THE CITY AS MEDIUM:
Infrastructural Logic in Building and Operating Systems in Hamilton, Ontario

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ABSTRACT

This thesis develops a media studies approach to the city through a historical and contemporary analysis of Hamilton, Ontario, beginning with Friedrich Kittler's assertion that "the city is a medium" and developing a broader city-as-medium framework through the built environment as hardware, before introducing a software element I call 'the city-as-operating-system.' These frameworks support the exploration of urban technologies of storage, transmission and processing, via both hard and soft infrastructures, from surveying the grid and early building materials through to their obsolescence, ruination, demolition, or renovation decades later. The logics of these systems and networks are traced through sources such as maps, lithographs, written accounts, film, painting and case studies of particular buildings in Hamilton, revealing different communicative practices and potentials, from the technical, to the social, to the affective. The study covers three broad phases in Hamilton's history, beginning with the site's geophysical foundation and the city's initial growth into the early twentieth century. Next, it explores the mid-century urban renewal years and their decades-long legacy as a period of delay, obsolescence and failure, before a final phase of rebranding and renaissance takes hold in the early twenty-first century. Over time, changes in the built environment reveal the physical city as an important medium for the storage, transmission and processing of shifting social and cultural values. The approach developed here not only challenges narratives of progress in their different historical manifestations, but also facilitates an original critique of contemporary assumptions about how to build and inhabit our cities.

RÉSUMÉ

La présente thèse propose une étude de la ville à travers le prisme des études des médias, en développant une analyse historique et contemporaine de la ville d'Hamilton, en Ontario. Inspirée du constat posé par Friedrich Kittler, qui affirme que «la ville est un médium», cette étude propose un cadre élargi de la ville en tant que médium à travers l'environnement bâti envisagé comme élément matériel, auquel elle ajoute par la suite un élément logiciel, que je nommerai «ville en tant que système d'exploitation». Ces cadres soutiennent l'exploration de technologies urbaines de stockage, de transmission et de traitement, processus qui s'incarnent dans les infrastructures matérielles et les infrastructures souples, de l'étude du quadrillage et des matériaux de construction anciens au fil de leur obsolescence, de leur tombée en ruine, de leur démolition ou de leur restauration des décennies plus tard. La logique de ces systèmes et réseaux est mise au jour par l'analyse de sources diverses, notamment des cartes, des lithographies, des comptes-rendus écrits, des films, des peintures et des études de cas portant sur certains immeubles à Hamilton, qui révèlent diverses pratiques communicatives et potentialités qui relèvent tout autant du technique que du social et de l'affectif. Cette étude porte sur trois grandes phases de l'histoire de la ville d'Hamilton, s'attardant d'abord aux fondements géophysiques de l'endroit et à la croissance initiale de la ville jusqu'au début du 20^{e} siècle. Elle explore ensuite les années de revitalisation urbaine de la moitié du 20^{e} siècle en tant que période d'obsolescence et d'échec, dont l'héritage s'est étalé sur plusieurs décennies, et s'attarde enfin à la phase finale de renaissance et de création d'une nouvelle image au début du 21^{e} siècle. Avec le temps, les changements dans l'environnement bâti mettent en lumière le caractère physique de la ville, qui agit comme médium de stockage, de transmission et de traitement de valeurs sociales et culturelles changeantes. L'approche proposée dans cette thèse remet non seulement en question

les récits du progrès à travers leurs différentes manifestations historiques, mais elle ouvre également la voie au développement d'une critique originale des présupposés contemporains sur la façon dont nous construisons et habitons nos villes.

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INTRODUCTION:

Hamilton, Ontario, a city of roughly 500 000 people situated on the southwestern edge of Lake Ontario, has long been a symbolic city in the Canadian urban imaginary. Most famously, it has been known as the Steel City, but it also has a history as the Ambitious City, the Telephone City, the Birmingham of Canada, the Electric City, and less proudly, as Canada's Rust Belt city. Hamilton has done some big things for a medium-sized city, from extending its own territory by many square kilometers through infilling the wetlands and bay at its northern limits—creating a truly immense manufacturing cluster—to undertaking the largest single urban renewal project in Canadian history by demolishing some 260 building covering 43 acres across 12 blocks of the downtown core in 1969. Hamilton is a city long associated with both ambition and failure, often living in the shadow of the nearby metropolis Toronto, but always, for better or worse, with its own unique identity.

The project that I will present here is about media theory, urban cultural studies, and communication, but it is also about Hamilton itself. Part of my interest in the city is rooted in its more recent history, as a city in transition from its predominantly industrial past, struggling to forge a new identity in the twenty-first century. I have witnessed this transition from both within and outside the city over the last sixteen or so years, while at the same time pursuing an education in history, cultural studies, and communication studies. My fascination with Hamilton also stems from its past, particularly as it is revealed through the built environment, how one can go from a tight Victorian back alley to a vast, open, minimalist urban renewal-era elevated concrete plaza within a city block, from the 1870s to the 1970s in an instant. During the early 2000s, one could go downtown and not see any truly contemporary construction, everything was varying degrees of old and dated. To a teenager attentive to history, this made the city unlike

most others; the different colours and textures of the city's brick, the variously aged and stained concretes in oddly juxtaposed historical and outmoded styles seemed to be communicating. After leaving Hamilton for graduate school, I never stopped thinking about or returning to the city, noticing over the years a new restaurant or coffee shop here, then a new design firm or condo there, while coverage of changes in Hamilton and its reputation in the national media both increased and improved. The present work is the culmination of these years of interest, research and analysis; Hamilton has always been there, in the foreground or the background, as a case study or an example.

Lately, I have also seen rising tensions in the city, evident in a range of ways, from newspaper editorials for or against rising real estate prices or Toronto migration, to the more destructive vandalism spree on the much-gentrified Locke Street in March, 2018.[1] I am interested in something in between the blind boosterism of City Hall (and the Economic Development Office) and the sourness or charges of gentrification expressed by others at new development. Cities change over time, this is inevitable, but we need to work harder to better understand and possibly negotiate these changes, to avoid repeating mistakes from the past or blindly falling into a future designed somewhere else for some place else. Here I offer more theoretical rather than practical solutions, but thinking differently about our cities is an important step towards making practical changes.

What I present is a media analysis of the city, blending media studies, communication studies, urban history, and urban cultural analysis through a case study of this particular place.

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[1] Biljana Njegovan, "Hamilton doesn't need real estate bargain-hunting Torontonians," *Globe and Mail*, December 17, 2017. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/hamilton-doesnt-need-real-estate-bargain-hunting-torontonians/article37361569/. Dan Taekema, "'Ring leader' of Locke Street vandals gets jail time as 5 plead guilty," *CBC News,* November 29, 2018. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/locke-street-vandalism-1.4925673

The combination of these fields presents a way of approaching history that is attentive to the current moment, while simultaneously addressing the current moment in a way meaningfully informed by the past. This thesis develops the media studies framework for understanding the city as outlined in the 1996 article by German media theorist Friedrich Kittler, which argued that the city itself was a medium. In the more than two decades since the essay's publication, Kittler has gained a following in Anglo media studies, but relatively little traction in urban cultural studies. Media scholars have devoted their attention to the city, but the city is either simply the host or container of other media, or is studied in terms of the ways in which various media represent it; the city is the stage on which narrow definitions of media technology play out, from photo and film to surveillance, data collection, and smart sensors. But what of a more foundational relationship between media and the city? Since Kittler declared the city is a medium, his provocative idea has not been sufficiently taken up by either media or urban scholars. While Chapter 1 contains a more detailed literature review and methodology, I would like to offer a few introductory points here. Firstly, my approach to the city-as-medium is fundamentally concerned with technologies of storage, transmission, and processing over the content of any messages. More specifically, I consider the materials of the built environment of the city to be such technologies. The project begins and remains with Kittler in terms of maintaining a primacy of hardware, inspired by his information science-based approach and application of computer language and concepts to the city. How does the city store, process, and transmit information? In answering this question, we will come to see how more basic elements of urban life and history can enrich media studies. The historical city encourages us to consider media materiality in a broad and fundamental way, drawing our attention towards older, more

basic urban technologies and technical skills like those required for surveying, quarrying, brickmaking, and steel frame construction techniques.

The present study is both historical and contemporary, working through different ways of developing media analysis of the city, though what I present here may disappoint more orthodox disciples of Kittler and thoroughly technical thinkers. I begin by following Kittler's lead, but then open the framework up to other media and communication studies approaches—particularly those of John Durham Peters, the artist Robert Smithson, and Mikhail Bakhtin—that are somewhat less rigid than Kittler's media materiality. One reason for this is to further enrich the understanding of urban life and environment, by reaching deeper into the history of media to frame the landscape and its raw materials as media in their own right. What is the city built from, literally? Where did it come from and how did it get there? What has happened to it over time, naturally, through human interventions, and most critically, their comingling? What does this reveal about our historical and contemporary understanding of and relationships with the city? And finally, what are the potential consequences of the comingling of natural phenomena and human interventions for how we build, rebuild, understand, and live in our cities? The aging of materials and communicative potential of the buildings are tied to natural things like the climate and weather as well as anthropogenic factors like acid rain and black soiling, and more distinctly human practices like demolition, maintenance, repair, and renovation. Materials combine with technical skills and social processes into categories like the built environment, infrastructure, and real estate, with particular organizing logics and protocols. These are historical, material, social, economic, cultural, and environmental questions all at the same time, and while I cannot satisfactorily answer all of them, I do hope to offer, at least, some novel approaches in beginning to answer some of them.

Those with great loyalty to Kittler might find this approach has perhaps too many "humanistic value judgments."[2] That may be true, but I still strive to maintain a material specificity and return to the basics of technical analysis that motivated Kittler, the storage, processing, and transmission functions. This is why his call to recognize the city as a medium is so provocative and interesting; in combining these approaches we arrive at unexpected results, moving from details of quarrying and brickmaking in the nineteenth century, with the literal input/out of, say, the railway, to the transmission of exploitative real estate potential through dilapidated historic architecture in the twenty-first century. What we find is that the materials, with their unique histories, of coming into being as what and where they are, as the technologies of transmission, connect the two. I try to account for some of that history in between, the communicative potentials, enhancements, reversals, and retrievals.

While this is a study of one city on a local scale, the issues and challenges faced by Hamilton have much broader implications. Hamilton is tied to larger narratives. It is in dialogue (through materials, formats and hardware) with other places struggling with similar issues around deindustrialization, failed transitions to the postindustrial, and on-going attempts to forge new identities and economies, negotiating things like real estate speculation, affordable housing, downtown redevelopment, lack of waterfront access, brownfields and environmental rehabilitation, aging infrastructure, and civic identity. This is an analysis of a particular place, but the story of a lot of places at the same time, places struggling with changes in global economic conditions and corresponding shifts in urban identity and civic pride. In many ways, such places are affectively, if at times ineffectively, networked, sharing a sense of being down

[2] Friedrich Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," *New Literary History* 27, no. 4 (Autumn 1996): 721.

and out at during bad times or being on the brink of something new and better at other times. There are other cities like this all over the map, but none quite like it.

Hamilton was once called "perhaps the most intensively researched city in Canada" and "one of the most intensely studied communities in North America," a notable feat for a city its size.[3] Hamilton has a way of capturing people's minds and imaginations, and I situate myself in a long line of researchers interested in this place. The volume of historical scholarship on Hamilton has facilitated my work, making possible a breadth and depth that could not be achieved with less thoroughly studied places. These works on Hamilton have provided an invaluable set of resources including empirical data, social conditions, cultural context, details on industrial expansion, and information on building patterns, materials, and housing, to name but a few.[4] Furthermore, they situate Hamilton amidst wider trends like early industrialization,

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[3] Robert B. Kristofferson, "The Past Is at Our Feet: The Workers' City Project in Hamilton, Ontario," *Labour / Le Travail* 41 (Spring 1998): 184, and Bryan D. Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914,* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1979), xii.

[4] Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975); Bryan D. Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914,* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1979); Robert B. Kristofferson, *Craft Capitalism: Craftworkers and Early Industrialization in Hamilton, Ontario, 1840-1872,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); M.J Dear, J.J. Drake, and L.G. Reeds, eds. *Steel City: Hamilton and Region,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Michael Doucet and John. C. Weaver, *Housing the North American City,* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991); Tracy Neumann, *Remaking the Rust Belt: The Postindustrial Transformation of North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Nancy B. Bouchier and Ken Cruikshank, *The People and the Bay: A Social and Environmental History of Hamilton Harbour,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015). More general histories: John C. Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History (The History of Canadian Cities),* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1982); Mabel Burkholder, *The Story of Hamilton,* (Hamilton: Davis-Lisson Limited, 1938); C.M. Johnston, *The Head of the Lake: A History of Wentworth County,* (Hamilton: Robert Duncan & Company Limited, 1958); Marjorie Freeman Campbell, *A Mountain and a City: The Story of Hamilton*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1966); Brian Henley, *1846 Hamilton: From a frontier town to the Ambitious City,* (Burlington: North Shore, 1995). Subfields: Adrienne Shadd,

urbanization, deindustrialization and the postindustrial. Finally, these texts show us that Hamilton has always been a site of tension, a place where different identities and national narratives are sorted and filtered.[5] Just as labour historians have drawn conflicting conclusions about Hamilton's experience as an industrial city, in the present moment, tensions mount as the city struggles to position itself as a postindustrial site.

The study is divided into three broad phases in the city's history: Hamilton's prehistory, foundation, and early growth (Chapter 2), the urban renewal and decline years (Chapter 3) and the current renaissance (Chapter 4 and 5). Chapter 1 consists of a detailed literature review and methodology section. It explores different forms of the city to better situate the Kittlerian framework of the-city-as-medium, while also developing the historically shifting and complicated term postindustrial on order to better contextualize Hamilton's experiences with urban renewal and the current renaissance. Furthermore, this chapter offers a review of scholarly

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The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway: African Canadians in Hamilton, (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2010); D.W. Livingstone and J. Marshall Mangan, eds. *Recast Dreams: Gender and Class-Consciousness in Steeltown* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). Recent Theses and Dissertations: Jean Rosenfeld, "A noble house in the city": Domestic architecture as elite signification in late 19th century Hamilton," (PhD diss., University of Guelph, 2000); Margaret T. Rockwell, "Modernist Destruction for the Ambitious City: Hamilton, Ontario's Experience with Urban Renewal," (Master of Arts Thesis, McMaster University, 2003); Margaret T. Rockwell, "Modernism and the Functional City: Urban Renewal in Hamilton, Ontario and Buffalo, New York. (PhD. Thesis, McMaster University, 2013); Brian David Robick, "Blight: The development of a contested concept, (PhD Thesis, Carnegie Mellon University, 2011); Rory Sommers, "Governing Incivility: An Ethnographic Account of Municipal Law Enforcement, Urban Renewal and Neighbourhood Conflict in the City of Hamilton," (PhD Thesis, University of Guelph, 2016).

[5] For instance, Palmer (1979) found a culture of conflict between skilled workers and the automated and rationalizing forces organizing early industrial capitalism while Kristofferson (2007) found that skilled workers more smoothly transitioned into early industrial capitalism, identifying a culture of gradual negotiation rather than one of conflict.

literature on the media city and positions the Hamilton project within the subfield of media archaeology.

Chapter 2 begins the actual media analysis of Hamilton, starting with the prehistory of the site of the city as landscape, then briefly, its history as indigenous territory, and finally as a European settlement. It is here that I will establish the city's infrastructural base, building off Peters' concept of infrastructuralism by addressing the city's early logic through older technical media and practices, like the survey, urban grid, origins in real estate speculation, and the early role of canals, and the railway.[6] Next, the city's basic building materials—sandstone, dolomite, clay and shale—are analyzed as a way to excavate the original hardware of the city, from its formative years to its industrial apex, exploring different types of storage, transmission, and processing, and including, along the way, natural phenomena like climate and weather. By the end of this section, we will see how Hamilton's built environment took on an out of date, delayed quality that became an important feature of its variously unfolding futures explored in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3 develops an account of different formatting elements in the city-as-medium, beginning with the contrast between horizontal and vertical development, in terms of the landscape—as it literally expands through the landfilling of shoreline wetlands and the bay itself—and building practices, as low-rise construction proliferated in the era of the early skyscrapers. This horizontal rather than vertical expansion is related to both the notion of delay in building materials developed in the previous chapter and an emerging white collar urban fantasy that began to take hold in the 1930s. This postindustrial fantasy led a drive towards

[6] John Durham Peters, *The Marvelous Clouds: Toward a Philosophy of Elemental Media* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 77.

reformatting the city that accelerated into the urban renewal years of the 1960s and 1970s and triggered a shift in scale, from the destruction and reconstruction of an individual building to the demolition of multiple blocks and reconstruction of a superblock (a large block the size of many older street blocks). A theory of rising into ruin, based on the work of artist Robert Smithson, frames the corresponding shift that saw the physical city itself become a medium for wider social and economic failures.

Chapter 4 covers a period beginning in the twenty-first century, as the city transitioned from failure to renaissance by mobilizing its delayed material character within a Creative City approach to urban regeneration. This was partially achieved through a retrieval of materials from the past, particularly via real estate and renovation. An attempt to reverse the city's failures reached back to the city's older, more original hardware, while the changes to the built environment ushered in during the urban renewal years lingered on and continued to process an ongoing failure. Here, I develop the Bakhtinian notion of the chronotope to expand the city-as-medium framework into a discussion of operating systems, as models that could read and interpret elements of the built environment so as to enable retrieval and reversal. Also, by adapting the Bakhtinian concept of dialogism to the built environment, we can trace fundamental changes to the reception of the built environment's communications, revealing the essential difference between the technologies of transmission and the contents of messages in this unique communicative context.

Chapter 5 further develops the practice of renovation as a type of processing and offers two case studies that build off the themes and tensions around the city's renaissance established in the previous chapter. The cases are bridged by subtler forms of interrelated social and material renovation taking place in downtown residential real estate. These examples all uncover

strong emotional or affective communication practices rippling through materials and the built environment. Just as in the past, decisions made regarding the built environment will have lasting impacts on the city's future, as so much of the city's identity has been, and continues to be, encased in its materiality.

CHAPTER 1: Theory and Methodology

What is the city? This simple question invites different answers across a range of disciplines. For economists, the city is a marketplace, for geographers it could be a set of urban processes or the built environment itself, for archaeologists it is a physical site, for anthropologists, largely a social world. For media theorist Friedrich Kittler, the city is a medium.[7] When Kittler presented the city as a medium, it was against any and all other interpretations of the form of the city. We might begin to explore this idea by first narrowing the treatment of cities down to the different physical forms they take in order to outline exactly what Kittler was arguing against. Most crucially, Kittler was opposed to the reading of the city in Lewis Mumford's *The City in History* (1961)—which presented a critical view of technology, particularly its urban manifestations and its connections to war, tyranny and death—and Mumford's longing for a more organic and humane urban future. Mumford's ideas about the city, history, and its relationship with technology were not unique, but rather shared by many writers, theorists, and everyday people alike and represent a long tradition in humanities and social scientific thought. So, Kittler was not only positing himself directly against Mumford, but also against the general, though varied, humanities and social sciences approaches to the city.

A straightforward but insightful introduction to the different historical forms of the city is outlined in urban planner and theorist Kevin Lynch's *Good City Form* (1981). Lynch presented the three major forms of the city as: the cosmic/supernatural, the city as organism, and the city as practical machine. The cosmic city is an ancient form based on particular understandings of the universe and the human place within it. In such models, which were often ceremonial centres or

[7] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 717.

sites of holy ritual, the selection of location and orientation were based on interpretations of topographic features, cardinal directions, and forces such as "hidden veins in the earth."[8] Therefore, boundaries, divisions, layouts, colour schemes, and building materials were chosen with specific spiritual and/or cosmic factors in mind. This form served to provide humans a legible place in the universe, stabilize order, and uphold the power of the ruling classes. Lynch noted that ancient Chinese and Indian texts provide many early examples of such sites, and that their influence survives in cities like Peking, China and other ancient cities in Asia. Traces of this practice also survive in the Western tradition of reinforcing power through site and form, such as the ideal mathematical form of the Renaissance city.[9] All building and organizing practices that affirm power have roots in this world-ordering form of the city, from monumentality to panopticism.

Alternatively, the notion of the city as organism has a much shorter history, appearing with the rise of the biological sciences in the nineteenth century as a reaction to the rapid changes in cities during industrialization. Like an organism, the city is a self-regulating, self-organizing entity with a definite external boundary and internal boundaries, that though less clearly demarcated, work together and influence one another in dynamic ways. Under this model, cities are anthropomorphized as having a birth and biological notion of growth. The model even deploys biological metaphors like urban lungs, hearts, and brains as ways to explain various functions and divisions. The organic framework for understanding the city supports, "a set of concepts, whose primary rules are community, continuity, health, well-functioning, security, "warmth," and "balance," the interaction of diverse parts, ordering cycling and recurrent

[8] Kevin Lynch, *Good City Form* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981), 74.
[9] Lynch, *Good City Form,* 75-77.

development, intimate scale, and a closeness to the "natural" (that is, the nonhuman) universe."[10] When these elements are not in balance or harmony, the city is deemed ill and various measures taken to try to remedy the problem. From an urban planning perspective, prescriptions to such ills included things like curvilinear streets and urban parks that were often associated with the Garden City or City Beautiful movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Urban parks, for instance, were thought to act as the city's lungs, breathing clean air into the dirty industrial metropolis. This model then, provided a way to diagnose problems faced by the city during a particular time in history when industrialization brought major changes to urban centres.

The organic form of the city also underpinned the Chicago School of Sociology's urban ecology model (1920-1970) as a means for explaining the growth, function, and failures of cities as they responded to the rapid growth and expansion, particularly of North American cities, amidst industrialization in the nineteenth century. The city was both a complex organism itself as well as the environment in which to study human organization. Much of the Chicago School's work was based in analogies between the city and biological processes, borrowing from ecological sciences to explain urban phenomenon. One example was Burgess' concentric ring zone theory that adapted a concept from plant ecology to explain the recurring patterns in urban development. At the centre was the historic central business district, surrounded by a factory zone, a transition zone, a working class residential ring, a more affluent residential zone, and finally the commuter zone.[11] The characteristics of different social groups and corresponding

[10] Lynch, *Good City Form,* 94.

[11] Ernest W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project" in Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967): 47-62.

maladies were thought to be a result of the physical/environmental settings of the inhabitants. The Chicago School described certain types of cities at a particular moment in history and tried to establish some order out of the increasingly disordered metropolis of the industrial era. For instance, Louis Wirth's 1938 essay, "Urbanism as a Way of Life" argued large, densely populated and heterogeneous cities encouraged both disorganization and social pathology.[12] Again, it was the environment of the city that resulted in the breakdown of traditional values and social bonds. Over time, however the Chicago School's ecological model lost favour, unable to account for the evolving physical landscape of cities, more complex economic processes, and increasing social tensions. Most problematically, Chicago School sociology tended to accept and justify great social inequalities as the outcomes of natural process rather than question the underlying power structures and biases contributing to the creation of such conditions.[13]

Even after the ecological model was largely replaced as a way to diagnose the problems faced by cities—in particular, by the political economy approach of the 1970s and 1980s—it held on in prescriptive models like Jane Jacobs's brand of urbanism and New Urbanism.[14] One notable legacy of the city-as-organism and Chicago School sociology taken up by Jacobs was the practice of seeing the city itself as a single unit worthy of individual analysis. Jacobs, however, celebrated the positive elements of heterogeneity and social mixing, rather than the disorder noted by Wirth and her contemporaneous urban planners, like Robert Moses. Jacobs saw the city

[12] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 1 (1938): 1-24.

[13] David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973) and Manuel Castells, *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach,* trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Edward Arnold, 1977) and Harvey "On Countering the Marxian Myth—Chicago Style," *Comparative Urban Research* 6, no 2, (1978): 28-45.

[14] Jane Jacobs, *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, (New York: Random House, 1961).

as a largely self-organizing entity, but one that required attention, care, and healing, rather than the purely rational solutions put forward by urban planners at the time. Additionally, Jacobs's descriptions of urban life, like the "sidewalk ballet," as the daily movement, flow, and rhythms of street life in her New York City neighbourhood, mimicked the security, balance, harmony, and diverse parts working as a coherent whole noted by Lynch as key features of the organic model.[15] Similarly, New Urbanism, shares the notion of a well-functioning city as a self-contained harmonious entity. The movement was influenced by Jacobs, but differed in being geared towards more core planning principles and building practices. While Jacobs most often described cities and took up an activist role, New Urbanists were more likely to actually plan, develop, and build communities. Beginning in the 1980s and 1990s, New Urbanists worked to create developments with walkable neighbourhoods, mixed uses, and a sense of community as explicitly fostered and nurtured by the built environment, whether through front porches and narrow gaps between sidewalks and houses to bring people closer together, or a variety of other building and design factors.[16]

Returning to the 1960s and 1970s, as social tensions arose within cities, alternative paradigms for describing and critiquing urban development and social life emerged. Urban political economy, with its focus on capital, politics and policy, gained prominence in the 1970s as a counter to The Chicago School's assumptions of natural processes and theories based in the ecological / organic form of the city. Instead, it focused on the political and economic consequences of urban land as a market commodity. In urban political economy, the interrelationships of various individuals and groups, with competing or common interest in

[15] Jacobs, *Death and Life of Great American Cities,* 50-54.

[16] Emily Talen ed., *Charter of the New Urbanism: Congress for the New Urbanism*. Second ed. (New York: McGraw Hill Education, 2013).

profitability, determined the patterns of urban growth. Harvey Molotch's "City as a Growth Machine" was one early and influential example of such an approach. In his model explaining patterns of urban growth and development, land-owning urban elite and entrepreneurs work to create and promote an ever-expanding urban land market and lobby politicians to create conditions favourable to the continued expansion through building and development.[17] These practices had a major effect on both urban politics and the physical environments of cities due to the singular focus on economic gains rather than individual users of the city or community.

Much of David Harvey's urban political economy work has addressed urban growth and contraction patterns during and after the decline of the industrial system in North American and northwestern Europe.[18] Harvey demonstrated how space is produced in the interests of capitalism; the physical and social landscape of the city is determined by cyclical processes of capital accumulation, over-accumulation, and crisis. Capitalism is a process bound towards cycles of over-accumulation, repeatedly employing a spatio-temporal fix as a way to absorb surplus capital and labour. It is spatial in terms of geographic expansion, but also temporal in the sense of a term of usefulness and value before a new fix is needed.[19] The spatio-temporal fix then, is a type of creative destruction to remedy (only temporarily) the crisis. Space itself is a commodity that is subject to the business cycle and ups and downs in global capital. One major example Harvey offers is the changing urban landscapes during deindustrialization around the

[17] Harvey Molotch, "The City as a Growth Machine: Toward a Political Economy of Place," *American Journal of Sociology* 82 no. 2 (1976): 309-332.

[18] Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*; Harvey, *Limits to Capital*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change,* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), Harvey, *Spaces of Global Capitalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

[19] Harvey, "The 'New' Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession," *Social Register,* (2004): 66.

1970s, finding that "the drive to relocate to more advantageous places (the geographical movement of both capital and labour) periodically revolutionizes the international and territorial division of labour."[20] During slump times, over-accumulated capital is rechanneled into a secondary circuit, urban space, where its value cannot be moved without being destroyed.[21] Capital "necessarily creates a physical landscape in its own image at one point in time only to have to destroy it at some later point in time as it pursues geographical expansions and temporal displacements as solutions to the crises of overaccumulation to which it is regularly prone."[22]

Political economy approaches to the urban have often dealt with the murky concept of the postindustrial. Here, I would like to develop the postindustrial as a way to bridge the transition from the Chicago School to political economy. Despite widespread popular usage, the postindustrial is a slippery concept with a complicated history. When someone talks about the postindustrial they could curiously be referring to either an economic reality—usually one dominated by high tech industries, or at the very least, white collar labour—or an urban landscape marred by the decaying infrastructure of an outmoded industrial economy, along the lines of the Rust Belt. The history of the term itself reveals a malleable concept with varied meanings that have changed numerous times over the decades. For cities, there are both positive and negative states of being postindustrial that are tied to the oscillation between the optimistic/utopian and pessimistic/dystopian histories of the term's usage. For instance, the positive element is alive in the legacy of the postindustrial as a societal model that has transitioned into the more contemporary concepts of the information or network society.

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[20] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity,* 105–06.

[21] Andy Merrifield, *Metromarxism: A Marxist Tale of the City,* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 142-3.

[22] Harvey, "The 'New' Imperialism," 66.

The term 'postindustrial' is most closely associated with the work of Harvard sociologist Daniel Bell's 1973, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society.* The fundamental changes characteristic of the postindustrial society according to Bell were:

1. Economic sector: the change from a goods-producing to a service economy;
2. Occupational distribution: the pre-eminence of the professional and technical class;
3. Axial principle: the centrality of theoretical knowledge as the source of innovation and of policy formulation for the society;
4. Future orientation: the control of technology and technological assessment;
5. Decision-making: the creation of new 'intellectual technology'[23]

A closer reading of Bell's work reveals a number of descriptions and predictions for a postindustrial society, but these basic criteria have proven to be fairly accurate and are still evident and relevant some forty years later. The term postindustrial, however, had various meanings and affiliations before becoming somewhat stabilized by the popularity and longevity of Bell's writing and this history helps explain the conflicting uses and legacies of the term. The word postindustrial gained traction in the 1970s amidst deindustrialization, but had earlier roots in the United States after the Second World War, where it was tied to optimistic hopes for a new and more equal society. Despite being used by liberals in the 1950s and the New Left and radicals in the 1960s, the term settled with conservatives in the 1970s.[24] The postindustrial concept became wrapped up in even more intellectual and popular trends over the coming decades, continuing to lend truth to Veysey's observation that the term "seems to gain vitality in seasons of prosperity."[25] So while Bell's descriptions of and predictions for postindustrial

[23] Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Postindustrial Society: A Venture is Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), 14.

[24] Howard Brick, "Optimism of the Mind: Imagining Postindustrial Society in the 1960s and 1970s, *American Quarterly* 44 no 3, (1992): 349.

[25] Laurence Veysey, "A Postmortem on Daniel Bell's Postindustrialism," *American Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1982), 50 and 49.

society were described as "curiously archaic" at one moment, the term again showed its resilience and appeal being refueled by "technological euphoria" of electronic consumer culture in another moment.[26]

More recently, postindustrial society has become almost synonymous with the notion of information society. Bell himself transitioned to using the term information society, though only sparingly, as early as 1979 and defined information as "data processing in the broadest sense; the storage, retrieval, and processing of data becomes the essential resource for all economic and social exchanges."[27] Some roots of the relationship between the postindustrial society and information society can be found in Alain Touraine's 1971, *The Post-Industrial Society. Tomorrow's Social History: Classes, Conflicts and Culture in the Programmed Society*. Much like Bell, Touraine's postindustrial, programmed society was one based on the increasing power of educated technocratic elites. He used the term 'programmed societies' "to define them according to the nature of their production methods and economic organization."[28] While Touraine's work on postindustrial society actually preceded Bell's, it has never achieved the same level of attention in Anglo social sciences or humanities. A student of Touraine's, however, brought the information society to the mainstream. Manuel Castells did his dissertation in Nanterre under Touraine (with Lefebvre advising) and went on to write the *Information Age* trilogy.[29] While his early work still had some of the Marxist underpinnings of his advisors, by

[26] Veysey, "A Postmortem," 50, and Brick, "Optimism of the Mind," 373.

[27] Daniel Bell, "The Social Framework of the Information Society" in *The Computer Age: A Twenty Year View,* ed. Michael L. Dertouzos and Joel Moses. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980), 168.

[28] Alain Touraine, *The Post-Industrial Society: Tomorrow's Social History: Classes, Conflicts and Culture in the Programmed Society*, trans. Leonard F. X. Mayhew (New York: Random House, 1971), 3.

[29] Merrifield, *Metromarxism*, 113.

the time of writing the *Information Age* in the 1990s, Castells had abandoned Marxism in favour of neopositivist technocentrism. Following Touraine and Bell, Castells presented a new society, centered on networks and flows, that emerged from technological and organizational change. Castells's work provided an update of Bell for the digital era with a more thorough understanding of computers and the changes ushered in by increasingly widespread use of the internet. There was, however, a distinguishing difference between Bell and Castells with regard to the basis of power in the new society. While Bell saw power centered on increasingly educated elites, especially government elites, Castells saw power dispersed throughout networks themselves. For Castells, "the power of flows takes precedence over the flows of power."[30] The network surpassed the individual; everything followed from technologies, including identities. In Castells, "the gospel according to Silicon Valley has found its ablest and most eloquent commissar."[31] Here we see a reinvigoration of the optimistic vision of the earlier postindustrial society, rewritten onto the network society with which it shared many similarities. The term information society has become largely interchangeable with postindustrial society in Bell's sense, as they largely denote the same phenomena, albeit with slightly differing points of emphasis. Postindustrial was the more common terminology during the early stages of deindustrialization, whereas information society gained greater prominence after the widespread adoption of computers and the internet. More specifically, information society took on the positive aspects of Bell's postindustrial society, while the term postindustrial itself shifted towards more negative associations with the aesthetics of struggling industrial cities amidst the fallout of deindustrialization.

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[30] Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, Vol. I*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 469.

[31] Merrifield, *Metromarxism*, 131-132.

What is the effect of these changes on the form of the city? The urban form of the postindustrial network society seemingly fits under the umbrella of the final category that Lynch offers in *Good City Form*, the city as practical machine. Like the cosmic model, the city as machine has its roots in the ancient world. It was utilized where and when cities needed to be built quickly and for specific purposes. In the machine model, various boundaries could be expanded or contracted and parts added, removed, or swapped out for others without significant disruption to the entire system. Examples include the Greek trading post or Roman military camp—with the *cardo* (north/south) and *decumanus* (east/west) axes between four gates—which could be set up for as little as one night or linger and grow into a permanent settlement. Lasting traces of such settlements are evident in the central areas of many European cities. Most New World colonial cities have this same machinelike origin, for example the specifications for city building by the Spanish in the Laws of the Indies 1573, or the grid layout of most North American speculative towns. In fact, the city as machine is at the root of most of our techniques of organizing space in our cities even today, like the practices of land subdivision, traffic engineering, utilities infrastructure, health and building codes, and zoning.[32]

What we now call the smart city is a sub-type of urban machine ushered in by postindustrial/information/ network society. Rather than a metaphoric or representative sense, the city becomes a more literal machine, packed with, and increasingly run by various electronic or digital technologies, from street lights to CCTVs, to smart censors that track masses of data and run entire systems. In his work on planetary scale computation, *The Stack*, Benjamin Bratton explores contemporary smart cities as well as service centers dominated by mega-structures that support the network of megacities. Bratton describes his work as "theoretical

[32] Lynch, *Good City Form*, 82-83 and 86.

design research" that seeks to map a global political geography while at the same time understanding the various technologies that create and sustain such a geography. It also offers a comprehensive account of the current relationships between the computer and wider infrastructures, information technology, data-driven society, and the urban, bringing a material specificity to contemporary media and their explicit relationship with the city. The complicated and mutually reinforcing connections between the city and other layers of what Bratton calls "The Stack" are particularly insightful. The Stack consists of: User, Interface, Address, Network, City, Earth, Cloud layers and, importantly, all layers feed off of each other and back into each other. Within this model, the city is designed and controlled by algorithms, monitored by sensors and other smart technologies, and acts as "an imprint of the layers above and below" using up the Earth layer and feeding into the Cloud layer.[33] Much of the City layer chapter addresses global design by management consultants or huge corporations working with well-known architecture firms, themselves using design algorithms, to create megacities, and mega infrastructural projects—like data and warehousing centres so big "their floors have been laser-level against the curvature of the earth"—and the headquarters for the companies themselves. Bratton demonstrates "how global Cloud platforms choose to express their terrestrial presence through the medium of architecture on the City layer."[34] In this sense, it is reminiscent of the cosmic form of the city where power is exercised through space, as the companies (rather than kings or emperors) build headquarters and office complexes reflecting and reinforcing their own products, services, and ideologies. Bratton's work highlights both positive and negative outcomes and implications of the Stack. It is yet another manifestation of the constant play

[33] Benjamin H. Bratton, *The Stack: On Software and Sovereignty* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015), 162.

[34] Bratton, *The Stack*, 183.

between utopia and dystopia, where the freedom and energy of the internet, digital revolutions, and euphoria over connectedness and social media give way to concerns over privacy, data, surveillance, freedom of movement, and the environment. At times, Bratton is concerned with Harvey's notion of a "right to the city" in terms of both the "right to general passage through urban interfaces" and also "some right to use these for one's open-ended creative purposes, not only for closed-loop consumption."[35]

Addressing the interrelations of media on the planetary level also draws us towards the discussions surrounding the Anthropocene. Jussi Parikka's *Geology of Media* demonstrates that the legacy of the industrial world is still playing out in the globalized postindustrial world, particularly as it relates to the earth and environment. Parikka finds that industry has simply been relocated and concealed as a necessary component of all the computational devices that drive the so-called postindustrial parts of the world:

> The relations to the earth are also part of the social relations of labor and exploitation that characterized emerging industrial capitalism of the nineteenth century as much as they characterize contemporary digital capitalism of the twenty-first century from mining minerals, geo- politics of the hunt for energy, and material resources to the factories of production of computational equipment.[36]

At the planetary level, there is no hiding the extraction of resources, burning of fossil fuels, and toxin-leeching discarded components that are hidden behind the sleek hardware of contemporary media devices. At the planetary level there is certainly no such thing as postindustrial, as the servers and cloud infrastructure rely on enormous volumes of resources and energies, often old dirty resources like coal, that the postindustrial suggests are behind us.[37]

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[35] Bratton, *The Stack*, 174.

[36] Jussi Parikka, *Geology of Media* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), viii.

[37] Parikka, *Geology of Media*, 122-123.

Focusing on the biggest and most sensational examples of interrelations between the urban and media misses the majority of places that, though connected to this larger system, are not its highlights. The global smart cities or Silicon Valley, the innovative university and medical city, the artsy design city and the super centers of Asia are all interesting cases, but do not represent the majority of places. There have been very limited urban media analyses of smaller, older and unevenly developed North American cities. Edward Soja's work on uneven development has demonstrated the global shift of production from old industrial centers in North America and Europe to new centers in the East and South as well as the changing patterns in North America's urban "postindustrial geographies."[38] I, however, am more interested in the uneven development within some of these North American cities themselves. In many cities, the process of deindustrialization was (and still is) drawn out over decades, slowly shutting down long after other cities have ceased relying on a manufacturing base, while in other cases, manufacturing never went away, though it may have shed a considerable number of jobs in a transition to advanced manufacturing, a kind of hybrid of these systems.[39] These cities may have large factories and complexes still producing physical goods but with greater reliance on technical knowledge, automation (opposed to physical labour), and an increased focus on research and development. Or, they may have older industrial operations still limping along on outdated equipment and technologies. Some areas experience industrial decline while others see industrial expansion, producing a markedly different industrial geography.

[38] Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989), 200-201.

[39] Steven High, *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America's Rust Belt, 1969-1984* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

There exists an interesting slippage, where the most industrial cities end up with the postindustrial moniker, while the cities with the most postindustrial qualities get attached to new buzzwords like smart city and Creative City. As a category in the differentiation of cities, postindustrial can name either a negative or positive state. The negative state of being postindustrial describes places with the most explicit broken links to the prosperity of the industrial system. The postindustrial city then, as it is commonly understood, is an industrial, or formerly industrial city—with much extant architecture and infrastructure—existing in the era of the postindustrial (post 1970s). In North America at least, the postindustrial city is most closely associated with the idea of the Rust Belt, a swath around the Great Lakes and into the Midwest where older industrial cities and regions have lost their manufacturing bases. Beyond actual structures that house or housed industry, postindustrial is also a wider urban aesthetics. Stagnation in infrastructure spending and failure to keep up with housing trends gives postindustrial cities a particularly dated look, where even the arrangements of the built environment, such as block sizes, and street widths, emit an outmoded industrial vibe. These types of postindustrial cities exist in semi-stasis, appearing to change little due to lack of major capital investment and new building projects; they are often described as time warps or haunting reminders of a different era.[40] On the other hand, cities that roughly correspond to the characteristics of postindustrial society according to Bell and others in the same vein, are considered to exemplify the positive state of being postindustrial. These are places that have transformed economically and physically. They include cities like Pittsburgh, Chicago, Boston,

[40] Tim Edensor, "The Ghosts of Industrial Ruins: Ordering and Disordering Memory in Excessive Space," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23, no. 6, (2005): 829-849 and Edensor, "Mundane hauntings: commuting through the phantasmagoric working-class spaces of Manchester, England," *Cultural Geographies* 15, no. 3 (2008): 313-333.

New York, San Francisco, and Seattle that have all shifted away from their industrial pasts. White collar industries like health care, finance, corporate headquarters, technology companies, and/or culture industries and tourism provide a new economic base in many of these cases and despite unique local circumstances, they all share the common element of reinvestment in the inner city built environment.

