plaques from the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario: St. Paul's Presbyterian Church (1969); Whitehern (1971) Central Public School (1978); and Central Presbyterian Church (1985). Finally, three of Durand's nineteenth century structures have been recognized with plaques awarded by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada: Sandyford Place (1978); Whitehern (1993); and St. Paul's Presbyterian Church (1994).

The cumulative effect of these events was to confer a 'historic area' status on Durand. These events were a reflection of an increasing awareness of and concern for matters relating to heritage preservation. Furthermore, the acts of designating and plaquing buildings of architectural and historical interest were indicative of the changing political climate in this period. Legislation (e.g., the OHA) and the establishment advisory boards (e.g., the HHB and LACAC) were clear indications of a changing political will. These actions were a direct consequence and reflection of changing sentiments in Durand and in the city at large. These anti-development, pro-heritage feelings were expressed in the local political arena through the Durand Neighbourhood Association (DNA). As we

shall see later in this chapter, the DNA would be instrumental in charting the neighbourhood's evolution in the final period of the postwar era.

It is more than mere coincidence that some of Durand's changing fortunes were due to improving conditions in the city's core in the 1970s and early 1980s. While these influences will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, there seems to be little doubt that public investment in Hamilton's core enhanced the status of some inner city neighbourhoods like Durand. Between 1976 and 1985 several projects associated with the Civic Square project were completed. Among these were: the Hamilton Art Gallery (1977); the Hamilton Public Library (1980); the Hamilton Convention Centre (1981); the Ellen Fairclough Building (1982) and Copps Coliseum (1985). Changes brought to Durand by groups such as the heritage preservation movement discussed above and gentrification (see below) were certainly linked to the 'extensive transformation' and 'improved image' of Hamilton's downtown (Peace and Burghardt, 1987, 291).

7.2.1 Central Public School

The period 1976 to 1994 featured several clashes involving the residents of Durand, city politicians and developers. Two examples will serve to highlight the metamorphosis of the preservation debate in the neighbourhood. The first example involved the proposed closure and demolition of Central Public School (see Figure 7.1) in the mid to late 1970s.

At the time of its opening in 1853, Central Public School (F.W. Cumberland, architect) was the largest graded school in Upper Canada, accommodating one thousand

students. It was the first public school in Hamilton and the first manifestation of the educational reforms advocated by Egerton Ryerson in the 1850s . Its construction coincided with the economic boom and population growth in Hamilton at mid-century. The school was built in the Greek Revival style of architecture, as was common for public institutions of the time. By the 1890s population pressures had increased enrolment to the point where local school trustees favoured its demolition and the construction of a larger facility. This move was opposed by local ratepayers with support from *The Hamilton Spectator*, the city's most influential newspaper. As a result of this opposition it was decided to renovate the "mother institute" of Hamilton's present public school system rather than replacing it. (This appears to have been an early, isolated expression of heritage preservation sentiments in Hamilton.) As discussed in Chapter 5, the decline of Hamilton's central city coincided with changes to the population of Durand in the post-WWII era. This, coupled with the construction of newer schools elsewhere in the city, precipitated a significant decline in the school's enrolment by the early 1970s. As far as the school board was concerned, it was no longer economically feasible to continue operating this facility. As a result the board recommended the closure and demolition of the building. This proposal was met with vociferous opposition from the residents of Durand who argued that their children should be able to attend school in their own neighbourhood (*DNA Newsletter*, August 1977). Furthermore, as a consequence of the continuing high rise apartment construction boom which began in the 1960s the residents of Durand viewed the proposed demolition as yet another instance of an historic building disappearing from the neighbourhood. Indeed the *DNA Newsletter* (August 1977, 3)

noted that "... the loss of Central School would sound the death knell to any long range plans for revitalizing the central area of Hamilton." In April , 1978 the DNA presented a brief to the Hamilton Board of Education. It was noted in the brief that "...the existence of a neighbourhood elementary school is of cardinal importance because for many people, the neighbourhood school is a pre-requisite for location in an "inner city" district such as Durand" (*DNA Newsletter*, April 1978, 3).

As a result of this public outcry, the board gave Central Public School a one year reprieve to the end of the 1978-1979 school year. Ironically, during this reprieve the school was officially recognized as a provincial historic site in November, 1978. By the end of the year, however, the school's fate again hung in the balance. The DNA presented its views again in January, 1978, and by the end of February the school board was proposing to share the building with commercial offices. The school was once again removed from consideration for closure as of June 1979. Finally, the June 1979 *DNA Newsletter* reported that: "A proposal to renovate Central Public School and share the building between the school and offices has been approved by the Board of Education." In November of 1980 Board of Education and the Durand Neighbourhood Association celebrated the completed renovations. In proclaiming the celebration the *DNA Newsletter* (October 1980, 9) noted that: "The continuance of Central School is essential for the continued health of the Durand neighbourhood and thus (for) the City."

The events surrounding Central Public School reflect several changes in Durand's character. First, the increasing number of tenants during the 1960s and early 1970s (see Chapter 6) resulted in a decrease in family status in the neighbourhood (Taylor 1987).

Enrolment at the school subsequently declined; hence, the school board's proposal to close the school. Second, these events clearly illustrate the involvement of the residents through the DNA. The association proved to be very adept at organizing and vocalizing its opposition to the proposed school closing. Third, the issue of Central School reflects an increasing concern for heritage preservation. Finally, the compromise solution which involved the facility being shared by the school and an insurance company revealed that demolition was not the only option and the new, innovative uses for older buildings could be found. It was perhaps with some degree of irony that these events at Central Public School were played out across the street from City Hall where, two decades earlier, nearly nine acres were razed (see Chapter 5).