But how do smaller, less regionally significant cities transition from the negative to positive state of being postindustrial? An arts and culture based reinvestment model is one that has been particularly influential in smaller cities like Hamilton. The foundational art-based reinvestment model was analyzed by Sharon Zukin's *Loft Living* (1982), which focused on the transformation of Lower Manhattan (during deindustrialization) through an arts infrastructure that was then capitalized on by real estate investors. The area went from shabby small-scale manufacturing and artist lofts to chic residences for the urban elite. *Loft Living* outlined the celebration of the material and aesthetic qualities of Lower Manhattan's layout and architecture; artists took up residence and studios in old industrial buildings, setting up arts and culture industries that eventually attracted wealthy patrons who came to appreciate and then buy into the aesthetic qualities of the environment.[41] Zukin highlighted a new model for reinvestment in the built environment and the trendsetting process in New York City has enabled future shorthand revaluations. In the decades since *Loft Living,* it has become possible and profitable to sometimes skip the artists and cheap rent altogether, building off a now-established cultural association between old industrial infrastructure and desirable/profitable real estate investment, by selling vacant buildings with the appropriate aesthetic to property developers. Similarly,

[41] Sharon Zukin, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*, (Rutgers University Press, 1987).

Richard Lloyd's *Neo-Bohemia* (2006) explored the relationship between post-industrial economy and art/aesthetics in the Wicker Park neighbourhood of Chicago, where, during the 1980s and 1990s "a landscape of postindustrial decay was increasingly interpreted as edgy and glamorous laying the groundwork for new styles of economic development."[42] In the culture industry, entertainment and tourism based model, trendy bars and cafes, nightclubs, hotels, and restaurants attract a younger, hipper population with a fresh interpretation of the built environment. This group finds a certain glamour and appeal in the postindustrial landscape that leads to reinvestment. This model is now often associated with the Creative Class and is yet another example of postindustrialism being reinvigorated with optimism.

Richard Florida's notion of the Creative Class and the associated Creative City combines technological and arts-and-culture based models for economic development in the twenty-first century. Under the creative model, new economic life can be attracted to old industrial centers where that particular aesthetic is appreciated, recuperated, and monetized. The Creative City thesis has some links to the older ecological model of the Chicago School, notably a focus on the ways the urban environment determines social and cultural environment. Much like Chicago School, Florida also demonstrates a penchant for empirical data, but is unable to effectively deal with social and economic inequality (though his 2017, *The New Urban Crisis* acknowledged the inequality that grew out of the creative city movement).[43] Florida's central thesis was that "by organizing people as well as firms, place itself was supplanting firms as the primary social and

[42] Richard Lloyd, *Neo-Bohemia: Art and Commerce in the Postindustrial City,* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 16-17.

[43] Richard Florida, *The New Urban Crisis: How our cities are increasing inequality, deepening segregation, and failing the middle class—and what we can do about it* (New York: Basic Books, 2017).

economic organizing unit of the postindustrial."[44] For Florida, cities needed to be attractive to the Creative Class and other "symbolic analysts," whose "activities are embedded in a global economic system; they bring a cosmopolitan sensibility and new demands on the "quality of life" of the cities in which they live and work."[45] Quality of life is much about the practical and aesthetic properties of the environment and includes things such as walkable neighbourhoods and historical architecture as well as economic opportunities and local goods and services. Metrics for the most liveable cities, the most creative cities, the happiest cities, etc. have become ubiquitous. As cities now compete for economic opportunities and to attract the best of the specialized skilled mobile workforce, these metrics take on increasing importance. Florida's CityLab research charts things like America's "most post-industrial metros" as "the cities that lead America's transition from a goods-producing to service economy."[46] These are cities that have transitioned into the positive state of being postindustrial through developing new avenues for economic prosperity. Prevailing discourse suggests that if shabby postindustrial cities (as cities existing in this negative state of being) take various trends into account to refashion themselves, prosperity will return. Such transformations are heavily dependent on data, requiring myriad consulting, reports, experts, branding, GIS mapping, cultural mapping, and other services, much of which is completed by members of the creative class themselves.

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[44] Florida "The creative class and Economic Development," *Economic Development Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (2014): 197.

[45] Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And how it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2002); Robert Reich, *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism* (New York: Knopf, 1991); Richard Lloyd and Terry Nichols Clark, "The City as Entertainment Machine," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, 2000.

[46] Florida, "America's Most Post-Industrial Metros," *CityLab (blog)* April 8, 2013. https://www.citylab.com/life/2013/04/americas-most-post-industrial-metros/2815/

I would like now to take leave of the postindustrial information society and models of urban transformation to examine more closely the relationship between the city and media, working towards Kittler's assertion that the city is a medium, as introduced at the beginning of the chapter. One approach to studying the city and media is to examine their co-development. Scott McQuire's, *The Media City: Media, Architecture and Urban Space* (2008) lays out a theory of media and the city whereby the modern city (beginning in the nineteenth century) and media recording technologies (mainly photography, film, and computers) develop in tandem. As a result of their parallel development, media recording technologies are never purely representative, but rather, actively shape and are shaped by urban life and its social, economic, and cultural conditions, from the emergence of the mass commodity to Fordist-Taylorist industrial production and the postindustrial globalized information society.[47] From serial photography to the birth of cinema and modern glass skyscrapers as proto-screens, McQuire demonstrates how new technologies' co-constitution with the urban environment and experience actually create the necessary perceptual preconditions for experience in the postindustrial information society.[48] McQuire examples are both modern and technological, highlighting the continuity between the industrial and postindustrial worlds. Shannon Mattern, on the other hand, takes a *longue durée* approach to the relationship between media and the city in *Code and Clay, Data and Dirt*, by looking at various modes of urban intelligence and more basic technologies of inscription since ancient times. She undertakes an urban media analysis that does not focus on the hyper-connected global cities or the mega centers, but rather, on older histories of the city as

[47] Scott McQuire, *The Media City: Media, Architecture, and Urban Space* (London: Sage, 2008).

[48] McQuire, *The Media City,* vii.

mediating between "various materialities of intelligence."[49] What she finds are deep similarities between ether and iron ore, code and clay, data and dirt, demonstrating how cities were always-already mediated, thousands of years before what is commonly conceived as media. Materials like mud, clay, stone, and brick act as both the physical foundations of the earliest built environments and the earliest forms of writing as mediated communication. Through mud, we come to see how how "calculation, coding, and "embedded" technologies have long been integral to urban infrastructures."[50] Seeing construction materials like bricks as media, inscribed with particular information in their material construction, their geologic composition, and architectural placement draws us closer to both Kittler's notion of media and its relationship with the city, and the particular media analysis I will utilize to study Hamilton.

The city is a medium, according to Kittler, as "media record, transmit, and process information…media can include old-fashioned things like books, familiar things like the city and newer inventions like the computer."[51] Yet, how exactly the city is a medium requires greater explanation of its storage, transmission and processes functions. Despite the considerable influence Kittler's media theory has had on disciplines across the Anglophone humanities, it remains relatively undeveloped in urban cultural studies. Urban cultural analyses have engaged with media in the city, in particular with various media technologies themselves (such as photography, film, and digital devices), but have been much less willing to take this radical step back and challenge the underlying notion of the city itself. One reason for this, as Kittler notes in regards to Mumford, is the deep humanism of many urban scholars and the lack of dialogue

[49] Shannon Mattern, *Code and Clay, Dirt and Data: Five Thousand Years of Urban Media* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), xii.

[50] Mattern, *Code and Clay,* 89.

[51] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 722.

between the humanities and sciences. For humanists, the city is the social laboratory, the environment of complex human entanglements, the material records of our social, economic, cultural, technological achievements. What Kittler offers is a critique of the humanities tradition of seeing the city through the lens of civilization, human culture, aesthetics, architecture, or political economy as consisting of sites of production, consumption, exploitation, alienation. Breaking with the humanities tradition, Kittler opens the city up to technical systems and reminds us that cities are feats of engineering, network organization, and systems theory. He wants to "bring together the workings of the city with concepts from general information science."[52] In recounting the problem of Euler's Seven Bridges of Konigsberg as both the basis of graph theory and an example of the real-world urban proof of mathematics as more than just theory, he contends that, hidden in the city all along have been what was later discovered as mathematics and computation, a classic example of his non-linear approach. When Kittler calls for us to "decipher head and capital from technology rather than vice versa" he reveals his primary thesis as applied to the city, that media and technology come first, they determine the city.[53] It is not that the city made computers possible, but rather, that the digital/computers order and define the world we currently inhabit, so it is only reasonable and proper to redefine the history of the city this way if we want to understand it. The city stores, processes, and transmits information, executes based on data, commands, and addresses, which is to say RAM, registers, and busses, or rather, memories, proceedings, and transmissions.[54]

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[52] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 722.

[53] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 718-719.

[54] Kittler, "Towards an Ontology of Media," *Theory, Culture & Society* 26, no. 2-3 (2009): 30.

Returning to the earlier discussion on forms of the city, does the city as medium not simply fit within the form of the practical machine? Yes, and no. In some ways, the concept of the city as a medium could be subsumed under the city as a practical machine, but narrowing our focus to the qualities and vocabulary of media—specifically storage, transmission, and processing—offers enough unique and interesting insights to justify a media-centric approach. Firstly, the city-as-medium in the explicitly Kittlerian sense is no ordinary machine, as "the computer (in theory since 1936, in practice since the Second World War) is the only medium that combines these three functions—storage, transmission, and processing—fully automatically."[55] For Kittler then, the computer offers a privileged lens through which to understand our contemporary world as well as take a fresh look at its history as "all media history culminates in the digital computer."[56] The capabilities and combinations of the computer provide a framework that can be used to understand old things in new ways:

> Commands, addresses, and data, that is, proceedings, transmissions, and memories, however, might have been retrieved not only in computer architectures but in the whole recursive history of technical media. Libraries are storage media for storage media called books. Telegraph cables have been, since the American Civil War, transmission media for military commands. A fundamental data processing has been at play whenever ontological thought or mathematical writing changed the course of cultural history.[57]

What Kittler demonstrates is that these things have always been there, but could not be revealed as such until after the computer. Secondly, viewing the city simply as a practical machine does not afford the same richness offered by a media approach. As will be further developed below, the city-as-medium can extend well beyond Kittler's computer-technical framework to embrace

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[55] Kittler, preface to *Optical Media: Berlin Lectures 1999* trans. Anthony Enns (Malden: Polity, 2010), 26.

[56] John Durham Peters, "Introduction: Friedrich Kittler's Light Shows," in *Optical Media,* 7.

[57] Kittler, "Towards an Ontology of Media," 30.

the natural world, by building off older concepts of the medium and media. Kittler addressed this himself, notably through Aristotle speaking of "two elements, namely air and water, as two 'betweens'… the first to turn a common Greek preposition – *metaxú*, between – into a philosophical noun or concept: *tò metaxú*, the medium."[58] For Kittler, these are the "natural or physical" media, where he is more interested in technical media, but I will return to these natural media and explore these ideas further through the work of Tim Ingold and John Durham Peters in subsequent sections.

The communication theory of Claude Shannon and the computer architecture model of John von Neumann are essential to Kittler's notion of the city as a medium and his media theory in general. Kittler applies Shannon's communication model to the city, seeing it as a network of channels and signals, focusing on the facilitation of connections between points and their ability to relay information to one another. Kittler focuses on the relay of information and data through calculable units, from the Roman postal system to the gas, water, hydro lines buried below the city, to the input/output functions of urban gates and ports, he finds the city compatible with an electrical engineering based communicative model. These examples also reveal how Kittler theorizes the city in terms of Von Neumann's computer architecture, as consisting most basically of a processor (control unit and arithmetic/logic unit and a memory unit), mass storage, and input and output. The material structures of the city function much the same as computer hardware, with things like bureaucracy and office complexes serving as processors, the railway as one of many types of input/output, and the "modules upon which it has been built" as a format for the storage functions of the city.[59] I would like to look more closely at the built environment, further

[58] Kittler, "Towards an Ontology of Media," 26.
[59] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 723.

developing the suggestions and connections regarding the urban and computer architecture. As an initial step, we need to look at built environment not in the conventional architectural sense, or the techno-architectural (as designed by algorithms) sense, but rather as a type of architecture (hardware) on which algorithms run in the first place. It is the built environment as physical things and their technical properties, that order and define the city. The city is comprised of hardware, but also of the channels, routes, and other infrastructural elements that order the operations of the city-as-medium itself. Accordingly, the city is essentially reducible in various ways to a Turing machine, Shannon's electrical engineering based model of communication and von Neumann's computer architecture.

While the city is a medium akin to the computer, it also contains various other media within in; units of the built environment can be examined as individual media within the larger system. Rather than the library just as a storage medium for books, as a building, it is also a complete medium in and of itself. It is able to store, transmit, and process as its own unit, specifically though its own material construction, as:

> storing is not merely a means of preserving but is also intrinsically connected to spatial order. Wherever something is stored, a temporal process must be materialized as a spatial structure. Creating spatiality becomes the primary operation by which the two remaining functions of data processing—transporting and processing—become possible at all.[60]

The physical construction of the city, as well as individual buildings, are particular examples of such a process that I hope to explore further throughout this thesis. Kittler acknowledges the humanities tradition that sees the storage and transmission capacities of the city, but he makes a radical break from the humanists by ascribing the city processing functions as well. Mumford

[60] Sybille Krämer, "The Cultural Techniques of Time Axis Manipulation: On Friedrich Kittler's Conception of Media," *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, no. 7–8 (2006): 99.

noted the important urban role of the early office buildings (*Uffizi*) of Florence, but was unwilling to go as far as Kittler who saw them as "a central bureau for data processing."[61] Kittler seems to suggest Mumford *could* have noted the same processing capacity of the *Uffizi* if not for his "humanistic value judgments."[62] Kittler's break from Mumford here is representative of his break from the larger humanities tradition in general. Similarly, Kittler argues that it was the *network* of lawyers and chancery courts that allowed the Hapsburgs to gain local power and expand it across a vast empire because centrality was a "variable dependent on media functions rather than vice versa." Kaiser Maximilian's central administrative authority was a technological accomplishment, not the result of the "aristocratic-agency of the Roman-German Emperor."[63] Kittler is always quick to discount the human, social, and cultural in favour of the technical.

John Durham Peters, in the introduction to *Optical Media*, calls Kittler "Mr. Anti Cultural Studies" due, in part, to his "disdain for people" and notes his tendency to make abrupt, at times shocking, statements without offering any explanation.[64] The nonchalant move towards total annihilation at the end of the "The City Is a Medium" offers exactly this kind of moment. A technological drive towards annihilation is developed largely along military lines and closes spectacularly with the total destruction of different sizes of cities, "for phosphorous bombs it is a city; for uranium bombs, a major city; and ultimately for hydrogen bombs, megalopolis."[65] This closing makes it easy to accuse Kittler of techno-determinism, but Kittler is being typically and deliberately provocative. Firstly, we can read this as a dig at Mumford's *The Culture of Cities*

[61] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 722.
[62] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 721.
[63] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 726.
[64] Peters, "Introduction," 5-8.
[65] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 727.

(1938) end-of-cities theory of the necropolis, where humans have largely abandoned cities and "the physical towns become mere shells."[66] Secondly, Kittler is also refusing Mumford's update to the end-of-cities in the *City in History* (1961), where Mumford's own worst fears of technics were realized in the destruction of WWII and capacity for total human extinction posed by nuclear war. Instead, what Kittler presents is the annihilation of the humanist reading of the city and of Mumford's hopes for "a more organic world picture, which shall do justice to all the dimensions of living organisms and human personalities" where man has "dethroned our Cybernetic Deities and restored to the center of our existence the images and forces and purposes of Life."[67] For Kittler, the Invisible City "consists of more than mere information technologies operating seamlessly and at the speed of light," it reorients the entire enterprise away from man towards the post-human, as "the module for destruction…has ceased to be "man."[68] Ultimately, it is not even the bombs themselves but the "computer commands for deletion" that bring about the end of cities. What he presents is a more Heideggerian matter of factness regarding technology opposed to Mumford's quaint necropolis and Cold War fears.[69]

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[66] Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1938), 291-2.

[67] Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc., 1961), 567.

[68] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 727 and Nicholas Gane, "Radical Post-Humanism: Friedrich Kittler and the Primacy of Technology," *Theory, Culture & Society* 22, no. 3 (2005): 25–41.

[69] Kittler himself (in "Towards an Ontology of Media") acknowledged the proximity of his own position to Heidegger's from "The Question Concerning Technology," where Heidegger described technology as a means, a human activity, and most importantly, a mode of revealing. Kittler reads Heidegger's description as akin to Shannon's foundational work in electronic circuit design. Martin Heidegger, "The Question Concerning Technology" in *The Question Concerning Technology and other Essays* (New York: Harper Row 1977).

This thesis endeavors to at least partially undertake Kittler's challenge to the humanities and indulge in his kind of anti-hermeneutic, post-human, non-linear, media-ontological, framework and vocabulary to further develop the study of the city. But, as Kramer notes, one does not have to ascribe wholly and fully to Kittler's belief-system to discover the kind of unexpected and insightful connections and conclusions his approach can bring.[70] His thinking was original enough to open up interesting avenues of exploration without requiring adherence to every one of his more radical positions. In this case, we can step back to see how various elements, in and of the city, are able to facilitate different types of communication in the first place, mostly ignoring the human actors who build and maintain them, as well as the content of the messages they may contain. What we might find is that channels, frequencies, modes of transmitting, storage capacities, and processing operations can reveal much about the city and urban life that agonizing over the content of various messages cannot. My interest in the content concerns the physical, rather than symbolic content of buildings and materials with an aim to maintain the primacy of hardware, to see what it enables and makes possible in the first place. The content is less relevant because it is never fixed, a fact that becomes especially clear in a historical approach.

Accepting the city is a medium does not mean it is exclusively a machine, but technical thinking can bring new insights while at the same time recognizing the role of living things and natural processes. One of my other goals is to open the city-as-medium up (beyond a strictly Kittlerian approach) to wider notions of media materiality that address the natural, by looking at what we might call the original hardware and networks on and in which the city is built, namely its geology and geography. Natural materials are key components in the built environment, from

[70] Krämer, "The Cultural Techniques of Time Axis Manipulation," 95-96.

the seemingly more natural, like building stone and clay brick, towards more technologically processed materials like concrete and steel. I am interested not just in the proto-network of the steel frame that Kittler notes, but also older architecture as it forms the material and infrastructural basis for any particular city, and the various inscriptions that phenomenon like climate and weather leave upon such materials. Analysis of the comingling of the natural and urban worlds reveals some of the complexity of the city-as-medium, for these materials and their arrangement are themselves channels of communication. Thus this thesis will explore many different means through which the both the city and its materials store, transmit, and process information. It deals with both the city as a medium and the media that comprise the city, from macro to micro levels, from the the geophysical site, to the built environment, to a building, and then its material composition. Even building materials themselves can and should be broken down into more specific categories and the various forms they can take. For instance, the material of brick, is made from clay or shale, water, and sand, which can become bits of rubble or particles of dust that may resettle back into the geophysical site from which they were originally extracted.

Such a hybrid technical-natural approach owes some level of debt to the field of new materialism, particularly in terms of ascribing non-anthropocentric agency to 'things', but this project is less concerned with ontology than most new materialist methods.[71] Instead, I would like to follow anthropologist Tim Ingold who, in his critical discussion of new materiality, argues that it should be about "*materials and their properties,*" rather than the "*materiality of things*"

[71] Manuel de Landa, *One-Thousand Years of Non-Linear History* (New York: Zone Books, 1997) and Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

[italics from original]. Ingold notes the growing divide between studies of materiality or material culture and the actual "stuff things are made of," as materials seem to vanish, "swallowed up by the objects to which they have given birth."[72] There is an unexpected compatibility with Kittler in Ingold's suggestion for a hands-on approach to materials, where he urges the theorist to be acquainted and proficient with the actual things they are studying by asking anthropologists to try "sawing logs, building a wall, knapping a stone or rowing a boat" much the same way Kittler urged his students and colleagues to familiarize themselves with the workings of computers.[73] In *Life of Lines* (2015), Ingold explores human-being-in-the-world with "things" while carefully affording such things their own meaningful and unique agency. This thoughtful work deals with diverse subjects—a number of which are underrepresented in, but highly relevant to, an urban media analysis—like the weather, buildings, and various construction materials. For Ingold, the most crucial elements of all things are those which connect them to themselves, other things, and the larger world, rather than those which make them singular, independent, and objective. To demonstrate the "being" of things, Ingold deploys the idea of lines (versus blobs) to described both the non-static nature and connectedness of things. These linear connections, however, are not those that we are most used to, like a bridge or link in a chain, but rather the lines of the "in-betweens" where "movement is the primary and on-going condition."[74] Furthermore, Ingold crucially opens up the study of materiality to embrace the climate and weather, which are both greatly under-utilized in the traditional humanities approach to studying the city, though they

[72] Tim Ingold, "Materials Against Materiality," *Archaeological Dialogues* 14, no. 1 (2007): 3 and 7.
[73] Tim Ingold, "Materials Against Materiality," 3 and Peters, "Introduction," 7.
[74] Ingold, *Life of Lines* (London: Routledge, 2015), 147.

have a long history in the scientific approach to urban life.[75] His treatment of materials is reminiscent of John Durham Peters' approach to communication in *The Marvelous Clouds* (2015), where the human is not always central but still present, where notions of non-human agency and entanglements with the natural, elemental, spiritual, and cosmic worlds create room for other intelligences and modes of being. Where Ingold brings a material specificity, Peters brings a media specificity, but both get at the communicative properties of nature/natural phenomena. Their works support a more fundamental relationship between the city and nature, beyond the dichotomous legacy of nature/culture and towards how materials, weather, and natural processes leave as much of an inscription as the more human processes of extraction, building, and maintaining. Peters asks us to consider "media practices and institutions as embedded in relations with both the natural and human worlds," argues against content as the essence of communication, and wants to bring traditional sciences like geology, astronomy, physics, and math as "the outer limits of communication theory" into greater dialogue, partly because they share a fundamental tenet of media studies, that "texts cannot be interpreted apart form an interpretation of the processes that produced them."[76] Furthermore, Peters uses the long history of the notion of medium and media, beginning with Aristotle and moving through other phases, like spiritualism and mass media / recording technologies to complicate the history and idea of what media and a medium are. While Kittler's medium in "The City Is a Medium" is the medium of an information theory model, it can be supplemented with the complexities suggested

[75] W.R. Rouse and A.F. Burghardt, "Climate, weather and society," and Ming-Ko Woo, "Hydrology of Beverly Swamp," in *Steel City: Hamilton and Region,* eds. M.J. Drake, J.J. Drake and L.G Reeds (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

[76] Peters, *The Marvelous Clouds*, 377 and Peters, "Space, time, and communication theory," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 28, no. 4 (2003): 400-401.

by these other and older approaches. As previously mentioned, Kittler himself noted these older conceptions of media, calling them the "natural or physical ones," which support his contention that there have always been technical media, even if philosophy was unable to understand them as such.[77] What Peters does so effectively, is remind us that contemporary notions of media still carry with them traces of this past, urging others to utilize this complexity and nuance in media theory open to different, creative, and unique approaches.

In *Marvelous Clouds,* Peters sees Kittler as a radical heir to Harold Innis in terms of an infrastructural sensibility, one for dealing with media as environments and infrastructures rather than mere messages and content. Peters develops his own concept of infrastructuralism which accounts for what is out of direct view, taken for granted, and blends into the background, but is really doing important work of ordering and arranging the world we inhabit:

> Infrastructuralism suggests a way of understanding the work of media as fundamentally logistical. Logistical media have the job of ordering fundamental terms and units. They add to the leverage exerted by recording media that compress time, and by transmitting media that compress space. The job of logistical media is to organize and orient, to arrange people and property, often into grids. They both coordinate and subordinate, arranging relationships among people and things.[78]

This project develops both a historical and literal interpretation of Peter's approach in applying it to the infrastructural basis of the city. Combined with Kittler's theory of the city-as-medium, it offers a kind of reverse emphasis. Instead of seeing the infrastructural elements of newer media, like the cloud, we see the media elements of older infrastructure, like the canal or a stone courthouse, but with the awareness of newer media, like the computer, that Innis, for instance, could not have accounted for in his discussion of canals. Furthermore, infrastructuralism, as will

[77] Kittler, "Towards an Ontology of Media," 25-26.
[78] Peters, *The Marvelous Clouds,* 37.

be developed in the following chapter, actually creates a city like Hamilton, where its early surveying and grid plotting worked as foundational ordering units. Combining Peters and Kittler, we can trace the speculative city as a great infrastructural and logistical medium. The grid was both the logistical basis and first storage medium of Hamilton.

As a final theoretical reference point, I would like to situate this project within the field of media archaeology. It is fitting because media archaeology is an interdisciplinary approach with no set rules, but rather, a series of shared predispositions, particularly a media studies orientation that rejects canonized narratives and popular understandings of media.[79] Furthermore, this project contributes to the media archaeological challenge to traditional hermeneutic and discursive approaches, with an affinity for that which is outmoded and an open mind to what is even considered media. Most obviously, I am indebted to Kittler, who holds an important (though perhaps unwelcome) position as a key figure in media archaeology, as it is his provocative assertion that the city is a medium that sets up the unusual media object worthy of investigation. A media archaeological approach also encourages certain useful investigative parameters because when we view "past media-archaeologically rather than historiographically" it restricts us in referring "to what is actually there: what has remained from the past in the present."[80] This orientation allows us to follow a non-linear method looking backwards from the so-called postindustrial moment at what remains, to better understand the city's past and present, how they inform each other and what new insights for the present can be unearthed from a fresh

[79] Two good introductions to media archaeology can be found in Mattern, *Code and Clay, Data and Dirt*, xvi-xxvii and Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka, "Introduction: An Archaeology of Media Archaeology," in *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications, and Implications*, eds. Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 2-21.

[80] Wolfgang Ernst, "Media Archaeology: Method and Machine versus History and Narrative of Media," in *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications, and Implications,* 241.

look at the past. Furthermore, analysis of the city-as-medium provides an opportunity to take the archaeological aspect slightly more literally than other approaches to discarded technologies, for instance. The city, after all, is still a physical site and it invites a more practical archaeological orientation in regards to its geologic and architectural strata. We live in an era of intense time-space compression with recording media compressing time and transmitting media compressing space. A deep look at a city's history serves to disrupt the compressed timescapes and instantaneous access across vast distances that characterize our current technological media world. Even writing on media-cities often follows this same trajectory, jumping between cities on opposite sides of the globe as quickly as they can be called up by a search engine. This project, instead, is concerned with a single city over a period of time, a couple hundred years in terms of its history as a New World settlement, but thousands and millions of years as a site and source of materials. It swaps the usual vast space and instant time for a vast time and immediate space, more like traditional archaeology. The approach is also quasi-archaeological in terms of exploring the layers of the city, and though these layers are not the stratigraphy of true archaeology, they have similarities. Elements of Hamilton's built history are an inverted version, or reversal, of the geologic layers; the older sandstone at the base of the mountain was utilized before the newer limestone at the top and the traces of materials leave a type of horizontal strata rather than the vertical geologic. The city's building materials form their own layers, sometimes corresponding to zones in the city, but generally forming a more jumbled geology across the city's geography that needs to be detangled as stone, clay, and shale were moved and reformed around the city over its long (natural) and short (human) history.

Finally, Hamilton is not the kind of place one might, at first, find compatible with an urban media analysis, especially one not very much concerned with new media or the digital

economy. Hamilton is not a particularly "smart city" in the conventional technological sense, and is certainly not a megacity or the type of global metropolis that is popularly evoked by the notion of a media city. Instead, fitting with media archaeology, Hamilton might be considered an overlooked kind of place, one of the "dead ends" or "losers" that media archaeology tends to take up.[81] It is a very average kind of place, but this makes it both interesting and important, as there are so many average places like this all over the map. Many of the problems facing cities today are not exclusively those of big data or surveillance, but older, junkier, problems of building, infrastructure, and real estate. Hamilton represents all these kinds of places that need something other than a rehashed Bilbao effect or cookie-cutter-creative-city kind of urbanism.

[81] Huhtamo and Parikka, "Introduction: An Archaeology of Media Archaeology," 3.

CHAPTER 2: The City Is a Medium

This chapter introduces the city of Hamilton, Ontario, setting up the physical and material foundation of the city that will be continually referenced in the chapters that follow. In this section, and throughout the thesis, I am largely dealing with the the portion of the city that sits below the escarpment.[82] Hamilton, as a medium, will grow larger and more complex, with more working parts, materials will change, and buildings will come and go, but its essential characteristics are set in this formative era from the early nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Here we will explore the city's coming into being through its prehistory, foundation as a speculative town, the early commercial years, and finally its industrial apex. The first century of the city's official existence (1816-1916) was largely a time of prosperity and growth (with the notable exception of a local economic depression in the late 1850s and early 1860s) as well as exciting technological advances, of which Hamilton was often at the forefront.[83] The city's format and hardware were largely set by the early twentieth century, establishing the base for what is criticised, devalued, and demolished later (largely in the post Second World War era, but with some early examples in the 1930s) as it is obsolesced by the rising postindustrial information society (Chapter 3). However, this foundation, expansion, and the early building materials are also what start to be retrieved as Hamilton enters its renaissance in the twenty-first century (Chapter 4 and 5). The city's coming into being is the basis of its future communicative

[82] There has been a long relationship between the city below and settlements on the escarpment. The land was eventually annexed by the city and came to house large suburban developments, but these areas and communities have their own unique histories that are beyond the scope of this project.

[83] Hamilton was an early adopter or innovator of telegraph and telephone networks, gas lighting and incandescent streetlights, as well as a civic waterworks and sewer system, and most notably, the long distance transmission of electricity in the late nineteenth century.

potentials, preloaded with certain storage functions, facilitating specific processes, and enabling particular transmissions.

The primary goal of this chapter is to establish how the hardware and formatting of the built environment stores, transmits and processes. If the city is a medium and we are interested in its hardware, we might begin with the most basic, the natural landscape itself. Then, we can introduce a more technical element, looking at the early logic of the city as it was created from this landscape. After establishing the foundational logic, we will turn to the built environment to further develop the media qualities of the early city. These three elements, however—the natural landscape, technical logics, and built environment—were not always clear categories, but referred back to and reinforced one another in myriad ways. Building materials came partially finished from the landscape itself, their properties and qualities were thoroughly inscribed by nature and man, as those phenomena we think of as natural are themselves technological. Building stone did not appear in uniform blocks and clay did not come out of the ground in pre-formed bricks. Furthermore, the logic of the city, the linearity of the survey and grid, building patterns and norms, even addresses, were influenced by the local geography. In Hamilton's case this was especially evident in the accentuated east/west and truncated north/south flows and limits.

One way to trace some of Hamilton's historical logics is through visual representations of the city at different points in its history and development. I will present a series of three lithographs from 1854, 1876, and 1894 that both condense particular moments and reveal underlying ordering operations for the young city. More than representation or reflection, these print media assisted in creating, ordering and regulating both the physical reality and identity for the city-as-medium, demonstrating a transition from speculative site to commercial town, to

industrial city. The lithographs also corresponded to different building materials—sandstone, dolomite, and brick—themselves manifesting changes from ancient quarrying techniques to modern industrial processes. These materials offer an insightful avenue for exploring the built environment, as they characterize particular eras and technologies. For instance, dominant building materials changed much less quickly than architectural style; the difference between stone and brick as building materials were more consequential than those between Italianate and Georgian styles. Building materials did not merely represent change, but rather incorporated and manifested it. Materials, more so than style, were themselves technologies of transmission and can reveal more than the content, or interpretation of the content of messages, as we come to see that the function of buildings often changed quite rapidly while the materials they were constructed of changed more slowly, and certainly quite differently.

Hamilton has long been a city dominated by its geographical position and the striking features of its natural environment, namely Burlington Bay and Lake Ontario to the north and the Niagara Escarpment to the south:

> This western-most tip of the eastern-most Great Lake. *Head-of-the-Lake*…water, hills, trees, and a city—all framed in the rock embrace of the Niagara Escarpment as the escarpment negotiates a hairpin turn around the end of Lake Ontario.[84]

This quote from local author/poet/cabinetmaker John Terpstra serves as a fitting introduction because of his intimate familiarity with Hamilton's geography and geology, and, in particular, with the ways they are still traceable in the modern city of the twenty-first century. Such features are not something people in Hamilton or most other cities are aware of, yet they are important historical and contemporary determinants of the city's form and materiality. These geologic and geographic features comprise the essential raw material of which the early city was

[84] John Terpstra, *Falling into Place* (Kentville: Gaspereau Press, 2011), 12.

composed and the key elements that influenced its formatting. Much of the geography of Hamilton, a city situated on a natural landlocked harbour on the far western shore of Lake Ontario, was given its shape twelve to thirteen thousand years ago as the Ontario lobe of the Wisconsin Laurentide Ice Sheet retreated.[85] The great glacier, and the lake it left behind, carved and sculpted the landscape of rock formations that were hundreds of millions of years old. The prehistoric Lake Iroquois—which occupied the area that is now Lake Ontario—once crashed against the rock face of the Niagara Escarpment east of John Street. As the glacier retreated even further, opening up drainage into the St Lawrence River, Lake Iroquois shrank, leaving behind only traces of its old shoreline and a thick layer of clay where sediment once settled in its shallower waters. The new lake (Lake Ontario) however, then began slowly filling back up, creating Hamilton's Beach Strip to the east and filling in the west, towards the raised ridge known as the Iroquois Bar, creating the landlocked Burlington Bay. Currently, the Iroquois Bar is still largely intact (though widened and rechanneled several times) and consists of the high ground that separates Hamilton Harbour from Cootes Paradise and runs for roughly six kilometers from the escarpment, around present-day John Street South, to the northern portion of Burlington Heights around the Royal Botanical Gardens. Part of the ancient bar is under the present city and the other portion stretches out across the water, carrying Hamilton's major transportation links to the north and east. The bar is comprised mostly of sand, gravel, and once, a topping of good quality clay, which has since been extracted, predominantly for brickmaking; the Iroquois Bar clay is not really gone, so much as it has been relocated and reformatted into the

[85] S.B. McCann, "Physical landscape of the Hamilton Region," in *Steel City: Hamilton and Region,* eds. M.J. Drake, J.J. Drake and L.G Reeds (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 21.

built environment of Hamilton. It is just once example of how the local natural environment became the built environment.

A second and equally prominent physical barrier and source of building material lies to the south. The portion of the Niagara Escarpment in Hamilton is known locally as 'the mountain' and stands roughly 110 meters above Lake Ontario and most of the lower city.[86] This feature brings the local geology into plain view; if one knows where to look, they can see hundreds of millions of years in rock formations stacked upon one another. This so-called mountain was formed by erosion on the sedimentary rocks deposited some 400 million years ago. The younger dolomites at the top resisted erosion while the softer and more porous shale at the base did not, creating the steep rock face. Its recognizable form was largely shaped during the same glacial retreat that created the lakes noted above. The key geologic features of the mountain, in terms of the building history of Hamilton, were the Whirlpool sandstone found near the bottom, the dolomitic limestone (Lockport dolomite, most specifically, Eramosa dolomite) cap rock (and portions of the vertical face), and the Queenston shale at the base.[87] These materials, with the clay from the Iroquois Bar, were essential to the early building of Hamilton and are, in fact, what many of the oldest surviving elements of the built environment are made of.

Together, the geographic barriers of the mountain to the south and the waterfront to the north encouraged east/west growth in the lower city until after the Second World War when

[86] McCann, "Physical landscape of the Hamilton Region," 13. Calling it the mountain reflects the importance of this physical feature to people in the region, and even today, it still represents a real physical and mental barrier, dividing the city, even with all the advances in transportation and communication technologies.

[87] For more details on the local geology, including a schematic geologic section diagram of the Niagara escarpment at the Jolly Cut, see McCann, "Physical landscape of the Hamilton Region," 17-19.

expansion on the mountain accelerated. The early east/west movement of the city followed much older flows, like the physical bedding of rock deposits themselves; the natural and geologic were the earliest determinants of Hamilton's form. The geophysical dynamics of the lake's evolution, the mountain, and the Iroquois Bar created different elevations and drainage patterns within the lower city. Many marshes and inlets were created as water drained from the mountain, in "mini Niagara Falls," towards the lake; the larger inlets were old valleys formed by creeks emptying into the lake.[88]

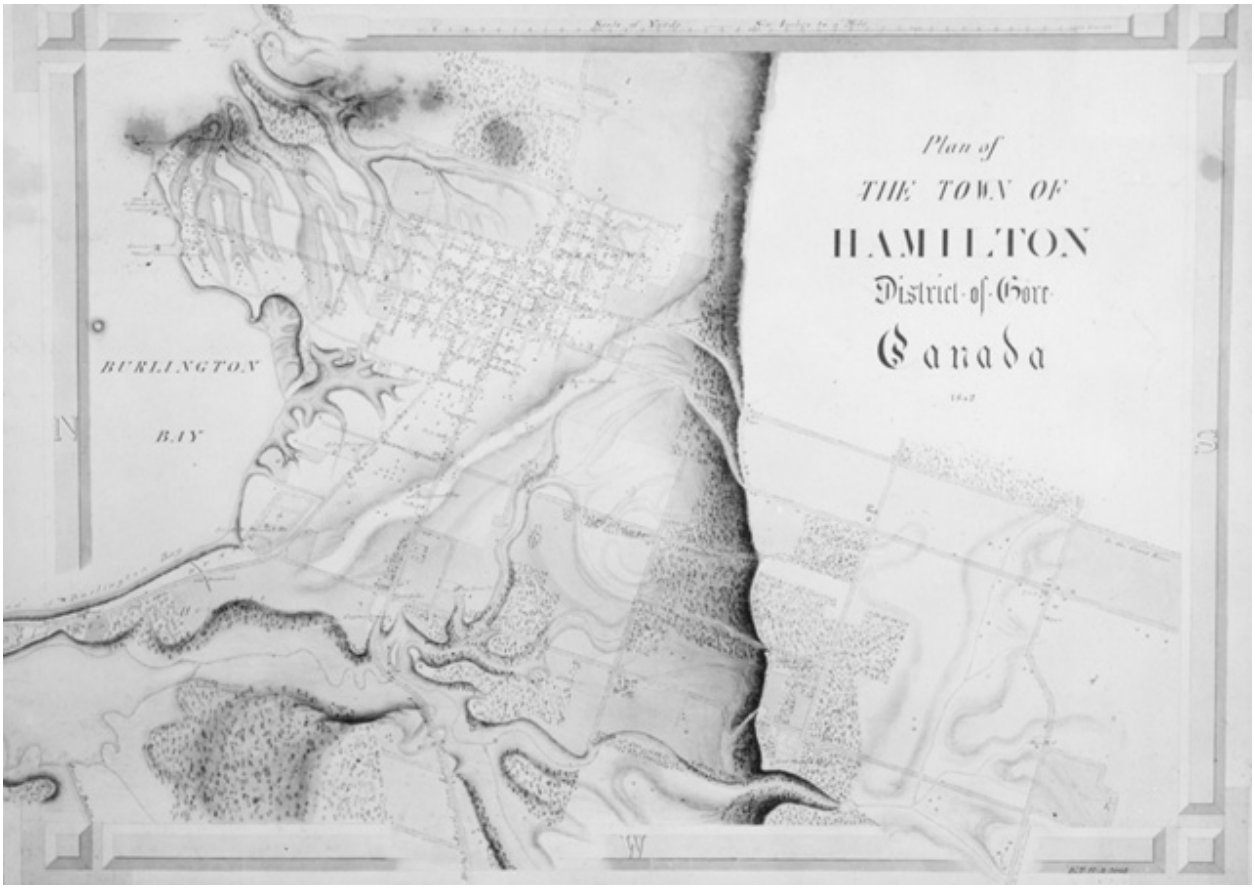

Figure 1: Plan of the Town of Hamilton, District of Gore, Canada, 1842. Image Courtesy of the Hamilton Public Library, Local History & Archives. The Iroquois Bar is the lightly shadowed ridge running diagonally through the middle of the image, while the mountain is the black ridge running vertically. The eastern inlets are at the top left. For the usual orientation of Hamilton maps (with the bay to the north and mountain to the south) turn the image 90 degrees clockwise.

[88] McCann, "Physical landscape of the Hamilton Region," 25.

These creeks and inlets are an almost entirely lost geographical feature of Hamilton, but they were important determinants of the early development of the city.[89] Town and port developed separately at first, and remained semi-distinct for decades, because the lands surrounding the port in the northwest were too swampy to be fully connected to the young central business district to the south.[90] Furthermore, such early geographic obstacles contributed to the fairly distinct north/south divide between industry and city because the main thoroughfares and railways were originally built quite a distance south of the swampy lake edge, thereby leaving a significant area that industry eventually filled in (Chapter 3).[91] Finally, from the earliest European settlement in the area, there was a residential class divide based on high and low ground as "the geologic features of the city predetermined the location of elite and working class neighbourhoods."[92] High, well drained ground, like the elevated bench portion of the Iroquois Bar (i.e. the land Dundurn Castle sits on), or the southern portions of the lower city towards the escarpment face (where Bellevue and other early fine homes were located), were reserved for the wealthy, while lower lying areas (like Corktown and the North End) that were prone to poor drainage and flooding were home to the poor and working classes.[93] Even after swampy lands and poor

[89] For an account of one such lost creek, see Terpstra, *Daylighting Chedoke: Exploring Hamilton's Hidden Creek* (Hamilton: James Street North Books, 2018).