7.2.2 65 Markland Street

A second notable instance of conflict over heritage matters unfolded in the late 1980s at 65 Markland Street: "Situated in the heart of Durand South, a residential area noted for its tree-lined streets and large, distinguished late Victorian homes, this imposing 2½ storey brick mansion, surrounded by mature trees, is a neighbourhood landmark" (*The Hamilton Spectator*, 14 September 1989). This home (see Figure 7.2) was originally built in 1884-85 for John Park, a successful Hamilton businessman. The Park family lived here until 1914 when it was sold to Sydney Chilton Mewburn. The 'Notice of Intention to Designate' which appeared in *The Spectator* (14 September 1989) commented on Mewburn and the historical significance of the house as follows:

> Bestowed with the title, Major-General the Honourable S.C. Mewburn, this distinguished Canadian was prominent for more than half a century in the legal,

> financial, political and military affairs of the country. ...Appointed in 1971 to the position of acting adjulant general of the Canadian Militia with the rank of Major-General, Mewburn subsequently held the post of Minister of Militia and Defence (1917-20) and was twice elected Member of Parliament for Hamilton East.

Upon his death in 1956 at the age of 93, the home was sold to Sam Henson Apartments Ltd. (See Chapter 5) and converted into a duplex.

In July, 1989 the developer-owner of the house applied for a variance to the zoning regulations which would allow the construction of a third home on the lot. The lot, in fact, was a composite of four separate lots at the corner of Markland Street and Chilton Place (formerly known as Chauffeurs' Row, see Chapter 4). A second house was constructed on the lot in the late 1980s prior to application for the variance in 1990. This application to the Committee of Adjustment was opposed by the Durand Neighbourhood Association and local residents "...because of the potential negative effect on the existing house and the neighbourhood, and it was also inconsistent with the 1988 Durand Neighbourhood Plan" (*DNA Newsletter*, December 1989, 2). The Association contended that "...the change would threaten the ambience of the city's only remaining neighbourhood comprised of Victorian era homes" (*The Spectator*, 21 July 1989). In another ironic twist of fate, the opposition to the owner's proposal and the refusal to grant a variance (which would have left the building standing) led indirectly, to the building's demolition.

On October 31, 1989, 65 Markland Street was officially designated as a property of historic and/or architectural value or interest under Part IV of the Ontario Heritage Act. This designation would be a Pyrrhic victory for the DNA, however, as it set the wheels in motion for the building's demolition. Buildings designated under the Ontario Heritage Act

were protected from demolition for 180 days. Upon the expiry of this period the owner of the building was in a position to proceed with his intention to demolish the structure. By the end of June 1990, the building was demolished (see Figure 7.3), and replaced by a new single family home. Former Alderman Reg Wheeler, a LACAC member was quoted in *The Spectator* (29 June 1990): "I'm very disappointed to see that house go. ...It's just a shame -- they'll never put places like that again, with slate roofs, towers and window sills of heavy stone." In lamenting the loss of the building LACAC Chairperson Diane Dent said: "Most people care about their heritage, but I feel personally that many, many council members have a conflict of interest because they are employed in the development industry or a branch of it and they don't look at the long-term, only at the short-term."

The events at 65 Markland Street occurred more than a decade after the threatened closure of Central Public School. The conflict over the Markland Street property revealed that the residents, through the DNA, were still actively involved in issues affecting the neighbourhood. This particular instance was indicative of the ongoing nature of change in Durand, albeit on a smaller scale than was the case in the 1960s and early 1970s. The Markland Street incident also revealed that, despite the past victories and the emerging heritage status of Durand, there were still proposals which were seen by residents as threatening the character of the neighbourhood they were creating.

The examples of Central School and 65 Markland Street are illustrative of several features of the architectural landscape and the more general character of Durand in most recent time period. First, the actions of the DNA clearly indicate the type of neighbourhood the residents were attempting to create and protect. The battle over

Central School was reflective of residents' desire to create and maintain a neighbourhood for families while the fight over 65 Markland Street was symbolic of the residents' desire to protect the area's architectural heritage. A second feature illustrated by these (and other) examples was the changing nature of change itself. The preceding time period, i.e., 1962-1975, was characterized by wholesale changes to the landscape, especially those which accompanied the high rise construction boom. The most recent period appears to have been characterized by much smaller scale, incremental alterations to the landscape of Durand. Nonetheless these forces of change were still generally recognized as threatening. Peter Hill, DNA President from 1987 to 1989 noted in the *DNA Newsletter* (Fall, 1988) that:

> "... the forces which created the pressures to demolish Durand in the late sixties and early seventies are returning, albeit in disguise. ...Pressure for severing large lawns from their large Victorian homes to build 'infill' housing is increasing; more and more applications are coming before the Committee of Adjustment to request variances not allowed by our zoning laws....; large buildings seem to be left to rot until the owners can claim that they are beyond repair and therefore must be demolished;... and on and on it goes."

A third feature of Durand in this time period was the vocal and active presence of the DNA and concerned residents at City Hall. In addition to issues pertaining to heritage and the neighbourhood school, the DNA was actively involved in matters pertaining to traffic safety, group homes, and the revision of the neighbourhood plan. Indeed a City of Hamilton, Planning Department (1985) report describes the DNA as a 'formidable watchdog group'. The fruits of the Association's labours were explicitly recognized in the *DNA Newsletter*, March 1990: "Strong representations by citizens and various civic

advisory groups have resulted in City Hall('s) agreement to give more attention to Durand issues." In his Presidential Address on May 8, 1990, Russell Elman noted that:

> In some ways, we may have been too successful. More than ever Durand is a magnet, a vibrant symbol of what is best in our City, which only serves to magnify the pressures and problems. Now we have to ensure that our achievements survive in these new times of uncertainty.

7.3 The Social Landscape of Durand

The key process affecting the landscape of Durand from 1976 to 1994 centred on citizen participation in the politics and planning of the neighbourhood. This participation found expression in the emergence of Durand's historic area status as described above. In conjunction with these changes Durand also provided the spatial setting for some of the earliest and most extensive instances of residential upgrading in Hamilton's inner city. An examination of selected census variables from 1981 and 1991 provides a convenient point of departure for the description of the emerging social landscape of Durand.

The factorial ecology study of Hamilton and its inner city conducted by Taylor (1987) concluded that census tracts 38 and 39 (which together comprise most of Durand and virtually all of its residential land use) generally had: (i) higher socio-economic status; (ii) lower family status; and (iii) lower ethnic status based on statistics from the 1961, 1971 and 1981 census years. These findings carried over into the 1991 census year (Lierman, 1996).

Several more specific figures reflect the nature of change and the emerging social landscape of Durand between 1981 and 1991. Population densities remained significantly higher in Durand than anywhere else in the city. Census tract 39 had the highest density of all tracts in Hamilton in 1981 (12,682.2 persons per square km). In addition tracts 38 and

39 featured a disproportionately high number of rented dwellings in 1981. In tract 39, 2,575 out of 3,010 dwelling units were rented; while in tract 38, 2,165 out of 2,440 units were rented. In these two tracts single detached homes accounted for only 260 and 80 units respectively (Census of Canada, 1981).

The 1991 census revealed marginal increases in population from 1986 (3.5 and 2.1 percent for tracts 39 and 38 respectively). The low ethnic status reported by Taylor (1987) clearly remained part of Durand's social landscape into the early 1990s. Of the single responses to the question about mother tongue, 3840 out of 4865 (tract 30) and 2,915 out of 3,350 (tract 38) stated that English was the mother tongue. The proportion of dwelling units which were rented remained high: in tract 39, 2,635 out of 3,100 dwelling units were rented (an increase of 60 rental units from 1981); in tract 38, 2,095 out of 2,420 dwelling units were rented (a decrease of 70 rental units from 1981). At least part of this decrease in the absolute number of rental units in the latter case could be attributed to the conversion of former rental units to condominium units in buildings such as Inglewood (see Figure 3.9) and Ballinahinch (see Figure 3.10) on James Street South. One further observation of note from the 1991 census was the fact that tract 38 had 1,260 persons (out of a total 3,451) who were older than 65 years. This was the highest absolute number in the City of Hamilton and the second largest in the CMA. For comparison purposes this tract had 1,235 persons (out of a total of 3,457) who were older than 65 years in 1981. In other words, the proportion was more or less constant, remaining much higher than the CMA average. These figures were confirmed by Taylor

(1987) and Lierman (1996) in factorial ecology studies which revealed low family status levels in Durand.

In terms of education, 20.5 percent of tract 39 residents had a university degree in 1991 (as compared to 15.7% percent in 1981); while 18.4 per cent of tract 38 residents had a university degree in 1991 (as compared to 19.1% in 1981). The city averages were 6.3 % in 1981 and 8.7% in 1991. An additional indicator of social status is to be found in average family income figures for 1981 and 1991. In tract 39 the average family income was $25,958 in 1981 (marginally below the city average) and $44,423 in 1991 (slightly above the city average). In tract 38 the average family income was $34,324 (above the city average) in 1981 and $60,926 (well above the city average) in 1991. It should also be noted that census tract 17 (which includes that part of Durand south of Aberdeen had one of the highest average family incomes in the city in both of these census years, i.e., $42,150 and $89,645 in 1981 and 1991 respectively. These figures suggest that private revitalization, i.e., gentrification as discussed in Chapter 2 was transforming the social landscape of at least some parts of Durand. These findings would seem to support the claims of Bourne (1982) and Ley (1993) discussed in Chapter 2 regarding the extent of gentrification in metropolitan areas: it was apparent, but not pervasive.

In attempting to derive conclusions from these figures it should be noted that census tract level data obscure smaller scale variations. This is an important qualifier in the case of Durand for, as we have seen, the history of the area has been one of considerable internal variation, especially with respect to socio-economic status. In particular the historical tendency has been for the southern part of Durand to be

characterized by higher socio-economic status than the northern part, i.e., the income profiles would tend to follow the topography, the precedent for which was visible as early as 1850. The figures from the 1981 and 1991 census years reported above lead to several general conclusions about Durand. First, Durand as a whole is at least comparable to the city average in terms of socio-economic status. If we look at only the southern part of the neighbourhood it would rank well above the rest of the city. In terms of family status, the picture is less clear. The evidence suggests a high concentration of the elderly (i.e. low family status), yet at the same time the contentious issue of the closing of Central School suggests that the number of families with school aged children was (at least marginally) on the rise (*DNA Newsletter* 1979). Finally, with respect to ethnic status, the population of Durand continued to be largely Protestant and English speaking. In general the factorial ecology studies by Taylor (1987) and Lierman (1996) suggest that socio-economic status had increased from 1961 to 1991 in both relative and absolute terms.

7.3.1 Gentrification

What is clearly in evidence in light of the above figures is that Durand, as a whole, had entered a period revitalization according to the McClenmore *et al.* (1977) typology (see Chapter 2). Most noteworthy among the general characteristics of 'revitalizing' neighbourhoods in Durand's case are the following: (i) increasing socio-economic status; (ii) maintenance of population mix; (iii) increasingly well organized community groups; (iv) little change in tenure; and (iv) strong but controlled pressure for redevelopment. Field observations confirmed this contention that Durand was indeed revitalizing.

Furthermore there is little or no question that, at least in parts of Durand, the process of gentrification was an integral part of revitalization. There were, for example, numerous instances of older homes being converted into luxury condominium units. Sandyford Place (Duke Street), Inglewood and Ballinahinch (James Street South) were among the earliest examples of such conversions.

The case of 'Inglewood' on James Street South illustrates the transition of several of Durand's more substantial homes. As noted in Chapter 4, Inglewood was designed by architect William Thomas and built in 1852. Over the next century it was home to several of Hamilton's most prominent families. It remained a single-family home (unlike Ballinahinch) until 1988, when work began on converting "...one of the best examples of domestic Gothic architecture in the province..." (McArthur and Szamosi, 1996, 85) into five condominium units. Owners George and Jacqueline Schneider commented that: "there's nothing else like it in the city. We have retained a historic building with gracious grounds, almost an acre and a half, and turned it into a functional building" (*The Hamilton Spectator*, 22 September 1984). When the five units came on the market in 1984, one of the smaller units, The Prince of Wales Suite was listed for sale at $139,000. Six years later, the same suite was listed for sale at $229,000. Conversions and prices such as these suggest that at least parts of Durand were again becoming prestigious locations in Hamilton. Field observations suggested that much of the neighbourhood was being upgraded. These observations were confirmed by numerous reports in the *DNA Newsletter*. The net effect of these changes was to enhance the quality and desirability of Durand as a place to live. In articles featuring homes for sale in Durand which appeared in