[90] The town and port also developed separately because there was no real use for a port until a canal was cut through the beach strip to allow larger ship access. Ken Cruikshank and Nancy B. Boucher, "Blighted Areas and Obnoxious Industries: Constructing Environmental Inequality on an Industrial Waterfront, Hamilton, Ontario, 1890-1960," *Environmental History* 9, no. 3 (2004): 467.

[91] Harold A. Wood, "Emergence of the modern city: Hamilton, 1891-1950," in *Steel City,* 125. Even further distinction would be created in the postwar period as certain neighbourhoods on prime industrial lands in the northern sections of the city were rezoned and cleared.

[92] Jean Rosenfeld "A noble house in the city": Domestic architecture as elite signification in late 19th century Hamilton," (PhD diss., University of Guelph, 2000), 41.

[93] See Rosenfeld, "A noble house in the city" for details on the on spatial relationships in early Hamilton. The first elites were located in a small south-central area, where they built large

drainage were overcome by technological advances—largely through infilling and the sewer system, of which Hamilton had a early and large example—industry took up much of the previously uninhabitable lands, so the local working class housing was then at the disadvantage of its proximity to areas where the city' sewage drained, amidst industry, noise, trains, noxious fumes, and polluted inlets, while elites maintained their position on the higher ground and more pleasant areas of the city.[94]

Having laid out the key natural features determining Hamilton's early form, I would like to shift focus to human settlement in the area. The Hamilton area has a history of inhabitation by the Iroquoian-speaking Attawandaron people, but their population was decimated by infectious disease introduced by Europeans and the local society was greatly disrupted by ongoing wars. Called the Neutral Nation (because of their neutral position in the Iroquoian Wars) by the first Europeans in the area (French fur traders), the local society was almost entirely destroyed by 1650. Smaller groups however, continued to move through the area, and interacted with local pioneer landowners like Richard Beasley and Robert Land at the time of early Anglo-European inhabitation in the late eighteenth century.[95] Despite the collapse of the local society, the Hamilton area had remained important due to its position in long-established indigenous trails and routes connecting eastern North America through the Great Lakes. For instance, major

villa estates, mostly above the 105m contour (in a pattern similar to Montreal). Over time many large estates were subdivided into newer elite housing areas on large standard lots, i.e. the Arkledun estate was subdivided in 1888 into 33 lots and sold. For more detailed breakdown of many old estates, new building, and architectural style see Rosenfeld, Chapter 4. Also note the much of the area of the early villa estates and later subdivisions are still elite housing areas in Hamilton, like Durand and Kirkendall South.

[94] Nancy B. Bouchier and Ken Cruikshank, *The People and the Bay: A Social and Environmental History of Hamilton Harbour,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015), 23 and 74.

[95] Burkholder, *The Story of Hamilton,* 23-31.

routes that connected Huronia and Detroit met at what would become Hamilton. These routes largely followed the geographic, geologic, and topographic flow of the natural landscape, running near or along the lakeshore and/or rivers in a predominantly east-west pattern. The most important trail in the area, the Iroquois Trail, followed the shore of Lake Ontario, but some distance south of the shoreline to avoid the swamps and marshes. A corresponding trail (Mohawk Trail) ran largely parallel, but above the 110-metre rock face of the mountain.[96] The Iroquois Trail was so important to local flows that it was used as the northern baseline of Hamilton's original town plan and thereafter became King Street in the Hamilton area.[97]

European settlers, however, transformed the natural logic of landscape and indigenous trails into planned, calculated, and linear parcels through the practice of surveying. The French had limited settlements in the Hamilton area, but after their defeat by the British in 1763, the space of the future city was taken as something of a *tabula rasa* onto which European settlers could calculate, survey, divide, grant, and sell according to their laws and customs.[98] Land became two-dimensional calculable parcels that could be bought and sold. The area around Hamilton was surveyed when the Great Lakes region of present day Ontario was opened up for settlement by the government for incoming Loyalists after the American Revolution.[99] Early

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[96] Andrew F. Burghardt, "The origin and development of the road network of the Niagara Peninsula, Ontario, 1770-1851," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 59, no. 3 (1969): 422-425.

[97] Burkholder, *The Story of Hamilton,* 17, 23, and 60.

[98] The Royal Proclamation 1763 governed land purchase and surrender in British North America. The Hamilton land was ceded by the Mississaugas in 1784 and "actual boundaries were defined and a confirming document signed by the Mississaugas and the Crown in 1792" as part of the Between the Lakes Treaty No. 3. "Between the Lakes Treaty, No. 3 (1792), Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation, Treaty Lands and Territory, May 28, 2017. http://mncfn.ca/treaty3/

[99] In terms of European settlement, these areas were previously un-surveyed French fur trade territory and the British, at first, had continued to leave the land un-surveyed, but later

settlement in Ontario utilized a variety of surveying practices and township plans, but largely followed the grid system popularized in Renaissance Europe because it enabled a relatively quick division (which also signaled ownership) of land despite a low number of initial inhabitants.[100] This was especially the case in the early southern Ontario where land needed to be hastily prepared to settle incoming Loyalists.[101] Townships were set up on a rectangular grid pattern with a concession lot and concession line arrangement facilitating a quick and effective framework for immediate and future agricultural settlement. Rather than follow the natural contours of the terrain, the survey was based on measurements within a system of lines and angles according to which boundaries were set. In late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Ontario, the work was done by a surveyor working with chainmen and labourers, usually using a compass, following magnetic bearings, setting pickets, checking angles, sometimes using a telescope when the compass was unreliable, or in rare cases a theodolite (but this more precise tool was not ideal for the heavily forested or swampy lands and demanded am impractically slow and costly process). Despite the attempt at uniformity, various townships were surveyed differently and the inexperience of many early surveyors led to a series of mishaps and mistakes that reveal the arbitrary nature of the practice. Many townships did not use a common east/west baseline, but rather, initiated their own grid based on their particular orientation to a river or lake. This, combined with the rigid dimensions and rules of the grid, resulted in a confusing patchwork

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enacted their policy of surveying into townships and farm units before granting the land to new settlers. L.M. Sebert, "The Land Surveys of Ontario 1750-1980," *Cartographica* 17, no 3 (1980): 68-69.

[100] The survey system for the Hamilton area resulted in township roughly 6 miles wide and 7 miles deep. Sebert, "The Land Surveys of Ontario 1750-1890," 69 and 71.

[101] Sebert, "The Land Surveys of Ontario 1750-1890," 70.

of straight lines with numerous junctions and confusing offsets.[102] On a smaller scale within a township, for instance, this was less of an issue, but it highlights the arbitrary nature of division compared to the smoother flow of the indigenous paths and trails. Furthermore, the seemingly straight lines of the grid concealed the curved spherical surface of the earth, and were blind to geographic and topographic features, usually seeking to merely overcome them.[103]

The area that would become the Hamilton town site was originally mapped and surveyed in 1788 and 1791 by Augustus Jones, with the township laid out using the "front and rear system" deployed across the Niagara Peninsula between 1878 and 1813. When surveying, markers were placed at both the front and rear of each lot in a labour intensive, expensive, but "elegant" way of dividing land. Jones started with a base line near the bay shore and then surveyed the three other boundaries creating a rectangular township. Side roads were placed every 20 chains (400 metres or ¼ mile) and concessions every 50 chains (about 1km or 5/8 mile) at right angles to the side roads, creating blocks of 100 acres and determining the limits of land grants.[104] The area that would become Hamilton was part of Lot 14, Concession II and III, Township no. 8, which became Barton Township.[105] The land was originally granted to

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[102] Burghardt, "The origin and development," 429.

[103] Sebert notes the odd example of Cootes' Paradise where, lacking adequate topographic data on the township plan, a surveyor was sent to parcel out the land without being aware of the 300-foot escarpment bisecting the area. The surveyor carried out his instructions regardless (no doubt with much ensuing difficulty) and placed part of the survey above the escarpment and the other part below. Sebert, "The Land Surveys of Ontario 1750-1890,"101.

[104] R. Louis Gentilcore, "The beginnings: Hamilton in the nineteenth century," in *Steel City*, 99 and Sebert, "The Land Surveys of Ontario 1750-1890," 86. For more details on the earliest land divisions, oldest districts (1788), second division (1792), and further divisions into more districts and townships as well as surveying activities of Augustus Jones, see Burkholder, *The Story of Hamilton*, 33-35.

[105] The side road boundaries of Lot 14 were what became James and Mary Streets. Main street was the Third Concession line and the original town was laid out on either side of it, in both Concession II and III. Other concessions became Burlington St. (I), Barton St. (II)

incoming Loyalists, but sold several times before being acquired by George Hamilton, the city's founder, in 1815.[106]

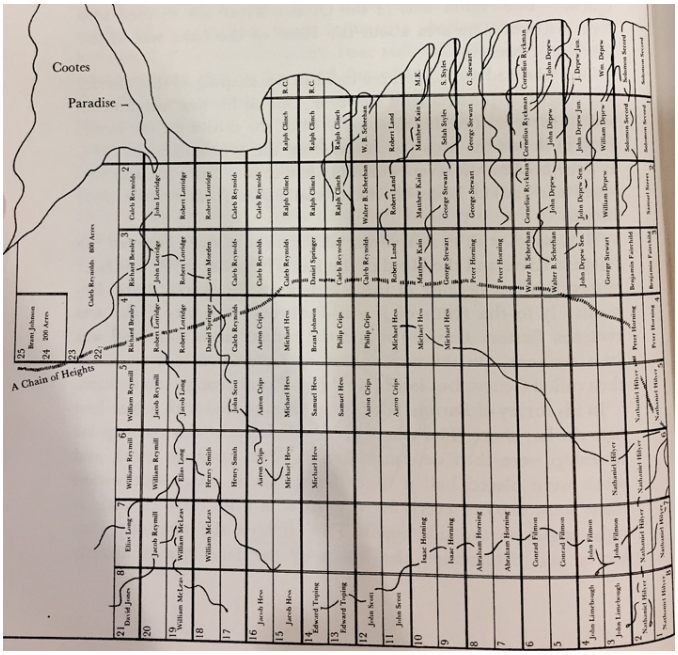

Figure 2: Township No. 8 (Barton) 1791. Copied from the original survey map of Augustus Jones. Reproduced from Milton Watson, Saga of a City: 330 Years of Progress in Hamilton, *(Hamilton: Hamilton Board of Education, 1947), 48.*

In terms of regional networks, the Hamilton site was disadvantaged in that it was not on Governor Simcoe's late eighteenth century road from York (Toronto) to London—Dundas Street, called Governor's Road in the Hamilton area—that instead went through the mill town of Dundas to Hamilton's west.[107] The site was, however, at the intersection of two significant continental routes, the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence route and the Mohawk Valley-Niagara

Aberdeen/Concession (IV), Fennel Ave. (V), Mohawk Rd. (VI), Limeridge Rd. (VII), Stone Church Rd. (VIII), Rymal Rd. (IX). The side roads, became the major north/south streets from Paradise in the west to Strathearne in the east, including Dundurn, Locke, Queen, Bay, James, Wellington, Wentworth, Sherman, Gage, Kenilworth, and Ottawa. Several of the original side roads have largely disappeared.

[106] Marjorie Freeman Campbell, *A Mountain and a City: The Story of Hamilton* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart 1966), 51.

[107] Robert Bradford, *Keeping Ontario Moving: The History of Road and Road Building in Ontario,* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2015), 13.

Peninsula route. Furthermore, the War of 1812 highlighted the importance of the east-west route between Niagara and the curve around the western limit of Lake Ontario, Burlington Heights (part of the Iroquois Ridge).[108] At the other end of the Iroquois Ridge, at the base of the escarpment, and at the head of John Street sat an 1805 stone mansion called Bellevue (built by previous land owner Captain Durand) that was later occupied by George Hamilton.

In 1815, Hamilton divided up part of his land into what became the original Hamilton town site. The whole property covered the area roughly from the mountain to present-day King Street, between James and Wellington Street. The town site was laid out around the intersection of the Iroquois Trail and another indigenous trail that connected it to the Mohawk Trail above the mountain, in a series of eighty lots with fifty-foot frontages that each faced a major street and backed onto a twelve-foot lane; each block had eight lots with four on corner positions.[109]

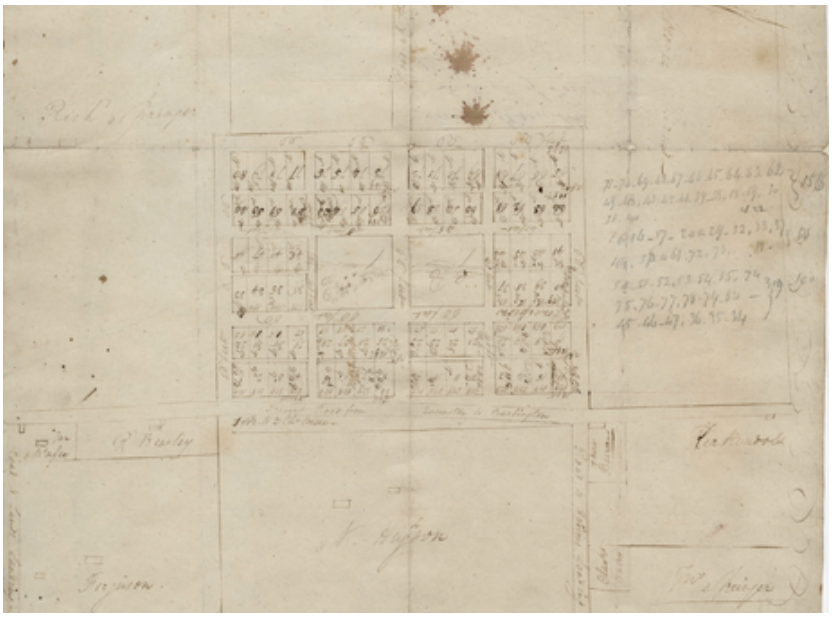

Figure 3: Town of Hamilton, District of Gore, circa 1816. Image courtesy of the Toronto Public Library.

[108] Gentilcore, "The beginnings: Hamilton in the nineteenth century," 102-103.

[109] Map of the Town of Hamilton, District of Gore, circa 1816 and Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History*, 17.

The "road from Queenston to Burlington," which was actually the Iroquois Trail, became King Street, the "road to Hughson Landing" became James Street, the third concession street became Main Street, and the "road up the Mountain to Ancaster" was another indigenous trail and became John Street. The Hamilton town plan "showed an awareness of land-use principles; it was not a random strung-out arrangement like neighbouring mill towns such as Dundas or Ancaster. Hamilton was the first speculative townsite to evolve into a major Canadian city."[110] Hamilton, then, as a speculative town, was planned, calculated, linear, and technological. Yet, it was still laid out based off the old indigenous trails, themselves based in an understanding of the natural environment, though significantly transformed by the newer logic of the city as technological medium. Rather than the trail/line as a fluid means of movement, the grid initiated a new type of fixed, static, space. Traces of the old indigenous network and its respect for the natural environment were concealed by the grid which imposed a strict linear logic on the natural environment, ignoring topographic, geologic, and especially hydrologic elements in favour of the topologic. Hamilton's difficult geography/drainage was such that a number of indigenous trails were converted to roads whether they suited the grid or not, though this history was effectively erased through naming and building practices. For instance, the trail that became John Street was seemingly very much in mind when Barton Township was surveyed because the official survey side road allowances for James and Mary streets were placed at equal distances on either side.

The grid was only concerned with connecting points and had little regard for or relationship to actual physical space and its properties or qualities. It suited Kittler's orientation towards technical media as it relates to graph theory, specifically in terms of the technical

[110] Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History*, 16.

practice of surveying, as well as the initiation of a system of addressable points through creating and naming roads.[111] The survey became the first memory unit of the emerging city-as-medium. The grid created the spatiality of Hamilton, which allowed it to store, which in turn, enabled it to process and transmit. It initiated a new organizational system where commands were executed based on precise addresses (rather than the few random cabins and estates in the area previously), and though this storage capacity was originally quite small, it could be quickly and easily expanded by reproducing the logic at the shifting outer limits. Hamilton did not exist before the grid; the grid was the speculative city's essential infrastructural element and in this sense it recalls Peters's infrastructuralism, as those organizing principles and logics which are just below the surface, that we do not necessarily see clearly, but whose effects we still feel. The initial surveying and subdivisions into lots were exactly this type of practice. As these early road, boundary, and property networks developed, they simultaneously concealed the arbitrary nature of the grid/survey and reinforced their logic. This new infrastructure, wrote over the people, land use and customs that preceded it; no one knows which streets in Hamilton were previously continental or local indigenous trails, they know only King Street and John Street. York Boulevard, for instance, cuts through the city on a very odd diagonal angle compared to the rest of the grid. This is because it too was an established indigenous trail—connecting Hamilton to the northwest across the Iroquois Bar—and when the original town site expanded beyond its tiny early limits, it grew around this route despite the fact it did not conform to the surrounding grid. The grid was both enhanced and obscured by the built environment and various logics of settlement. New buildings reinforced the lines of the grid, but also concealed the arbitrary coming into being of the system. It began to seem natural and went unquestioned while erasing

[111] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 718-719.

any trace of that which came before, much the same way the skeletal frame of a building itself disappears as the building around it is finished up. Like the frame for a building, the town grid/survey was a network, an infrastructure, packed with particular values and enframing an understanding of the landscape and built environment. Hamilton as a speculative European New World town was a new network, but not neutral. Even in this era before official town/city planning, there was both governmental and individual planning that shared elements of the same logic, namely, the reduction of space to two dimensional calculable parcels and organization into data units that were neat, linear, and easy to trade/buy/sell. It spoke to the efficiency of private property with clear lines and supporting documentation rather than the messy land claims generated though unwritten agreements/customs or the more radical notion of fully communal property.

After the grid was in place, two other essential infrastructural elements—a courthouse and canal—contributed to Hamilton's growth as a regional centre and enabled it to become a city. Early prominent landowners campaigned the government of Upper Canada to locate a courthouse on a piece of property gifted for the purpose by George Hamilton in order to promote the new town site.[112] In 1816, the District of Gore was created from portions of the older districts of Home and Niagara, the courthouse was granted to the Hamilton site and a log and frame building, with a jail in the lower level, was in place by 1817.[113] This moment was

[112] Michael Doucet and John C. Weaver, "Town Fathers and Urban Continuity: The Roots of Community Power and Physical Form in Hamilton, Upper Canada in the 1830s," *Urban History Review* 13, no. 2 (1984): 76.

[113] Gentilcore, "The beginnings: Hamilton in the nineteenth century," 101. The same site was used for this original wood structure, a later stone courthouse 1827-1877, its replacement 1877-1956, and the current 1956-present structure, which had served as McMaster University's Downtown Centre for Continuing Education since 1998, but will be re-established as a courthouse soon.

essential to Hamilton's emergence as town, and later, city. The courthouse was Hamilton's original central processing unit, to borrow from Kittler's computer based model again. The courthouse organized intersections and facilitated connectivity, "occupying at the right moment channels for technological data processing."[114] Before the establishment of the courthouse at Hamilton, locals had to travel considerable distance to either York or Niagara to conduct administrative business. Thus, the courthouse at Hamilton provided the essential early physical channel for information processing, acting as a key data intersection in part of the larger system of Upper Canada/Canada West/Ontario and helping establish Hamilton as a permanent settlement of regional importance. The other key element of Hamilton's early hardware and networking was the 1826 construction of the Burlington Canal that connected Burlington Bay to Lake Ontario through the Beach Strip. It marked a significant enhancement to the input/output offered by the slow and difficult trail and road system in and out of the Niagara Peninsula and towards Detroit in the south and York to the northwest. Previous to its construction, there was a shallow opening in the Beach Strip that could only be used by small boats, while larger vessels docked at Wellington Square (present-day Burlington). The Welland Canal (connecting Erie to Ontario, circumventing Niagara Falls), begun in 1824 and completed in 1829, removed the Niagara Falls barrier on the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence route and provided opportunity for Great Lakes ports to network into larger systems of transportation and commerce. The cut through the beach strip into Burlington Bay diverted large vessels away from Wellington Square and was completed before the Desjardin canal, which would connect Dundas to Burlington Bay, effectively allowing the new port of Hamilton to siphon trade from Dundas. This was a key moment for Hamilton because Dundas had been the most important town in the area due to its

[114] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 726.

position in larger transportation networks connecting York to London, as well as its advantage in mill technology.[115] The canal, with its direct lake access, profoundly altered the region's spatial relationships; Hamilton became "an entrepôt, receiving and dispatching cargo, sorting, selling goods, and promoting trade" at the expense of the mill towns like Ancaster and Dundas.[116] Both data and goods processing were enabled by this basic hardware. Between the initial town site, the courthouse, and the canal, young Hamilton was a Kittlerian medium in that it had all the components: memory, processing unit and, input/output; the streets and site stored, the courthouse and commercial enterprises processed, and the port transmitted, both data and goods.

Hamilton's position as a multifaceted processing centre was solidified with the construction of a larger and more permanent stone courthouse in 1827. In response to the growing importance of the town site, George Hamilton added more lots in 1828-1829 to the original eighty. Other speculators took up similar activities, buying, selling and dividing surroundings lands as well after seeing Hamilton's success.[117] Hamilton officially became a city in 1848, and through the 1850s, it followed the logic of a growing commercial city. In terms of housing, this time period was what Doucet and Weaver called the Era of Individualism in which, between 1850-1880, 104 plans were registered and laid out by 94 different people and groups.[118] Yet despite diversity in people and plans, the land was divided and surveyed according to a similar logic; the underlying principles of the city as medium and its infrastructural sensibility guided the city's development. New surveys and streets were an expansion of the memory units

[115] Burkholder, *The Story of Hamilton*, 117-118.
[116] Gentilcore, "The beginnings: Hamilton in the nineteenth century," 104.
[117] Michael Doucet and John C. Weaver, "Town Fathers and Urban Continuity" 76. For Further detail see, Chapter 1 "Era of Individualism," in Doucet and Weaver, *Housing the North American City* (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 1991).
[118] Doucet and Weaver, *Housing the North American City,* 32.

while growing administrative and commercial enterprises comprised the city's increasing processing capacity and newer/better roads, canals, and eventually the railway, were faster and more efficient input/output channels. While the filling in of hardware was done sporadically, (largely dictated by boom and bust cycles), taking place over decades and architecturally quite different, the underlying format and logic was largely in place. It had been created by the original survey, growing grid, and constant land speculation.

The 1827 stone courthouse signaled an enhancement of Hamilton's position as a key local processing centre and is a fitting introduction to this next section concerning the materiality of Hamilton's early built environment. Stone was the building material of choice for important centers of processing as well as a material processor itself, capable of its own storage, transmission, and processing functions. This analysis of building materials begins with stone, rather than wood which was the most popular early building material, because a much more significant number of stone structures have survived to the present day.[119] Hamilton's 'stone age' lasted from the early nineteenth century though to the 1890s (when brick became considerably more common), with the period from the 1840s through the 1860s being a "brief but highly productive period" for stone building in the city.[120] There were more stone buildings

[119] The earliest accommodations for a mostly young, transient, male population were scare and quite basic, largely consisting of frame rental housing wooden hotels, taverns, and shanties. A rare example of a surviving pre-Confederation wood house is the Raich house at 179 Mary Street. It is an 1840s frame house with wood siding built by a local carpenter. "Hamilton's Heritage Volume 5: Reasons for Designation Under Part IV of the *Ontario Heritage Act*," (City of Hamilton Planning and Development Department, 2005),131.

[120] "Hamilton's Heritage Volume 5," 142. For details of many stone buildings (houses, double houses, row houses/terraces, cottages, workshops, hotels, banks, stores, public buildings, offices, schools, and churches) that were still present in 1922, see Herbert Gardiner, "Hamilton's Stone Age," *Papers and Records of the Wentworth Historical Society Volume 6 volume 11*(The Griffin & Richmond Co. Ltd. Hamilton, 1924), 15-36.

in the Hamilton region than all other parts of Ontario except the Cambridge, Waterloo, Guelph region.[121] By 1851, there were 150 stone houses in Hamilton, and by 1861, over 300. The number remained constant for decades thereafter as old stone structures were demolished at a similar pace to new ones being built.[122] By the 1870s, and especially into the 1880s, brick became the most readily and cheaply available building material though stone was still used for various important buildings projects into the 1930s. In early Hamilton, stone buildings served both a practical and symbolic function in the city, allowing structures to last for a long time and communicating notions of permanence for the settlement as well as the importance of the functions they originally served. Stone encased the most essential early processing and data centers like the courthouse, customs house, federal buildings, elite residence, dry-goods warehouses, schools, and churches, a number of which will be explored in more detail below.

Firstly, though, I would like to develop a framework for analyzing stone as a medium in its own right through the tripartite classification of storage, processing, and transmission. As a media analysis, this approach is less concerned with metaphorical resonances of stone, like its seeming permanence, and more focused on its actual physical qualities and properties. For instance, there was considerable variation between different types of stone used in early Hamilton. The relative softness of certain sandstones, such that they could be carved into ornate details (Ohio sandstone), may be compared to the hardness of dolomites or limestone that could not be so easily carved and were therefore used in more linear applications as ashlar (blocks).

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[121] Gerard V. Middleton, "Hamilton Stone Masons and Quarry Men," *Raise the Hammer* 31(blog), August 31, 2011. https://www.raisethehammer.org/article/1448/hamilton_stone_masons_and_quarry_men

[122] G.V. Middleton, "Hamilton Building Stone," *Raise the Hammer* (blog), August 18, 2011. https://www.raisethehammer.org/article/1438/hamilton_building_stone

Most basically, building stone stored a record of the city and its growth as different stones were widely used in distinct eras of the city's development. However, these stones also stored the "deep time" of their geological record, the sedimentation, pressure, and fossil formation which is evident in their colour, texture, striations, hardness, porosity, and other features.[123] Different stones recall different periods in the earth's history and many hold fossils of earlier life forms, deep secrets of the earth's past. Yet building stone was neither a fully natural material nor an industrial material. Building stone was imbricated in complex natural and technological entanglements; the technical intervention of its quarrying, selection, cutting, seasoning, masonry techniques and other technical and human interventions were as important to its quality as a building material as any of its natural properties.[124] While industrial advances and technologies changed how quarrying was carried out, the raw material itself—unlike certain types of brick, reinforced concrete or structural steel that are industrially reengineered from natural materials—was not a product of industrial innovation. Stone could not be simply made (even if concrete pretends to be stone); it required millions of years to form. Despite its seeming permanence and inertness, stone is never static, certainly not to a geologist familiar with its coming into being over millions of years under particular forces; "a solid in geologic time is not truly a solid, and it will surrender to an overriding principle of nature."[125] Various building stones offer different qualities and any stone's suitability for the urban built environment had as much, or more, to do with the selection and care of the stone than the composition of the stone itself. Some stones

[123] Parikka's *Geology of Media* (2015) explores deep time as related to the thousands and millions of years-old basic materials and elements that comprise our media devices. Originally, deep time in media archaeology was tied to work of Siegfried Zielinksi who adapted the geological frame of James Hutton to seeing and hearing in a media studies approach.

[124] David B. Williams, *Stories in Stone: Travels Through Urban Geology* (New York: Walker, 2009), 10.

[125] Williams, *Stories in Stone,* 7-8.

must be quarried in particular ways to maintain their strength. For instance, brownstone (a type of sandstone) must be cut and seasoned in specific ways in order to be a good quality building material, while other stones, like Salem limestone, no matter how it was cut or sliced by quarrymen, has the same strength and durability. Similarly, how the stone was laid during construction was equally important. Laying stone horizontally, as it was deposited (base bedded) results in stronger buildings than laying it vertically with the strata upright (face-bedded), which can lead to water and frost getting in between the strata and weakening the stone over time.[126] Quite famously, the combination of improper seasoning and laying during mid nineteenth century building booms in New England and New York City resulted in brownstone's poor reputation as a building material.[127] Brownstone in Hamilton would not suffer the same physical weaknesses, but became a target for demolition nonetheless (Chapter 3).

Over time, and in the context of the built environment rather than in its natural deposits, building stone came to store even more data, as it was exposed to the city and new forces both natural/climactic and human/industrial/technical like pollution and most interestingly, their comingling in phenomena like black soiling (created by pollution and distributed by

[126] Henry Hodges, *Artifacts: An introduction to early materials and technology* (London: John Baker, 1964), 111.

[127] The quality of any building stone has much to do with the process of quarrying, seasoning, drying, cutting, laying, mortar etc. than it does with properties of the base material itself. When brownstone is first quarried, it is saturated with moisture (sap) that must be dried out (for months) before being used as a building stone, otherwise the sap can freeze and ruin the stone. During proper seasoning, the sap actually moves to the surface and mixes with calcite or silica to form a stronger coating for the stone. At the height of brownstone's popularity, demand was so high that quarries could not keep pace and therefore sold low quality, poorly seasoned stone, resulting in weak stone that helped ruin brownstone's reputation as a building material. Williams, *Stories in Stone*, 18 and 140.

weather/climate) and acid raid (created by pollution distributed by the water cycle).[128] As much as stone stored, its memory devices were, like the computer, capable of simultaneously storing and processing.[129] For stone, this processing was both a physical reality in the aging, weathering, and deterioration of the stone itself, and a processing in the changing over of its function. Furthermore, there was a direct relationship between these dual processes, as stone was also a rich channel for affective communication. As various building stones represented different eras, they came to store, transmit and process values that were not always favorably considered at some present moment. The content of their communication was subject to various interpretations with real material consequences, from neglect to outright demolition, or conversely, preservation or rehabilitation. These earthly materials, over time, came to speak to people in particular ways and the construction, maintenance, neglect, and demolition of stone buildings across Hamilton's history reveals important moments and motivations in the logic of the city as a medium.

It is most fitting to begin an excavation of Hamilton's building stone with local Whirlpool sandstone because it was the first widely used stone in the area. Whirlpool sandstone (also called Medina sandstone and part of the Silurian unit), was named for the famous whirlpool outside Niagara. It was the "most prized building stone in early 19th century southern Ontario" and quarried from the face of the escarpment, at its base below the mountain, close to the early Hamilton town site.[130] It was part of a large geologic formation running from Niagara Falls to Collingwood, forming its own miniature escarpment at the base of the Niagara escarpment. This sandstone was formed over centuries and millennia as sand deposits accumulated, blended with

[128] Tim Edensor, "Vital urban materiality and its multiple absences: the building stone of central Manchester," *Cultural Geographies* 20, no. 4 (2013): 449.

[129] Wendy Hui Kyong Chun, "The Enduring Ephemeral, or The Future is a Memory," in Huhtamo and Parikka eds. *Media Archaeology*, 195.

[130] G.V. Middleton, "Hamilton Building Stone."

calcite or quartz and underwent extreme compression, forcing the various elements together into solid sandstone. There are many different types of sandstone due to the variable conditions under which it can form, but Whirlpool sandstone in the Hamilton area was of particularly good quality, made from "tightly cemented" pure white quartz sand. It was less porous and more resistant to erosion than other sections of the same formation, making it an "excellent freestone that could be cut into regular blocks and used as ashlar."[131] Notably, the stone was resistant to weathering, but subject to black soiling, so examples that survive in Hamilton have a distinct appearance unless they have been cleaned. While Whirlpool sandstone was located at the base of the mountain, it can only be effectively quarried where there was an outcrop of quality stone (mini escarpment) among the shale, resulting in a limited number of quality quarries proximate to the early Hamilton site.[132] The Webb quarry at the head of Victoria Avenue had eight to nine feet of quality grey sandstone and the George Mills quarry at the head of Emerald Street also had eight feet of grey sandstone in thick beds.[133] Between 1806 and the 1860s, local Whirlpool sandstone was used for all of the fine buildings in Hamilton due to its accessibility, including many key early structures that have since been demolished. Bellevue, built in 1806 by Captain Durand and later occupied by George Hamilton was located at the base of the mountain close to known sandstone quarries and would almost certainly have been built of this stone. Other demolished buildings likely made of sandstone were Westlawn (1836), the Gore Bank (1840),

[131] I. Peter Martini and C. Salas "Depositional Characteristics of the Whirlpool Sandstone, Lower Silurian, Ontario," Ontario Geological Survey, Open File Report 5363, (1983): 23 and G.V. Middleton, "Hamilton Building Stone."

[132] W.A. Parks, "Report on the Building and Ornamental Stones of Canada," Vol. 1, Department of Mines, (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1912), 118.

[133] D.F. Hewitt, "Building Stones of Ontario: Part IV Sandstone," Industrial Mineral Report No. 17 (Toronto: Ontario Department of Mines, 1964), 39 and 40 and Parks, "Report on the Building and Ornamental Stones of Canada," 143-144.

the Bank of Upper Canada (1856), and Arkledun (1846) as well as all the early foundries and dry goods warehouses.[134]

The surviving buildings using this stone have been reused and repurposed over time, but they were originally all key processing centers that allowed speculative Hamilton to grow into a prosperous city in the nineteenth century. Whirlpool sandstone was represented in all classes of important early Hamilton buildings, including elite residences, churches, terrace housing, commercial and government buildings. The original log courthouse and jail from 1816 was replaced with a sizeable Whirlpool sandstone structure between 1827 and 1829 (though it too was replaced with a grander stone structure in 1877). The original portions of Hamilton's Central School, from 1853, (later sections added 1891), which was the first graded public school in Ontario, was built from the local Whirlpool sandstone, as too were a number of mansion villas, essential to Hamilton's early social and business networks.[135] One surviving example is Amisfield Place, also known as "The Castle," an impressive (Jacobethan Revival style) Whirlpool sandstone mansion built in the 1840s located on James Street south between Duke and Robinson. Though the building survives today, it has been subdivided into apartments and is almost entirely hidden from view by a gas station and strip plaza built in front of and around it.[136] Sandyford Place (Duke and MacNab) is a stone terrace, representing another class of important residential architecture built of Whirlpool sandstone. Constructed 1856-1864, it is considered

[134] G.V. Middleton, "Hamilton Building Stone."

[135] See Rosenfeld, "A noble house in the city" for more details on these early social relationships and elite housing in Hamilton.

[136] Another surviving example of residential whirlpool sandstone architecture is the Rastrick House (46 Forest Avenue) built in 1847.

the finest stone terrace in Hamilton and one of the finest stone terraces in all of Canada.[137] Other surviving Whirlpool sandstone terraces include the James Street South stone terrace, built in 1856-1860, and the John Street and Bold Street terraces built during the 1850s.[138]

Most of the aforementioned buildings were constructed prior to the railroad's coming to Hamilton. At this juncture, it might be appropriate to return to the larger framework of the city-as-medium before addressing several other key Whirlpool sandstone buildings that came after the railroad, to pause and take stock of the commercial city up to this point, seeing how these structures fed back into the logic of the city-as-medium. One way to identify elements of the logic of commercial Hamilton is through a contemporary visual representation of the city, a lithograph engraving of 1852-1854 Hamilton by Edwin Whitefield.

Figure 4: Hamilton, Canada West, 1854. By Edwin Whitefield, from Whitefield's Original Views of North American Cities*, no. 29 (New York: Endicott & Co., 1854). Image courtesy of Digital Archive @ McMaster University Library.*

[137] Diane Dent, "Sandyford Place: Saved and Restored," *Urbanicity,* October 30, 2014. http://urbanicity.ca/sandyford-place-saved-and-restored/

[138] Many of these terraces were built on higher ground where affluent residents could look down towards the young city's commercial centre, Rosenfeld, "A noble house in the city," 210-211. For more examples of stone terraces see Gardiner, "Hamilton's Stone Age" 27-28.

This image condenses the early decades of Hamilton's history, form, and mediality. What it presents is one medium (the city), composed of other media (the buildings and materials) contained within another medium (the lithograph), but they co-constitute one another in important ways. As Mattern demonstrates, printed materials had significant impacts on cities in terms of influencing the impression, experience, and interaction people had with the built environment. Modes of representing and looking influenced various subjectivities, but also, importantly, a city's means for understanding itself.[139] Images like this lithograph were not neutral representations, but rather encoded with particular messages and values. Even beyond the content, the form of the lithograph itself signaled the city as logically reducible to a two dimensional representation. Furthermore, we can follow the trajectory of this logic as it became more entrenched, more technological, and more linear in both the physical formatted/material city and subsequent representations.

Though the engraving was for sale by 1854, much of the work was done closer to 1852 and it was advertised in Hamilton's 1853 directory, which was completed at end of 1852.[140] Immediately it is clear that the lithograph was tied to other printed materials that organized the city and help give it coherent form, things like the directory, that attempted to simultaneously order the city and disseminate this order to a wider population through official documentation/designation. The first Hamilton Directory undertook the task of "apportioning a number to every house," and outlined that streets running north/south to the south of King Street were to be called "upper" and those east/west streets, to the west of James Street, were to be called "west." The directory also went into a detailed discussion of the logic of numbering

[139] Mattern, *Code and Clay, Data and Dirt*, 60.

[140] "Advertisement for Whitefield view of Hamilton," in 1853 *City of Hamilton Directory 1853* (Hamilton: Spectator Office for C.W. Cooke, 1853), 143.

addresses to bring greater clarity and order to the city by utilizing a system similar to Toronto, a larger and most established city. The directory served as an early example of data collection, organization, and dissemination, of information on people, businesses, and buildings, which were being assigned together and arranged in particular relationships. Similar to the directory, the lithograph was a tool for both ordering and representing early Hamilton. Created during the wholesale and early manufacturing period, it is notable for offering the view from the perspective of the escarpment looking north, with Lake Ontario in the background. This orientation was significant because it highlighted the importance of local elites through their villa estates as Amisfield/"The Castle" and other key estates, like Dundurn Castle, Rock Castle, Arkledun, Bellevue, and Ballinahinch were all depicted.[141] The view of Hamilton was from their perspective on the higher ground looking north towards the commercial district and the bay, where most of these elites' business interests were located. These mansions around the base of the escarpment were important processing centers in the small world of local elites, where social and business networks were closely linked.[142] The bucolic setting of the villas, however, gave way to the straight lines of the grid city in the distance.

The lithograph gives a sense of the city's early limits, clearly showing the compressed north/south band between the mountain and the lake while the western limit of the Iroquois Ridge is just out of view on the left side. The more linear sections in the middle-ground are the built manifestation and extension of the survey and grid. There is the distinctive element of linearity in the long, straight streets running north/south, namely, James, Hughson, and John

[141] Landmarks noted are 1. Dundurn Castle (seat of Sir Allan N. McNab). 2. Central School. 3. Gas Works. 4. Catholic Church. 5. St. Andrew's Church. 6. Market House. 7. Christ Church. 8. Court House. 9. Baptist Church. 10 Church of the Ascension.

[142] Rosenfeld, "A noble house in the city," Chapter 3 Hamilton's "Grand Old Men" Adam Brown, William Hendrie and W.E. Sanford, 129-186.

(going up the mountain), with east west streets crossing at right angles. This image though, is not as grid-like and tidy as later representations from the industrial era will be. Urban lithographs, such as this, were generally quite accurate (particularly as concerns the location and arrangement of buildings) though there certainly was some artistic license employed in terms of imposing order, legibility, and highlighting desirable features while leaving certain things out. For example, there is no indication of the poor housing and drainage conditions in the Corktown area, which are shown simply as a mix of buildings and trees, denser and smaller than elite areas. Most notably the lithograph depicts Hamilton in its pre-railway era (notice that the land closest to the bay is not filled in with structures) and though there is a train leaving the city in the east, there is no trace of the forthcoming, massive Great Western Railway (GWR) operations on the western bay shore. The lone train was likely included because gossip about the railway was active at the time, but it completely misses the scale of what was to come with the GWR.