The Spectator, the area was described as: "... the best neighbourhood in the city" (May 2, 1992); "...one of the city's choicest areas" (July 4, 1992); and "...the city's most prestigious neighbourhood" (September 5, 1992). In some cases, 'infill housing' in Durand was intentionally designed in an older style in keeping with the original Victorian era homes. Such was the case on the grounds of 'Ballinahinch' (see Figure 3.10) where a "...grey stucco residence... looks like a nineteenth century coachhouse, as authentic as the gracious old homes that surround it" (*The Hamilton Spectator*, 6 February 1982). This home was built in 1981 following the conversion of Ballinahinch into condominium units. In another instance near the intersection of Aberdeen Avenue and Queen Street South, an "old-looking" new house was built in 1984 (*The Hamilton Spectator*, 18 August 1984). It was an odd twist that older houses where being upgraded and in the process given a newer, cleaner appearance, while newer, infill housing was deliberately designed so as to look older and thereby 'fit' with the older surrounding homes. An examination of the articles from The Hamilton Spectator featuring homes in Durand reveals a variety of housing types ranging from stately mansions originally owned by some of Hamilton's most prominent families to much more modest cottages built for the working class residents of the industrial city. Just as the development of Durand in the nineteenth century featured a mixture of housing types and social class, so too the process of revitalization exhibited a similar tendency in the 1980s and 1990s. This mixture was evidenced by housing prices in 1988. A one storey brick bungalow on Robinson Street was offered for $129,000 (*The Spectator*, 6 February 1988), while a stone mansion on Aberdeen Avenue was priced at $695,000 (*The Spectator* 28 May 1988).

7.3.2 The service-dependent ghetto

Durand, based on the evidence from Chapter 2, was not unlike at least some inner city neighbourhoods in other Canadian cities, i.e., local, regional and national forces and trends had manifested themselves in revitalization, a newly acquired stability and, to some extent, a reclaiming of its former status. Another manifestation of societal trends to appear in central city areas was the emergence of the so-called service dependent ghetto, defined as the clustering of social service agencies and their clients (see Dear, 1987). Durand was no exception to this trend. In fact in the 1980s, the DNA saw the growing number of group homes, lodging homes and similar facilities in the neighbourhood as a cause for some concern noting that "...our neighbourhood has more than its 'fair share' of these facilities" (*DNA Newsletter*, December 1987).

As was noted earlier in this chapter Durand, as an inner city neighbourhood ranked low in terms of family status in Taylor's (1987) factorial economy study. More than one third of the residents in census tract 38 were over 65 years of age. Durand, it turned out, was an ideal location to establish facilities such as seniors' residences, lodging homes and group homes. There was a nineteenth century precedent for this type of facility at 170 Caroline Street South. This large brick building built in the 1870s operated as the 'Home of the Friendless' for nearly seventy-five years. It was built by concerned citizens and maintained by a citizens' board. In 1947 the Home was sold to Samuel Henson (see Chapter 5) who converted it into apartment units (Hamilton and District Council of Women, 1980).

By the 1970s, with the process of deinstitutionalization well under way, large older homes in inner city neighbourhoods like Durand were ideal locations and sites for social service agencies and their community-based care facilities (Dear, 1976). Between 1970 and 1975 the 'on books' population in Ontario Psychiatric Hospitals decreased from 8,838 to 5,416 persons; at the same time the number of 'active' cases in community mental health facilities in the province increased from 28,156 to 53,637 persons (Dear, 1976, 8). Locally, the 'on books' population at the Hamilton Psychiatric Hospital declined from 858 to 534 persons over the same time period (Dear, 1976, 9) while five out-patient (hospital) units had 7,557 active cases in 1970 and 11,454 active cases in 1975 (Dear, 1976, 11). In a curious coincidence, this process of deinstitutionalization was taking place immediately above Durand on the edge of 'the Mountain'. The Hamilton Psychiatric Hospital (formerly the 'Asylum for the Insane') overlooked Durand and the city from 1876 to 1975. As patients were released to community-based care facilities they literally and figuratively descended the escarpment to Durand and adjacent neighbourhoods below. At the census tract level, Dear and Wolch (1987, 133) note that the five major service dependent groups in Hamilton, were "...concentrated in seven census tracts immediately adjacent to the central business district." Durand, of course, contained one of these census tracts. In the April 1988 *DNA Newsletter*, DNA President Peter Hill noted that:

> Durand has made everyone welcome over the years. The resulting diversity is what has made our neighbourhood such a fine place in which to live. However, the imbalance which is starting to become apparent in the distribution of supervised accommodation facilities across the city must have us concerned. Because if present trends continue, the quality of our environment will start to suffer to the extent that it might become blighted and most difficult to retrieve in the future. ...Other neighbourhoods in the Region which are blessed with attributes

> similar to those of Durand have not been as receptive to them as we have. The result is that we now have so many it is threatening the tone of our neighbourhood.

In light of these concerns the neighbourhood association opposed the proposal to convert 111 MacNab Street South into a Second Level Lodging Home; the Committee of Adjustment rejected the proposal. In a revealing comment in the March 1988 *DNA Newsletter* it was noted that: "(t)he price of maintaining our neighbourhood as we want it is eternal vigilance." Interestingly, there are no further mentions of the group home in the *DNA Newsletter* between the May 1988 and April 1991 issues. In fact incidents in Durand such as the proposal for 111 MacNab Street South may well have been less common by the end of the 1980s. Dear (1987, 195) notes that the number of lodging homes in the city had peaked by 1981, and that growth in the lodging home industry had slowed. In preparing the revised neighbourhood plan the Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth Planning and Development Department (1985, 13) noted that:

> Any new institutional uses such as group homes and residential care facilities should be located so as not to unduly increase the concentrations of these facilities within any specific part of Durand, and within Durand as a whole, as related to the rest of the City, especially other downtown neighbourhoods.

Thus it would appear that by the end of the 1980s the forces underlying the ghettoization of the service-dependent population and the ability and willingness of the neighbourhood to accept this population had reached an equilibrium position. Once again, it should be pointed out that within the neighbourhood there were enormous contrasts in terms of the residents' social, economic and demographic profiles. In this instance a small part of Hamilton was home to some of the city's most privileged households as well as some of its least fortunate citizens.

7.4 The Political Landscape of Durand

The formation of the Durand Neighbourhood Association (DNA) in 1972 and the subsequent adoption of the neighbourhood's first plan (1973) "...represent(s) the best example of citizen participation in the planning process in Hamilton's history" (Agro 1975, 46). While the process of participating in municipal politics and planning has, at times, been contentious and filled with skirmishes, it nonetheless has contributed to the realization of many of the goals as stated in the DNA's mandate. It is accurate to say that the number and intensity of these skirmishes had dwindled considerably by the early 1990s, thereby supporting the previous characterization of this time period as being one of a (newly acquired) stability in conjunction with an ongoing process of revitalization. This is not to suggest that there were no significant issues facing Durand; there certainly were. However, the magnitude and scope of the issues was different by the end of the 1980s in comparison with the 1960s and early 1970s. Peter Hill referred to "several years of quiet in the neighbourhood" which characterized the mid 1980s in his 1989 President's Message (*DNA Newsletter*, Winter 1989). This new found stability was clearly a direct consequence of the residents of Durand, the DNA and their ability to participate in planning and political decision-making in an effective manner. Not only was Durand the first neighbourhood to get its own plan, it was also the first to have its own plan revised. Following a two year review of the original, a revised plan was approved by City Council in 1988. One might well ask the question: "How and why were Durand's residents able to participate in such an effective fashion?" This, after all, was unprecedented in terms of planning and politics in Hamilton.

The answer to this question involves three considerations. First, in terms of timing, the path of Durand's evolution in the 1960s and 1970s coincided with the increased presence of the heritage movement (see Chapters 5 and 6) and the willingness on the part of Hamilton's politicians and planners to advocate neighbourhood-level planning. These two trends, in conjunction with the growing dissatisfaction residents of Durand were feeling with the consequences of massive redevelopment comprised the temporal context within which effective citizen participation in civic politics and planning was possible. The key ingredients, then, were: (i) a desire or willingness to participate; (ii) an ideology or motivating force; and (iii) a mechanism through which participation was both possible and officially sanctioned. All of these requirements were part of the socio-political milieu in the early 1970s.

A second consideration concerns the fact that several individuals (residents of Durand) were willing and able to accept the challenge and responsibility of acting on behalf of the neighbourhood. In addition, the action of other individuals and groups were, in part, responsible for many of the changes in Durand during the 1970s and 1980s. Diane Dent, the first President of the DNA noted that during her term (1972-1975) the Association had been influential and made its views known in matters pertaining to: City Council's adoption of laws concerning site plan agreements and property stands; the acquisition of property which officially became Durand Park; and the Provincial legislation of the Ontario Heritage Act. There is no doubt that individuals such as Ms. Dent made significant contributions to the neighbourhood.

In an interview, Diane Dent, a founding member and the first president of the DNA, spoke of the difficulties facing the residents during the group's formative years. The most formidable obstacle, in Ms. Dent's view, was the residents' lack of political clout. Through the efforts of Ward 2 Alderman Vince Agro, the group slowly raised its profile at City Hall. At the same time, the DNA's founding members established connections with 'high profile' activists in other cities, among whom were David Crombie (Toronto) and Phyllis Bronfman (Montreal). These conditions, coupled with the ethnic and class characteristics of the neighbourhood, enabled the DNA to act with what Ms. Dent termed 'enlightened self-interest'. Other factors contributing to the group's success included financial support received from residents and the fact that the DNA was a legally incorporated group. This latter characteristic was crucial to the group's success in establishing Durand Park, an accomplishment which Ms. Dent described as an 'incredible coup'.

The efforts expended by Durand residents during this time period would have been much more limited in their success had it not been for Bill McCulloch who represented Ward 2 (which includes Durand) on City Council from 1966 to the end of this time period. For the record, Mr. McCulloch continues to serve Ward 2 and, as of the most recent municipal election (1995) became Hamilton's longest serving politician. Nina Chapple, a planner with the City's Planning Department noted that Mr. McCulloch has played an important role in numerous issues pertaining to the City's (and Durand's) heritage, including: the Carnegie Library; the Bank of Montreal and Sandyford Place. In addition, Mr. McCulloch has sat as a representative of city Council on the most important advisory

boards dealing with heritage issues: the Hamilton Historical Board (HHB) and LACAC. It is quite clear that Mr. McCulloch's presence on City Council has both enabled and facilitated the activities of Durand's residents.

In an interview, Mr. McCulloch attributed the success of the DNA to its positive outlook and persistent participation in planning issues at City Hall. He noted that this active association emerged as an influential force at a time (i.e., the early to mid-1970s) when 'tools' such as the Ontario Heritage Act were available to more effectively oppose development in Durand. Of particular significance, in Mr. McCulloch's view, was the fact that the DNA did not disband as the threats of high rise development waned. The Association's continued participation in local planning matters seems to have been welcomed by City Hall according to Mr. McCulloch. This was, no doubt, a reflection of its dedication and its awareness of issues affecting the neighbourhood. The manifestations of the DNA's efforts were found in, among other things, buildings such as Sandyford Place and Central School, which stood as symbols of the group's successes. The actions of individuals (such as Ms. Dent and Mr. McCulloch) and groups (such as the HHB and LACAC) have clearly been instrumental in shaping the character of Durand in the period 1976 to 1994.

The third and final consideration as to how and why the residents of Durand could mount such an effective campaign to participate in local planning is, at once, both trivial and profound. Simply put, the sheer physical proximity of Durand to City Hall (they literally could not be any closer) was no doubt of considerable importance to the successes of the DNA from the early 1970s onward. One simply has to imagine a hypothetical

scenario where, for example, City Hall was located on James Street North (as was proposed prior to the choice of the Main Street West site) to realize that there would have been both physical and psychological distance separating the residents of Durand (and all of their concerns in the 1960s and 1970s) from the halls of municipal power and decision-making. While it would be difficult to actually prove this hypothesis, there is no doubt that, to paraphrase Schama's (1991) sub-title, these are 'warranted speculations'.