Hamilton's railroad era was a major enhancement of the city's input/output and essential in its expanding and evolving networks. In 1853-1854, the Great Western Railway was constructed between Niagara Falls and Windsor through Hamilton, which, importantly, was selected as the site of the workshops for the line. The workshops demonstrated Hamilton's growing regional importance, provided an additional economic boost, encouraged early metalworking in the city, and marked the turning point towards Hamilton's emergence as an industrial city.[143] The tracks entered across the Iroquois Bar and close to the bay in the west, but then cut a line through the city on stable land south of the bay, creating a north/south divide that became more dramatic over time. The rail line needed to cross the channel cut for the earlier Burlington Canal, so the canal was unceremoniously landfilled and a new one dug in the

[143] Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict,* 15.

narrowest part of the bar and "they did it with a casual brutality, those nineteenth-century railway builders, moving earth, stone, and water, forever altering shapes and contours that glaciers and glacial meltwaters had crafted."[144] The role of the railway in Hamilton's networking in this era cannot be overstated. The railway both continued and superseded the trajectory of the earlier Burlington Canal in putting a definitive end to nearby Dundas' role as an important economic centre in the area. The trade route from Wellington and Waterloo that once flowed through Dundas and out the Desjardin and Burlington Canals was bypassed by the GWR, which routed that flow through Hamilton and then out the Burlington Canal.[145] When a branch line to Toronto was added in 1855, it negated the old Governor's Road network issue. Furthermore, the GWR joined the New York Central Railway to the Michigan Central Railway, connecting, through Hamilton, American cities like Boston and New York with Chicago and Milwaukee, a major American immigration route from the east coast to the Midwest.[146] This initial railroad era was a time of optimism and excitement in the city that was also manifested in the built environment, particularly the Commercial Block and Custom House.[147]

During the beginning of the railroad era, Whirlpool sandstone continued to be the material of choice for more expensive buildings in the city. Hamilton's Commercial Block was a large and impressive building that "reflected the optimism Hamilton experiences with the arrival of the railway in 1854." Originally built in 1856 on the old Merrick Street (now York Boulevard) with an addition in 1881, it has been described as the "finest surviving pre-

[144] Terpstra, *Falling into Place,* 19.
[145] Burkholder, *The Story of Hamilton,* 117.
[146] Gentilcore, "The beginnings: Hamilton in the nineteenth century," 111.
[147] This optimism was hurt by the Desjardin Canal disaster of 1857, when a train derailed off the bridge spanning the Desjardin canal and 59 people were killed. Shortly after the city faced financial difficulties and a local economic depression that lasted from 1857-1862.

Confederation commercial building in the city."[148] Initially a grocery and dry goods warehouse, it became home to Coppley clothing manufacturing in 1900 and was still operating as a (clothing) factory in 2017, one of only two remaining downtown factories.[149] The Commercial Block is representative of the earliest commercial activity and the transition from commercial storage to more industrial factory production. The Whirlpool sandstone building most associated with the coming of the railway, however, is the Custom House built 1858-1860 [now the Workers Arts and Heritage Centre]. The lower half of the Customs House is Whirlpool sandstone, while the upper half is imported Ohio Sandstone. Commissioned by the United Province of Canada Legislative Assembly, it was "a relatively uncommon building type in nineteenth century Ontario," but is the oldest major public building still intact, and mostly unaltered, in Hamilton. The Custom House was a testament to the growing regional importance of Hamilton after the arrival of the Great Western Railway, "a monument to Hamilton's prominent role in the development of trade and commerce during the formative years of this country."[150] Built next to the GWR lines on Stuart Street, about halfway between the port and downtown, the Custom House was essential to early Hamilton's role as a processing centre.

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[148] Hamilton's Heritage Volume 5, 121.

[149] Meredith MacLeod, "Coppley building owner opposes heritage designation dating back to 1979," *Hamilton Spectator*, 19 March 19, 2015. http://www.thespec.com/news-story/5513274-coppley-building-owner-opposes-heritage-designation-dating-back-to-1979/ The other operating downtown factory is Dunn's mustard. Coppley announced in 2018 that they would be moving out, but the owner of the building said he had no immediate plans for alternative use or redevelopment. Mark McNeil, "Coppley Apparel is on the move in downtown Hamilton," *Hamilton Spectator,* February 15, 2018 https://www.thespec.com/news-story/8136833-coppley-apparel-is-on-the-move-in-downtown-hamilton/
Paul Wilson, "Coppley building still standing in downtown Hamilton…let's keep it that way," *Hamilton Spectator*, March 6, 2018. https://www.thespec.com/opinion-story/8298663-coppley-building-still-standing-in-downtown-hamilton-let-s-keep-it-that-way/

[150] Hamilton's Heritage Volume 5, 142.

Despite Hamilton's relative distance from the United States border, it was nonetheless the chosen site for the physical place to process the data associated with the movement of various goods across the border. The railway provided the input/output and the Custom House did the processing.

By the end of the 1860s, the local quarries of Whirlpool sandstone were mostly used up and large blocks could no longer be extracted, but it was still used in smaller quantities for lintels and sills.[151] A second local stone, Eramosa dolomite, however, was used throughout the city in the 1870s and 1880s. Eramosa dolomite is part of the Lockport formation and consists of calcium magnesium carbonate; it forms from sand and mud, that is converted to dolomitic rock over time. It is often called limestone, but in geologic terms, it is distinct. Dolomite is a magnesium calcium carbonate whereas limestone is a calcium carbonite; dolomite is similar to limestone—in terms of being produced by marine organisms—but different in that it is altered early after deposition. Furthermore it is also less effected by acid rain than true limestone and the local Hamilton variety of dolomite is fine grained with few fossils (though micro fossils are present).[152] The earliest quarries were close to the mountain brow, but the best stone came from quarries that were about one and a half kilometers back from ledge. Dolomite was not used as building stone in the lower city until after a good quality toll free access road up the mountain was built in 1873 (Jolley Cut).[153] Buildings using Eramosa dolomite have something of a unique appearance because the rock has a rough rugged texture (unlike true limestone), is difficult to cut

[151] G.V. Middleton, "Hamilton Building Stone"

[152] G.V. Middleton, "Hamilton Building Stone Part 2: Eramosa Dolomite" *Raise the Hammer* (blog) August, 23 2011. https://www.raisethehammer.org/article/1441/hamilton_building_stone_part_2:_eramosa_dolomite

[153] Parks, "Report on the Building and Ornamental Stones of Canada," 251.

into uniform sized blocks due its irregular bedding, and has small cavities (vugs) making a smooth finish impossible.[154] Buildings in Hamilton that used this stone include the Charisma Church (1870), All Saints Church (1873), Christ Church Hall and School (1870s), Ascension Hall (1872), St. Patrick's (1873) and the terrace at 120-122 Hughson Street South. It was also used in conjunction with Whirlpool sandstone for the original pump house at the Hamilton Waterworks (1859) where the stone at the base of the chimney is Whirlpool sandstone and the main building is Eramosa dolomite. This stone, however, faced competition from imported stones as Hamilton's need for building stone grew at the same time as its transportation networks. For instance, after the canals were built, it was simpler to import Ohio sandstone via ship than try to bring Eramosa dolomite down from the mountain until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[155] Hamilton also imported a considerable amount of Queenston limestone from the Niagara peninsula, Indiana limestone from the United States, and, for a period in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Credit River Sandstone via the Credit River Railway. Finally, towards the end of the stone era, other local building materials became more popular, and by the 1880s, Hamilton's building industry was dominated by brick made from local Iroquois Bar clay.

[154] G.V. Middleton, "Hamilton Building Stone Part 2: Eramosa Dolomite."

[155] Ohio sandstone (also known as Berea sandstone) was quarried in the area around Cleveland and imported to Hamilton through the Great Lakes shipping networks. It was softer than the local Whirlpool sandstone and therefore easier to carve for ornamentation or for surrounds on windows and doors. It was also available in large uniform blocks for building. Early Hamilton buildings featuring Ohio sandstone include the Christ Church Cathedral façade (1854), the upper half of the Custom House (1860), the steeple of St. Paul's Church [the 180-foot stone spire is the only one of its type in Ontario] and the Hamilton Provident and Loan building (1881-1960) at southeast corner of King and Hughson.

The transition to other imported building stones and rapidly increasing use of brick was the material manifestation of Hamilton's transition from a commercial to industrial city. By 1870s, the city began focusing its efforts towards manufacturing, having lost commercial dominance to Toronto.[156] Before moving on to Hamilton's industrial era, I would like to wrap up this section with another representation of Hamilton at the end of the stone era, to again take stock of the hardware, formatting, and logic of the city at this time through a 1876 bird's eye view.

Figure 5: Bird's Eye View of the City of Hamilton, Province Ontario, Canada, 1876. by H. Brosius. J.J. Stoner, Madison Wisconsin, Chicago Lithograph Co. Image courtesy of the Hamilton Public Library, Local History & Archives.

[156] G.V. Middleton, "Hamilton Building Stone Part 2: Eramosa Dolomite" and Diana J. Middleton and David F. Walker, "Manufacturers and Industrial Development Policy in Hamilton, 1890-1910," *Urban History Review* 8, no. 3 (1980): 22.

This image represents Hamilton during the era (1870s) in which, according to historian Bryan Palmer, the city transitioned into the final stage of capitalist development, Modern Industrial.[157] Like the 1854 image, it also offered no visual distinction between stone, brick, or frame buildings, but most of the eighty-three places listed were in fact stone.[158] The major differentiating feature since the 1854 view was the orientation that shifted from the mountain looking north to the bay looking south. This became the dominant orientation of Hamilton for the next century, though it did slide east over time. Another striking difference was the presence (and scale) of the Great Western Railway and its workshops in the central foreground of the image. It was the most prominent focal point, rather than the old harbour at the base of James and John streets. In contrast to the 1854 image, it displayed a very clear grid and orderly city, representing the acceleration of the linear logic in the industrial era. It showcased the expansion of the city's territory through the grid, its increased memory and processing capacity in the tidy linear blocks. There was little trace of the mansion villas that housed the business elite in the city's southwest and the numerous smokestacks demonstrated Hamilton's increasingly industrial economy. The image also listed thirty-two manufacturing establishments, further emphasizing the industrial character of the city. This was the era when the first reference to Hamilton as the 'Birmingham of Canada" was made, though this nickname was most closely associated with the 1890s.[159] Finally, the shift northwards was becoming clearer and the industrial trajectory established here encouraged the next phase of development to continue north towards the

[157] Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict,* 15.

[158] Nine civic reference points were listed: City Hall, Custom House, Post Office, Court House & Jail, City Hospital, Inebriate Asylum, New Jail, Gas Works, Drill Shed); 28 churches, 5 schools, 6 banks, 3 hotels, and 32 manufacturing establishments. Note the increasing size and emphasis on manufacturing.

[159] Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict,* 15, citing *Hamilton Spectator,* September 13, 1871.

bayfront and east towards the blast furnace. This rapid expansion quickly obsolesced many of the old stone buildings while the heaping mounds of coal piled around the wharves comingled with the older stone buildings in their own unique way, giving them both the aged look and physical damage that come with black soiling.[160]

As brick gained favour, many of Hamilton's previously important stone buildings slid into marginal use or disuse and fell into disrepair. The rise of brick signaled a major change in urban hardware as brick afforded larger, taller, cheaper, and more quickly built factories, offices, houses, and commercial buildings. The old stone hardware, however continued to function and process after its original use and users expired.[161] The buildings' roles may have shifted from essential processing towards seemingly less important storage or memory functions, but still continued more subtle processing roles as they underwent further physical changes. I am particularly interested in the interrelationships between the two, as older buildings were subject to both natural and social deterioration simultaneously. At times, they were slowly ruined by natural weather and climactic forces (combined with a lack of maintenance and repair) and at other times they were outright demolished in order to build something new. The lines between natural and social deterioration were blurred, particularly as factors like industrial pollution, quarrying and seasoning practices, building, and maintenance, and weather patterns comingled. The slowing down of maintenance and repair cannot be clearly distinguished from the gradual effects of freeze/thaw cycles. The building and its material made no distinction between these categories, it simply recorded, processed, and transmitted them all. Black soiling—the darkening

[160] For example, Christ Church on James street, which is badly blackened instead of golden brown.

[161] See Edward Hollis, *The Secret Lives of Buildings: From the Parthenon to the Vegas Strip in Thirteen Stories* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2009) for discussion of the use and reuse of some of buildings from ancient times to present day.

of exposed surfaces by the accumulation of, soot, coal dust etc. from steam trains, diesel fuel, coal burning, coke burning and the like—was a material as well as aesthetic phenomenon. Stone subject to black soiling did not simply look different; there were also changes in the chemical composition of the stone. While the particles were mostly a result of modern industrial processes, the transfer of these soiling particles to the façades of buildings was influenced by weather conditions such as wind, temperature, the state of the atmosphere, and atmospheric water like rain and fog. There was a chemical change to the stone, whereby the soiling particles were bound to the surface and cemented over time, creating a thick gypsum crust where more black material can accumulate. For example, some buildings in England had 25-75mm crusts from eighty of more years of soiling when they were eventually cleaned in the 1960s.[162]

An interesting example of stone damage and deterioration in Hamilton is St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, which was built between 1854-1857 from local Whirlpool sandstone, except the spire, which was made from imported Ohio sandstone. St Paul's showcased the damage to stone buildings through the combination of pollution, weather, and human interventions, or the lack thereof. After the church's completion in the 1850s it was largely unaltered and only minimally maintained for close to one hundred years, mainly due to a lack of congregational funds. As a sandstone structure, it was subject to the same black soiling as many other Hamilton buildings, but the aesthetic damage only showcased what was truly physical deterioration as pieces of the church began falling off in the 1940s. Repairs were (problematically) done using limestone which only further damaged the sandstone below it;

[162] Nicola Ashurst, *Cleaning Historic Buildings vol.1: substrates, soiling and investigation*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 13. and P. Brimblecombe and C.M. Grossi, The rate of darkening of material surfaces, in *Air Pollution and Cultural Heritage,* 2004, ed. C. Saiz-Jimenez (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), 193.

when acidic rainwater ran down the limestone, it removed carbonates that then trickled down to the sandstone below, where they penetrated the more porous rock and reacted with other pollutant oxides forming water-soluble salts that further deteriorated the stone. The resulting, more severe damage was discovered in the 1980s, when the effects of air pollution were better understood. Most of the masonry joints had been penetrated by acid rain, snow, fogs, and aerosols after a hundred years or more of air pollution from the burning of coal and production of iron and steel that put sulphates into the air and deposited efflorescent (rises to surface of porous material) and subflorescent (crystalize within a porous medium) salts. Parts of the spire had lost 1/3 of their thickness.[163] Damage to other sandstone structures was a result of more obvious human error. As early as 1912, it was noted that many buildings incorporating local sandstone were constructed " in a very unsatisfactory manner," with the sandstone being used as sheets of facing (with the stone split parallel to the bedding) on limestone walls.[164] This allowed water and salts to permeate and, combined with freeze thaw cycles, eventually crumble the stone. This weathering and deterioration again reveal the media qualities of these materials and buildings, how they physically processed these changes and stored a record of it all, while also transmitting their effects in visible deterioration.

Other buildings demonstrated an evolution of the processing function that were somewhat less material, though aging and weathering undoubtedly contributed to their changing fortunes as much as evolving uses did. In this instance we can look at the Custom House. Despite its key role in Hamilton's early history and growth in the era of the railroad, and the fact that it was a

[163] Alan Seymour and Walter Peace, "St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Ontario," *Bulletin: Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 18, no. 2 (1993): 48.

[164] Parks, "Report on the Building and Ornamental Stones of Canada," 144.

large, expensive public building, its operations outgrew the facilities by 1887, when the customs offices were vacated. Less than thirty years after completion it was unimportant and the building, accordingly, fell into disrepair, but still lingered amidst the cityscape somewhat awkwardly as an obsolesced piece of hardware. Still, it continued to serve a variety of purposes over the next century including those of elementary school, YWCA, homeless shelter, vinegar factory, yarn factory, pasta factory/olive packing/donut making facility, martial arts academy, and finally, Workers Arts and Heritage Museum.[165] The Custom House and other early stone structures demonstrate that the hardware of the built environment does not stop processing when its original function ceases, but rather, starts processing something else differently. While a building, as a kind of shell, was filled with new roles (often related to its datedness/obsolescence in a material way), its actual material continued to change and evolve as well, falling into disrepair, sowing the seeds for its own eventual retrieval/revival. The original processing functions were relocated elsewhere (bigger, newer, better, more efficient) and the building took on lesser functions as the stone continued to age, evolve, and process in its own ways and at its own pace, negotiating its fragility and durability. Left lingering long enough, various buildings and their materials also became channels for affective communication and processed changes in social and urban values as well (Chapters 3 and 4).

Industrialization was the primary force that obsolesced Hamilton's stone buildings and brick was the next building material to enter into widespread usage. Brick was fundamental to Hamilton's emergence as the so-called Birmingham of Canada between the 1870s and 1890s. This era was marked by the growing industrial base and changing patterns of capital, particularly

[165] "History of Custom House," Workers Arts and Heritage Centre. http://wahc-museum.ca/our-story/custom-house/

the accelerating level of American investment with a corresponding increase in scale and concentration of industries in the north end of the city along the waterfront. As examples, on the western part of the bay, the old Great Western Rolling Mill was taken over by a group of Ohio businessmen in 1879 to form the Ontario Rolling Mills.[166] The Ontario Tack Company was formed by the directors of the Ontario Rolling Mills in 1885, introducing American technology (wire nails made from steel rather than cut nails made from iron) to Canadian nail manufacture.[167] Two other large and significant industries on the west harbour in this era were Greening Iron Works and Hamilton Bridge Company. In the 1880s, the stone Empire Foundry from 1864 was vastly expanded with new spaces of brick construction along its entire York Street frontage. In the central part of the city were large textile-manufacturing establishments such as the Hamilton Cotton Company 1880, Ontario Cotton Company, and the Sanford Manufacturing Company.[168] Towards the east, L.D. Sawyer and Co. (Sawyer Massey after 1889) set up a new location after its central foundry from the pre-railway era burned in 1855. Similarly, the Canada Screw Company moved from Dundas to Hamilton 1887 to gain access to the improved rail freight yards of the Grand Trunk Railway (which had taken over the Great Western Railway by this time).

In 1892, the *Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada* souvenir (book) was published as a tool of self-promotion before the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. At over one

[166] These firms set up in Hamilton at this time because of the National Policy protecting Canadian manufacturing, Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History,* 85. Ontario Rolling Mills joined with the Hamilton Blast Furnace Company in 1899, becoming Hamilton Iron and Steel Company, which became the core the Steel Company of Canada when formed in 1910. Ontario Tack Company and Canada Screw Company were also part of the Stelco-creating merger.

[167] Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History,* 85.

[168] Gentilcore, "The beginnings: Hamilton in the nineteenth century," 116.

hundred and twenty pages, it was designed to showcase the city, as "hundreds of thousands of people will be carried to the World's Fair [by the Grand Trunk Railway] by way of Niagara Falls and Canada, direct to Chicago…recognized as the great international route between the Eastern and Western States."[169] The souvenir highlighted the city's history, institutions, architecture, and most significantly, its businesses, with profiles on many major firms:

> The city is often called the Birmingham of Canada …Hamilton resembles the larger and older hive of industry in her thrifty application of skill and capital to widely diversified industrial operations. This has been her distinguishing characteristic for at least a generation. Within that period, manufacturing establishments on a scale and with equipments in keeping with the latest demands for cheap and efficient productions, have successively sprung up within her limits…scarcely an important branch of industry is left altogether unrepresented…her factories, equipped with modern machinery and the latest labor-saving devices to minimize the cost of production maintain a daily output of innumerable articles of metal, wood, and leather industries, of textile fabrics and of glass-ware, pottery, clothing etc.[170]

The souvenir included numerous photos of Hamilton's large factories, as well as descriptions of the most modern equipment utilized, and noted the impressive size of a number of plants. To this tribute to Hamilton's increasingly industrial identity can be added another promotional visual depiction of the city from 1893.[171] This bird's eye view was not strikingly different from the 1876 view, but did showcase significant expansion of the industrial format since the 1870s. It depicted more than one hundred and fifty chimneys releasing black smoke (that soil the stone buildings) from factories around the CBD and waterfront near the Grand Trunk Railway (former

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[169] *Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada,* (Hamilton: Times Printing Company, 1892), 54.

[170] *Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada,* 14 and 17.

[171] The 1893 edition listed the twenty-one businesses but did not include images of them. See Bird's Eye View of the City of Hamilton, Province Ontario, Canada, 1893. Toronto: Toronto Lithographing Company, 1893. Digital Archive @ McMaster University. https://digitalarchive.mcmaster.ca/islandora/object/macrepo%3A82243.

GWR) and highlighted the transportation networks of the harbour and railway with nine trains entering and leaving the city, three locomotives stationed within, and nearly fifty ships dotting the harbour. The 1894 edition of this bird's eye view also included vignettes of twenty-one principle business buildings. Gone were references to the stone civic buildings, churches, and elite residences. Instead, newer and larger brick factories were profiled. Like other depictions of the city, as a two-dimensional representation it was as much one of reality as one of the desire and logic of industrial capitalism; the "map provides a sense of order and regularity that has been superimposed on the landscape."[172]

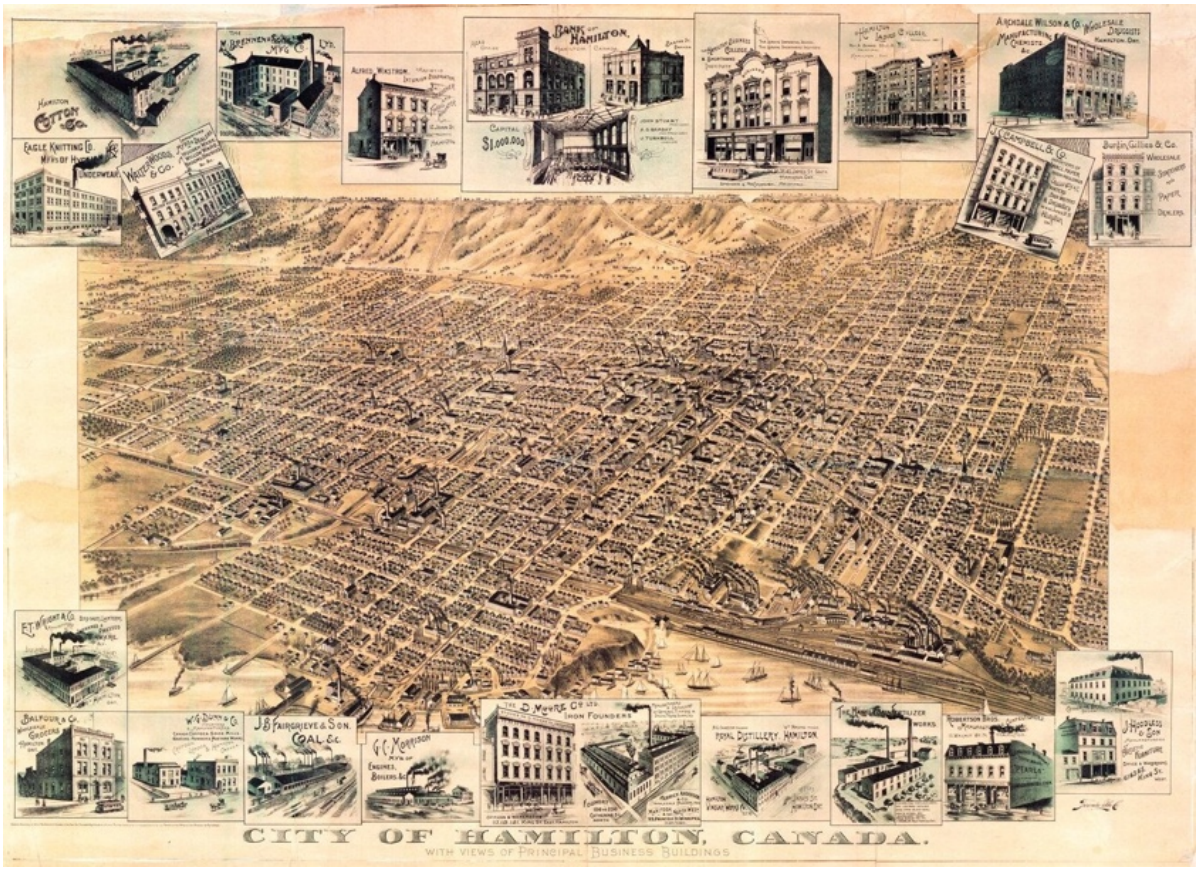

Figure 6: City of Hamilton, Canada, 1894. Entered according to Act of Parliament of Canada in the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred & Ninety Four by Toronto Lithographing Co. Toronto in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture. Digital image courtesy of Raymond Biesinger.

[172] Walter G. Peace, "Landscapes of Victorian Hamilton: The Use of Visual Materials in Recreating and Interpreting the Past," *Urban History Review* 18, no 1. (1989): 76.

Again, there was a degree of artistic license employed as, for instance, homes were not all this uniform and it did not show Hamilton's sporadic building infill over several decades with many different architectural styles. It mimicked the logic of the survey/plan with clean lines and geometric format, ordering the messy chaos of the real lived environment. As with other depictions, it was not possible to see the textures of the building materials, but by the 1890s, the materiality of the city had undergone a major transformation. This was when old stone foundries were dwarfed by the new modern (largely brick) factories ushered in by increasingly networked arrangements of capital, particularly major American investment and huge building booms towards the east after the construction of the blast furnace and availability of plentiful cheap electricity in second half of 1890s.[173] In 1890, Hamilton had four American owned firms (Garlock Packing Company, Hamilton Cotton Company, Meriden Britannia Company and Norton Manufacturing Company), but by 1913, branch plants in city numbered forty-six.[174] Between 1896 and the first two decades of the twentieth century, major manufacturing was set up on the eastern waterfront amidst (and increasingly reclaiming) the long inlets there. The industrial format was epitomized by sprawling specialized plants as "large-scale industrial organizations forced Hamilton into new spatial arrangements and created a district of architectural leviathans."[175] Some examples of the new larger east end factories were Westinghouse (1898, with a huge expansion in 1905), Deering Harvester Company (1902)

[173] The 1895 blast furnace allowed Hamilton to make its own iron, rather than import it from Nova Scotia. The city was well positioned to accept ore from Lake Superior region and coal via port and railway from Virginia and Pennsylvania and electricity is plentiful and cheap, after the city' pioneered the long distance transmission of electrical power in the later 1890s.

[174] Middleton and Walker, "Manufacturers and Industrial Development Policy in Hamilton, 1890-1910," 20-21.

[175] Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History*, 96.

beside the blast furnace, Otis Elevator Company in (1902, the largest elevator manufacturing plant in the world for some time), the American Can Company (1904), Union Drawn Steel (1905), Barnes Carriage Company (1906), Berlin Machine Works (1908), and Standard Underground Cable (1911).[176] The east end peninsulas between large inlets were occupied and filled in by companies like Oliver Chilled Plow (1910), a new International Harvester plant (1912) that included thirty acres of floor space in multiple large-scale buildings, Grasselli Chemical Company (becomes C.I.L.), National Steel Car (1912), Dominion Steel Castings Limited (1912, becomes Dofasco), Proctor and Gamble (1915), and Firestone (1919).[177] These plants and the supporting workers' housing, as well as commercial infrastructure, were largely built from brick.

The materiality of Hamilton cannot be separated from its brick. The city is most often associated with steel, but steel was a product that it made, while brick was the product of which it was built. Brick matters in Hamilton due to its sheer abundance and visual dominance. Following the same pattern developed earlier in the chapter, I would like to look again at brick as a material, a medium in its own right, and also its role within a wider conceptualization of Hamilton as a medium. As Mattern notes, bricks are indeed media, as tools of communication and instruments for regulating, citing examples like the historic practice of determining the dimensions of a room through the calculation of the number of standard sized bricks.[178] Brick is both ancient and modern, natural and industrial, global and local. Despite the obvious

[176] Bill Freeman, *Hamilton: A People's History,* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 2006), 85-86.

[177] Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History*, 97 and Freeman, *Hamilton: A People's History,* 85-86.

[178] Mattern, *Code and Clay, Data and Dirt*, 107.

similarities, different regions, and cities made different bricks; in fact, no two brickyards in the same city even made the same brick, and bricks from the same firing in the same yard were themselves not identical.[179] Different basic materials and processes gave bricks their individual character as they were physically inscribed with different properties. A rather explicit example of the unique qualities of bricks comes from Hamilton Pressed Brick Company. These bricks were literally stamped with HAMILTON in the frog of the brick and when you see one, if you know something about the history of brickmaking in the city, you know where it comes from, what it is made of, and when it was made.[180] Furthermore, brick is more than just brick, as it is inextricably tied to mortar when it comes to building; a wall is as much a web of mortar as a collection of bricks.[181] We can consider both brickmaking and bricklaying as technical skills and bricks provide a clear link between the industrial and postindustrial systems. The bricks were the functional and symbolic data units comprising the industrial city, but they also mimicked and foreshadowed the unfolding and forthcoming information society. The city has millions of units of bricks organized and stacked, precursors to the binary 0 and 1 of the information city; the bricks reveal how and when Hamilton stopped transitioning to the information society that other, successful postindustrial cities embraced. It is possible to trace in Hamilton some of the

[179] Thomas Leslie, "Built Mostly of Itself: The Chicago Brick Industry and Masonry Skyscraper in the late 19th Century," *Construction History* 25 (2010): 70. A single firing in particular types of kilns can produce four or five grades of brick: best, first, second and third class, clinkers (over-fired) and salmons (under-fired). Debra F. Laefer, Justin Boggs, and Nicole Cooper, "Engineering Properties of Historic Brick: Variability Considerations as a Function of Stationary versus Nonstationary Kiln Types," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 43, no. 3 (2004): 255-272.

[180] The frog is the depression in the bearing face of a brick that is filled with mortar when laid. Some of thee Hamilton stamped bricks were sold for $20 each at a shop (The Hamilton Store) on James street for some time. One can still find them at many demolition sites around the city.

[181] Ingold, *Life of Lines*, 30.

technological and architectural changes afforded by brick, but also a slowing down of technological progress in terms of the built environment and materials after the major building booms of the early twentieth century were satisfied. In Hamilton's case then, these bricks also store, transmit and process a significant notion of delay as the city was unable to move beyond this materiality and technology of building, with the exception of a small number of structures (Chapter 3), which do more to highlight the delay than to circumvent it.

Changes in brickmaking were deeply tied to industrial technological advances, evolving from an ancient technique to a modern, industrial, mass produced product, especially after the 1880s and 1890s, when technical innovations greatly improved brick quality. It was an innovation in brickmaking—the stiff-clay dry-press method—that produced a stronger more durable brick, enabling the increase in building height just prior to the steel frame skyscraper.[182] It is important to note how brick is different from stone in that it is a manufactured product, even if basic brickmaking is an ancient technique. Stone is formed over millennia by forces of nature, found, quarried, cut, seasoned, and placed, while brick is made from other geological materials (clay, shale, and sand), which is dug, mixed, formed, cut, dried, fired, and cooled. Brickmaking is an industry that adopted standardization (sizing, moulds etc.), new technologies, increase in capacities and decrease in labour costs, as well as moving from stationary to non-stationary elements in the manufacturing processes, particularly in their continuous movement through kilns and cooling chambers. In fact, how bricks are made is as important in their durability/longevity as weather and neglect. Brick will have variable properties based on the raw material from which it is made (clay or shale), the molding process (soft mud, stiff mud, dry-

[182] Leslie, "Built Mostly of Itself," 74.

pressed), kiln type (updraft, downdraft, continuous, stationary, tunnel) fuel type, (wood, coke, coal), and drying conditions.[183]

Hamilton brick making followed a parallel trajectory to industrial expansion in the city, beginning with clay in the west on the Iroquois Bar and with local family owned operations before moving towards the company/plant model in early 20th century, and then easterly into shale deposits and larger, conglomerated mass-producing plants. Brick building in Hamilton took place prior the industrial era, but did not characterize the era the same way stone did. The first brick business block in Hamilton was completed in 1837 (Stinson Block) and there were also a number of brick homes built in Hamilton during the 1830s, though, at this time, most cheaply constructed buildings were still frame, while more expensive structures were built of stone.[184] Hamilton's earliest brickyards were located in the western portion of the city, and beyond its limits near the Iroquois Bar, where deposits of good quality clay had been left by the changing lake levels of the previous twelve thousand years. Clay deposits closest to the centre of town were used first and the industry retreated to the south and west as the city grew and clay deposits were depleted. Early yards were located around Dundurn and Main Street, but worked back to the south and west, following the Iroquois Bar towards the mountain.[185] Other brickmaking areas of the city were located around what is now the Aberdeen rail yard and also

[183] Laefer, Biggs, and Cooper, "Engineering Properties of Historic Brick," 259.

[184] Example of an 1830s brick house was that of Peter Hunter Hamilton. An original log house from the early nineteenth century was replaced with a brick home during the 1830s thought it was demolished in 1936. *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography: Volume I,* ed. Thomas Melville Bailey (W.L. Griffin Limited, 1981), 93. Early brick buildings that are still standing include Gardener's Cottage (1856) adjacent to Dundurn Park overlooking the bay and built for MacNab's gardener, and an 1858 brick house at 172 Hess. Hamilton's Heritage Volume 5, 99.

[185] *Sutherland's City of Hamilton Directory for 1870*, (Hamilton: James Sutherland Publisher), 119.

covering the now-residential area of Hawthorne, Lindwood, MacDonald on the south east of the rail tracks and north of the tracks from where Aberdeen meets the 403, around McMaster Innovation Park, north to the Coronation Park/Dufferin Street area. Brickmaking also took place in the area to the east of the 403 where Frid Street is (the area around where the current Hamilton Spectator building is) and west of the 403 around Carling, Paradise Road, and Macklin Streets.[186]

There were three brickmakers listed at the time of the first city directory in 1853 and the same number in 1862; despite a number of brick homes in the city, brick construction was still a rarity in Hamilton.[187] Brick construction accelerated concurrently with industrial expansion in the 1870s. Building reports from 1872 and 1881 show that about 60% of homes were being built of brick.[188] By the time of the 1877 directory, there were at least eight men listed as brickmakers and one as a brick manufacturer.[189] Brick manufacturing represented the larger more technologically advanced class of brickmaking plants that sprung up on the Iroquois Bar in the west end of the city during the 1880s.[190] Operations like the Frid Brothers (1880s), the Crawford Brothers (1885), and the Ollman Brothers (1890) ensured brick was abundantly and cheaply

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[186] Topographic Map, Ontario, Hamilton Sheet, no. 33, Department of Militia and Defence 1909. Geographic Division, General Staff no. 2197, Sheet 33, National Topographical System, University of Toronto Library http://maps.library.utoronto.ca/datapub/digital/NTS_HistoricDigitalReproductions/3400s_63_126_1904_sheet33_1909.jpg.

[187] *City of Hamilton Directory, 1853* lists A. Banden (misspelling of A. Bawden), D. New, and W. Kirkendall. *Hutchinson's Hamilton Directory for 1862* (Hamilton: J. Eastwood, 1861), 156, lists Aaron Bawden at "west limits," Alfred Little at Main and western limits, and Daniel New at Main and Garth.

[188] Doucet and Weaver, *Housing the North American City,* 59, citing Industrial Schedule, *Census of Hamilton*, 1871, MSS. and Doucet and Weaver, 63.

[189] *City of Hamilton annual alphabetical, general, street, miscellaneous and subscriber's classified business for 1876-'77* directory (Hamilton: W.H. Irwin & Co., 1876) lists Henry Blake, David Bowden, John Bowden, Thomas Feaver, Cornelius Vaughan, WM Vaughan, Samuel Woods, and Blackwell as brick makers and Henry New as a brick manufacturer.

[190] Robert J. Montgomery, "The Ceramics Industry in Ontario," *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Department of Mines*, Part IV, (Toronto: Herbert H. Ball, 1930).

available in Hamilton. They used the soft mud process and scove kilns to meet local demand until the boom years of rapid industrial expansion and increasing scale, after which many more brickmakers and more sophisticated operations appeared in Hamilton. By 1899 there were at least fifteen men listed as either brickmakers or brick manufacturers.[191] Amidst the massive industrial and housing expansions of the early twentieth century, a 1906 Bureau of Mines report noted eleven different brickmaking operations (likely all employing more than one brickmaker each) in Hamilton, all still located on the high clay bench of the Iroquois Bar, where there was "five to eight feet of good red-burning clay."[192] For example, the Deering Harvester Company, which began making agricultural and farm machinery in Hamilton in 1902, expanded their operations significantly after merging with other companies to form International Harvester later that year. The Aberdeen Brick Company was built by Deering Harvester "to ensure a supply of brick for the construction of their large plant, and finding that there was demand for all the brick that could be turned out in the city of Hamilton, they decided to continue operating the plant."[193] It was the largest of the brickworks in the city, covering nearly two acres of land. Unlike other operations, Aberdeen Brick was not family owned, but rather an expendable branch of a larger company, (Aberdeen Brick Company, itself owned by Deering Harvester) which was sold a year or two after the plant was finished to Simpson Brick.[194] They produced red brick by both the soft and stiff mud processes. The stiff mud bricks were run through a technologically advanced

[191] *City of Hamilton Twenty-Sixth Annual street, alphabetical, general, miscellaneous, and classified business directory for the year 1899* (Hamilton: W.H. Irwin & Co., 1899)

[192] M.B. Baker, "Clay and the Clay Industry of Ontario," *Report of the Bureau of Mines* Volume XV, Part II, (Toronto: L.K. Cameron 1906), 106. The Aberdeen Brick Company, John Hancock, Edward New, Crawford Brothers, M. Ollman, George Mills, Sam Cheeseman, Frid Brothers, Thomas Landers, George Webb, George Frid.

[193] Baker, "Clay and the Clay Industry of Ontario," 106.

[194] *Industrial Canada* volume VII, no. 1 August 1906 (Toronto: Canadian Manufacturer Association), 36.

tunnel dryer, though some open air drying was still employed, while the soft mud bricks were dried via the rack and pallet system. The bricks were fired in eleven updraft kilns, some permanently walled and some older open shed scove kilns, fueled by coke and soft coal. The other brick makers in Hamilton at the time used the same or very similar processes. The brick produced by these plants was described as "excellent red stock brick, so much alike in color and quality that they are handled by one contractor, who contracts the brick for all the buildings in the city using the Hamilton product."[195] Therefore, this 1906 Bureau of Mines report indicates Hamilton had skilled people making good quality bricks with the advantage of excellent quality clay, but with less than the most up to date brickmaking technologies.

As new industry sprang up, so too did new housing developments for workers, continuing Hamilton's long history of land speculation. Brick was the material associated with this period of growth, as early twentieth century deed restrictions in the east end "specified minimum building values and required brick construction."[196] While most of the aforementioned factories are now demolished, the majority of these houses, apartment buildings, and many of the commercial blocks are still standing. The comprise a very important material component of the city that lingers on. At the time, the building boom and available material created a uniformity of appearance in the city that can still be seen today. The bricks being produced in Hamilton were very similar in colour and quality and an observer of Hamilton's residential architecture from 1898 noted that the houses all looked the same. This was "no doubt due to two causes, at

[195] Baker, "Clay and the Clay Industry of Ontario," 107. In a 1906 review of the brickmaking industry in Ontario, the Bureau of Mines found Hamilton plants to be in line with most of Ontario, using open-shed scove kilns with more downdraft kilns appearing (better heat control via dampers and more consistent brick output) but two of the most advanced plants in Ontario were using continuous draft kilns (Don Valley Brickworks).

[196] Doucet and Weaver, *Housing the North American City,* 122.

least, the materials at hand and cheapness desired by owners…speculative building is to a certain extent responsible for much of the sameness."[197] The trend of speculative building continued and the intermittent construction and real estate booms between 1900 and 1913 generated the housing stock and eastward expansion that lasted until the post WWII period saw new developments on rural land.[198] While Hamilton's housing stock nearly tripled between 1901 and 1921, there was a predominance of single-family brick houses rather than tenements, due, in part, to a large and cheap supply of local red brick.[199] Permits were issued for almost 17 000 dwellings in Hamilton (which Doucet and Weaver note was an underestimation) between 1897 and 1924, and before 1905, 95.9% of those were brick structures. The predominance of brick was due largely to laws regarding construction materials within city limits due to the risk of fire. The Master Carpenters Association successfully lobbied to reduce city fire limits in late 1903. So, between 1905 and 1925, one-third of permits were for frame structures, and when residential building peaked in 1912, there were permits for 1128 brick and 631 frame dwellings.[200] Besides fire regulations, there were other incentives for brick construction. In 1919 the Ontario Housing Act contributed to the demand for brick by offering assistance in raising funds for mortgages for modest six room houses with certain minimum standards valued under $4000. An example of such a house was the "Hamilton A-1 Plan," a government approved $3850 brick house of which

[197] John T. Saywell, "Housing Canadians: Essays on the history of Residential Construction in Canada," Discussion Paper no. 24 (Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada, 1975), 32, footnote 26.

[198] Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History,* 79.

[199] Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History,* 79 and 97 and *Hamilton, Canada: City of Opportunity, 500 Diversified Industries* (Hamilton: Commissioner of Industries, 1928), 33.

[200] Doucet and Weaver, *Housing the North American City,* 105, and Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History,* 102.

many examples were constructed in the western Hamilton suburb of Westdale.[201] The rapidly expanding east end "was the physical and social epitome of industrialization" and its format and hardware are still largely intact, while the Victorian downtown was radically altered in the postwar era.[202] New surveys in the east popped up on what was once rural land or portions of large estates held by land-owning elites. Property developers like J. Walter Gage built surveys such as Old Boy's Park, Rockwood, Crown Point and Kenilworth, the latter being called a "workingman's paradise…at the present terminus of the Barton streetcar line opposite the Jockey Club."[203] In 1911 there were 40 new surveys with an average of 100 lots each and one with as many as 500 lots. Similarly, in 1913 there were 37 new surveys that averaged close to 200 lots.[204] Between 1906 and 1915, there were an average of nineteen new surveys per year whereas the average was six per year between 1886 and 1906.[205] The majority of these were on a familiar grid pattern with narrow frontages and home to working and middle class people in brick houses. Not all of these lots were sold immediately, but having been pre-formatted, they were available for infilling with new construction as demand necessitated, continuing the earlier pattern in the older south central and western portions of the city, though more working class.[206] So, throughout the interwar period the eastern surveys became more fully built up rather than

[201] John C. Weaver, "From Land Assembly to Social Maturity: The Suburban Life of Westdale (Hamilton), Ontario, 1911-1951," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 11, no. 2 (1978): 416.