7.5 St. Paul's Presbyterian Church

Durand's 'historic area' status was firmly established by the end of the third period in the postwar era. At the corner of James Street South and Jackson Street West, events remarkably similar to those which unfolded nearly a century and a half earlier took place in the late 1980s. In an editorial written under the pen name 'Alacris' in *The Hamilton Spectator*, 20 September 1853, Robert Reid Smiley posed the following question:

> And, we would respectfully ask, how long do they (the Presbyterian congregation of St. Andrew's - later St. Paul's) intend, in respect to ecclesiatical architecture, to lag behind their neighbours, and to suffer not only Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, but even Methodists, to outstrip them in the laudable ambition of dedicating a handsome edifice to the Worship of Almighty God, and adding of another architectural ornament to the city in which they dwell. (Cited in Vance, 1957, 3)

Smiley was the owner and publisher of *The Spectator* and a member of St. Andrew's Church, who, "...had been for some time prodding the Church authorities to erect a place of worship worthy of their standing in the community" (Vance, 1957, 3). As reported in Chapter 4, architect William Thomas was selected to design a new structure for Hamilton's oldest Presbyterian congregation. The cornerstone was laid on 14 September

1854 and the church was officially opened on 8 March 1857. At 185 feet, St. Andrew's would remain the tallest building in Hamilton until 1929 when the Pigott Building reached 190 feet above James Street South. Through its history this building - renamed St. Paul's in the 1870s - has been acclaimed variously as "the outstanding example of stone building in Hamilton" (Wallace 1963, 48); "...a Gothic sermon in stone with the finest spire in Canada" (McKay, 1967, 12); and "...an outstanding example of the Victorian Gothic Revival in Canada" (McArthur and Szamosi, 1996, 81).

In November, 1987, the spire was in danger of collapsing, having suffered the ravages of time and acid rain. Temporary scaffolding was erected around the tower and spire while the congregation began to consider its options. Restoration architect Alan Seymour who conducted the initial inspection of the building with conservation consultant Martin Weaver (Seymour and Peace, 1993) met with members of the congregation late in 1987. In an interview, Seymour indicated that the congregation had two choices: (i) remove the spire and thereby save a considerable sum of money which could then be used on church programmes; and (ii) restore the spire. Both Seymour and the congregation's Minister, Rev. Willard Pottinger, argued for the spire's restoration, emphasizing the building's landmark quality, noting that its removal would be equivalent to 'an act of vandalism' against the city and its residents (*pers. comm.*). The congregation voted to restore the spire; a decision that was supported in another *Spectator* editorial 135 years after Robert Smiley's challenge:

> St. Paul's long and substantial contribution to Hamilton's spiritual well-being and the church's adoring presence downtown entitle the congregation to help from the government and the people of this city. Preservation of that magnificent church is

> a unique and precious gift that today's Hamiltonian's can bequeath to their descendants.

On 13 November 1994, a small ceremony was held at the front of St. Paul's to mark the unveiling of a plaque commemorating the church as a National Historic Site. St. Paul's thus became the third building in Durand to be so recognized, the others being Sandyford Place and Whitehern. The designation of Sandyford Place as a National Historic Site (the first in the city) in 1976 occurred at a time of upheaval in Durand. In contrast, the designation of St. Paul's went largely unnoticed two decades later as more tranquil conditions prevailed. The construction of St. Paul's (1854-57) signified the early growth of Hamilton as a city. A century and a half later, the restoration and historic designation of St. Paul's attested to the City's maturity and Durand's emergence as a stable inner city neighbourhood conferred with a historic area status.

7.6 Summary

A variety of sources revealed the period 1976 to 1994 to have been characterized by revitalization and (reacquired) stability in Durand. As was the case in the earlier periods, the changing local landscape was a manifestation of forces operating at the local, city, regional and national scales. In addition, certain individuals 'left their mark' on the landscape in a variety of ways. The building history vignettes discussed in this chapter illustrate the manner in which these forces and individuals contributed to the evolution of Durand. While it may be premature to speculate on the longevity of these recent 'legacies', there is little doubt as to their short term impacts. Durand in 1994 would have been a much different inner city neighbourhood were it not for certain individuals (e.g.,

Bill McCulloch and Diane Dent) and ideologically based movements (e.g., historic preservation). In these respects, Durand featured characteristics not unlike those of inner city neighbourhoods discussed in Chapter 2. What does emerge in this chapter is the importance of buildings as a focus for the actions of individuals and groups in the neighbourhood. The residents of Durand fought the proposal to demolish Sandyford Place; the loss of Sidney Mewburn's former residence at 65 Markland Street was lamented by many; and the recognition of Whithern and St. Paul's as National Historic Sites enhanced the neighbourhood's status.

Hamilton of the early 1990s differed from that of the mid 1970s in several important respects. During this period the fortunes of the City's central business district had risen and fallen. There is little doubt that Durand's resurgence was, in part, due to the spillover effects of urban renewal in the 1970s and early 1980s. Revitalization was literally brought to the doorstep of Durand, first with City Hall in 1960 and later, with the various elements of the Civic Square project. As a result, Durand became a more attractive place to live for many. The residents, of course, played a pro-active role in shaping the character of their neighbourhood. And it is here, on the everyday landscape of this inner city neighbourhood that buildings emerged as manifestations of the forces that shape the city.

Figure 7.1: Central Public School.
Built in 1853, Central Public School was one of Hamilton's first schools. In the early 1970s, residents of Durand successfully fought the proposed closure and demolition of the school.

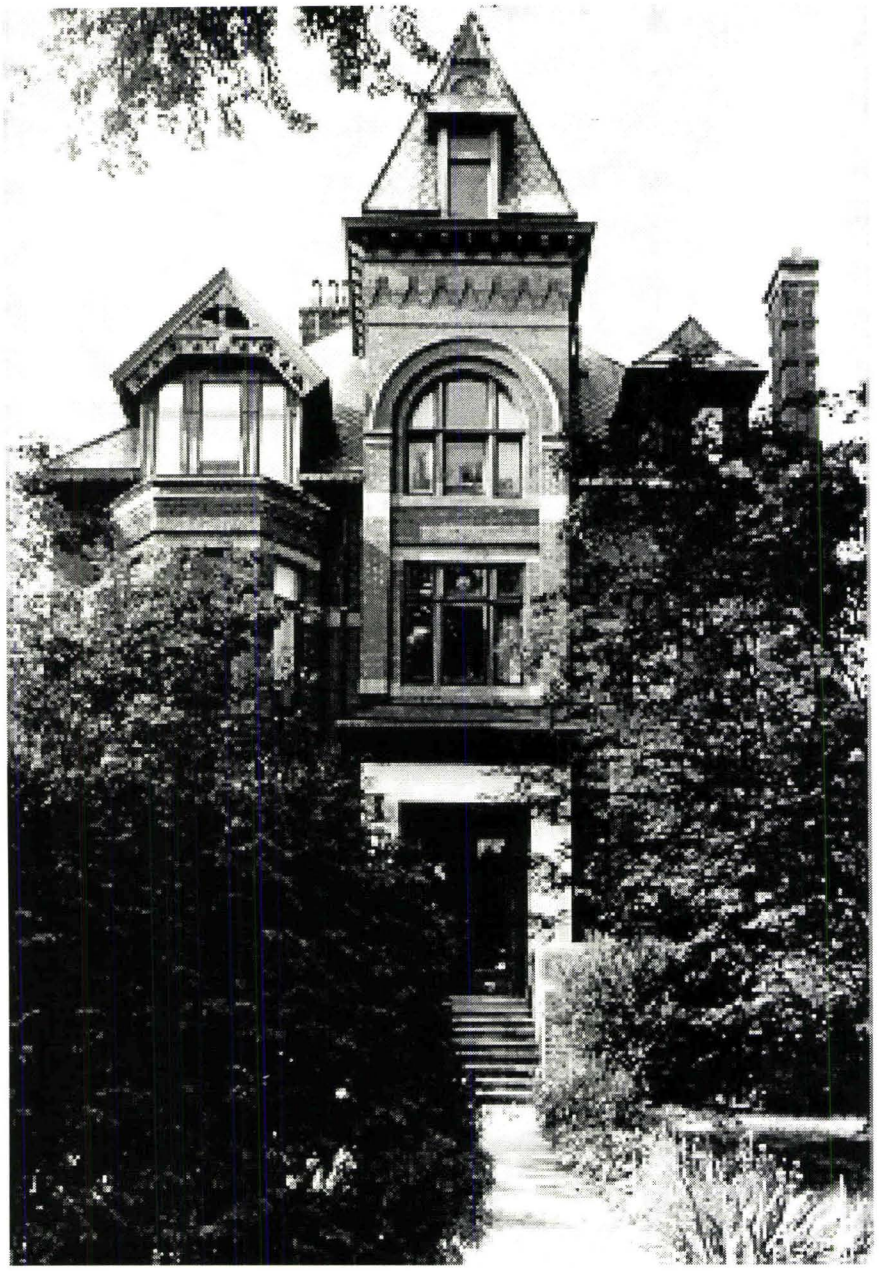

Figure 7.2: 65 Markland Street (Before Demolition).
This 'neighbourhood landmark' was built in the 1880s for Hamilton businessman John Park. The home was purchased by Sydney Mewburn in 1914. Upon Mewburn's death in 1956, the home was sold to Sam Henson Apartments Ltd.

Figure 7.3: 65 Markland Street (During Demolition).
Despite protests by local residents and the DNA, 65 Markland was demolished in June, 1990. In its place, two new single family homes were built.

CHAPTER 8

People, Space and Time: The Making of the Urban Landscape

> Man only knows himself insofar
> as he knows the world - the world
> he only comes to know in himself
> and himself only in it.
>
> Goethe

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study, as stated in Chapter 1, was to investigate the links between urban form and process as evidenced by buildings. Specifically, the objectives of the study were to describe, explain and interpret the evolution of Hamilton's Durand neighbourhood in the post-WWII era. The study was rooted in three bodies of geographic literature: (i) form and process in the inner city; (ii) landscape studies; and (iii) investigations into the relationship between buildings and urban form. A review of this literature in Chapter 2 provided a conceptual basis for the study. Furthermore, this review had implications for the method used in this study as described in Chapter 3. A variety of primary and secondary sources enabled the reconstruction of the Durand neighbourhood's evolution in the postwar era. This reconstruction consisted of: (i) a description of patterns in Durand's changing landscape; (ii) an explanation of the processes underlying landscape change; and (iii) an interpretation of the links between pattern (form) and process as evidenced by 'place/space vignettes' featuring specific buildings and sites in the

neighbourhood. The interpretive component of the method enabled the treatment of the landscape as a 'text' which could be 'read' for clues regarding the links between form and process.

Durand's historical background, covering the period 1791 to 1945 (see Chapter 4), revealed that the neighbourhood's most distinctive and enduring characteristics (a range of socio-economic status and increasing status from north to south) were well established by the end of the nineteenth century, by which time Durand was completely built up. The most noteworthy changes in the neighbourhood during the first half of the twentieth century were associated with the growing umber of low rise, walk-up apartments. This period preceding WWII was characterized as one of relative stability. The post-WWII era was divided into three periods. The first, 1946-1962 (see Chapter 5), was one of significant decline in Durand. The second, 1963-1975 (see Chapter 6), featured massive revitalization. The final period, 1976-1994 (see Chapter 7), was characterized by renewal and (regained) stability. In each of these chapters, specific buildings and sites were used to reveal the links between form and process on the urban landscape. We now turn to the findings of this study.

8.2 The Findings of this Study

This study of the Durand neighbourhood suggests several conclusions regarding substantive and methodological issues.