[202] Doucet and Weaver, *Housing the North American City,* 456.

[203] *Hamilton: The Electric City* (Hamilton, 1907), 220 and 223. https://archive.org/details/hamiltonelec tric00hami/page/n2

[204] Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History,* 99.

[205] Wood, "Emergence of the modern city," 125.

[206] Wealthier areas of the city, like the Ravenscliffe survey and parts of Westdale did not use a grid, but instead followed a curvilinear pattern.

new developments expanding onto undeveloped land.[207] The 1920s also saw the building of many two-storey brick business blocks along the main arteries of the new neighbourhoods.[208]

Amidst the building booms of the early twentieth century a number of Hamilton brickmakers built new plants, but did not use the most recent brickmaking technologies, though they did take advantage of Hamilton's cheap electricity. Some of the new plants were built in the older Iroquois Bar area and others on new sites to the east. In 1906, the Frid Brothers built a new plant on the Iroquois Bar site with downdraft kilns, but they also continued to use their older scove kilns.[209] In 1907, a new brick making plant, Hamilton Pressed Brick Company, opened in the eastern end of the city at the base of the escarpment near Kenilworth Road, "to take advantage of a 25m section of red Queenston shale exposed in the base of the escarpment behind the plant."[210] This was Hamilton's first shale brick producing plant and shale became the preferred raw material in brick production over the next two decades. In 1910, H. Cooper and the Richard Tope Estate both built new plants on the Iroquois Bar.[211] For Hamilton's 1913 centennial, a twelve-room brick house was constructed in twenty-four hours to showcase Hamilton builders and materials.[212] At the height of Hamilton's brick making era, it had "Canada's largest concentration of brickyards" with major plants using shale at the base of the mountain and older plants still using clay on the Iroquois Bar, but it would not hold this

[207] Wood, "Emergence of the modern city," 130.
[208] Doucet and Weaver, *Housing the North American City*, 340.
[209] Montgomery, Bureau of mines 1930 "The Ceramics Industry in Ontario," 158-159.
[210] G.R. Guillet and I.H. Joyce, "The Clay and Shale Industries of Ontario," Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1987, 52.
[211] Montgomery, "The Ceramics Industry in Ontario," 159.
[212] *Hamilton Canada: Its History, Commerce, Industries and Resources,* (Hamilton: Herbert Lister, 1913), 112. Note, 1913 was not Hamilton's actual centennial but was referred to as such anyways.

distinction for very much longer.[213] In 1923, there were still eleven brickmaking operations, but by the end of the year a Bartonville (shale) plant that had opened in 1913 was bought by Canada Pressed Brick, reducing the number of firms to ten.[214] By the 1920s, we can start to trace the deceleration and decline of Hamilton's brickmakers. Queenston shale was increasing in importance as the preferred raw material for face brick and the Iroquois Bar clay was now used almost entirely for common brick that was cruder, softer, and rougher. Canada Pressed Brick was making only dry-pressed bricks until the 1920s when demand necessitated producing by the stiff-mud process. Described as "of the simplest in operation for its capacity in Ontario," it was nonetheless a large operation with ten round downdraft kilns and producing three million bricks in an eight-month season." By 1929, Hamilton had only seven plants remaining with several on the verge of shutting down within a few years.[215] The same changing patterns of capital and scale of industry that fueled the brickmaking boom in Hamilton, particularly in the clay Iroquois Bar area, were also the root of its downfall as smaller family owned plants were overshadowed by larger conglomerated shale-based operations. The 1930 Bureau of Mines report on the ceramics industry in Ontario noted that a "new outlook on business demands modernization, including more technical knowledge of raw material and finished product, modern methods of production, cost accounting, sales promotion, standardization, and co-operation through trade associations." By the end of the 1920s, the aforementioned Crawford Brothers plant was 45

[213] Robert Williamson, "Mountain Memories: Remnants of Hamilton's early success can be seen on Mountain trail," *Hamilton Mountain News,* March 3, 2017. https://www.hamiltonnews.com/news-story/7161439-mountain-memories-remnants-of-hamilton-s-early-success-can-be-seen-on-mountain-trail/

[214] Bartonville Pressed Brick Co. Ltd., Canadian Pressed Brick Co. Ltd., Peter Cheeseman, W.H. cooper, Crawford Bros, Frid Bros, Hamilton Pressed Brick Co, Edward New, Ollman Bros, Riselary Brick Co ltd, Richard Tope Estate.

[215] Montgomery, "The Ceramics Industry in Ontario," 157-161

years old and still using two scove kilns. While for decades their clay product was used as face brick, there was now both limited demand for surface clay brick and a decreasing supply of clay. Similarly, the Ollman Brothers were still using their 40-year-old plant producing 4 million bricks (red and buff) per season.[216] Another longtime Hamilton brickmaking plant, the Frid Brothers, was producing mostly common brick, but as their supply of clay was almost exhausted, the property was being graded and sold for building lots. The Iroquois Bar clay was running out while the (common brick) product was largely obsolesced, so these older plants started to shut down or turn to other industries, like gravel and cement.[217] The 1930s marked the end of the Iroquois Bar era of brickmaking, of which there is little to no trace left anymore.

The different eras in Hamilton brickmaking can be followed via the eastward flow of the bricks along the trajectory of Hamilton's fairly linear expansion. The oldest soft-mud clay bricks were used in the centre/west, mixed in with stone and frame construction. Delays between lot surveying and actual construction combined with a lack of building controls (as normal features of Victorian land development) lead to various housing styles side-by-side, so there are examples of many different architectural styles all utilizing the same red-orange hued clay bricks. The Central Business District also had a healthy mix of stone, clay brick, and shale brick construction, often side by side. In regards to industrial architecture, the older foundries were stone (generally Whirlpool sandstone) but newer buildings towards the waterfront were brick, particularly buildings comprising the sprawling factories. As one moves east, they are met with more brick construction and less (or no) stone and frame, as well as a greater uniformity in housing style. In areas constructed after the adoption of shale brickmaking in Hamilton

[216] Montgomery, "The Ceramics Industry in Ontario," 4, 10, and 157-161.
[217] Montgomery, "The Ceramics Industry in Ontario," 157-161.

(1906/1907), the bricks are generally a darker red than the older clay bricks, though there are also a number of buildings that used the buff colour bricks also produced in Hamilton, but not in as great a quantity. By the time the western brickyards shut down, most of the building in the lower city were complete and there were no major changes until after WWII. Hamilton brickmaking continued with the larger and more modern plants to the east such as Canadian Pressed Brick, which remained in operation until the 1970s, and Hamilton Pressed Brick that still operates today, under the name Century Brick, and has one of its beehive kilns still standing.[218]

There is little record of brickmaking activities in the city, and the brickyards were never included in the lithographs or other promotional materials. The Iroquois Bar brick making areas were always just out of view to the west and the larger shale operations came after the age of the lithographs and were largely obscured by the mountain. Brickmaking again recalls the infrastructural logic within the city-as-medium. It was vitally important to the city but the actual process was disguised or kept out of view, largely because it was considered a dirty and unglamorous industry. As an ancient technique updated with industrial equipment, it was not worth boasting about the same way exportable and more explicitly technological manufactured goods were. Yet without brick, the massive plants and factories producing these goods would not have been possible. Subtle traces of the brickmaking past can be seen in areas near the central and older sections of the city that are differently developed because the land was not sold for building lots until much later, particularly on the west side of the 403 between the Iroquois

[218] The Hamilton Pressed Brick Company site was still operating on limited basis as Century Brick, (beehive kiln) making small quantities of specialized historic product for the "heritage renovation" market as of 2017. The site has also used as film backdrop, and recently, as a storing ground for shale and clay that will be trucked to facilities in Brantford. The plant was still producing regularly up until 1998. Matthew Van Dongen, "Historic brickyard making mountains — and movies," *Hamilton Spectator*, March 14, 2017. https://www.thespec.com/news-story/7188240-historic-brickyard-making-mountains-and-movies/

Bar and Westdale. Other traces exist only in street names, like Frid, New, Henry, and Tope Crescent in the areas of the old brickmaking plants. Most importantly, however, while the brick making plants are gone, the clay and shale are not; they have been relocated, reformatted and distributed throughout the city in countless homes, factories, businesses, and other buildings, and play an important role in Hamilton's futures. Hamilton's stone quarries met a similar fate to the brickyards, being built over in some cases (above the mountain) and abandoned and grown over in others (on the side of the mountain). The Webb Quarry at the head of Victoria Street (and part of a brickyard below the quarry at Hannah and Cherry, which are now called Charlton and Ferguson) became part of Sam Lawrence Park and there are traces of the old tracks and cars that used to transport the stone scattered within the forest that has reclaimed the quarry, while walking paths and the Sherman Cut both utilize and obscure other portions. Decades before Same Lawrence Park was created, a Beaux-Arts plan for Hamilton from 1917 planned to use the Webb quarry as part of a grand 50 000-seat amphitheater carved into the side of the mountain; the grand plan was never realized.[219] In the far northwestern section of the Iroquois Bar, Hamilton's Rock Garden, which became the base of the Royal Botanical Gardens, was the result of a Depression era relief project to beautify an old gravel pit.[220]

Changes in building materials like stone and brick both reflected and enacted the changes in Hamilton more broadly. The stone and bricks gave the city not only its buildings, but also its colour and its texture. The city took on the properties of stone, clay and shale, which form their own quasi-geological urban strata. Different buildings and materials pressed up against each

[219] Mark Osbaldeston, *Unbuilt Hamilton*. *The City That Might Have Been* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2016), 25-29.

[220] Nicholas Terpstra, "Local Politics and Local Planning: A Case Study of Hamilton, Ontario, 1915-1930," *Urban History Review* 14, no. 2 (1985): 125.

other, pressure built and materials shifted. Some interiors were fused together behind seemingly separate facades while other broke down and collapsed, leaving gaps in the street-wall. There was also a kind of slow sedimentation in residential areas as houses filled in the surveys laid out in the speculative rush in the early twentieth century. These same materials also revealed the city's delayed quality, standing in stark contrast to the steel and glass of International Style modernism in emerging metropolis like New York City or Chicago, and, soon, Toronto. Over time, like the stone before it, brick lost much of its privileged role encasing key processing centers and turned toward obsolescence, doing little more than storing an outdated era, processing and transmitting this outdatedness. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw major processing booms in the factories, and huge expansions of storage and memory in the expanding grid, with more streets, houses, and addresses. As the twentieth century wore on, Hamilton no longer kept pace with the new dimensions and specs of good CPUs, memory, and input/output. Instead it became older, slower and junkier, sending out increasingly problematic transmissions that had real consequences for the built environment.

CHAPTER 3: Rising into Ruin

This chapter addresses the period after Hamilton's initial growth, when the city and the materials of which it is composed became more explicitly vehicles for the transference of social values. In Hamilton's case, the shift in values was tied to the falling out of favour of the industrial, as the transition towards a white collar economy—as a manifestation of the postindustrial—was negotiated through the built environment. I will begin with the notion of horizontal expansion, looking at both the landscape and built environment through this lens. While the previous chapter examined what was taken out of the ground to build the city, (rock, clay, and shale), this chapter opens by looking at what was put back into the ground (and water) over a long period between the 1850s and 1970s, focusing less on what the city is built from and, instead, what much of the city is built on. Here I will reintroduce Burlington Bay, moving from the barely settlement-worthy or inhabitable shoreline of the previous chapter towards its transformation into usable land through a decades-long process of landfilling. Secondly, this chapter addresses destruction within the built environment, asking what was demolished in the process of updating the hardware of the city? As we will see, the scale of this updating activity accelerated from the unit of an individual building to entire city blocks between the 1930s and 1960s. By looking at destruction and rebuilding in these two periods, we can also see the shift towards a new infrastructural and hardware format, the large-scale concrete, steel, and glass superblock that marked the major attempt at postindustrial reformatting of the downtown during the urban renewal years. The superblocks became the material consequence of Hamilton's postindustrial fantasy that was never quite realized. The disappointing reality will be developed through the concept of 'rising into ruin,' set alongside the more traditional notion of falling into ruin, to better understand and contextualize the supposed failure of the built environment. Both

rising and falling into ruin are about the physical and social processing of failure. While the weathering and deterioration described in the previous chapter was about obsolete hardware, this dual process of rising and falling into ruin denotes a more fundamental shift towards urban failure.

If one were to look at a map of Hamilton's waterfront today, they would see a curiously rectilinear shoreline that conceals the original landscape. During Hamilton's early history, creeks took water that flowed down and below the mountain to the bay while inlets reached far inland between swamplands and marshes (see Figure 1, page 50). Yet, by the mid twentieth century, almost the entire shoreline was radically transformed into linear docks, wharves, porting facilities, warehouses, and revetment walls. The inlets were largely eliminated, the creeks forced underground, and the area of the bay was reduced by at least one-quarter as new lands were created out of the shallow waters near the shoreline. The complex geophysical features and ecosystems of Burlington Bay that were formed over thousands and millions of years of glacial activity were entirely transformed in less than one hundred and fifty years. This process of infilling was deeply tied to Hamilton's evolution as an industrial city and began in earnest in the 1850s, when an area around Stuart Street was filled in for the Great Western Railway. The material used for this infill came from the related process of leveling the shoreline and dredging shallow areas near wharves, piers, and docks.[221] There was also an early and ongoing process of what Fisher calls "wharfing-out" of the areas around the original port, at the heads of James and John Streets. This process consisted of infilling the spaces between separate wharves to create new land. In Hamilton, this new "land" was actually composed of the city and industries' own waste, largely sand, gravel, slag, coal ash, wood debris, glass, brick, concrete, and household

[221] Bouchier and Cruikshank, *The People and the Bay,* 234, footnote 11.

garbage, such that by 1909, Hamilton's western harbour was quite linear: "the entire harbour front appears man-altered, showing straight walls, crisp edges, and the platforms/piers/wharves to be made of a solid material whose sides extend below the water."[222]

The process of infilling continued towards the east in the 1860s and 1870s, when the long inlets between Mary Street and Wellington Street, as well as the creek near Wellington (used for Hamilton and Lake Erie Railroad in the 1870s) were filled in. By the 1890s, there was infilling activity even further to the east, in the area around Sherman Inlet, for the Hamilton Blast Furnace Company; it required docking facilities with greater depth and large unloading areas for ships bringing raw materials to feed the furnace.[223] By the twentieth century, the city and local industries were working together to fill shallow water lots of the bay itself. In 1903, 650 acres of Barton Township was annexed by the city and the land was designated for industrial use (with a special tax rate) and large portions of the creeks, inlets, and swampy/marshy shoreline, as well as water lots extending in the bay itself, were filled in. The larger eastern inlets—stretching as far southwards as Barton Street in places—were filled in over time, with southern portions filled first and north portions filled later. So, in the first half of the twentieth century, inlets like Sherman, Lottridge, Stipes, Gage, and Oggs, that separated various industrial plants from one another were gradually reduced and reclaimed. When the Hamilton Harbour Commission (HHC) was formed in 1912, it supported dumping and infilling policies. For instance, during the

[222] Jacqueline Fisher, "West Harbour Piers 6 to 8 Environmental Assessment City of Hamilton Stage 1: Archaeological Background Study Final Report," Fisher Archaeological Consulting, May 20, 2016, 15, 22, and Appendix A. https://d3fpllf1m7bbt3.cloudfront.net/sites/default/files/media/browser/2016-06-07/west-harbour-piers6-7-8-archaeological-report.pdf

[223] Gentilcore, "The beginnings: Hamilton in the nineteenth century," 115 and 117. Evidence of this process is also visible in the 1876 lithograph presented in the previous chapter.

First World War, the city "paid companies to transfer land fill from their dredging and construction activities elsewhere and dump it into the bay's polluted coves." The renaming of Burlington Bay to Hamilton Harbour in 1919 "presaged a more aggressive policy of commercial and industrial development on the waterfront."[224]

Infilling reached its most feverish pace between the 1940s and 1970s, after which the process was finally banned due to environmental concerns and regulations. The 1950s saw major plant expansions for both Stelco and Dofasco and accelerated infilling of the bay continued to be facilitated by the HHC. Steel companies were able to buy water lots directly from the HHC in privately arranged deals with no public notice or consultation, thus acquiring thousands of acres over the years and ultimately reducing the size of the bay by one-quarter. In the late 40s and early 50s, for instance, Stelco purchased 38.8 hectares of water lots while Dofasco purchased 27.5 hectares. Stelco's aggressive program of infilling provided new land for expanding operations, including a 350-metre dock, 150 new coke ovens, two new blast furnaces, and four 250-ton open hearth furnaces. This process continued at an even greater rate through the 1950s as the steel companies and HHC prepared for the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway. Between 1957 and 1959, Stelco acquired 116 hectares of water lots with Dofasco getting 58 hectares, and National Steel Car (which Dofasco would soon buy) receiving 12 hectares. Filling in all these water lots required a greater amount of material than the previous smaller scale landfilling projects. Rather than the old technique of constructing a piling wall and then filling it with waste material, Stelco developed a new technique, reclaiming water with the waste product from steel production itself. Silt was dredged from the bottom of the bay and then massive amounts of slag (a by-product of smelting ore for steelmaking) were simply dumped into the

[224] Bouchier and Cruikshank, *The People and the Bay*, 74 and 66.

water, creating a solid base for new land to construct furnaces, coke ovens, storage sheds, and the like.[225] This ongoing process of selling and filling in water lots extended the linear logic of the early surveys and grid pattern into the messy natural environment of the bay. Furthermore, it demonstrated an interesting reversal of infrastructural elements. The old creeks that had previously occupied much of these areas were either diverted or pushed underground. Rather than the usual scenario where some kind of infrastructure (like steam tunnels or telephone cables) were run through the natural ground, in this case, the formerly natural features were run through the newly created unnatural land. The water flowed through this infrastructural medium of urban garbage and industrial waste material rather than the infrastructural media of, say, wires, flowing through the natural medium of dirt. This all went largely unnoticed until some later time when (re)developers started digging and found a hidden creek or highly unstable land lurking below the surface.[226]

This new land created with infill increased the physical space of the city, expanding the city's most basic and literal storage in terms of warehouses or piles of raw material. It also enhanced its transmission or input/output in terms of loading docks, port facilities, and railway connections. The new land became its own central processing unit, housing both industrial plants and the headquarters and administrative support staff in offices built within or nearby the factories. There was also a secondary storage function in the land itself, unrelated to the industry that created it or sits atop it at any moment. The 'land' was a kind of raw material or potential resource itself, one that the city could tap into when the industries that created it left town or went bankrupt. This function was impossible to see or predict at the time when non-industrial

[225] Bouchier and Cruikshank, *The People and the Bay,* 142-143.

[226] Samantha Craggs, "How Hamilton's ghost rivers haunt city's new development" *CBC News*, Jan 7, 2017. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/ghost-rivers-hamilton-1.3922966

use for the land was unimaginable, but, as we will see in the following chapter, when Stelco eventually went bankrupt, the city began to dream of alternative functions for this most basic hardware. Additionally, the land also stored a kind of metaphorical industrial memory that has been recalled and tapped in more recent efforts of urban (re)branding. Such memory, however, also had a very real physical component to it. As unabashed pride in heavy industry gave way to concerns about pollution and an embarrassingly out of date economy, the land the industry sat on came under scrutiny as well. This land was not quite natural land at all; the land and the waters surrounding it were contaminated. There is an environmental memory that the waters and ecosystem of the bay, as well as the contaminated infill land store and process as they struggle to filter all the pollution and disruption from the industrial era's particular chemical traces and records. For instance, boreholes in the reclaimed land of the west harbour piers have all contained contaminants like PHC, PAH, VOC, and/or PCB.[227] The use of coal ash, slag, and other waste products as infill material meant the land itself was contaminated and then, in the case of explicitly industrial lands, further degraded based on the operations that took place on top of it.

Infilling hundreds of hectares of the bay was a form of horizontal expansion in Hamilton that extended the linear logic of the grid into the wetlands and shallow waters of Burlington Bay. This same horizontal logic can be traced within much smaller units of particular buildings and building practices. This horizontal, rather than vertical, expansion was noted by Weaver as a significant feature of Hamilton's architectural development in the twentieth century.[228] If brick was the building material of delay, then the low rise, sprawling, horizontal—opposed to

[227] Fisher, "West Harbour Piers 6 to 8," 3.
[228] Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History,* 97.

vertical/skyscraper—was the format. Hamilton expanded and built furiously in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but the buildings lacked the height and architectural panache of those from the emerging metropolises like Chicago or New York City, or even in the major Canadian urban centers like Montreal and Toronto. Whereas brick construction in Chicago actually urged building towards the skyscraper, as with the famous Monadnock building, half of which, at sixteen storeys, is the tallest load bearing brick building in the world (1891)—its sloping base walls are six feet thick—and half of which is a steel frame skyscraper (1893), brick construction in Hamilton never strived for the same heights. In fact, Hamilton fell behind in commercial architecture despite its strength in manufacturing and status as one of the largest cities in the country. For example, the Toronto retail store for Sanford readymade clothing, a major Hamilton textile and clothing manufacturer, was architecturally superior to the Hamilton one, despite Hamilton's being the flagship store. All of Sanford's readymade retail stores were called Oak Hall and could be found in cites and towns throughout Canada. The Toronto Oak Hall, built in 1893 (demolished 1938) on King Street East, opposite St. James Cathedral was "a landmark in the evolution of the office building in North America" and if it were still standing, would be "a place of pilgrimage for architectural historians." It was a cast iron and glass building with large plate glass windows on the ground floor and bay windows and floor to ceiling glass on the upper three floors. Its innovative material composition and architectural style created a "daringly light structure in cast iron" as a "forerunner of the steel framework of the modern skyscraper" and the all-glass façade predated the first use of this feature in Chicago.[229] Hamilton's Oak Hall, on the other hand, was an older, less impressive

[229] Eric Arthur, *Toronto: No Mean City*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 178 and 184.

1847 brick building taken over by the clothier when the Right House department store relocated in 1893. Hamilton was home to the Sanford manufacturing centre—a huge building at King and John with 125x150 foot frontage, the "largest clothing establishment in the Dominion" employing 3000—and Toronto was home to the chic, cutting edge commercial building.[230] This is just one example of the way that Hamilton's skyline did not change dramatically due to a lack of "architectural maturation in the office tower era" where Hamilton's tall buildings were noticeably both lower and older than Toronto or Montreal's.[231] The Federal Life Building (1906, nine stories) and the Bank of Hamilton (1890, a three-storey brownstone that added five additional stories in red brick in 1905, reaching eight stories) were both below the common ten-storey threshold for skyscrapers.[232] Hamilton's first modern steel skeleton building was the eight-storey Sun Life Building at 42 James Street south built in 1905, whereas Toronto's first steel frame building was erected in 1889.[233] The tallest building downtown was the twelve-storey Royal Connaught Hotel, built in 1914-1916, while the twelve-story Temple Building in Toronto was completed twenty years earlier in 1896. Hamilton simply lacked the steel frame construction that put skyscrapers into the sky, despite being home to a major manufacturer of structural steel, the Hamilton Bridge Works Company.

While reinforced concrete came into regular use in Hamilton, the steel frame was not adopted as enthusiastically. Again, this speaks to Hamilton's investment and leadership in industrial rather than commercial architecture. The first reinforced concrete building in Canada

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[230] *Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada*, 78.

[231] Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History,* 96.

[232] The Federal Life Building is still standing, and is now part of Pigott Building condos, but the Bank of Hamilton was demolished in 1985.

[233] Hamilton's Heritage volume 5, 108 and Arthur, *No Mean City*, 184.

(other than grain elevators) was a 1904 Hamilton knitting mill called Eagle Spinning, located at King and Sanford.[234] Throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century Hamilton's primary building practices were represented by firms like the Frid Brothers (sons of the Hamilton brickmaker), who started a construction company in 1914. While they undertook construction in reinforced concrete and steel frame, it was largely to erect "Industrial Plants, Warehouses, Schools, Reinforced Concrete Bridges, Water and Oil Tanks, Heavy Foundations, and Hospitals."[235] Skyscrapers in other cities like Chicago, New York, and Toronto were built amidst an increase in the white-collar workforce. Hamilton, on the other hand, specialized in sprawling factories for a large/expanding blue-collar workforce and smaller/lower office buildings for its much smaller white-collar work force. Rather than skyscrapers, Hamilton's office buildings were more like the Canada Westinghouse office at 286 Sanford Ave North, built by Frid Construction in 1917.[236] The original five-storey brick building (two additional stories added in 1929) was "representative of the industrial office tower buildings designed by Canadian architects in the early 20th century…advanced reinforced concrete construction is expressed in the grid-like composition of the buildings' two end sections."[237] As we will see below, after

[234] A.B. McCullough "Technology and Textile mill architecture in Canada," *Material Culture Review* 30, (1989): 34. The building was still standing in 1989, but is gone now.

[235] Herbert P. Frid Hamilton Halton Construction Association Hall of Fame. http://www.hhca.ca/14560/herbert-p-frid-basc-lld and Frid Construction Co. Ltd. Building Construction (booklet) 1919. https://www.facebook.com/VintageHamilton/photos/a.213599480308546 8/558569267494704/?type=3&theater

[236] After sitting vacant for many years, the old Westinghouse HQ was purchased and is undergoing renovation into modern office and commercial space. Kathy Renwald, "Westinghouse building restored to its former glory, then some," *Hamilton Spectator,* January 06, 2018. https://www.thespec.com/opinion-story/8038508-westinghouse-building-restored-to-former-glory-then-some/ and Sarah Sheehan, "Industrial Evolution," *Hamilton Magazine* (summer 2018), 57.

[237] Hamilton's Heritage volume 5, 135.

some decades Hamilton was not even able to keep the head offices of its own major manufacturers, which relocated to skyscrapers in larger urban centers.

Hamilton did however eventually build one modern pre-war steel skeleton skyscraper, but it was not until 1929 that the Pigott Building was complete. The Pigott Building was particularly significant because it highlighted the dearth of tall modern buildings in Hamilton in this era; at eighteen stories it was much taller than any other building in the city and remained the only true skyscraper until well after the postwar period. Interestingly, Hamilton's Pigott Construction firm was skilled in advanced construction techniques and went on to build some of Ontario's finest buildings but undertook mostly civic and industrial projects in Hamilton.[238] Their hometown skyscraper from 1929 featured six specially commissioned four-by-two foot stained glass interior windows that showcased the steel frame building process and other elements of city building (See Figures 7 and 8 on the next page). The Pigott Building was home to elite business tenants and a white collar workforce, but did more to underscore the lack of modern skyscrapers and associated white collar jobs in Hamilton than contribute to any meaningful change in the skyline, again, revealing the city's delay.

Two other notable projects from this transitional era in the 1920s and 1930s serve to highlight the relationships between a building's format, materials, functions and capacity to communicate, further revealing how Hamilton negotiated its delay in terms of moving towards a

[238] Some of Pigott's more famous projects include the Royal Ontario Museum and TD Centre in Toronto, and the Burlington Skyway.

Figure 7: Pigott Building stained glass windows, set 1. On the left: a carpenter with saw halfway up a ladder. In the middle: the partially finished Pigott Building itself, showing its steel frame skeleton. On the right: an architect holding blueprints looking out across the city

Figure 8: Pigott Building stained glass windows, set 2. On the left, a stone mason with trowel guiding a limestone block. In the middle: the recently completed Bank of Montreal on James St. South (Pigott Construction). On the right: A worker standing atop a steel I-beam as it is being raised into place.

knowledge or postindustrial economy through the built environment. It is here that we can trace a processing of social values in the demolition and rebuilding of some of Hamilton's brownstones. These examples provide a sense of how the physical city itself became the means through which anxieties were both manifested and quelled. The built environment became a channel for social communication with material consequences:

> Building and writing materials, extracted locally or sourced and distributed from afar, converge in our settlements and cities, where designers and laborers, often informed by internationally codified and inscribed protocols and standards, give them urban and architectural form. These same construction materials then become public media. In their geologic composition—the distinctive hue or texture of the local mud, or the distinctive means by which local laborers pack that mud into bricks—they can embody a characteristically local aesthetic, an architectural or geologic *parlante.* Those mud surfaces, when inscribed, carry messages to both residents and visitors, both friendly and hostile. And their competing, sometimes contested, messages make them targets of destruction.[239]

While Mattern is largely discussing more serious cases of what Berman called "urbicide," like ISIS's destruction of ancient cities, the role of buildings as "public media" was clear in less atrocious cases like that of Hamilton as well.[240] While I have already noted the relationship between Hamilton's skyscraper delay and low-rise brick construction, we can also trace other roots of its skyscraper delay to a period of brownstone building towards the end of the nineteenth century. This coincided with the city's acceleration as a prosperous industrial city circa 1891, which was also the high water mark of the city's growth in comparison with other Canadian cities. At this point, Hamilton was the fourth largest city in Canada.[241] Concurrent with a

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[239] Mattern, *Code and Clay, Dirt and Data*, 90.

[240] Marshall Berman, "Among the ruins," *New Internationalist* 178 (December 1987): 7-9.

[241] Census of Canada, 1890-91. Volume I. Ottawa: Government of Canada. 1893. By 1911, Hamilton had fallen to fifth and mostly continued to fall over the decades. As of 2016, Hamilton was Canada's tenth largest city.

significant increase in brick building around the same time, brownstone was used for larger more expensive buildings, mostly elite homes and government buildings.

The brownstone period in Hamilton was part of a larger eastern North American trend, though there were differing local timelines and contextual reasons for the material's falling out of favour. Brownstone is usually the name given to a variety of sandstones from the Triassic-Jurassic period, roughly 200 million years ago that are relatively soft and easy to quarry. These sandstones were formed as dinosaurs tromped around the moist mud and sand of the Connecticut River Valley.[242] The stone was used for local building in areas near the large quarries during the 1850s, but gained wider popularity after the Richardsonian Romanesque architectural style spread in the 1870s. In the United States, brownstone was associated with what Mumford called the "Brown decades" (1865-1895) where it reflected both a new urban colour scheme and the larger national mood as "society was adapting its colouration to the visible smut of early industrialism" on the exterior, while dark walnut furniture and somber wallpapers filled the interiors, as the nation tried to move on from the Civil War. According to Mumford, "browns had spread everywhere: mediocre drab, dingy chocolate browns, sooty browns that merged into black."[243] Brownstone had a shorter history in Ontario and Hamilton, not gaining popularity until the Richardsonian Romanesque trend spread from Buffalo after the 1870s, and really only into Hamilton during a period in the 1880s and 1890s. Hamilton's brownstone period was perhaps less the result of a delayed sense of style than a delayed access to materials. While brownstone was readily available throughout New England and New York, there were no

[242] Williams, *Stories in Stone*, 8-9. It was the fossilized footprints of the dinosaurs in sandstone that finally proved their existence to skeptics in the nineteenth century.

[243] Mumford, *The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America 1865-1895,* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931), 2.

brownstone deposits close to Hamilton. There was, however, a type of pseudo-brownstone around Forks of the Credit, and the completion of the Credit Valley Railway (1872-1879) provided Hamilton, briefly, with a supply of the fashionable stone in the 1880s and 1890s. During this period the best of a rare chocolate-red variety was quarried and used for the provincial parliament buildings in Toronto, with some being sold to dealers and Hamilton as well.[244] The Credit River brownstone was geologically different from the New England brownstone. It was actually Silurian-era sandstone (which is the same as Hamilton's Whirlpool sandstone, with a different name and in a different colour) rather than true New England or New Brunswick Triassic-Jurassic brownstone.[245]

A number of Hamilton's most famous brownstones were known as "Balfouresque," for the style of Romanesque designed by prominent local architect James Balfour.[246] Examples of Balfouresque brownstones in Hamilton include: Ravenscliffe (built 1880, still there), old City Hall (built 1890, demolished 1961), YMCA (built 1889, demolished 1958), the Bank of Hamilton (original three storey brownstone portion 1890, demolished 1985), and Tuckett Mansion/Myrtle Hall part of Scottish Rite Building (1895, still there). Some notable brownstones not designed by Balfour include the old Hamilton Spectator Building (1898), Hamilton Central Collegiate (1897) [85 000 square foot Romanesque, burned down 1946] as well as the ground floor of the original TH&B railway station (1895, demolished 1933). The

[244] First Annual Report of the Ontario Department of Mines, 1891, Bureau of Mines, Toronto: Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 1892, 98.

[245] Credit River Sandstone/Credit Valley Sandstone quarried around Forks of the Credit and Orangeville. It was quarried extensively in the late nineteenth century and rare red variety exhausted by early twentieth century. Kathleen Kemp, Tucker Barrie, Marcia Charles, Janet Parkin, Denise Payne and Michael Perkins, "Learning geology from buildings in downtown Toronto," *Wat on Earth* (newsletter), Earth Sciences Museum, University of Waterloo, May 24, 1997. https://uwaterloo.ca/wat-on-earth/news/learning-geology-buildings-downtown-toronto

[246] *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography Volume I*, 14.

Canada Life Assurance Company (1883, called the Birks Building after 1929, when the famous clock tower was added, demolished 1973) was a five-storey true Connecticut brownstone in the Gothic style. Other brownstones included 1890s Central Collegiate school (burned 1940s), parts of The Hendrie House (1891, now Mercedes Spa), and parts of the Stinson Street School (1894, now a condo renovation project) and a number of other late nineteenth century luxury homes in the south west of the city, especially those in Queen Anne style with a brownstone base and brick upper levels. Hamilton's brownstone period was a brief, but important moment. Despite the abundance of fine historic buildings in Hamilton, hardly any brownstone remains—those that do remain are privately owned buildings rather than the large civil ones—begging the question: what happened to the brownstones, when and why? It was through brownstone and their destruction that a processing of social values took place and we can trace this to a turn in sentiment against this Victorian material in Hamilton in the 1920s and 1930s. At this time, several prominent stone buildings were deemed inadequate for their previous processing functions, too small and too old for the modern world. Consequentially, this was also the seed of the reformatting effort that drastically altered the downtown in the postwar era.

Brownstone fell out of fashion in Chicago and New York before being attacked in Hamilton in the 1930s. The stone began to go out of style after the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, where Daniel Burnham's "White City" with its neoclassical architecture, light tones, and Beaux Arts grand boulevards initiated a new trend. This marked the beginning of a resurgence in classical architectural style and importantly, light coloured building stones like limestone and marbles. According to Mumford, the brown decades ended dramatically, "like a sun thrusting through the clouds, in the golden portal of Sullivan's Transportation Building at the Chicago

World's Fair in 1893."[247] Brownstone was out of style for close to hundred years, famously called "the most hideous stone ever quarried."[248] The timing was notable because Hamilton's brownstones came into and out of fashion very quickly, largely built amidst their own imminent obsolescence. Such negative sentiment towards brownstone, however, took some time to permeate Hamilton's built environment, as a number of examples listed above were built after this watershed moment. In 1892, the *Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada* souvenir intended to showcase Hamilton just prior to the World's Fair, included large and prominently placed photos of brownstones such as City Hall, the Post Office, the Canada Life Assurance Co (Birks), the YMCA, and the Bank of Hamilton, that were about to be demoded.[249] Hamilton's undertaking of urban building and branding projects as they fast approached obsolescence was something with which the city would continue to struggle in the future.

The demolition and rebuilding of two prominent brownstone buildings in Hamilton in the 1930s frame a very specific type of processing itself, as well as the replacement and upgrading of key processors within the city. Firstly, but perhaps least critically, they were deemed inadequate for the functions they were supposed to serve. More importantly, they were materially problematic because they served as physical reminders of a different era. They were storing and transmitting a time and its associated conditions and values when these were no longer applicable or desirable. These buildings were unable to communicate newer concepts of urbanity and efficiency largely because of their material composition. In this era, the clean lines

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[247] Mumford, *The Brown Decades*, 9.

[248] Williams, *Stories in Stone*, 131 and 3. After brownstone came back in style again, some of the old quarries were to reopened to serve the need for new stone in restorations and renovations. Tracie Rozhon, "Brownstone (the Real Thing) Comes Back," *The New York Times* July 4, 2000. https://www.nytimes.com/2000/07/04/nyregion/brownstone-the-real-thing-comes-back.html

[249] *Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada*.

of the survey and grid were being extended to building materials; the smooth finishes of limestone, or even better yet, steel and glass, were preferable to the rugged texture of brownstone. The rough brownstone was incompatible with the linearity of modern efficiency and the colour was even more problematic. Once prized for being able to disguise the dirt and grit of the industrial city, the brownstones could never compete with the clean look of limestone, marble, or steel's off-whites and greys. Furthermore, the newly fashionable white-ish buildings were largely for the rapidly increasing white-collar workforce, while the older darker buildings remained tied to the dirtier manufacturing sector and era. In many ways, the attacks on these buildings were attacks on industry itself, as the prevailing organizing principle of the city. While industry was still pumping along, it started to recede to the background and was not showcased and boasted about in the same way as during the era of the "Birmingham of Canada." Throughout much of North American, the new urban ideal became the knowledge, office work and other white collar jobs; it was during the 1920s and 1930s that the term "white collar" entered into common usage, reflecting the growing number of clerical and office jobs in western industrial economies.[250]

The brownstones served as material reminders of the city's falling behind and the solution could only be destruction. The original brownstone Toronto Hamilton and Buffalo (TH&B) railway station, at track level on Hunter Street was completed in 1895. It was built to serve the TH&B line that connected Buffalo and the Niagara Peninsula with Hamilton and Toronto. By 1900, belt and branch lines were added to meet the increasing freight needs of the east end factories. This in turn, made the line extremely profitable and business increased

[250] *Oxford English Dictionary,* second edition (2000). First use noted as 1910 in *Logansport Daily Reporter* (Indiana). Popularly attributed to Upton Sinclair, *Brass Check*, 1919.

significantly in the first two decades of the twentieth century.[251] As early as the 1910s, the city wanted the railway to relocate the tracks off of street level, but a series of setbacks pushed the construction of new tracks (and now also a new station) into the 1930s. The original 1895 station was three stories, with a four-storey tower, in truly Victorian style including architectural features like turrets, gables, and detailed ornamentation.

Figure 9: Original TH&B Station. Known locally as the gingerbread castle. Hamilton Public Library, Local History & Archives.

The ground floor was made of Credit Valley brownstone while the upper floors were red Hamilton brick. Nicknamed the "gingerbread castle," the station was of a different era, not only through its stylistic symbolism, but materially as well. The red Credit Valley sandstone (brownstone) was only popular and available during a relatively brief period between the construction of the Credit Valley Railway circa 1880 and the exhaustion of the quarries by the early twentieth century. In 1933, the old textured and ornamented brownstone 'castle' was replaced with a smooth, sleek, steel, and glass building clad in Queenston limestone. It had a two-storey concourse with a seven-storey tower for offices, and the contrast between the old station and its replacement was noteworthy in terms of both material and style.

[251] Toronto, Hamilton & Buffalo Railway Historical Society. http://www.thbrailway.ca/

Figure 10: The new TH&B station circa 1940s. Image courtesy of Hamilton Public Library, Local History & Archives.

The new station's original 1930 design had been a ten-storey Art Deco building, but it was revised in 1932 due to financial woes ushered in by the Great Depression. The new design was smaller than the original, which "resulted in an outcry from the city council, and it was only after the facade of the building was changed to more expensive stone, that the council approved the smaller structure in November 1932."[252] Designed by the New York firm Fellheimer and Wagner, known for stations in Buffalo and Cincinnati, the new TH&B station had all of the key features of the International Style, of which it was the first example in Canada.[253] Furthermore, it "provided Hamilton with a high-styled modernist structure which was at the forefront of railway station design in Canada." The new station served as the corporate and administrative headquarters for the TH&B, elevated above the messy track level activities. The whole structure

[252] TH&B's Hamilton Station, Hamilton Transit History. http://www.trainweb.org/hamtransithist/THBHamilton.html

[253] Harold Kalman, *A Concise History of Canadian Architecture* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 536.

subscribed to true Art Moderne/International Style with "curved forms, polished metals and sleek machined detailing of this streamlined version of the modernist movement."[254] It was built with a structural steel frame and cut limestone exterior, while concrete retaining walls connected to bridges at James and John streets. It included a hallmark of the moderne curtain wall design, as the windows acted as a continuation of the walls and curved around corners with no visible support. While the style of the new station often gets more mention and is more obvious in a sense, the materials were equally, or perhaps more, important. The stylish station was physically impossible without structural steel hidden beneath the limestone and glass. The light clean colour and smooth texture of the building came from the Queenston limestone exterior and curved glass windows. There was a simple linearity to the concrete retaining walls. There were also some innovative material choices for decorative interior features like the pioneering use of stainless steel for wainscoting, thought to be the "first comprehensive installation of its kind in Canada."[255] The new station communicated the city's growing desire to shed its Victorian past and develop a more modern image. This moment in the 1930s was one in which Hamilton was straddling the tension between an industrial and a modern identity, at least demonstrating the desire to change, a theme that accelerated in the postwar period.

Around the same time as the construction of the TH&B Station, Hamilton also built a new centralized bureaucratic building on the site of the 1886 Credit Valley sandstone post office at King and John streets. The old post office was itself constructed on the site of the 1856 (Ohio sandstone) McInnes Building, which burned down in 1879.[256] Together, these three buildings

[254] Hamilton's Heritage Volume 5, 100.

[255] Trade journal *Construction* (1933) quoted in Kalman, *A Concise History of Canadian Architecture,* 536.

[256] Gardiner, "Hamilton's Stone Age," 34.

represented three generations of processing units/hardware on the same site. The large four-storey post office was "a magnificent red stone building, with clock tower, cornices aplenty, a wedding cake of a place."

Figure 11: 1886 Post Office at King and John Streets. Hamilton Public Library, Local History & Archives.

When its demolition began in 1935, a discussion of the brownstone's strength and durability revealed its physical functionality in direct contrast to its material, stylistic, and processing obsolescence. The *Hamilton Herald* noted the "construction men wrecking the old federal building declare themselves amazed at the strength of the post office tower. The late Eli Van Allen, who built the edifice, must have intended his work to last several hundred years."[257] The building lasted less than fifty years, rather than several hundred, but was not demolished on account of its material weakness, which has so often been the charge against brownstone.

[257] Paul Wilson, "No one sees downtown's most beautiful room," *CBC News*, December 19, 2013. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/news/paul-wilson-no-one-sees-downtown-s-most-beautiful-room-1.2468002

Instead, it was demolished for being a "gimcrack and garish creation[s] of the eighties and nineties" and much of that charge had to do with its material composition of the quintessential 1880s and 1890s brownstone. The replacement structure, the Dominion Public Building (now called John Sopinka Courthouse) was built between 1934-1935, as part of the federal government's Public Works Construction Act (Depression work program).

Figure 12: Dominion Public Building. Postcard circa 1938

In 1936, the *Spectator* described the new limestone building as "probably the finest structure of its type in the Dominion, and is the admiration of everyone who enters it…the descendants of the generations alive today will be impressed by the manner in which the present blended artistic dignity, simplicity and taste with efficiency."[258] This modern centralized processing centre required a new building material that contrasted greatly with that which it replaced, specifically in terms of its colour and texture; it was a clean white building for white collar workers. It housed the post office, customs and excise, natural health, immigration office and several other federal departments, "all consolidated in for the first time in Hamilton under one roof."[259] It was a large building (foreshadowing the increase in scale of the urban renewal superblocks), filling

[258] Paul Wilson, "No one sees downtown's most beautiful room."
[259] Hamilton's Heritage Volume 5, 118.

the corner block on John, from Main to King, and west to Hughson. It utilized the most modern technologies, following the principle that "in buildings of the monumental type, only the most modern equipment be installed; otherwise, it would soon be out of date."[260] The new building was the epitome of the new white collar workforce and growing urban bureaucracy, centralized, efficient, technological.

These two examples prefaced the major reformatting efforts of the post war era that saw the destruction of other prominent brownstones, as well as wider destruction of the stone and brick Victorian downtown.[261] The urban renewal years in Hamilton were part of a dream for new hardware at a time when Hamilton wanted to transition towards the postindustrial, but pursued downtown redevelopment without the necessary economic diversification. In Hamilton, "postindustrialism was a utopian planning model that did not require the collapse of manufacturing"[262] Significantly, this dream included a dramatic shift in scale from the destruction and rebuilding of an individual building to an entirely new hardware format, the superblock. This era marked a sharp increase in government involvement in city building, relying more on information, surveys, and rational management, as Hamilton was diagnosed with particular problems, especially formatting and hardware issues downtown. What started in the 1930s, with the replacement of certain structures like the TH&B Station or the Post Office, gained momentum into the 1940s and was enacted via various policies and programs after the Second World War.

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[260] *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* 13, no. 12 (1936): iv.

[261] Two other prominent downtown brownstones met the wrecking ball at the beginning and end of the downtown renewal phase, City hall in 1961 and the Birks Building in 1972.

[262] Tracy Neumann, *Remaking the Rust Belt: The Postindustrial Transformation of North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 6.

Throughout the 1940s, the city gathered information and consulted experts in the field of urban planning, undertaking projects like the an inventory and map all of its land and structures at a scale of 100ft/inch through aerial photography.[263] Hamilton was thus reduced within an accurate two-dimensional representation that could be more easily analyzed. The aerial photos were also the fulfilment of the desire of the Victorian era lithographs to inventory and categorize every structure, but, rather than one image, data multiplied over an increasing number of images. The photographs became be part of the dataset consulted for the forthcoming Master Plan of 1947, which further informationalized the city and locked it on a particular trajectory towards eventual urban renewal. The Master Plan was created by a European-trained modernist architect (turned planner), Eugenio Faludi, whom the city hired in response to the 1944 National Housing Act. His job was to study the city's problems and create a master plan for solutions.[264] In 1945, planning consultants pinpointed a handful of slums, and noted the residential areas north of Barton the areas between Barton and King from Wentworth to Locke as blighted. Half of the rest of the lower city was deemed to be declining and only 1/6 of the population lived in areas deemed "sound" by the planning consultants.[265] The eastward expansion and relative neglect of downtown during the early nineteenth century resulted in much obsolescent/defunct hardware and outdated formatting. Blight was very much about hardware, its material composition, its layout and format, and its capacity/functions.[266] The Report on Existing Conditions evolved into the 1947 "Master Plan for the City of Hamilton." Whole sections of the city (rather than

[263] Wood, "Emergence of the modern city," 136-7.
[264] Rockwell, "Modernism and the Functional City," 89 and 139.
[265] Wood, "Emergence of the modern city," 133.
[266] Robick, "Blight: The development of a contested concept" demonstrates the malleability and evolution of the concept of blight, particularly how it relates to mid century urban renewal efforts.

individual buildings, as before) with newly ascribed functions needed to be demolished and reformatted. Faludi noted that various bad structures could be individually removed in industrial and commercial areas, but residential areas required a wholesale destruction and rebuilding approach.[267] There were decades of delay between the Faludi study and eventual renewal in the downtown area, but city council and renewal enthusiasts gained experience with other projects (clearing slum housing in the Beach Strip and residential redevelopment in the aging North End) in the 1950s, before downtown commercial development was included under the umbrella of renewal in the 1960s. By this time, the scale of destruction for commercial areas had evolved toward the superblock, well beyond Faludi's original recommendations.

Hamilton's experience with downtown urban renewal will be framed around the notion of "rising into ruin."[268] Hamilton's rising into ruin was different from the more traditional falling into ruin—like the processes of weathering and social neglect—that effected the material environment discussed up to this point. Rising into ruin is the result of a very specific type of hardware installation. Hardware that rises into ruin is installed when it was already out of date; it consists of building what reveals itself to be instantly outmoded. Thus, rising into ruin is related to the notion of delay explored so far, but more pronounced, accelerated, or enhanced. The concept of rising into ruin is based on artist Robert Smithson's "Tour of the Monuments of Passaic New Jersey," (1967) in which he explored old industrial scenes amidst newer suburban development in New Jersey. He was working and writing at the time Hamilton was wrestling with urban renewal and when other North American manufacturing centres were undergoing

[267] E.G. Faludi, *A Master Plan for the Development of the City of Hamilton*, (Hamilton: City Planning Committee of Hamilton, 1947), 50.

[268] Robert Smithson, The Monuments of Passaic," *Artforum*, (December 196): 52-57. This piece is a playful travelogue-meets-photo-essay musing on a tour of quasi-postindustrial suburban New Jersey from 1967.

change in terms of suburbanization and deindustrialization, as they moved towards the postindustrial. As an artist and writer, Smithson's larger body of work supports a reading of urban material mediality and acts as a bridge between earth, city, and technology through a unique interest in and approach to nature, geology, time, memory, and the everyday, combining categories like the industrial landscape and the thermodynamic concept of entropy. As Parikka notes, Smithson can be placed in "an imaginary alternative media theoretical lineage that does not include necessarily McLuhan, Kittler, and the likes in its story but materials, metals, waste, and chemistry."[269] His tour of Passaic provides a unique way of looking at the landscape and the urban while playing off the format of the European Grand Tour, with its requisite visiting of Romantic ruins. In Smithson's contemporary New Jersey, there was a reversal in which new construction rose into ruin rather than older structures falling gracefully into ruin. In 1967, Smithson found the juxtaposition of Passaic's old River Drive and a new highway being constructed, with its pipes, ponds, construction equipment, and surrounding landscape, to be "a kind of self-destroying postcard world of failed immortality and oppressive grandeur."[270] The new highway revealed the outdatedness of that which preceded it, while simultaneously revealing its own imminent outdatedness as it rises into ruin.

In adapting this frame to Hamilton it is possible to see how, for the modern reformers, the Victorian/Edwardian city was itself a type of "self-destroying postcard world of failed immortality and oppressive grandeur."[271] Modern architects saw oppressive grandeur in the ornamentation of the buildings, their complicated, inefficient and difficult materiality while

[269] Parikka, *Geology of Media*, 5.

[270] Smithson, "A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic, New Jersey," in *Robert Smithson: The Collected Writings* ed. Jack Flam (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 72.

[271] Smithson, "A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic, New Jersey," 72.

renewal promoters saw failed immortality within dilapidated or blighted areas. There was also a sense of failed immortality in huge stone buildings that were not necessarily deteriorating, but still needed to be destroyed. Finally, there was a sense of failed immortality in that these buildings were difficult to demolish, just like the aforementioned Post Office had been in the 1930s. Terminal Station was a similar example from the 1950s. Built in 1907 and demolished in 1959, it had four-foot thick limestone walls with brick upper storeys and took weeks to demolish as "the Gibraltar-like building stood its ground against the workmen with such resoluteness that the wrecking company got behind in its calculations."[272] The strength and durability of such buildings demonstrated a social dimension to the attack on obsolete hardware. It was not so much that these buildings were incapable of various functions or processes, as that their storage and transmission qualities were too problematic. They communicated a sense of age and datedness that was so socially troubling they had to be destroyed, but what replaced them was equally important. The new buildings that replaced those demolished in the era of urban renewal revealed themselves as, "*ruins in reverse*, that is—all the new construction that would eventually be built. This is the opposite of the "romantic ruin" because the buildings don't *fall* into ruin *after* they are built but rather *rise* as ruins before they are built."[273]

While the roots of the downtown renewal plan went back as early as the 1944 National Housing Act, which initiated residential renewal in Canada, it was not until the 1960s that funding was available to study downtown commercial and civic renewal. Taking advantage of the 1964 NHA amendments, Hamilton secured funding for both a downtown renewal study and

[272] *HSR Transit News* 7 no. 157, February 13, 1959. http://www.hamiltontransit.ca/throwback-thursday-demolition-of-the-terminal-building-in-1959/

[273] Smithson, "A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic, New Jersey," 72.

scheme that were completed by the firm Murray V. Jones and Associates in 1964 and 1965.[274] The roots of downtown redevelopment were laid in Faludi's Master Plan from the 1940s, but by the 1960s, so-called blight downtown had only worsened. The study area extended from Bay Street in the west to James Street in the east and from Main Street in the south to Merrick Street in the north. The formatting and hardware were both problematic in the minds of the modernizers. Firstly, over 80% of the buildings in the study-area were built before 1900.[275] The area "appeared uniformly old, with 2 and 3 storey structures lining the street frontages, punctuated by numerous parking lots."[276] The area also had a significant intermixture of land uses with retail, wholesale, warehouses, manufacturing, services, offices, and residential all occupying the same area, oftentimes the same buildings. Some of these buildings were of good quality while others had fallen into various states of disrepair.[277] Furthermore, there was insufficient parking, lack of off-street shipping areas, upper floor vacancies, undeveloped parking lots, poor interior layouts, inadequate storage, and insufficient fire and safety standards.[278] The old commercial heart of the city could not compete with the Greater Hamilton Shopping Centre that had opened in the east end of the city (on the huge 71 acre site of the old Jockey Club) in 1955.[279] The 260 mostly brick and stone buildings that lined Main, King,

[274] Rockwell, "The Facelift and the Wrecking Ball: Urban Renewal and Hamilton's King Street West, 1957-1971," *Urban History Review* vol. 37 no. 2 (Spring 2009), 54.

[275] Richard Blake Hull, "A Relocation Diffusion Model of Selected Retail Businesses in Hamilton, Ontario," (Master's Thesis: Wilfrid Laurier University, 1975), 6.

[276] Murray V. Jones and Associates, *Civic Square Urban Renewal Scheme: City of Hamilton,* (Hamilton: Murray V. Jones and Associates, 1965), 3.

[277] Hull, "A Relocation Diffusion Model," 6 and 35-36.

[278] Robick, "Blight: The development of a contested concept," 334.

[279] The Greater Hamilton Shopping Centre (which became Centre Mall [fully enclosed mall], is now The Centre on Barton [power centre]) was opened in 1955 on the massive grounds of the old Jockey Club in the city's east end, between Ottawa and Kenilworth, Barton and the CNR tracks. When it opened there were 7000 parking spaces and by 1960, 25 000. Predating

Market, York, Merrick, Bay, Park, Charles, MacNab, and James, were made of local materials like Whirlpool sandstone, Eramosa dolomite, Iroquois Bar clay, and local shale, but Hamilton's modernizing forces desired a clean break with the past and conversion to supposedly ahistorical materials.[280] As we shall see, however, these newer materials took on patina over time and themselves required constant maintenance and repair (that they did not usually receive) in order to give of an illusion of timelessness.

The Murray Jones renewal scheme proposed two connected superblocks, encompassing multiple older narrower Victorian blocks. There was a commercial section and a Civic/Cultural section with public space in between and connecting the two. Under the superblock structure, the plan eliminated all small streets between Bay and James north of Main to Merrick (which became York and flowed into Gore/Wilson after it was redone). It also proposed to demolish all the buildings, excluding Robinson's department store and the Pigott and Sun Life Buildings on the west side of James south of King. Despite plans for large-scale demolition, the local community supported the widely publicized plan.[281] The new Civic Square was to include open spaces, parks, a planetarium, a sculpture court/skating rink, an auditorium, a hotel, one office building, an education centre, the library, the art gallery, a department store with attached mall and a parking garage (Eaton's and its parking garage were already there and would remain under the plan). Hamilton modernist architect Anthony Butler—who would go on to design the

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the fully enclosed suburban type mall, GHSC was innovative in having covered walkways between the stores making it Canada first year-round mall. It also had department stores, a large grocery store, chain stores and independent stores, giving it great variety. "Oct. 26, 1955: Centre Mall, Canada's first year-round mall opens," *Hamilton Spectator* Sept. 23, 2016.

[280] Rockwell, "The Facelift and the Wrecking Ball," 53.

[281] Rockwell, "The Facelift and the Wrecking Ball," 54 and more details in Rockwell, "Modernist Destruction for the Ambitious City," 102.

library/farmers market complex (1980)—called the "grand axial mall" of the 1965 Murray Jones scheme "distressingly *beaux arts* in conception," but acknowledged, "it caught the public fancy."[282]

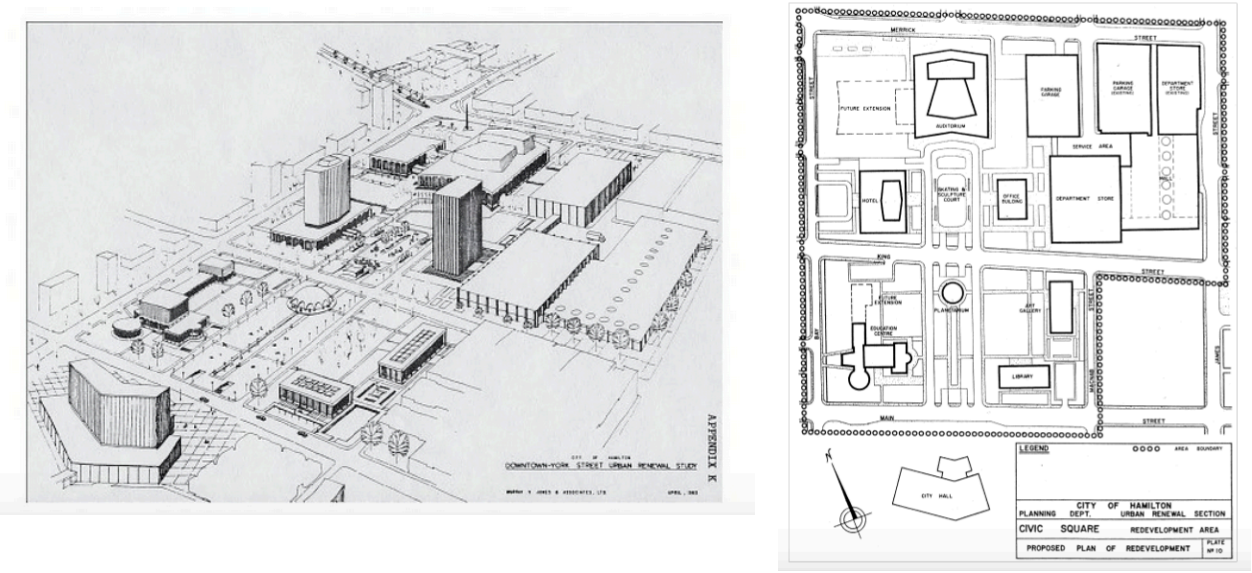

Figure 13: Murray V. Jones and Associates plans from October 1965. Hamilton Public Library, Local History & Archives.

So, in the mid 1960s, with massive industrial expansion and economic prosperity as well as plans to rebuild the downtown in a large-scale modern style, Hamilton's future was looking quite bright. The city was poised "to change more in the next decade than it has in the last century" in "the greatest venture ever launched by a Canadian city this size."[283] Despite the initial optimism about the Civic Square project in 1965, it was plagued with years of setbacks and delays.[284]

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[282] Anthony Butler, "Perspective," *Canadian Architect* 14 no. 6 (1969), 7, quoted from Rockwell, "The Facelift and the Wrecking Ball," 54.

[283] "Hamilton 1967 ready to spread its wings and fly," *Hamilton Spectator,* June 27, 1967.

[284] It took time to work out the cost-sharing agreements between three levels of government (finalized in 1967), a developer needed to be secured and it took time to review different bids and decide, land needed to be expropriated (King Street tenants informed in 1968). The Education Centre had been fast-tracked through a special arrangement between the city, federal government and OMB, and finished in 1967, years before any other Civic Square projects were even started. Rockwell "Modernist Destruction for the Ambitious City," 102.

Finally, in June 1968, the shop owners and tenants on King Street were given six months to vacate their properties.[285]

In early 1969, wrecking crews began levelling some 260 buildings on 43 acres across twelve blocks of prime downtown real estate for the Civic Square urban renewal project. Here, I would like to frame the destruction and rebuilding of Civic Square as an explicit example of a computer-like hardware upgrade. The superblock was a fundamental change to the basic organizing unit of the city, rather than piecemeal projects like the TH&B Station or the Dominion Public Building from a generation before. The old grid was part of the uniform, calculable parcels that gave Hamilton its very first memory units and organized the city in terms of scale, accessibility, and building size. Yet, it was now much too small and narrow. The Civic Square superblock eliminated all small streets between Bay and James north of Main to Merrick, which becomes York and flows into Gore/Wilson after it was realigned and widened in the 1970s. The superblock was simultaneously an increased memory unit, a new central processing unit, and had new faster input/output in the form of much wider (one way) streets to accommodate more vehicular traffic. The superblock changed the fundamental parameters of the previous block by both eliminating the streets that separated the buildings and functions, and harmonizing the functions within the more homogenous block. Rather than an eclectic mix of materials, forms, styles, businesses, services and various elements of civic, cultural and commercial life spread throughout the downtown, the superblock aimed to pack everything into one efficient interconnected area. Its immense size created the possibility for larger buildings than could have existed before, with more centralized functions.

[285] Rockwell, "The Facelift and the Wrecking Ball," 54-55.

The superblock was once again a material manifestation of the city's desire to become more white collar or postindustrial. The interconnected complex ensured continuous movement indoors between buildings and pathways, some connected above the surrounding city streets.[286] In a way, it was an extension of the old logic where the middle class and elites occupied the higher ground in the city. Now, they could now be freed from the lowly streets as well. Furthermore, the superblock provided continuous climate controlled space, in stark contrast to the sprawling factory complexes to the east and the hot, dirty, uncomfortable atmosphere of, say, the open hearth furnace. Instead, the superblocks allowed bureaucrats, lawyers, and other white collar workers access to employment and consumption space, as well the means to get in and out of this space. These fantasies afforded by the superblocks stretched towards the eastern factories in their own way though. In 1971, Hamilton was predicted to have, by 2001, a population ranging form almost 900 000 to over 2.2 million and producing the highest "output per person" and "output per worker" (in dollars) of the twelve largest Canadian cities.[287] It is no wonder that, at the beginning of the drawn-out Civic Square project, the city was optimistic about renewal. The city was prospering and it seemed like the good times would last for decades. That same year, a promotional book highlighting the Civic Square project, produced for Hamilton's 125th anniversary, called *Pardon my Lunch Bucket,* predicted Hamilton would be *the* technologically advanced manufacturing centre for southern Ontario, its citizens enjoying a three-day workweek and living in moveable condo-pod-house-boats high above the city streets and bay.[288] So while

[286] Hamilton had plans for an extended "+15 system" (that existed 15 feet above street level) but it does not get finished, through there are a few elements of it, like the passage above King Street connecting the northern and southern superblocks.

[287] A. Goracz, Irwin Luthwick, and L.O. Stone, *The Urban Future*, (Ottawa: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1971), 32 and 30.

[288] David Proulx and Joe Urban, *Pardon my lunch bucket: a look at the new Hamilton…with a bit of old thrown in*, (Hamilton: The City of Hamilton, 1971), unpaginated.

urban renewal in Hamilton is almost universally considered a mistake now, at the time, it was hopeful and exciting, building anticipation over the course of years and various interrelated building and promotional projects.

It was after the wave of destruction in 1969 that Hamilton sharply accelerated its rising into ruin. Rockwell notes the enthusiasm with which this destruction was undertaken and suggests that the process was perhaps more about getting rid of the junky old downtown core than ensuring that what replaced it was adequate.[289] After eliminating elements of oppressive grandeur and failed immortality, but before fully rising into ruin, downtown was a void awaiting its future. Returning to Smithson, he continues, "Passaic seems full of holes compared to New York City, which seems tightly packed and solid, and those holes in a sense are the monumental vacancies that define, without trying, the memory-traces of an abandoned set of futures." Unlike suburban Passaic, which seemed full of holes, Hamilton actually was full of holes, with a particularly large gaping hole right in the middle of its downtown core, not to mention numerous other holes, in the form of parking lots from privately owned land that had been cleared but not redeveloped. Construction did not begin immediately and these monumental voids were left to linger. Furthermore, the well-received image that was first proposed by Murray Jones was not going to become reality. Over the years since the 1965 presentation of the original plan, the developer hired for the job, First Wentworth (a subsidiary of Pigott Construction) negotiated an increase in commercial space at the expense of open public spaces. Retail area jumped from 155 000 to 325 000 square feet and office area from 170 000 to 625 000 square feet.[290] To make room for the new commercial and office commitments, the landscaped public space stretching

[289] Rockwell, "The Facelift and the Wrecking Ball," 59.
[290] Osbaldeston, *Unbuilt Hamilton,* 52.

north from Main to beyond King was sacrificed; there would be no more quasi-beaux-arts axial mall with its pools, gardens, sculpture court and skating rink. Ultimately, First Wentworth was unable to secure the necessary financing and their contract was terminated (after several extensions) in March 1970, well after downtown was already demolished. The commercial centre of the city continued to remain an undeveloped memory-trace of an abandoned future until October 1970, when Yale Properties began construction. Yale, however, would not undertake the original Murray Jones plan either, and instead proposed a plan that kept the additional 7.6 acres of commercial space that First Wentworth had negotiated with the city.[291] The traces of Hamilton's abandoned future lingered on. The start of construction in 1970 was only the first phase, covering a portion of the demolished area; it would be almost two decades before the Civic Square area was finished.

Phase one of the renewal project opened in August 1972. It was an enclosed mall called Jackson Square. Small, diverse parcels of land and buildings, owned and operated by myriad individuals were converted into a sprawling singular complex with an oft-noted labyrinth-like feel, stratified with food courts below, shopping in the middle and (soon) office towers above. The mall was accessible via the surrounding one way streets and had considerable underground parking. The material richness and diversity—the sandstone and shale from the base of the mountain, the dolomite from the top of the mountain, and the clay from the Iroquois Bar—were replaced with streamlined materials and style dissociated from the surrounding geography and geology.[292] Jackson Square was a steel-framed concrete mall with limited street frontage and few windows. The outer walls were exposed concrete aggregate in beige tones with plain

[291] Rockwell, "Modernist Destruction for the Ambitious City," 119.

[292] Beyond just the material and architecture, the old signage that used to hang out over the King Street sidewalks and added a lot of visual richness to the streetscape was also gone.

concrete (*béton brut*) accents that were just barely still fashionable at the time. Pedestrian and public space was elevated to a rooftop area with access from staircases off King and James streets. Initially it was a mid-prestige mall with major retailers, banks, restaurants, and high-end stores. Despite a fairly positive early reception, Jackson Square was also destined to rise into ruin. The suburban-style downtown mall, with its inward facing layout, was doomed to failure and the pedestrian-off-the-street design, as well as the architectural style, were fast approaching obsolescence. Furthermore, the rest of the yet-to-be-constructed superblock structures surrounding the mall were on course to rise into ruin as well. Jackson Square went into decline rather quickly and sentiment turned against the mall as retailers and other tenants left in fairly rapid succession. This big concrete mega-structure loomed on downtown, becoming a lightening rod of criticism and serving as *the* memory-trace of an abandoned set of futures for the whole dissatisfied city let down by its experience with urban renewal. Ironically, Hamilton's experience with urban renewal and its residue (which permeated into the 1990s) would itself manifest as failed immortality and oppressive grandeur, the buildings physically deteriorated long before expectations, the whole project ridiculed as over-ambitious.

The 26-story Stelco Tower was the second part, and first skyscraper, of the superblock to be completed in 1973. At the time, it was the tallest building in Hamilton, but would not house the head office of its namesake company. In a particularly embarrassing episode for the city, in 1968, Stelco announced its head offices would be moving to Toronto and the city was unable to woo them back. Stelco Tower would house only the company's administrative offices. Nonetheless, it was designed to showcase technological advances in the company's steel making

processes.[293] The International Style skyscraper was clad in a new alloy called "stelcoloy" that was designed to rust in such a manner as to protect the underlying steel from damage over time and the original blue grey of the building's exterior would change to a rusty brown/orange as this process took place. Contemporary newspaper accounts noted, "its supposed to amaze us by turning to beautiful dark hues."[294] The use of weathering steel presents an interesting reversal in the usual relationship between the built environment and wider environmental conditions. Rust is the natural process of the aging and weathering of steel, but rather than the destructive chemical reactions of black soiling on stone and brick, weathering steel strengthens and protects itself by working with climate and weather. All of the usually damaging meteorological and atmospheric conditions like rain, snow, ice, and fog, in this case, actually encourage the development of the protective layer. Other companies, like U.S. Steel, had also erected new buildings using their own weathering steel alloy known as COR-TEN. It was an innovative idea with perhaps bad timing, as within a decade of Stelco Tower's completion, when its rusty hues really started to show, the term Rust Belt entered into the wider lexicon and unfortunately, "in the technological mind rust evokes a fear of disuse, inactivity, entropy, and ruin."[295] The Stelco Tower was yet another example of rising into ruin as it was abandoned by Stelco head office before construction even began. Furthermore, it never even had a chance to decline towards

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[293] The Stelco tower would be outdone the following year by the Century 21 building (now called Landmark Place).

[294] John Flanders, "1972 Hamilton and area: Babies, bashes, and buildings," *Hamilton Spectator,* December 30, 1972.

[295] Weathering steel takes about ten years to form the full protective layer if it is not pretreated. Steven High, in *Industrial sunset,* notes that the Rust Belt phrase did not effect Canada the same way, (where the term Golden Horseshoe was more prominent) in this era, partly because factories were not shutting down as early in Canada. Robert Smithson, "A Sedimentation of the Mind: Earth Projects," *Artforum*, September 1968, in *Robert Smithson: The Collected Writings* ed. Jack Flam (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 106.

vacancy or fall into ruin. It was partially vacant from the very beginning and has never achieved full occupancy; it epitomized Hamilton's failure to transition to white collar postindustrialism. Local historian Brian Henley remembered the building's early struggles; "the Stelco tower downtown, even 25 years ago, was never full…in the early days I'd go up and there were always empty floors. It was bizarre—floor after floor was empty.[296] A survey from 1974 showed the city had 250 000 square feet of unrented space including five floors of Stelco Tower.[297] If the skyscraper embodies the vertical file of the paper-based white collar economy, what does it say when this file is largely empty?[298] The vacant floors of Stelco Tower were just another memory-trace of an abandoned future. In a quiet moment of redemption, however, Stelco Tower did eventually become the Stelco headquarters, after the company fell on hard times in the 1980s and left their expensive offices in Toronto for cheaper rent in Hamilton in 1991.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Hamilton continued with the process of rebuilding from the mass destruction of 1969. The holes in the Civic Square site were developed over time, but maintained the same architectural and material theme as the plans from the late 1960s and early 1970s, resulting in a delayed streetscape that was increasingly out of style as it was built. The whole Civic Square scheme was obsolete, yet the city had no choice but to continue to pursue and promote it as the demolitions had long since taken place and the gaps in the downtown core needed to be filled. The rest of the Civic Square rose into ruin both in terms of the buildings' increasingly outmoded plan/style and their rising into an increasingly ruinous cityscape as the old

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[296] Robert Thompson and Cheryl MacDonald, "Century Of Steel: Stelco turns 100, but are there many years to come?" *Biz Magazine*, 2010. http://www.bizmagazine.ca/sitepages/?aid=2100&cn=FEATURES&an=CENTURY%20OF%20STEEL%20|%20Q1%202010

[297] Bill Freeman and Marsha Hewitt, eds. *Their Town: the Mafia, the Media, and the Party Machine,* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1979), 133.

[298] Mattern, *Code and Clay, Data and Dirt,* 73-74.

downtown, so vilified in the renewal years, continued to age and deteriorate further. In 1973 Hamilton Place opened.[299] The material was raw concrete, the architectural style was Brutalist and the architect was Trevor Garwood-Jones, who also designed other structures in the superblock, namely the 1977 Art Gallery of Hamilton (AGH) and the 1981 Hamilton Convention Centre (whose tower portion is now called the Ellen Fairclough Building).[300] Hamilton Place and the AGH were both designed at time of the original Civic Square contract in 1969, which partially explains why Brutalist style structures were rising into ruin in Hamilton when they were fast going out of style in more architecturally savvy cities. Beyond just being materially and stylistically out of date, the AGH rose into ruin structurally as well and a process of renovation and redesign began in 1999.[301] Next came the Library and Farmers Market—designed by Anthony Butler, and completed in 1980—another Brutalist building described as a "six-storey undulating concrete-and-glass structure." The formerly open-air farmers' market was now fully enclosed in the basement of the library complex. Again, the Library/Farmers Market was not styled or built to last and a redesign was commissioned in 2008.[302] In 1981 the Hamilton

[299] Hamilton Place was paid for by the city and the citizens of Hamilton, who donated three million dollars towards its construction. It became the permanent home of the Hamilton Philharmonic Orchestra under Boris Brott and Hamiltonians were proud of it as an educational and cultural institution. The people were dismayed when it is taken over by the Hamilton Entertainment and Convention Facilities Inc. in 1985 after the completion of the Convention Centre and Copps Coliseum.

[300] Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1966), 125-126. Garwood-Jones buildings are noted for their entrances being difficult to locate and not street friendly. https://mackaycartoons.net/tag/trevor-garwood-jones/

[301] A 1999 design competition was launched to address structural issues and increase gallery, exhibition, office space, and public access resulting in Bruce Kuwabara redesign 2003-2005.

[302] "Street Smart," *Canadian Architect*, Oct. 1, 2011. https://www.canadianarchitect.com/features/street-smart/

Convention Centre opened; it was another Brutalist structure, but this time in brick rather than concrete. The AGH, Hamilton Place, and the Convention Centre were all connected by an elevated, mostly concrete, plaza called Commonwealth Square. Also in 1981, the Standard Life Centre office towers opened at the west end of the Jackson Square complex. They were unremarkable International Style, glass and concrete structures. In 1985, the Sheraton Hotel (brick and glass) and Copps Coliseum opened, finally finishing the northern superblock created by the mass demolitions in 1969. In 1987 and 1990 respectively, Commerce Place I and II (steel and glass skyscrapers) opened in the southern superblock, on the southwest corner of King and James.[303] These later structures especially, were rising into a remarkably different city than the original Jackson Square, but they were still following a particular trajectory set back in the 1960s (which itself was following a direction out of the 1930s). As this trajectory crossed into Hamilton's economic realities of the 1980s and 1990s the results were disastrous.

The economic fortunes of Hamilton declined dramatically throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The booming city of the 1960s, that could afford to demolish its downtown core with dreams of a great metropolis rising from the rubble, instead fell on hard times. A symbolic turning point for Hamilton might be the 1981 Stelco strike, after which the company reduced its workforce significantly. In 1983, Stelco posted its first-ever net loss and, throughout the 1980s, cut its workforce in half, while still producing record levels of steel.[304] The industrial base of the city took several more hits over the next two decades as companies that had called Hamilton home for the better part of a century or more either completely shut down or moved out of town.

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[303] These two buildings took the place of many buildings, notably the old Bank of Hamilton as well as a stone warehouse once owned by Sir Allan MacNab built in the 1840s. "Another chapter of history is buried," *Hamilton Spectator,* May 13 1987.

[304] Neumann, *Remaking the Rust Belt,* 75.

In 1984, the Bridge and Tank Company of Canada closed; it had been in Hamilton since 1872. In 1987, the Otis Elevator Company (1902) and Greening Donald Wire Company (1859) left town. 1988 saw Firestone close its Hamilton plant, which had been operating since 1919. In 1990, the Firestone headquarters left as well. Susan Shoe Industries shut down in 1995 (1955). Proctor and Gamble left in 1998 (1913) and International Harvester left in 1999 (1902).[305] So Hamilton had recently finished, or just begun undertaking, new projects downtown at the same time the industrial base of the city was struggling.

The new downtown structures' rising into fresh ruin was compounded by the accelerated sliding into traditional ruin of the rest of the older, non-renewed city and the fast-growing industrial ruins to the north and east. The material city and much of its infrastructure were aging and weathering as maintenance slipped. Jackson Square, the phase-one mall from 1972 was already sliding into decline as phases of the Civic Square project were opening in the 1980s. High-end chain stores left as their original leases expired. They were first replaced with independent stores, which were later replaced with bargain stores.[306] The main restaurants closed down and the reputation of the mall soured.[307] The bunker-like walls of the mall did not contain the disaster; outside businesses did not fare much better and numerous long-time retailers in the vicinity of the mall disappeared in the 1980s and 1990s as well. In 1983, the Right

[305] "Industrial Hamilton: A Trail to the Future" Timeline of Hamilton Industry. http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/205/301/ic/cdc/industrial/timeline2000.htm

[306] Pierre Filion and Karen Hammond, "When Planning Fails: Downtown malls in mid-sized cities," *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 17, no. 2 (2008): 1-27.

[307] Lucas Mascotto-Carbone and Julia Mortimer, "The Stomps of Progress: Hamilton's Civic Square and The Rose of an Urban Heritage Renewal Movement," *Ontario Architecture Association Perspectives* (Winter 2014/2015): 21-26. Note the mall's reputation was souring as early as 1973, when The *Hamilton Spectator* started criticizing the rooftop plaza and lack of green space.

House—Hamilton's first department store—closed; it had been housed in a large building on King Street since 1893.[308] The same year, the Gore park fiasco/tree massacre took place, an outrage to citizens and the type of fumble city hall was becoming famous for.[309] In 1984, the Gore Park public washrooms were closed after 70 years in operation. Just three years prior, they had been called "the best public washrooms in Canada,"[310] In 1985, the same year the Sheraton Hotel and Copps Coliseum opened, the Herbert S. Mills china shop on King, just east of James closed.[311] In 1986, both of Jackson Square's restaurants (Murray's and Dooney's) closed, as did a very popular downtown eatery, the Chicken Roost.[312] In 1988, Zellers on the southeast corner of King and James (adjacent to the old Market Square) closed and was promptly demolished. In 1989, Robinson's department store on James south between Main and King closed, as did the Tivoli and Century Theatres. In 1990 Woolworth's closed and in 1994, Kresge's, on the

[308] The Right House existed for decades before becoming a modern department store. It used to be on James North, then moved to King 1875, and into the new building in 1893.

[309] With no consultation of the public, the city undertook a renovation of downtown's most famous public space, which was originally donated by George Hamilton and had been a public park since 1870. In 1983, crews leveled the entire park, cutting down every single tree and attempting to build some new structures. There was immediate public outrage, and then the plans were scrapped and an attempt made to put park back how it was before, but the city could only plant smaller trees than the ones they had already cut down.

[310] Mark McNeil, "A final visit to the bygone bathrooms at Gore Park," *Hamilton Spectator*, July 24, 2014. https://www.thespec.com/news-story/4647072-a-final-visit-to-the-bygone-bathrooms-at-gore-park/

[311] It was a store Hamiltonians were proud of, having a continent-wide reputation for fine china when Roosevelt's mother visited in 1934, she bought china for the White House. Mark McNeil, "Take a walk on King Street East," *Hamilton Spectator*, June 12, 2014. https://www.thespec.com/news-story/4572210-take-a-walk-on-king-street-east/ and "Vanished Hamilton is back – in book form," *Hamilton Spectator*, November 7, 2007. https://www.thesp ec.com/whatson-story/2103298-vanished-hamilton-is-back-in-book-form/

[312] Mascotto-Carbone and Mortimer, "The Stomps of Progress," 24.

northeast corner of King and Hughson closed. In 1995, the last of the remaining tenants in the Lister Building at James and King William were forced out and the building sat vacant.[313]

This acceleration of closures led towards the apex of Hamilton's rising into ruin, which was revealed through the 1990 Hamilton Eaton Centre. Amidst all this decline, Eaton's opened a new mall downtown, attached to the Jackson Square mall that was already failing. If the previous failures were modern, this one was spectacularly post-modern. Situated just north of Jackson Square, in the same superblock, the Eaton Centre was built partially on the property of the old City Hall, a raised parking garage that housed the farmer's market on street level, and everything north to Merrick Street.[314] It was a 320 000 square foot enclosed retail space housed in a postmodern pink and buff brick building with steel accents at the entrances and a few typically playful neoclassical elements. The clock from the old City hall, which Eaton's had acquired in a 1955 purchase, was reinstalled in a sort of neo-Romanesque clock tower. Inside, the mall was dominated by a huge atrium recalling the Parisian arcades and Milan's Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II. This brand-new-old-time mall cost $108 million to build. It originally attracted name brand stores and was anchored by its namesake, Eaton's. By the ten-year lease renewal, however, most of these stores left, damaged by the mid 1990s recession and series of retail bankruptcies. The 1999 collapse of Eaton's was the most devastating blow to the mall. The Bay refused to take over the space as a retail store and by 2000, the mall's vacancy rate sat at 66%. The entire mall was sold later in 2000, for $4.1 million, that is ten years after opening and for 1/20th of the cost of construction.[315]

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[313] "Lament for a Downtown details," *Hamilton Spectator,* October 16, 2007. https://www.thespec.com/news-story/2241067-lament-for-a-downtown-details/

[314] Danielle Robinson, "Modernizers and Traditionalists in Postwar Hamilton, Ontario: The Fate of a Farmer's Market 1945-1965," *Urban History Review* 36. no. 1 (2007): 45-59.

[315] Filion and Hammond, "When Planning Fails," 9.

It was around the year 2000 that rising into ruin and falling into ruin conflated. The new construction that rose into ruin throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s was exposed as such, while many older landmark buildings that had gone vacant fell into more traditional ruin. Furthermore, shuttered factories began to physically deteriorate rapidly, as ruin spread around much of the lower city. The city's huge supply of orange and red brick buildings recalled the namesake rustiness that had gripped other northeastern industrial centers as Hamilton took on its own Rust Belt aesthetic, albeit twenty or thirty years later than many of its American counterparts. Rather than entering the new millennium as the richest city in the country or the hub of all of Southern Ontario's advanced manufacturing, Hamilton was left with a partially abandoned downtown, a mixture of unloved concrete Modernist and Brutalist architecture, with a token postmodern mall thrown in, blocks and blocks of dilapidated Victorian and Edwardian ruins, a rapidly declining east end commercial and residential areas, and a bunch of abandoned factories.