8.2.1 Substantive findings

The evidence presented in this study indicates that Durand exhibited many of the patterns and processes typical of inner city residential areas as discussed in Chapter 2. In particular, the evidence shows how the broader social and economic forces were combined with smaller scale, local events and conditions to cause changes to Durand in the postwar era. For example, within the broader context of urban renewal and inner city revitalization in the 1960s and 1970s, Mayor Victor Copps left his mark on central Hamilton, in part by securing public monies to finance major projects. Later, individuals such as Bill McCulloch and Diane Dent, influenced the course of development in Durand during the early years of citizen participation in neighbourhood planning. A further example of this combination of macro and micro scale forces affecting Durand was to be found in the activities of the Hamilton Historical Board and the Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee. These groups, operating locally within the broader context of the heritage preservation movement, clearly influenced Durand's character in most recent period in the postwar era. These and other examples discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 demonstrate that the broader societal forces which shape the urban landscape are given local imprints by people and conditions unique to the local setting.

This study further shows that buildings can (and should) be viewed as symbols of the range of forces which affect urban form. Ford (1994, 4) suggested that: "Building style and architecture cannot be generalized out of the picture if location in space is to have any meaning" (see Chapter 2). The buildings of Durand discussed in this study confirm Ford's assertion. Knowledge concerning the fate of buildings such as Sandyford

Place, Central Public School and 65 Markland Street enables the city structure to be 'fleshed out', to use Ford's (1994) words. The result is that labels such as gentrification take on richer meaning in the local setting. Beyond the various reasons for the importance of buildings discussed in Chapter 2, this study of Durand has shown that the fates of buildings are the specific outcomes of the interplay between the broader forces and local conditions as discussed above. Inglewood, for example, was a local manifestation of the gentrification process brought about, in part, by the owner's wish to preserve the historically important structure in Hamilton. This study has also shown how specific buildings as well as the more general architectural topography of Durand were the target of much of the neighbourhood association's activity beginning in the early 1970s. In other words, groups such as the DNA focussed their efforts on buildings as a means of creating a particular kind of neighbourhood. This study has justified Ford's call to 'flesh out' urban structure with details concerning architecture and buildings.

8.2.2 Methodological findings

This study also suggests two important conclusions regarding methodology. In particular, the study reveals how careful documentation can be achieved through the use of a mixture of complementary sources. Such documentation was necessary to meet the descriptive objective of the research. Furthermore, this study reveals how the explanatory and interpretive objectives are dependent on a careful and thorough description or reconstruction of past events. This study of Durand confirms Lewis' (1985) contention that accurate and vivid descriptions were necessary conditions for valid explanations (see

Chapter 1). The reconstruction of building histories, such as those of 'The Castle' and Sandyford Place, involved using a variety of sources, ultimately enabling a more complete explanation and interpretation of landscape change.

An additional finding of this study concerns how buildings can be used methodologically. Specifically, the use of vignettes, detailed reconstructions of building and/or site histories was shown to be especially fruitful in this study of Durand. This conclusion supports Holdsworth's (1993) claim that 'distinctive milieus' can be used to illustrate particular forms and processes associated with different landscape types (see Chapter 2). The vignette featuring the new City Hall site, for example, provided descriptive details regarding renewal in Durand. These events were subsequently explained and interpreted so as to provide a more comprehensive understanding of their meaning and significance.

8.3 Directions for Future Research

This study has concluded that the links between form and process in the inner city are evidenced by buildings. In some ways this would seem to support, at a smaller scale, Relph's (1987) arguments in *The Modern Urban Landscape*. Future research in this area might well be concerned with several issues arising out of this study. First, in light of the findings reported above, a question arises concerning the extent to which the links between form and process as evidenced by buildings are present in other parts of the city, e.g., the suburbs. Second, further investigation into the roles of individuals and groups as 'shapers' of the landscape seems warranted. In the case of Durand, for example,

questions arise as to nature and impact of citizen participation in the neighbourhood planning process. Why was participation so successful in Durand? What, if any, impact did these events in Durand have on other neighbourhoods in Hamilton? These and other questions suggest that individuals and groups, acting as knowledgable agents, are an important force in shaping the urban landscape. A third line of inquiry for future research suggested by this study might involve comparing Durand with neighbourhoods elsewhere in Hamilton and with inner city areas in other Canadian cities. Such comparisons would then permit generalizations regarding the unique and the common factors which condition the links between form and process. Studies like this one, set in other locations, could thereby enhance our theoretical understanding of urban change. Finally, this study examined how buildings function as markers of urban processes. This raises another set of questions regarding the manner in which buildings are perceived by residents. While this issue was alluded to in the context of heritage designation, for example, it does warrant further attention. Such investigations could build on the work of Eyles and Peace (1990) as discussed in Chapter 3.

8.4 Conclusion

This study has revealed that buildings are important symbols or markers of form and process in the inner city. Broader economic, social, cultural and political forces set the context within which local conditions, events and personalities shape the urban landscape. McKay (1967, 27) notes:

> Hamilton's cityscape on closer examination tells a vivid romantic story. And a city is its buildings. They are the outward expression of ideals, of affluence and speculation, of pride and prejudice.

Our understanding of this 'vivid romantic story' depends, in part, on how we choose to look at the city. Olsen (1987) speaks of the city as 'luxury', 'monument' and 'home', for example. To varying degrees Durand has exhibited these and other characteristics at different times. Perhaps more significant, given the purpose of this study, is Olsen's (1987, 251) characterization of the city as 'document' or the embodiment of history:

> ...a work of art is also a historical source, (and) the city, as the largest and most characteristic art form of the nineteenth century, has something to tell us about the inner nature of that century. ....Knowledge of the fundamental character of an age, like truth and goodness, may be unattainable in an absolute sense. But it is a legitimate goal toward which to strive.

This study has revealed insights regarding the fundamental character of Durand in particular and cities in general. And despite the elusiveness of such knowledge, investigations which uncover new ideas concerning the intrinsic character of the urban landscape and those who live there are, in the end, both illuminating and satisfying.

APPENDIX

PERSONS INTERVIEWED

Nina Chapple:	Architectural Historian, City of Hamilton Planning and Development Department.
Diane Dent:	Former President of the Durand Neighbourhood Association; Currently Chairperson of Hamilton's Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee (LACAC).
William McCulloch:	Alderman on Hamliton City Council (Ward 2); Member of Hamilton Historical Board
Alan Seymour:	Restoration Architect

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