CHAPTER 4: Art Is the New Steel

This chapter aims to further develop a sense of Hamilton in the post renewal era, beginning with its poor reputation, as a base for understanding major changes to the city and the perception of its so-called renaissance era after the year 2000. As the postindustrial accelerated, soft infrastructure was supposed to replace hard industry, but places like Hamilton struggled as their hard infrastructure revealed its physical age, and the lack of soft infrastructure compounded the city's mounting failures. Soft infrastructure, as Hamilton has defined it, consists of "dense and diverse collaborative partnerships, active intermediaries, and cross-over mechanism that facilitate face-to-face interaction, social networks and flow of ideas that drive successful clustering.[316] I prefer Peters' more media-based understanding of the term, as he reminds us "there are hard and soft infrastructures. Dams and websites, highways and protocols are equally infrastructural. There can be lightweight and portable as well as heavy and fixed infrastructures."[317] This more media-infrastructural understanding facilitates the development of another computer analogy that untangles some of the relationship between hardware as hard infrastructure and software as soft infrastructure within the city-as-medium, specifically, the rebranding and rebuilding of the city as the installation of a new operating system, the Creative City.

The promotional book from Hamilton's 125th birthday in 1971, *Pardon my lunch bucket,* outlined a dream for the city's future in the year 2000. Two hundred thousand workers would be

[316] Appendix L glossary of municipal terms, Our Community Culture Project Phase 1 Report: Baseline Cultural Mapping (CS10057), City of Hamilton, Community Services Department, Culture Division, June 18, 2010.and Appendix to Report CS10057, AuthentiCity, May 1, 2010.

[317] Peters, *The Marvelous Clouds*, 32.

gainfully employed, working only three days per week in technologically advanced factories. Half these workers would live in the city (and its suburbs) while the other half would live outside the city in rural resort homes, but also own city condos (over 100 storeys tall with units that could be picked out by a crane and inserted elsewhere or dropped into the bay as houseboats) in which to stay the two nights a week for work. The dream was tied to manufacturing with Hamilton holding a special place as one of the only 'work cities' left in the Windsor-Kingston corridor. Even though they did not need to, people would still live in the city "because they like it here."[318] The optimism could not have been more starkly contrasted to the reality of Hamilton in the early 2000s. Deindustrialization had eliminated tens of thousands of well-paying jobs in the lower city (as well as supporting businesses), poverty had been on the rise for decades, the downtown population had contracted, and the built environment deteriorated. Furthermore, deinstitutionalization in the 1970s increased the concentration of social services downtown which attracted service-dependant people from both within and outside the city towards an area near the downtown business district with numerous Residential Care Facilities.[319] The lower city became home to a disproportionate number of those suffering from addiction and mental illness, those with physical disabilities, the elderly, probationers, and parolees.[320] The economic and social decline persisted into the 2000s, as evidenced by the *Hamilton Spectator*'s "Code Red" series which began in 2010 and revealed an overwhelming concentration of poverty and

[318] Proulx and Urban, *Pardon my lunch bucket*," unpaginated.

[319] Chapter 5: Anatomy of the Service Dependent Ghetto, in Michael J. Dear and Jennifer R. Wolch, *Landscapes of Despair: From Deinstitutionalization to Homelessness* (Princeton University Press, 1987), 110-138.

[320] Michael J. Dear "Social welfare in the city," in *Steel* City, 196. An RCF is a residential care facility that is community based rather than institution based.

associated health risks in the lower city.[321] Downtown Hamilton was home to a highly visible non-middle class population that was treated with everything from contempt and disgust to indifference, to empathy.[322] Municipal amalgamation in 2001 brought surrounding wealthier suburban and rural areas into Hamilton, further exacerbating the geographic inequalities. Finally, even though many of the industrial jobs that were lost in the 1980s and 1990s were eventually replaced by knowledge economy jobs in the 2000s, the shift had significant effects on the built environment, with the downtown, neighbourhoods surrounding the shuttered factories, and supporting commercial strips faring very badly while the suburbs thrived and the periphery expanded.[323]

Since the 1980s, along with its social, economic, and material decline, Hamilton's reputation among Canadian cities had been sliding rapidly. The attempt to build a postindustrial image and economy by attracting more white collar workers through urban renewal had failed. The office towers suffered high vacancy rates, the downtown malls were failing, and the number of middle

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[321] The *Hamilton Spectator's* award winning CODE RED series began in 2010. Reporter Steve Buist wrote about the results of data analysis by Neil Johnson (health researcher from McMaster University) of over 400 000 pieces of hospital and death data. The worst performing neighbourhoods are all in the lower city; for instance, there was a 21-year life expectancy difference between the best and worst nieghbouhoods and many other noteworthy differences in rates of things like emergency room visits, teen pregnancy, and cancer rates.

[322] Denise Day, "No place to go: Deinstitutionalization, a plan gone wrong," *Hamilton Spectator,* July 14, 1994. Howard Mark, "Take back our streets," *Hamilton Spectator,* August 31, 2006. April O'Flaherty, "If you go downtown, bring plenty of change," *Hamilton Spectator,* July 22, 2000. Bob Borycki, "We deserve a safe place to shop downtown," *Hamilton Spectator,* July 5, 2003.

[323] Richard Harris, Jim Dunn, and Sarah Wakefield. "A City on the Cusp: Neighbourhood Change in Hamilton since 1970," Research Paper 236, Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership, June 2015. http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/documents/2015/04/neighbourhood-change-in-hamilton-since-1970.pdf Steve Buist, "Code Red Day 4: Great divide of extremes and disparity," *Hamilton Spectator*, April 14, 2010. The loss of 25 000 industrial jobs in a roughly 10 square kilometer area of the lower city effected 100 000 people. Some evidence of the impact of the economic hardships can be found along the hollowed out Barton commercial, district which was covered in its own Code Red subseries from 2013.

class people on the streets of downtown dwindled. Furthermore, the city's own legacy of self-promotion, from the nineteenth century lithographs proudly displaying busy factories and black smoke to unselfconscious comparisons with Birmingham and Pittsburgh (before the latter city came to epitomize postindustrial chic) and claiming the title of Steel City in the post WWII era came back to haunt it. In 1951, Group of Seven member (and childhood Hamilton resident) A.J. Casson painted Hamilton, depicting a view of Stelco from the bay.

Figure 14: City of Hamilton, A.J. Casson, 1951. Image courtesy of Oeno Gallery

This image of Hamilton is one of the most urban industrial works by anyone in the group best known for its Canadian landscape paintings. It is unusual subject matter for a Group of Seven member—one might expect a painting of the more serene view around Cootes Paradise—but instead, Casson depicts Hamilton Harbour's industrial landscape, almost as if it were the natural beauty (Burlington Bay) it was before industry.[324] Rather than shallow creeks and

[324] The piece was commissioned by Samuel Bronfman for the Seagram's Collection traveling exhibition *Cities of Canada,* which toured Europe and the Americas between in 1953 and 1954 presenting "an optimistic mid-twentieth century view of Canada as a modern, urban, industrial nation." The exhibition included around 50 paintings and the *Cities in Canada*

marshland that once made up the view, the painting depicts a steel mill on land claimed through infill. Compositionally, it positions the bay in the foreground, mountain in the background, and heavy industry as the focal point. Its orientation is reminiscent of the 1893 lithograph (chapter 2)—which looked south from the waterfront and focused on industrial drivers like the Great Western Railway and factories—but on a more dramatic scale. Now, there is no tidy grid city visible beyond the massive industrial complex; the smokestacks go as high or higher than the mountain, pumping dark smoke into the sky. The bay is dull and dirty looking, polluted, while the sky directly above the city is hazy and smoggy. This is the landscape of Hamilton in the Canadian imagination and would encapsulate the idea of Hamilton for the next sixty years. Such an image of Hamilton was further entrenched by the 1957 completion of the QEW's Burlington Skyway—which rose above the bay providing a spectacular view of Hamilton's industrial waterfront—on the main route between Toronto and the US border at Buffalo that now bypassed Hamilton altogether. Over time, the skyway saw heavier traffic and the steel mills continued to expand northward into the bay through more infill, further embedding and dramatizing the industrial waterfront (including a massive mountain of slag) as the dominant imageability of Hamilton to outsiders.[325] The view/image was so striking and so seemingly representative that there was hardly a reference to Hamilton that did not mention it. Hamilton became this sort of bypass image to outsiders. Inside the city one could not get this same view of Stelco and this

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collection, acquired by the McCord Museum contains 83 paintings. Anne MacKay, "The Frame in Context: The Seagram Collection at the McCord Museum," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 35, no. 2 (2014): 155.

[325] Imageability in Kevin Lynch's sense, as the mental picture of some objective physical material element (including shape, colour, and arrangement) of the city and its relationship to subjective human thoughts. Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960). Paul Wilson, "Hamilton's other mountain goes missing," *Hamilton Spectator,* April 23, 2014. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/talk/paul-wilson-hamilton-s-other-mountain-goes-missing-1.1409625

partly explains the sharp contrasts between the insider/outsider view and attitude towards the city.

In 1967, at the height of Hamilton's internal optimism about urban renewal, the CBC aired an artsy hour-long documentary film, made by the National Film Board, called *Steeltown*. The film opened within a steel mill complex; it is noisy, dirty and unquestionably industrial; masses of molten hot slag are dumped as "Steeltown" comes across the screen. Years before Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities,* but in a similar spirit, *Steeltown's* narrator begins:

> If Marco Polo had journeyed to this place, he might have written, it is a wondrous city at the foot of an embankment they call the mountain. The inhabitants thereof carry curious little caskets made of metal containing foodstuffs. They have many strange customs. They are not allowed to start their tasks until they preform a ceremony, which causes a curious sound. They use wondrous devices unknown to us, but to our greatest astonishment, we found there scholars of renown seeking to derive knowledge from the deeds of verminous beasts.[326]

This fanciful introduction juxtaposed scenes of steel workers carrying their lunchboxes into the mills and punching their time cards with a lab rat pushing a bar for food. Off camera, someone asks, "do you ever mull over the fact that people are doing exactly the same as rats, pushing bars to get rewards?"[327] The rest of the film went on to showcase the omnipresence of industry in Hamilton: blast furnaces, molten steel, rolling lines, slag, smoke, dirt, heavy equipment and processes. There were also several shots of Hamilton's older houses, rows and rows of similar red brick homes, appearing as monotonous as some of the production lines they are juxtaposed against. The film profiled several very unique individuals and groups, seemingly to understand where people find reward and meaning in their lives in the industrial city. The film was not well received in Hamilton. Civic leaders were incensed because "Hamilton had been slimed on

[326] *Steeltown*, Wolf Koenig, Rex Taster, Walford Hewiston, Vic Merrill and Karle Du Plessis. National Film Board of Canada. 1967.

[327] *Steeltown*, 1967.

national television by a federally funded agency." Ottawa Citizen columnist Charles King added insult to injury, writing "poor, poor Hamilton… Ontario's ugly duckling community has been offended again … It must be galling to be ugly and to feel duty-bound to pretend that you're beautiful."[328] Hamilton was self conscious about its reputation in the late 1960s and 1970s, but being playfully mocked as an industrial powerhouse at the expense of metropolitanism paled in comparison to the poor reputation it garnered as a failing steel city. The city fell further out of fashion as the knowledge economy gained greater dominance in the 1980s and 1990s at the same time industrial jobs began quickly disappearing. By the 2000s, Hamilton's poor reputation had become so normalized it was derisively described in tourist literature:

> Blue collar Hamilton is the center of Canada's iron and steel industry, and as a result it's not a good-looking or particularly appealing town. There's a vague whiff of sulfur in the air, and a vague sense of menace in the city's smokestack silhouette. Tourists usually grit their teeth and continue to Niagara Falls without entertaining thoughts of stopping.[329]

Hamilton's built environment was imbued with this overwhelming sense of failure. Just over a hundred years before, Hamilton had been a must-stop city between New York and Chicago for world travelers on their way to the 1893 Columbian Exposition and was now a place best avoided.

Before looking at the particular storage, transmission, and processing functions of Hamilton and its infrastructure in this era, I would like to account for some of what Kittler calls "man," as the play between commands, addresses, and data."[330] One way to bridge the hardware of the

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[328] The Spectator published letters from angry citizens, the films directors were invited to Hamilton to explain themselves, a letter was sent to the Secretary of State, and some called for the film to be destroyed. Graham Rockingham, "When Hamilton said 'pardon my lunch bucket'" *Hamilton Spectator,* June 26, 2017. https://www.thespec.com/community-story/7391772-when-hamilton-said-pardon-my-lunch-bucket-/

[329] Karla Zimmerman, *Canada* 10th Edition (Lonely Planet: Footscray, 2008).

[330] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 722.

medium with human experience is through the concept of *memoire involontaire,* whereby the city serves as a type of Kittlerian post-human external storage device. Consider the storage function of the built environment as a hard drive; any number of things are stored on the hard drive that are not being used at any given moment. Their potential, however, is always there, indefinitely stored as something that may not be immediately accessible but can be called up at any moment. In this way, the built environment serves as external storage device for human memory and experience. In the city, the experience of *memoire involontaire* can arise from returning to places we have previously been, from the details in the built environment. When we physically access these places, and with various accompanying stimuli, we may be grasped by that past, it may reveal itself to us as, "the memory ultimately makes it possible to read commands or data at precise addresses or to encode them."[331] Even if a building is destroyed, it does not necessarily mean the data is gone, but just that it may be more difficult to access. When a building is demolished (or rather, deleted), the surrounding material elements, the remnants of a previous network, may still be enough to recall that which is no longer there. Architectural theorist Christian Norberg-Shulz provides an insightful example of this storage and recall function through another architect's story of returning to Berlin after the Second World War and going to see his childhood house. The house had been destroyed and "Mr. Kallman felt somewhat lost. Then he suddenly recognized the typical pavement of the sidewalk: the floor on which he had played as a child. And he experienced a strong feeling of having returned home."[332] This is yet another way the city-as-medium functions as a deep storage device. Much like the computer hard drive, it is hard to fully erase the built environment as traces almost

[331] Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 722.

[332] Noberg-Shulz, *Genius-Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1991), 21.

always remain. Even a major deletion project like Civic Square (43 acres in the heart of the city) left traces behind, things like the old City Hall clock that sits atop the City Centre mall, or the Birks clock that is now inside the Farmers' Market.[333] Furthermore, despite the mass destruction, the former streetscape still haunts the superblocks, where on the east side of James street, old buildings look across at the newer ones or where the Victorian Gore Park sees itself reflected in the mirror-like CIBC bank towers. There are also vestiges of older networks, like streets that abruptly terminate, betraying their original grid, or other subtle traces like the truncated corner entrance to the Lister Building that once faced Market Square (open space next to the old City Hall) but now faces a staircase to the public space on the roof of Jackson Square. This relationship between memory and the physical storage function of the city also partly explains why urban renewal was so collectively traumatic. With erasure on such a mass scale, as buildings, streets, and layout were wiped out, not only were all locations of experience lost, but so too, was the potential for other memories to be triggered in place through *memoire involontaire*. Yet, even as demolition and reconstruction erased so much, they also laid the foundation for new generations of memories stored in their replacements, in places like Jackson Square.

In a general sense, Hamilton's built environment through the decline of the 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s became a storage media, like a hard drive. Consider a very basic and literal example through Littlewoods Drug Store on Barton Street. It was housed in a low rise brick building on the Barton commercial strip which served the surrounding workers' neighbourhoods

[333] The Birks building demolition (1973) was not part of the publically funded urban renewal projects, but was an iconic downtown (brownstone) building located very close to the Civic Square area.

that popped up and filled up between the early and mid twentieth century.[334] It closed in the 1950s and sat completely untouched for fifty years. For decades, passersby could look through the windows at a moment frozen in time, the area unaltered by redevelopment, the interior format unchanged, the products all still sitting on the shelves and in the display cases.[335] The exterior, with its rough appearance and weathered texture aged at the same pace as the interior, becoming like a display case itself. Not all abandoned or underused buildings have this explicit and exaggerated mausoleum quality, but they have something of it, as they carry traces of more functional and prosperous pasts. Hamilton's materiality and architecture are intimately connected to the history of manufacturing in the city and reveal its birth, peak, decline, and in many cases, end. The stone of the pre-industrial merchant and commercial class, the brick of the industrial era and the concrete of the failed transition to postindustrial reveal the phases of its history.

Over several decades between the 1970s and 2000s, the city processed its ongoing failure through its continued and at times accelerated material changes and deterioration. With the notable exception of the concrete superblocks, brick dominated. It was Hamilton's predominant storage material, so its aging, weathering, and deterioration took on a narrative quality, they told the story of the city. While any given Victorian or Edwardian brick house may not have had an explicit connection to manufacturing, say in the way the later brick workers' houses surrounding

[334] Barton Street had 357 businesses between Wellington and Ottawa in the 1960s and in 2013 the same stretch had 166 businesses. Steve Buist, Code Red "Day 1: Barton Street's lost promise," *Hamilton Spectator*, May 18, 2013.

[335] The son of the original owner kept the store as it was until his death, after which, before it was sold as part of the estate, the *Spectator* was able to go inside and document it on video. Paul Wilson, "The drugstore where time stands still," *Hamilton Spectator* http://www.thespec.com/videogallery/476949

the factories do, they were not unrelated. As the city's fortunes fell, maintenance slid, repairs were not made, bricks cracked, crumbled, developed stains, shingles fell off, gables and porches rotted out. The upper and middle class families that once inhabited many of the brick houses moved out to the suburbs and single family homes were subdivided into apartments, rooming houses, and lodging homes.[336] The survival of the old brick houses (made from the very clay and shale beneath the city), but also their dilapidation, offered material evidence of both the city's rise and decline; they still existed in such huge quantities because development grinded to a halt. They were physically inscribed with this history. The largely brick commercial and industrial downtown underwent a similar process as storefronts were not maintained and upper floor apartments went unrepaired and vacant. The marginal street level retail might have received a new cheap stucco cladding, but the deterioration revealed itself with a quick upwards glance as, "those upper floors were never coming back. The owners knew that for sure."[337] Simultaneously, the once-new concrete superblocks, strip malls, and apartment towers developed their own patina with age; the concrete stained, signage wore and weathered, rust poked through and the whole area took on a tiredness that did not go unnoticed.

By the early 2000s, Hamilton's dominant media quality was storage, such that the whole city, but particularly the downtown, was viewed as temporally out of synch. In 2007, a developer noted, "you hit the core, and it's like you go through a time warp. There's this malaise. You know how when you're swimming in the lake and you hit these little cold patches? It's like

[336] Dear noted large houses just west of downtown (close to two of the city's major hospitals) as available for conversion into lodging homes in the 1970, "Social welfare in the city," in *Steel City*, 190-191.

[337] Paul Wilson, "Restoration at King & James: Up the lonely stairs," *Hamilton Spectator,* March 27, 2018. https://www.thespec.com/opinion-story/8351665-restoration-at-king-james-up-the-lonely-stairs/

you walk into Hamilton and all of a sudden you hit this giant cold patch, and it's the downtown core."[338] It stores a type of history, a past, that has been emptied out of more up-to-date places (layout, architecture, contents, much deeper than a preserved façade) as well as a marginal getting by existence these other places are incapable of. For instance, "compared to Toronto's relentless modernity, large swaths of Hamilton remain frozen in time: its streets are dotted with derelict strip malls, concrete buildings, businesses that operate out of houses and video stores."[339] Returning to the computer analogy, we can consider how any up-to-date city is characterized by both new hardware, and an up-to-date urban operating system. Urban operating systems are ever-changing, but can be conceptualized as categories of urban design and development that are planned and implemented, like City Beautiful, urban renewal, New Urbanism, or Creative City. These operating systems are akin to those of computers. They come with unique languages, sets of rules, parameters, possibilities and impossibilities; they are intangible and ideological but they need compatible hardware in order to operate. For example, the City Beautiful built specific hardware (Beaux-Arts and neoclassical buildings, fountains, monuments, parks etc.) to optimize its codes and values of moral and civic virtue. Hamilton's major attempt at installing a new operating system and simultaneously updating its hardware through urban renewal as described in the previous chapter, was so delayed that it proved obsolete by the time it was finished. It was immediately incompatible with newer trends in urban design and development that had moved away from utilitarian concrete construction and the superblock format. Since the failure of urban renewal, Hamilton has had no discernable operating system:

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[338] Harry Stinson quoted in Wade Hemsworth, "Best face forward; what do investors see in our downtown?" *Hamilton Spectator,* October 31, 2007.

[339] Stuart Berman, "The New Hamiltonians," *Toronto Life,* June 21, 2017. https://torontolife.com/real-estate/the-new-hamiltonians/ Steel City Video finally shut its doors June 2018.

> This is a city that has made every mistake in the book, and has the scars to prove it. Few urban centres have managed to inflict as much damage on themselves as has Hamilton. After eviscerating its core in the 1960s and '70s, it seems to have run out of any clear sense of where it was headed and why.[340]

This is yet another reason why Hamilton has come off as such a failure; it was largely incompatible or unreadable by the most up-to-date operating systems and unable to commit to a new one. By the 2000s, a heap of outdated hardware had piled up, thus compounding Hamilton's problem, enhancing the city's failures, and giving it the obsolete, time-warped malaise noted by the visiting developer.

The uneasy space of failure however, opened up new possibilities. Hidden between obsolescence and potential destruction was the possibility for retrieval. This was the moment when people started dreaming about the city again, about *what it could be*. In its state of failure, Hamilton transmitted all different potentials, from a Creative City postindustrial renaissance based off of Richard Florida's influential work to a resurrection of North American manufacturing, or visions of a more equitable and livable city. The city, however, could never fulfill them all. It could never realize most of these potentialities, those of developers, industrialists, municipal politicians, myriad everyday citizens, and outsiders. Instead, the city largely seized upon a single solution, it chose a seemingly up-to-date operating system compatible enough to limp along on its obsolete hardware and then began the messy material process of building the new hardware required to optimize it. For Hamilton from the mid 2000s forward, the chosen operating system was the Creative City.

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[340] Christopher Hume, "Hamilton City Hall: an exuberant rebirth," *Toronto Star,* July 8, 2011. https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/2011/07/08/hamilton_city_hall_an_exuberant_rebirth.html

Hamilton's experience with the Creative City was a combination of what Smith and Warfield label the econo-centric approach, where the city is "a place of economic innovation, creative talent and creative industries" and the culture-centric approach which primarily values the city as "place of diverse and inclusive arts and culture.[341] City hall and real estate developers were largely econo-centric (though City Hall did promote a culture-centric approach, it was largely in service of its economic goals) whereas the local arts communities were more culture-centric, but did display varying degrees of economic motivation. Hamilton's municipal leaders and media outlets picked up on and promoted the Creative Class approach to urban revitalization beginning shortly after the publication of Florida's, *The Rise of the Creative Class* in 2002. Quickly, what started as promotion by local boosters in the press blossomed into official municipal policy by 2005, when the city's Economic Development Strategy identified "'Film and Culture' industries as a unique emerging cluster in the city."[342] It was art, however, that really fuelled the change in Hamilton's reputation and gave it the foothold it needed to try to sell itself as a home for the Creative Class and promote a consistent narrative of renaissance. A 2006 article in the *Globe and Mail*, titled "Go West Young Artist," marked a watershed moment. This mattered because it was a prominent Toronto media outlet celebrating the city in a positive way

[341] Richard Smith and Katie Warfield "The Creative City: A Matter of Values" Chapter 12 in *Creative Cities, Cultural Clusters and Local Economic Development,* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2007): 289-290.

[342] While there are older roots of the Creative City, it was Florida's rapid rise to superstardom and his notion of Creative Class that Hamilton embraced. See Paolo Russumanno, "'Art is the New Steel': Marketing Creative Urbanism in Twenty-First Century Hamilton, Ontario," (Master of Arts, Brock University, 2015 for more details on the creative class approach in Hamilton.

rather than either ignoring or trashing the city as had long been the norm.[343] The article outlined an "authentic" arts-based urban renaissance in the area around James Street North and did so in a way the City of Hamilton would embrace thereafter. It also called for a Toronto migration (go west) that became the object of countless headlines and magazine features in both Toronto and Hamilton in the years to follow. The authenticity of Hamilton's James North arts scene was rooted in a history dating back to the 1970s and maturing in the 2000s with the beginning of the Art Crawl in 2005.[344] A large part of that authenticity was based in the fact that the local artists owned their studio spaces and galleries and the Art Crawl was entirely unregulated. It was an arts-community grassroots phenomenon rather than a municipally developed strategy and as such, Art Crawl was considered the "crown jewel of the city's renaissance."[345] Civic leaders combined the authentic element of the James Street North artists with aggressive economic development policy and incessant branding to promote Hamilton as a premiere Creative City in Canada. James Street North's organic quality was the seed that allowed forthcoming expensive condo conversions to leech off an idea of authenticity. In 2007, shortly after the arts scene profile began rising, Harry Stinson, a prominent Toronto condo developer, expressed interest in starting projects in Hamilton.[346] His visit and interest were big news in Hamilton, again, because

[343] Bruce Farley Mowat, "Go west, young artist," *Globe and Mail*, January 7, 2006. There is still a little jab here and there with the unexpected nature of it all and idea that Hamilton is finally culturally maturing.

[344] Art Crawl started in 2005 or 2006, depending on who you ask, and takes place on the second Friday of every month when galleries (and now shops and street vendors) coordinate to stay open late.

[345] Adam Carter, "Art Crawl overload: Hamilton's crown jewel now a victim of its own success. *CBC News,*. September 28, 2017. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/art-crawl-identity-1.4308499

[346] Wade Hemsworth, "Best Face Forward," John Burman, "Fresh vision for the city of steel," *Hamilton Spectator,* November 21, 2007, and Andrew Dreschel, "Outspoken T.O. developer eyes Lister," *Hamilton Spectator,* December 19, 2007. Stinson did not end up

it was positive attention from outside, from the high profile Toronto real estate developer who famously helped transform Toronto's dilapidated Queen Street West with his Candy Factory Lofts. For Hamiltonians hungry for Creative City development, this was the stuff dreams were made of.

Then, in 2008, the Creative Class guru himself, Richard Florida was invited to Hamilton as the keynote speaker for the first Economic Development Summit. Florida offered a promising vision for Hamilton's future, "I think Hamilton, in the context of the greater Toronto explosion, has already turned a corner.... You can't help but be part of a boom, you can't really miss."[347] Furthermore, the city had a lot of potential in what Florida called 'authenticity' in the *Rise of the Creative Class*:

> Authenticity comes from several aspects of a community—historic buildings, established neighborhoods, a unique music scene or specific cultural attributes. It comes from the mix—from urban grit alongside renovated buildings, from the commingling of young and old, long-time neighborhood characters and yuppies, fashion models and "bag ladies."[348]

Hamilton indeed had historical buildings and old neighbourhoods in abundance, excessive grit, and countless "characters" and "bag ladies." In fact, Hamilton was so replete with these various factors they had long been considered a major a problem for the city, but now could finally be flipped into a solution. What it lacked, such as renovated buildings, yuppies and fashion models, it thought it could build, promote, and attract; the creative class could save Hamilton. So, the city created and promoted a Creative City-focused economic development model with hopes of

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acquiring any of the downtown properties he discussed in these articles, but started instead with the Stinson School Lofts east of downtown, and is currently (2018) developing the Gibson Lofts and Beasley Park Lofts. https://stinsonproperties.com/project/beasley-park-lofts-2/ and https://stinsonproperties.com/project/gibson-school-lofts-2/

[347] Meredith Macleod, "Hamilton poised for global greatness," *Hamilton Spectator,* May 2, 2008.

[348] Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class,* 228.

attracting outside investment from individual consumers and larger businesses. The municipal government committed to becoming a Creative City. It was a much delayed chance to redeem the previous failure, the bad reputation, and lack of confidence City Hall had experienced since urban renewal. In fact, Hamilton's Creative Class attempts should be framed as the inheritance or legacy of the failed urban renewal years.[349] There were fundamental similarities between the old urban renewal and the new Creative City, things like a focus on the knowledge economy, civic branding/promotion, extensive consultation of experts and reports as well as following models that had been deployed elsewhere (which ironically, is not very creative). Despite the similarities, however, there was a key difference at the hardware level, where publicly funded mass destruction and rebuilding were replaced by privately funded individual projects, whether a large condo development or a tiny café. Furthermore, while renewal was hostile to all outdated and obsolete hardware, the Creative City actively repurposed specific hardware through renovation. City Hall had previously offered financial incentives, like grants for improving façades, eliminating development fees, and offering low-interest building loans, but such programs were slow to be embraced by business owners and local developers. The more successful tactic was a significant effort in consulting, reports, policies, and branding material that spurred interest in façade improvement and development as the renaissance gained momentum and property values increased.[350] According to one municipal official, "we were

[349] Neumann (*Remaking the Rust Belt*, 212) argued that the roots of what is now called neoliberal urban policy can be traced to the postwar renewal years, and how Richard Florida updated Daniel Bell's postindustrial society thesis for the twenty-first century with his Creative Class economic approach.

[350] A key moment in this regard is a 2013 Economic Development Office Video that gained quite a bit of online and print media attention. Meredith MacLeod, "Video gives Hamilton its mojo back," *Hamilton Spectator*, October 23, 2013. https://www.investinhamilton.ca/video-hamilton-mojo/

trying to convince people that what was going on was real...have you heard the term fake it until you make it? ...That was us telling Mr. Investor, Mr. Citizen that the change was happening in Hamilton"[351] The growing buzz and excitement represented by a popular slogan stating "art is the new steel" captured the desire for 'culture' to viably replace industry as the driver of Hamilton's economy and identity.[352] Through the 2010s, evidence emerged that something had taken hold. Toronto media coverage extolled Hamilton as a cool affordable place to live. National media outlets began writing up Hamilton's best neighbourhoods, and the city even garnered some international attention, its restaurants and galleries featured in the *New York Times* and a profile on the city appearing in *The Guardian*.[353] By 2017, something had changed; the same travel guide that suggested bypassing Hamilton in 2008 had updated its entry:

> Something special is happening in Hamilton. Once known as Canada's steel industry hub, skimmed through en route to the Niagara Peninsula, Hamilton's revitalized downtown has rebounded with unexpected hipness. A pocket of cosmopolitan life thrives with good eateries, quirky stores, independent galleries and cool bars.[354]

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[351] Sommers, "Governing Incivility, 159.

[352] This was never an official slogan adopted by the city. 'Art is the new steel' came from "The Print Studio" (non-profit artist collective on James North since 2004. Now Centre 3 for Print and Media Arts) who commissioned graphic artist Mark Byk to create the designs for their 'art is the new steel' campaign. Various pieces were then produced, marketed, and sold by a group of artists. See Ingrid Mayrhofer, "It takes a community to create art" *Hamilton Spectator* (editorial) October 13, 2011, responding to Mark McNeil, "Art in a transforming city: A healthy creative class has a role to play in the overall health of the community," *Hamilton Spectator*, October 4, 2011.

[353] Michael Kaminer, "Five Places to Go in Hamilton, Ontario," *New York Times,* August 24, 2017 https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/24/travel/five-places-to-go-in-hamilton-ontario.html and Seema Narula, "An insider's guide to Hamilton: the fall and rise of an industrial powerhouse," *The Guardian*, April 11, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/apr/11/insiders-guide-to-hamilton-ontario-canada

[354] Kate Armstrong, Korina Miller, Anna Kaminski, Adam Karlin, John Lee, Carolyn McCarthy, Ryan Ver Berkmoes, Phillip Tang, and Benedict Walker, *Lonely Planet Canada* 13th edition (Lonely Planet, 2017), 131.

This change urges a shift in our analysis towards the transmission quality of the city-as-medium. How had the message the city was sending out changed so significantly and how could such a process begin, accelerate and multiply? As the rest of the chapter will demonstrate, through the hardware of the city, the storage of failure transmitted potential, which was processed through the built environment (via practices like renovation), into this supposed-success.

In order to further develop this transmission quality of Hamilton, we might consider the built environment through Bakhtinian dialogism. Elements of the built environment like the material, architecture, and format of downtown can be considered utterances in constant dialogue with one another as well as with other physical sites within the city and well beyond. They also communicate within the aforementioned operating systems, which are more discursive (rather than material) constructions of urbanity. The utterances though, are its physical properties, its material inscriptions, while the dialogue is based on much broader contextual relationships. Thus, the outdated built environment was transmitting, disseminating—in Peters' sense of dissemination as dialogic, as delayed reciprocity—information encoded in its physical format and material qualities, but how that information was decoded varies.[355] In this way we can see urban renewal as Hamilton's attempt at monologic dissemination, trying to control the message of its postindustrial rebirth though publications like *Pardon my Lunch Bucket* and other newspaper and magazine features, and to enforce it through the physical site of Civic Square. In fact, the supposed material and architectural modernity of Civic Square was the essential element in the postindustrial communication, but by the time it was finished, the surrounding dialogic context had changed; concrete and superblocks were out, New Urbanism, historical architecture,

[355] Peters, *Speaking into the Air: A history of the idea of Communication*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

and walkable downtowns were in. The particular postindustrial message was never received and Hamilton failed to gain the better reputation and growing economy it desired. It did not matter what anyone tried to say about it; the hardware itself transmitted an outmoded message in a context different from that in which it was conceived, so it was deemed a failure along with rest of the city. For decades Hamilton's built environment was simply broadcasting its failure out to those driving past on the skyway. The enormous steel mills reminded everyone that this was still an industrial city, thoroughly out of date. A closer look inside the city showed soiled stone and deteriorating brick buildings revealing their age, and traces of more prosperous times long ago, while the instantly-outmoded concrete superblocks exhibited a more recent and spectacular failure. The city transmitted these bleak signals for decades, as clearly evidenced by its poor reputation. Yet, as Hamilton approached its renaissance and these material things continued disseminating, the reception of the transmission began to change dramatically. It is important to note that the physical qualities (as the basis of the transmissions) did not change. They were still stone, brick, concrete, Victorian, Edwardian, modernist, and equally, (or ever so slightly more) outdated, unstylish, dilapidated, Hamilton. The transmission of this failure, in fact, was an essential component in the reversal of its reception; it was the quality of failure that imbued it with potential. This turn towards potential, however, was tied to wider trends and contexts. The rise of the historic preservation movement, the increasing unaffordability and competitiveness in the Toronto housing market, the growing awareness of the Creative Class/City that placed high value in architecture, art, food, and other scenes, all contributed to the change in attitude towards Hamilton. So Hamilton's ruinous built environment, in transmitting its failure was simultaneously transmitting potential.

It was loosely the creative-city-as-operating-system that was able to read this potential by scanning the surface for particular materials, formats, qualities, aesthetics, and locating obsolete hardware suitable for repurposing. It may be useful to explore the operating system and its reading of and implications for the built environment through Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope. The chronotope (which Bakhtin himself borrowed from mathematics / theory of relativity) takes the disparate elements of time and space and fuses them into a single comprehensible whole, time-space. I would like to offer here an example of the chronotope outside the field of Bakhtin's "literary artistic chronotope," but also note how it is not as far removed from literature as it might seem at first glance, if we consider the the creative-city-as-operating-system, as software, as an immaterial discursive construction in a particular language, based on various rules, parameters, codes, and conventions. Put another way, the Creative City is a genre and Hamilton's version is the particular narrative. It is not the time-space setting of the novel but a framework operating in the background, a deeply encoded set of organizing principles; it is soft infrastructure. Thus, the creative-city-as-operating-system has its own chronotope, as an expression of temporal and spatial relationships; it is a rubric defining the norms and limits of which buildings and elements of the built environment are desirable/undesirable or salvageable/trash based on their time-space configurations. Here, I am discussing the Hamilton specific case, but other places with a strong creative city push (their own creative-city-as-operating-system) would have contextually specific and unique chronotopes as well, depending on their particular histories and phases of building, as well as the materials and styles used. Within the creative-city-as-operating-system, "time, as it were, thickens, takes on

flesh, becomes artistically visible."[356] Crucially, it is only certain blocks of time that become thick and meaningful.

In Hamilton, the Creative City valued and retrieved those materials and formats from the time before the urban renewal era. It favoured the Victorian and Edwardian eras. The thickness of the time component intersected with certain buildings, their materiality (stone and brick) and their placement in space (downtown) such that they became "charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history."[357] This charged quality was the newly discovered potential when a Victorian building intersected with contemporary urban revitalization practice; the layering of these timescapes enabled the retrieval, or the reversal of the denigration of such materials and formats experienced in the renewal era. Renewal-time on the other hand was read as only sparse and attenuated, devoid of potential and value and its hardware was therefore not charged and responsive in the same way. So, the Victoria and Edwardian buildings that were shameful during the time of urban renewal became trendy and desirable, while the urban renewal buildings and newer strip malls were derided. The stone and brick were valued over the concrete, the narrow Victorian grid over the immense superblock.

However, the creative-city-as-operating-system, as software, could not really do anything other than read, locate, and value. There had to be changes at the hardware level, the city had to create new processors. This has traditionally been done through new building projects, most often on sites whose spatial/temporal relationships were read as trash and then demolished, but the Creative City paradigm valued history and different material and architecture eras. Thus, for

[356] Mikhail M. Bakhtin, "Forms of time and of the chronotope in the novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays,* Michael Holquist ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 119.

[357] Bakhtin, "Forms of time and of the chronotope in the novel," 119.

the Creative City, the most important processing was done through renovation of retrieved older buildings. Through renovation, new up-to-date processors were constructed inside the old casing, optimizing the built environment for the new operating system. It was these renovated spaces that housed the (new) and unexpectedly hip "good eateries, quirky stores, independent galleries and cool bars" and it was their material presence and physical details, combined with elements of newness in the interior that made them hip (again, the layering of the two timescapes within the single space).[358] This was a reflexive process where the built environment signaled, the creative-city-as-operating-system read / deciphered / interpreted and then urged or enabled the changes to the built environment, which then fed back into the Creative City, strengthening it and making it a greater material reality. What was possible in the chronotopic frame, what was salvageable—what time, or era was thick and artistically visible, what spaces became charged and responsive —and what was trash had real implications in the built environment. The tight Victorian grid with its public square, old stone and brick houses, factories, and foundries became charged and responsive, became desirable again. The inward-facing mall, concrete superblocks, elevated pedestrian zones away from the street, and the postmodern brick mall were drained of all appreciation and therefore undesirable. Amidst the renovation of particular historic buildings, Hamilton saw a wave of destruction of modernist buildings.[359]

As Hamilton adapted to the Creative City as its operating system, some things were misread by municipal leaders and errors popped up in dealing with the built environment when the city was unsure which hardware was salvageable and which was trash. In the early stages of

[358] *Lonely Planet Canada,* 131.

[359] A noteworthy example is the Board of Education Building that sat in the southern superblock at Main and Bay, across the street from City Hall. It was sold and demolished in 2012 for McMaster University's new downtown health centre, the David Braley Health Sciences Centre.

transitioning to a Creative City approach, Hamilton was unsure what to do with its fifty-year-old International Style City Hall. Renewal had led to the demolition of its 1890 brownstone City Hall, which decades later was seen as a regrettable decision and the building was one of the architectural losses the city collectively mourned. But, was its 1960 replacement a piece of modernist junk or another treasure of architectural and civic value? The 1960 City Hall was arguably of significant value in the history of Canadian architecture and was built of the best materials in an innovative and stylish format, but municipal leaders did not quite understand this; it was after all, related to the much-maligned (and less materially and architecturally rich) Jackson Square/Civic Square.[360] After protracted debates over demolishing or renovating the building, it was renovated (beginning in 2008) with several major—and some argue, offensive—changes. Most notably, the marble outer cladding was replaced with precast concrete.[361] The marble had not become charged and responsive enough in time and it was literally treated as trash. A portion of the original gold veined Georgia white marble was found (smashed into pieces) lining a drainage ditch just outside the city. Truckloads (640 tonnes) were given away for free while the rest was hauled off by a waste removal company.[362] The renovated City Hall, with its new concrete cladding, reopened in 2010, around the same time the Edwardian Lister Building's glazed white terracotta was being restored to much fanfare (Chapter 5).

Perhaps the most dramatic reversal and trashing of the material past as well as glimpse of the city's creative dream-future was evident in the vision for the Stelco property. This site

[360] Sharon Vattay, "Architect Stanley M. Roscoe (1921-2010): Pioneering Innovations," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 38, no. 2 (2013): 29-38.

[361] Concrete was used in order to save money, as the expensive renovation was contentious in the first place.

[362] Emma Reilly, "City hall marble lands in Ancaster ditch," *Hamilton Spectator*, April 15, 2010.

revealed a major fantasy of Hamilton-as-creative-city as well as the tension with the city's unfashionable, but still-operational industrial infrastructure. This example also highlights the maturation of the Creative City approach, where municipal leaders had become more assured and confident as to what was salvageable and what was trash. The most basic tenet of the postindustrial is simply being 'post,' in having moved passed industry. The history of industry can be gritty and cool so long as it is over. The factory has to be emptied out of its industrial contents and no longer contributing to pollution and other unfashionable things like mining/resources extraction and their fossil fuel based transportation around the world. If industrial hardware can be converted into a sanitized signifier of a pervious era, it can act as proof of progress, whereas industry still operating or limping along is more problematic. As Hamilton as a Creative City matured in the 2010s, it dreamed to change that iconic image, the view of Stelco from the bay, in a move that could do more to improve the perception of the city than a thousand Art Crawls. Stelco's (U.S. Steel Canada) shutting down, bankruptcy, and period of creditor protection, between 2013 and 2014— ending over one hundred years of steelmaking at the site—provided precisely that opportunity. When the bankrupt company was sold to Bedrock Industries (a holding company / private equity firm), the huge parcel of land it sat on (over three square kilometers, mostly infill) went into a land trust. This was land the city once enthusiastically supported as industry. It was physically created by industry—not just that Stelco was responsible for the infill but that they also used their own industrial byproduct, slag, for much of that infill—for industry as docks, warehouses and the like. The once-prized industry had become trash while the literal trash the industry rested on had become valuable. Stelco reemerged in December 2016, but was leasing only a small portion of their former lands in what amounted to very limited operations. Creative City Hall hoped to acquire and remediate the

remaining lands for a large scale waterfront development. This dream project would have put a final end to the problematic dissemination of the Stelco hardware and entered it into conversation with successfully repurposed industrial sites like Seattle's Gas Works Park or Pennsylvania's Bethlehem Works with its Steel Stacks "campus dedicated to arts, culture, family events, community celebrations, education and fun."[363] A consulting firmed hired by the city produced a 2015 report that flagged the underutilized lands of the former Stelco property as a major opportunity.[364] Also in 2015, Hamilton gave an urban design award to a Master of Architecture Thesis that outlined a detailed proposal for rehabilitating and and repurposing the Stelco property with significant residential usage.[365] By 2017 the city envisioned redevelopment of the unused Stelco lands as:

> Creative offices, light industry, movie studios and green space… turning 329 hectares (813 acres) of former steel production land, into a Toronto or Brooklyn Navy Pier-style waterfront. That includes a hub of light industry surrounded by creative buildings, plus a shoreline park and waterfront trail."[366]

The fantasy over the Stelco lands teased the city with an opportunity where "cities that no longer produce physical goods can instead produce their own image as a kind of marketed product. If once they smelted steel or manufactured textiles, now they trade on the unique cultural history

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[363] Gas Works Park is a 19-acre waterfront park with some old rusted equipment. Bethlehem works a half square kilometre site with the campus and also hotel, casino, shopping centre. "What is Steel Stacks?" http://www.steelstacks.org/about/what-is-steelstacks/

[364] "City of Hamilton Bayfront Industrial Area: A Strategy for Renewal," Phase 1 – Market Opportunities Study, (Deloitte, 2015), 6.

[365] Desirae Cronsberry, "SteelCity Living: Hamilton, Stelco and the Post-Industrial City," (M.Arch: Carelton University, 2015).

[366] Samantha Craggs, "City steps forward on its dream for industry, movie studies, green space on Stelco lands," *CBC News,* June 6, 2017. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/city-plan-for-stelco-land-1.4147180

that is the legacy of those lost industries."[367] Then, suddenly, in June 2018, hundreds of acres, (including the blast furnace parcel), were sold back to Stelco and speculation emerged that major steel making operations may resume on the site in the future.[368] City Hall was disappointed with the decision and the fact that they were not consulted prior to the sale, lamenting afterwards that "rather than some 520 acres of land available for development, there is more like 40 or 50."[369] The steel city just wouldn't quit. For the foreseeable future, art was not going to be the new steel on Stelco's property.[370]

Away from the steel mills though, Hamilton's other property was largely available and residential real estate fueled Hamilton's newfound popularity since the early 2000s. The germinating potential of Hamilton's real estate attracted the Creative Class who were more self-assured than the fledgling Creative City. In the renaissance's infancy, City Hall may not have known what to do with the modernist chic City Hall, but the Creative Class knew what to do with historic houses and storefronts. They knew the right buildings to retrieve and how. Back in 1972, amidst Hamilton's first attempt at downtown renewal, Mayor Vic Copps told the *Globe and Mail*, "We still will not have anything for Toronto people that they don't have over there—

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[367] David A. Banks, "True-ish Grit: Rust belt cities are turning years of neglect and decay into a soundstage for social media," *Real Life*, July 6, 2016. https://reallifemag.com/true-ish-grit/

[368] Stelco also bought back the Lake Erie, Nanticoke property. There has been speculation in Hamilton about whether Stelco will turn the blast furnace on again and/or what they plan to do with the lands, as the company had previously studied the blast furnace to see what kind of condition it was in. Stelco also bought back the Lake Erie, Nanticoke property.

[369] Mark McNeil and Steve Buist, "Stelco signals plan for expanded steelmaking with major land purchase," *Hamilton Spectator,* June 5, 2018. https://www.thespec.com/news-story/8649752-stelco-signals-plan-for-expanded-steelmaking-with-major-land-purchase/ and Susan Clairmont, "Surprise Stelco land deal leave city out of the loop," *Hamilton Spectator*, June 4, 2018. https://www.thespec.com/opinion-story/8647842-surprise-stelco-land-deal-leaves-city-out-of-loop/

[370] ArcelorMittal (formerly Dofasco) is next to the Stelco property and still operates as a steel mill, one of most technologically advanced in North America.

except the opportunity to live here.[371]" At the time, Torontonians scoffed at the idea of living in Hamilton, particularly because it was seen as industrial and culturally unsophisticated. Newspapers referred to the city as a "dull uncle across town" and noted, "because of its proximity to Toronto it is woefully weak in hotels, its restaurants are at the "Golly, garlic bread!" state and its art, music and theatre have always suffered in comparison."[372] Yet, forty years later Hamilton's real estate, arts, and food scene had become attractive to Torontonians. This was the moment when Hamilton's built environment's transmission of failure became that of potential and it was the wider context that altered the reception rather than any great change in the physical environment itself. Popular magazines noted, "Hamilton—with its downtown-centred 19th-century layout, industrial heritage and fiery smokestacks—is as urban as it gets."[373] Or how "Hamilton is different from all of the Markhams and Mississaugas: Hamilton's historic urbanity is appealing to those who would not consider living anywhere but downtown."[374] A 2015 Huffington Post article framed Hamilton as "Canada's Brooklyn."[375] The layout that was unfavourable during the renewal era became a driving force in the next wave of creative renewal. Furthermore, Toronto media began articulating the potential of Hamilton's hardware as its stone and brick buildings, factories, and houses became highly sought after. Older buildings and materials had been rising in desirability for decades, but the explosion of interest in Hamilton

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[371] Martin O'Malley, "Hamilton: the lunchbucket city takes off," *Globe and Mail,* July 25, 1972.

[372] O'Malley, "Plugging the gaps in Hamilton's renaissance," *Globe and Mail,* July 26, 1972.

[373] Bert Archer, "Steeltown Revisited," *Toronto Life,* October 2008.

[374] Scott Weir, "The secret's out: we can see why the cool kids are moving to Hamilton," *National Post*, November 15, 2008.

[375] Marcello Cabezas, "How Hamilton's Collective Pursuits Are Creating Canada's Brooklyn," *Huffington Post,* August 4, 2015. https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/marcello-cabezas/hamilton-canadas-brooklyn_b_7927150.html

was sparked by its relative affordability vis-à-vis Toronto. Magazines drooled over places like a, "three-storey detached Georgian Revival home built in 1890… picked up in July 2007 for $139,000" and a "gallery on James Street North for less than $100,000."[376] For any resident of Toronto and the GTA, these prices were shockingly low. Newspapers noted:

> Restored large detached Victorians in the beautiful Durand district near the GO station and Locke Street's restaurant strip can be had for $350,000… beautiful large brick detached houses of Cabbagetown scale are listed at around $150,000, while others are under $100,000. Around Gage Park are solid Edwardians that benefit from a lush tree canopy, quiet boulevards and close proximity to astounding parks. The large houses here list around $350,000 but the majority can be had for $200,000."[377]

The affordability of Hamilton compared to Toronto led the *Toronto Star*, in 2016, to call Torontonians moving to Hamilton "real estate refugees."[378] Even though Hamilton prices were higher than ten years before, homes were still considerably cheaper than something comparable in Toronto.[379] The 'real estate refugee' phenomenon can be partly explained by the expansion of the Greater Toronto area and the Hamilton area, such that the two cities' suburbs bled into one another, creating a continuous corridor, the so-called GTHA. Back in 2008, Richard Florida had cited Hamilton's proximity to Toronto, an appendage to Toronto in the mega region of Tor-Buff-Chester, as the key to its coming success. Put another way, Hamilton fell into Toronto's

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[376] Archer, "Steeltown Revisited."
[377] Weir, "The secret's out."
[378] Tess Kalinowski, "Hamilton is having its moment," *Toronto Star,* September 3, 2016.
[379] The average price of a home in Hamilton was $541 778 in the second quarter of 2018. The average value of a Hamilton home in 2011 was $343 368 and in 2016 was $485 415. The average price in Toronto in 2011 was $495 394 and in 2016 was $734 924 (2016 census). https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/171025/t002c-eng.htm. Prices had been rising all across the city but there were also big differences between desirable neighbourhoods and others. In 2006, before the renaissance really began, the neighbourhood bounded by Sherman, Ottawa, Barton, and the waterfront had average home price of $87 438.

"commutershed."[380] Hamilton's real estate was so affordable that transplants could buy homes *and* businesses. In 2017, the Globe and Mail ran a story about multiple Toronto chefs moving to Hamilton, able to buy homes and buildings for restaurants.[381] Also in 2017, *Toronto Life* published a long story on "the new Hamiltonians" providing a brief history of the Hamilton phenomenon and profiling several families that left Toronto for Hamilton (including the author's own), listing what they left, what they got, and what they paid.[382]

The hardware did not change so much as the reception of it did. The dilapidated essence of the entire lower city played an important role, such that even if a particular house was not in bad shape, its context and surroundings brought it down a notch or two. As the renaissance accelerated, it created a feedback loop through which improved buildings proved potential was there, furthering the surrounding dilapidated buildings' transmission of potential, urging the ruinous to join them in renovated glory. Such houses then became processing centres for the renaissance with affluent new residents. There was debate, however, as to the extent of the Toronto migration and whether it was responsible for rapidly rising housing prices and changing social and cultural norms, or whether it was a red herring and/or scapegoat.[383] More than anything, Toronto became a reference to change, to new money and new lifestyles, to the things the city was lacking and mocked over in the past (i.e. lack hip restaurants, boutiques etc.).

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[380] Harris et al., "A City on "he Cusp," 26 and Buist, "Hamilton becoming a city of commuters," *Hamilton Spectator,* November 3, 2017.

[381] Michele Spongale "Why restaurant veterans are ditching Toronto for Hamilton," *Globe and Mail*, January 6, 2017.

[382] Berman, "The New Hamiltonians."

[383] Jeff Butters, "Are Torontonians driving up Hamilton house prices?" *Hamilton Spectator*, April 16, 2018. https://www.thespec.com/opinion-story/8395575-are-torontonians-driving-up-hamilton-house-prices-/, Njegovan, "Hamilton doesn't need real estate bargain-hunting Torontonians," and Sommers, "Governing Incivility," 286.

Toronto stood for a middle classness or yuppiness that increased in parts of the city regardless of whether the residents were really from Toronto or not.[384] Finally, a substantial increase in condo construction and development also fueled imagination of a 'Torontoization' of Hamilton and such buildings were also important processing centres for the renaissance. For years, developers could not even secure financing to build downtown if they wanted to, but between 2013 and 2016, 1391 condo units were built in the city and in December 2017, there were 2221 units under construction and another 2488 at the proposal stage, including projects by high profile Toronto developers Harry Stinson and Brad Lamb.[385] New high-rise construction changed the material and format of downtown, they broke with the low and mid rise Victorian, industrial, and urban renewal projects, and added an element of twenty-first century metropolitanism, density, steel, glass, and height that was never achieved during the renewal era. Again, Hamilton was negotiating the right mix of old and new elements within Florida's notion of authenticity while also finally fulfilling the delayed dream of steel and glass skyscrapers from the renewal era.

Hamilton's hardware did not change appreciably between its transmission of failure and potential, but it did change in significant ways between the transmission and realization of potential. This realization was the processing through renovation. Processing via renovation is fitting for Hamilton's during this particular moment because so much of the city's early

[384] Sommers, "Governing Incivility," 284-287, concerning noise complaints against a neighbourhood party that was a long-standing local tradition. The party go-ers, and home owner who was issued a ticket, believed the new neighbours from Toronto were the ones complaining. Sommers also noted (260) how many neighbourhood complaints against long-time neighbourhood traditions and minor incidents came from new residents as the social composition of neighbourhoods changed.

[385] Natalie Paddon, "Condo boom in Hamilton's downtown core," *Hamilton Spectator,* December 28, 2017. https://www.thespec.com/news-story/8027682-condo-boom-in-hamilton-s-downtown-core/ and Thomas Allen, "The Hamilton Development Boom: High-Rises," *The Inlet,* (blog), October 11, 2017 http://theinletonline.com/hamilton-development-boom-high-rises/

renaissance was based in older real estate, whether residential, commercial, or industrial. On a more macro level, processing trough renovation was akin to the attempted reformatting of the city via urban renewal explored in Chapter 3. Renovation was simply another type of hardware upgrade, a transformation of the built environment, but a subtler and seemingly-gentler version (and it was hoped it will not fail in the same way). The publicly-funded grand scale destruction and rebuilding during urban renewal were replaced by the privately funded piecemeal micro destruction and rebuilding of renovation. The disparate pieces add up though, and over time can change large sections of the city. Even though renewal demolished huge areas at once, it did take years—decades in Hamilton's case—to rebuild, much the same way it will takes years and decades for these renovation projects to seep over ever-larger areas and transform the city.

To renovate is "to restore to a previous condition by replacing lost or damaged parts or elements; (more generally) to improve the condition of, esp. to restore (something old, esp. a building) to a good state of repair."[386] There are all kinds of assumptions and class-based norms about what improvement is and what a good state of repair is. For instance, renovation was implicit in the stories of the homes, galleries, and restaurants bought up by Toronto transplants who were not moving to Hamilton to live in shabby old houses or open restaurants in subpar spaces. Their affordable dream homes and businesses were either renovated before or after the new residents took them up, and though this often went unmentioned, the descriptions and pictures attest to it.[387] This is how they became processors for the renaissance. While the most common definition of renovation refers to the fixing of buildings—as the built environment stores the history and memory of its previously higher status—renovation has been practiced

[386] *Oxford English Dictionary* 2nd ed, 2000.
[387] Berman, "The New Hamiltonians."

beyond just the built environment. As the next chapter will demonstrate, the Hamilton renovation scheme also had wider social potential; it was applied to improve the city's reputation and push its population back towards the middle class dominance it once enjoyed.[388] With the material changes came social, cultural and economic changes. Renovation transformed buildings from storage devices into processing units and it was the material changes, the changes at the hardware level, that made possible the broader social changes. For example, renovating a converted Victorian rooming house into a single family home removed the physical material, like old walls, as well as the low rent residents. The essential factor that distinguished renovation from new building was the emptying out of what is already there and then filling back up within the limits of the existing structure. Material was demolished and removed while new material was configured in its place; what was removed was not always dysfunctional, but is importantly, outdated, out of style. Furthermore, these buildings processed on the level of the individual unit, but were also networked together to process more widely, slowly changing nooks, neighbourhoods, districts, and perhaps eventually a whole city. With enough processing, Hamilton could lose its delayed time-warp quality. Renovation processing can bring the unit, neighbourhood, area, or city out of dialogue with unappreciated lousy places and into dialogue with trendy successful places. An abandoned or poorly maintained old brick house with its front lawn paved into a makeshift driveway or a boarded up factory dialogues with the Rust Belt, while a renovated nineteenth century brick commercial storefront as an upscale donut shop dialogues with postindustrial chic places like Williamsburg.[389] Toronto-media descriptions

[388] Harris et al., "A City on the Cusp," 10-11.

[389] According to a Hamilton bylaw, houses constructed prior to 1971 must have at least 50 per cent landscaped area / green space (not concrete, asphalt, pavers etc.) in their front yard, but in some neighbourhoods almost every property is in violation, Sommers, "Governing

began making parallels between Hamilton's neighbourhoods full of historic homes and well known desirable (and expensive) neighbourhoods in Toronto. Hamilton's Gage Park now dialogued with Toronto's High Park, the east end with Leslieville, Durand with Cabbagetown, comparisons no one would have dared to make fifteen years ago.[390] It was through renovation that the much-delayed material and built environment of Hamilton was able to imagine itself as equal or superior to Toronto, something it had been unable to do for generations. But as mentioned, this reversal of fortunes was not without both consequences and the next chapter will engage more thoroughly with both material renovation and the wider project of social renovation.

Incivility," 191. Sommers, 264-267 provides a case study of enforcing this bylaw on a property that was about to pave over too much of its front lawn area and the resident noted how many of the neighbours had already done so.

[390] Tess Kalinowski, "Hamilton is having its moment," and Weir, "The secret's out."

CHAPTER 5: Fates of the Old in the Renovation City

This final chapter will continue to develop Hamilton's renaissance through the built environment by looking at two case studies providing different approaches to dilapidation and renovation on both a material and social / cultural level, offering two divergent examples of possible fates of the old in the renaissance city. The storage capacity that has been developed thus far also facilitates an emotional storage and affective communication that is revealed through the two case studies. The first case, the Lister Building, covers the beginning of the city's renaissance while the second case, Jackson Square and the City Centre, is the heart of current debates about potential future trajectories of the city.[391] Between these two cases is the subtler, but persistent process of social and material renovation taking place through residential real estate downtown. The two cases and various examples that bridge them demonstrate the social, cultural, and material differences between Hamilton's old and new identities as well as its diverse range of citizens, as we will come to see that different values are ascribed to different buildings and users, there is tension between populations and the built environment. The Lister Building and Jackson Square are physically proximate to each other, sitting on opposite sides of James Street, but separated by great distance in terms of their history, materials, users, how they are regarded by the city, and ultimately, their fates.

When it comes to renovating historic buildings, there are three approaches; restoration, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. Restoration of historic buildings consists of "accurately revealing, recovering, or representing the state of a historic place or of an individual component,

[391] The Lister Building is commonly referred to as the Lister Block, but the Lister Block actually denotes a series of buildings in the same block. I will be using the term Lister Building to refer explicitly to the single building.

as it appeared at a particular period in its history, while protecting its heritage value."[392] In restoration, elements that are not original are removed while missing features are reconstructed. Restoration is often very expensive and requires different experts to ensure accuracy and quality. Restored buildings have a dominant and explicit storage function and often emerge as historic sites (i.e. Dundurn Castle or Whitehern in Hamilton). Rehabilitation "is the action or process of making possible a continuing or compatible use of a historic place or of an individual component, through repair, alterations, and/or additions, while protecting its heritage value." Rehabilitation projects include replacing ruined or missing historic features as well as adding "new design that is compatible with the style, era, and character of the historic place."[393] There is a lot of leeway in rehabilitation, and the extent to which historic features are preserved or new features added varies widely by project. The current trendy term for this approach is 'adaptive reuse,' which is very popular in the Creative City framework. It generally consists of removing what is obsolete (electrical wiring, heating, ventilation, air conditioning etc.) and updating it with the latest components to suit current norms and needs, whether these be heated stone floors in a century home or enviro-friendly lighting in a converted office. Renovation is itself a type of physical processing and also creates new processors. Finally, reconstruction is the demolition of the existing building and design of a replica building with a similar exterior appearance or keeping only the façade (façadism). Reconstruction is usually done for financial reasons while still trying to appeal to some notion of history, memory, or place.[394] In reconstruction the

[392] Lister Building, Hamilton Ontario Heritage Report, Julian Smith & Associates, Architects and Clinton Brown Company Architecture, September 23, 2006, 8-9.

[393] Lister Building, 8-9.

[394] A recent example was the old Kresge building at King and Hughson (which was the infamous Delta Bingo for years after). It was a much-loved building with decorative art deco ziggurat features, but has been demolished for a high-rise condo by LiUNA, who says they have

previous storage function is entirely eliminated and the transmission takes on the qualities of a simulacrum.

The Lister Building on James Street serves as an example of a particular rehabilitation project where processing via renovation took place. It offers insight into multiple layers of processing and is important because its renovation is now considered a key moment in the city's renaissance. The renovation of the building itself was a form of micro processing while the finished building became a new processor in several different ways concurrently. The Lister Building was a six storey steel-framed reinforced concrete building. The two base floors of retail were decorated with glazed white terracotta, the four upper office floors were dark red rug-finish brick with copper transom panels above the wood framed double-hung windows, and the building was capped with a glazed white terracotta cornice. It was built in 1923-1924 using the best construction techniques and employed an innovative design.[395] The Lister boasted double street frontage at the heart of city's traditional civic core (James and King William) and had distinctive L-shaped arcades on the first and second floors with offices on the upper four floors. It sat across from what was once City Hall and Market Square, but is now City Centre and Jackson Square, which despite their names suggesting some public and civic function, are both

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saved parts of the old façade and will use them in the new construction. Also noteworthy is the case of the James Street Baptist church, in which the whole building other than the façade was demolished for a condo project (The Connolly) which has since gone into receivership.

[395] The 1924 Lister Building replaced the Lister Chambers, an 1852 limestone building that burned down in 1923. Shortly before burning down, the building had more that 150 tenants including 20 stores, over 100 offices and several private apartments. The new 1924 Lister Building design was exemplary of downtown retail in the era before the department store. Local History & Archives, Lister Block, 1852-1923 https://www.flickr.com/photos/hpllocalhistory/14000982309/in/photolist-nkdGfH-nfmuFx-WTd53t-np2mUp-nBuaPY-nzEK5b-nkdN9Y and Hamilton's Heritage Vol. 5, 102.

(mostly) malls.[396] Over the decades, the Lister Building housed a diverse group of tenants consisting of "retail stores, and service oriented businesses and agencies (e.g. cafes, barber shops, beauty salons, medical practitioners, accountants, real estate agents, building societies, and charitable organizations.)"[397] It was a building traditionally used by a wide variety of Hamiltonians in their daily lives. It was well occupied until the mid 1970s, but went into gradual decline through the 1990s and was fully vacant by 1995 (after the remaining tenants were evicted); it quickly fell into dereliction.

Figure 15: Lister Building 2008.

Once abandoned, the Lister Building was just another piece of obsolete hardware junking up the downtown area. It was bypassed by the normative operation of the city (though others

[396] Jackson Square actually denotes the whole connected complex north of King from Bay to James, but is commonly used to refer to the mall portion.

[397] Hamilton Heritage Volume 5, 102.

were accessing illegally), but its imposing street presence was particularly disruptive even in a downtown thick with dereliction and other abandonments. The Lister Building slipped into the condition of what Sola Morales calls *terrain vague*, "abandoned and unproductive spaces with loose boundaries" that "exist outside the city's effective circuits and productive structures."[398] It was, however, very much a part of affective circuits and networks. Material ruins are also affective ruins; they are highly, particularly, and uniquely emotional zones within urban space. This is especially true for the Lister Building, because unlike much *terrain vague* that exists at the margins and interstices, it was right in the middle of downtown, haunting the old civic core. The built environment, particularly in abandoned and ruinous states, stores not just material history but also "traces of emotion, activity, knowledge and event."[399] Furthermore, the Lister Building's storage function was not just for itself and its own history. As various buildings downtown were destroyed, the emotions they contained still needed somewhere else to go, so they flowed towards similar or related buildings, buildings in their affective networks. Seemingly empty spaces filled back up; the more they emptied out of their previous or regular uses, the more they filled up with emotional traces and remainders. The greater the number of related buildings around the city that were lost, the more what is left came to hold. We could imagine, then, how the Lister also acted as a storage medium for emotions flowing from the numerous buildings and businesses (as well as pedestrian scale formatting) that were demolished during the renewal era, such as the old brownstone city hall that once sat directly across the street

[398] There is also a mediated, photographic quality associated with *terrain vague* and Lister's is enhanced/framed by the open space to the south on James, which is a parking lot where the Zeller's building used to be. Ignasi de Sola Morals Rubió, "Terrain Vague" in *Anyplace*, ed. Cynthia C. Davidson (Cambridge: MIT Press 1995)

[399] Edensor "Haunting in the Ruins: mater and immateriality" *Space and Culture* (2002): 49.

form it, and which is mentioned in debates surrounding the demolition of the Lister Building that will be address below. It might also act as a storage vessel for emotions related to buildings that fell victim to Hamilton's infamous 'demolition for parking lot' trend in the 80s and 90s, or to demolition by neglect in the 2000s. One such example is the Balfour Building, which was right next to the Lister Building on King William, but partially collapsed due to neglect in April 2008, and was immediately demolished.[400] The Lister Building became charged with a kind of emotional energy.

For years, debates raged over the building and site; would it be restored, repurposed, or demolished? By the early 2000s, the Lister Building was "a stubborn reminder of vibrancy and vision that was the Hamilton of our youth; and as a symbol of the challenges faced by our downtown core."[401] Further to its emotional storage, the Lister Building also transmitted the crisis of downtown development. It was "the poster child for everything that is wrong with downtown Hamilton right now. It's empty, it's boarded up. It's got posters on it. There's graffiti all over it. And the foot of the building is covered with bird dung and cigarette butts."[402] The Lister transmitted both sides of the crisis, the leaving of buildings to fall into disrepair (despite property standards bylaws), and also the lack of new development because of red tape, like heritage designation, impeding development. The city recognized the importance of the building's location, noting in 2005 that, "the Lister Block is considered a keystone property,

[400] Balfour Building Collapse Update – 15-21 King William Street, Hamilton (CM08017) City of Hamilton, City Manager's Office, May 9, 2008.

[401] Graham Crawford, "Lister Deal Leaves Unanswered Questions," *Raise the Hammer*, October 20, 2006. https://raisethehammer.org/article/405/lister_deal_leaves_unanswered_questions

[402] "Talking with Gerry Murphy and Kathy Drewitt," *Hamilton Spectator*, November 22, 2007.

anchoring the corner of James and King William Streets, and is an essential component to the City's Downtown revitalization plans."[403] As its material surface degenerated it disseminated disruptively, it shouted failure. Yet this failure also signaled potential, so the city seized upon it. Whether through demolition or renovation it had to be brought back into productive dialogue to become a processor of the city's renaissance.

A city council meeting in June of 2006 showcased some of the different and often contradictory emotions being stored in the Lister Building (as well as the number of high profile Hamiltonians who supported its demolition). Attendees spoke of nostalgia for the old downtown, fear of the current downtown (drugs, prostitution, violence, lack of pedestrians on the street etc.), waning civic pride, and anxiety about losing the historic city's authenticity, frustration at actions taken or not taken by City Hall—such as failure in the past to stop the deterioration or failure in the current moment to take decisive action—impatience with the city's slow and difficult bureaucracy, and even intimidation by those supporting demolition.[404] Two

[403] "Lister Building: Agreement of Purchase and Sale," City of Hamilton, Corporate Services Department, Planning and Economic Renewal Department, and City Manager's Office, June 18, 2008, 5, (citing report PD05095/FCS05052/CM05018).

[404] City of Hamilton, Committee of the Whole: Minutes. Council Chambers, Hamilton City Hall, 3:00 p.m., June 12, 2006. Those for demolition: Joseph S. Mancinelli, International Vice President and Central and Eastern Canada Regional Manager, Laborers' International Union of North America, Tim Bullock, Gary Buttrum Chairman and Kathy Drewitt, Executive Director, Downtown Hamilton B.I.A., John Dolbec, Chief Executive Officer, Hamilton Chamber of Commerce and Len Falco, President of Hamilton Chamber of Commerce, Cecilia Marie Flynn, Tejpaul Kaloe, Daniel Rodrigues, Richard Koroscil, President and CEO of the John C. Munro Hamilton International Airport, Paul Reardon, Reardon's Meat Market, Sue Stewart Green and John Green, Gord Jackson, Sid Leon, Irvings Famous Clothes Ltd., Tony Battaglia, President and CEO of Grand Connaught Development, Vahn Kalong, My Thai Restaurant, Joseph Beattie, Hamilton Brantford Building Trades, Madina Wasuge, Settlement and Integration Services Organization, Jeff Feswick, President, Hamilton-Halton Construction Association, Eric Cunningham, Melrose Communications Ltd., Jeff Manishen, Lawyer with Ross McBride. Those against demolition: Diane Dent, Chair of the Hamilton LACAC (Municipal Heritage Committee), Keith Beck, Matt Jelly, Barbara Murray, Jeremy Freiburger, Kim Kippen,

days after the meeting, council voted to demolish the Lister Building.[405] Immediately thereafter, the Ontario Minister of Culture stepped in and insisted on a reappraisal of the building's condition and assessment of the possibilities for restoration:

> Immediately following Council's June 14, 2006, approval of a Heritage Permit for demolition of the Lister Block buildings (refer to report PED06169) the Province appointed a Provincial Development Facilitator (Mr. Allan Wells) to chair a Working Group to evaluate the merits of rehabilitating the Lister Building. The Report of the Provincial Facilitator was submitted to Council in September 2006. As a result, in June 2007, the Premier of Ontario announced a $7 million grant to support the rehabilitation of the Lister Building. In September 2007, the City entered into a Conditional Grant Agreement for the $7 million with the Province.[406]

After a further agreement was reached with the building owner (LiUNA, Labourers' International Union North America) the actual renovation of the Lister Building became a meaningful project in the early downtown renaissance. A high profile investor interested in Hamilton told the *Spectator*, "I would have to say the bellwether property is the Lister building. If it can get moved forward for revitalization on that corner, most people would feel that downtown is on the mend and they will see it as a turning point."[407]

Between 2009 and 2011, the Lister Building was renovated. Ironically, many city councilors and the vice-president/regional manager of LiUNA who fought so hard to demolish it,

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Michael Desnoyers, Hamiltonians for Progressive Development, Rob Hamilton, Hamilton Region Branch of the Architectural Conservancy of Ontario, Grant Head, Heritage Hamilton Foundation, Catherine Nasmith, President - Architectural Conservancy of Ontario, Mark Barbera, Janet Chafe, John Hawker, Resident and Durand Neighbourhood Association Member, Muhammad Lodhi, Roman Sarachman, John Brannan

[405] On June 14, 2006, Mayor Di Ianni, Councillors Bruckler, Collins, Jackson, Kelly, Merulla, Morelli, Mitchell, Pearson, Samson and Whitehead voted to demolish the Lister Building. Councilors Bratina, Braden, McCarthy and McHattie voted against.

[406] "Lister Building: Agreement of Purchase and Sale," 5. Liuna and Hi-Rise had previously commissioned a report which said the building was in poor structural condition.

[407] "Talking with Gerry Murphy and Kathy Drewitt."

relished its renovation and success.[408] By its reopening in 2011, the arts based renaissance and Creative City approach to economic development had gained firmer footing in Hamilton's municipal and private development sectors. Former supporters of demolition were both lucky and thankful that the Lister, on James North—the hottest street in the city—was forced into renovation in a deal where the city agreed to buy it afterwards and could then claim it as a victory.

Figure 16: Lister Building 2016. Image by Neal Jennings.[409]

At the new and improved Lister, the "exterior and first two arcade stories were carefully restored, while the third through sixth floors were rebuilt with contemporary interiors and amenities for a

[408] Matt Jelly, "The Lister Reborn: Have we Learned a Lesson?" *Raise the Hammer*, April 13, 2012. https://raisethehammer.org/blog/2416/the_lister_reborn:_have_we_learned_a_lesson

[409] https://www.flickr.com/photos/sweetone/30364209673/in/photostream/ -

new generation of tenants."[410] The building was subsequently purchased by the city of Hamilton in 2012 and went on to house branches of the municipal government, namely the Tourism and Culture Division and its Tourism Hamilton Visitor Centre.[411]

The renovated Lister Building became a dynamic multi-layered processor. First, there was the processing of the building itself, the messy material necessity (as the basic architecture for any other processing functions), the work of emptying, cleaning, restoring, and rebuilding resulting in refurbished hardware. It processed symbolically and materially for the renaissance, and also acted as a processing unit for the bureaucracy it contained (tourism and culture), furthering its renaissance agenda. In the city-approved dialogue, the "Lister Building serves as a nucleus of public service and community engagement, as well as a beacon of urban revitalization." Through renovation, its dominant transmission shifted from crisis to hope and more potential as "this latest reincarnation of the Lister Building has affirmed that an iconic building, built of quality material and high craftsmanship, can stand testament to the spirit of a place and serve as a catalyst for widespread urban regeneration." The new and improved Lister was "a significant landmark that tells the story of this city's past, present and future."[412] But there was also more at work here. The processing was an emptying out, simplification, sanitization and, perhaps, the building was brought too much back into order. A diversity of services and storied history was simplified and reduced to bureaucracy, coffee, tourism, and a

[410] Ashleigh Bell, "Bringing Back the Block: The Story of Hamilton's Iconic Lister Building," Tourism Hamilton, April 7, 2015. https://tourismhamilton.com/bringing-block-story-hamiltons-iconic-lister-building

[411] The city paid $29 million for the once-derelict building after it was rehabilitated by LIUNA and Hi-Rise Group. Matthew Van Dongen, "The new, improved Lister Building," *Hamilton Spectator,* April 14, 2012. https://www.thespec.com/news-story/2238923-the-new-improved-lister-block/

[412] Ashleigh Bell, "Bringing Back the Block."

corporate pub-style chain restaurant. Critics of the renovated building have cited the restricted tenants, limited opening hours, and the lack of a residential element.[413] Many lamented the sterile government environment. Furthermore, the renovated Lister only told of a very selective past, present, and future. What we might call the original past—those material elements and recreations from its initial construction era—and the present, in terms of new features like windows, heating, ventilation, and air conditioning etc. articulate a selective narrative. While preserving and recreating the material history circa 1924, everything in between the original and current versions of the building was erased through the removal of physical things like, the old walls, furniture, signs, glass, debris, peeling paint, broken sinks and windows, beer bottles, dirt and the like. Along with this accumulated debris, the building's unofficial history as a place used by squatters, graffiti artists, urban explorers, and other curious types willing to transgress the legal boundary to access the space, and to make various creative, mischievous, adaptive, illegal, and playful uses of the building, was also erased. Finally, along with the physical material, I would like to suggest that much of the emotional material was also removed; the renovated Lister was no longer a container for the affective traces it previously held, which had to find somewhere else to flow and transfer to, for some other ruined building in some other part of town.

The Lister Building demonstrates that abandoned and ruinous buildings serve different functions which are not always in line with approved uses and therefore not acknowledged, discussed, or valued. Instead, the normative notion of renovation-equals-improvement goes

[413] For an extended discussion of the whole Lister renovation as well as both compliments and criticisms of the finished product, see, Skyscraper Forum, Hamilton, Lister Building Renovation, October 30, 2007 – May 4, 2018. http://forum.skyscraperpage.com/showthread.php?t=140246

unquestioned. Yet, in the case of the Lister Building, becoming invisible to the eye and flow of capital inverted the privilege of the interior over the exterior and created new potentialities and possibilities for its meaning and relationship to the city. After the building was abandoned and closed to the public its purpose became surface, in that the material surface, rather than interior services, became its public role. The exterior took on greater meaning when it was all that is accessible; it became something to look at and think about rather than somewhere to shop and go to the dentist. As the surface of the Lister's exterior accumulated bits of text graffiti, posters, dirt, damage etc., passersby could read it as a richer text and feel it as a more palpable texture of the street and the city. The terracotta and bricks developed patina with age and were given more definition as dirt clung around the decorative details, making them pop. The boards over the street-level bays were covered in posters, murals, graffiti, and propaganda, thick with layers of text and image. They started telling their own stories while the buildings' upper storeys were narrated by broken windows, oxidized copper spandrels showcasing hints of powdery greens, and bits of graffiti adding another layer of mystery. It was not merely text attached to the building, though that was there too, but also the inscription in the physical material itself, the cracked terra cotta and crumbling brick as well as remnants of glue, staples, and nails.[414] After renovation, the Lister Building appeared perfect all the time, the shiny clean white terracotta glaze reflected its sanitized approved uses. The original building, before its abandonment and renovation, had double-hung windows that could open from the bottom or the top. These upper

[414] The Lister's adornment is in ways reminiscent of Gitelman's discussion of physical sites of wooden telephone poles as complex mixed media, (obsolete yet still hanging on, not forced underground quite yet), and the staples attached to them as traces of numerous unidentifiable local communications. Lisa Gitelman, "Holding Electronic Networks by the Wrong End," *Amodern* 2 (2013), http://amodern.net/article/holding-electronic-networks-by-the-wrong-end/

storey windows were often opened. Those inside the offices could breath the same air as the people on the street below; a beautiful day in Hamilton could be a beautiful day inside the office. After it was abandoned, many windows were broken, signaling an openness to the city, a mixing between the street and the building, a permeability representing a kind of shared atmosphere or atmospheric affect. The surface could draw you in without entering. During renovation the windows were replaced with fixed single pane windows that were no longer capable of opening at all. They were made to look like the old double pane windows and have a decorative rail across the centre even though they do not function; such are the quirks of adaptive reuse. The too-perfect façade became a kind of interface, as in an intermediary layer between two things—in this case, between the building and the city. The tourism offices use actual screens to try to entice passersby. The renovated Lister was supposedly more open, specifically in terms of being legally accessible, but we should, however, consider how it was also now less accessible in being more tightly controlled and regulated. It has become a processor for the Creative City renaissance and its associated ideology. This building will not be open to the public, to the people and history of Hamilton in the same way it once was until these inoperable windows are smashed at some point in its inevitable future-ruin.

This key project helped others get off the ground and drew investment towards downtown. Lister's renovation enhanced other ruinous buildings' transmission of potential as the city developed ways to go in and retrieve them, to create more processors. However, as explained in the previous chapter, it was only specific time-space configurations, certain types of buildings that were retrievable. There was however, a shortage of buildings with Lister's material and architectural quality compared to buildings from a proximate era with simpler features, but the Lister project was detailed and expensive and enabled others to take shortcuts.

The Creative City thus sought out old buildings with essential basic material features like brick and beam construction:

> Hamilton has recently seen a number of older buildings that have been retrofitted for office use. Upon completion, these spaces will be distinct due to their high ceilings, abundant natural light and exposed structural frames. Research has suggested that 'brick and beam' demand reflects changing demographics of the workplace, in particular for creative industries that currently account for a significant share of employment in Downtown Hamilton.[415]

Historic buildings were renovated into a preconceived aesthetic, rigged into a prepackaged pseudo-authenticity ripped from the built environment and its germinating potential. Take for instance, Hamilton's yearly Economic Development Office brochure, which was distributed outside the city and designed to attract new business to Hamilton via office space, to show they had the inventory to support the businesses they wanted to attract.[416] The brochure used large photographs and short descriptions of historic buildings, while listing leasing or purchasing information. The first edition of this brochure, produced in 2012, was called "urban space: workplace inventory for the creative class" and described the changes taking place in Hamilton:

> Once regarded as a rusty industrial town, this city is rapidly rediscovering itself as a creative hub – literally building on the bones of its industrial past. Old factories are being converted to studio space. Former warehouses are being converted into offices. Empty spaces are being filled with new energy and creativity… Already, spaces like these are being discovered and occupied by animation firms, designers, photographers, architects, artists, and other creative businesses. The word is out.[417]

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[415] "City of Hamilton Bayfront Industrial Area," 6.

[416] Samantha Craggs, "Cannon Knitting Mills Project needs tenants to move forward," *CBC News,* March 21, 2013. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/headlines/cannon-knitting-mills-project-needs-tenants-to-move-forward-1.1314542 City staff use "guerilla marketing" and leave the brochure around coffee shops in Toronto.

[417] "urban space: workplace inventory for the creative class:" Economic Development Division. Planning and Economic Development Department City of Hamilton. http://www.investinhamilton.ca/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Urban-space-inventory2.pdf

Desire for these supposedly empty spaces was created by larger economic trends, and sometimes the firm came first, picking up on the potential of these buildings' previous failures and renovating the space themselves. Other times, the space was first renovated by property developers who picked up on its potential and then used it to lure particular tenants. As more buildings were renovated and more buzz grew, more firms created more demand, accelerating a feedback loop that could eventually transform the built environment. There was a fundamental precondition whereby the material space was processed first, in order to create a suitable unit, which could then further process the renaissance. The material processing preceded the social processing.

The first step of creating one of these new processing units was the removal phase, where the unsalvageable hardware elements were removed and discarded: "mainly it's a matter of tearing out a lot of the old walls and constructed material that had built up over the years, dumping it down a chute, eventually loading up 40 big garbage containers, and hauling it off to a landfill site."[418] Historic elements and materials on the outside of the building often remained intact, but the storage capacity it once accumulated was miniaturized and reduced to whatever leftover components were allowed to remain. Any previous processing function and position in older defunct networks was eliminated and the original building became a shell or casing. The interior hardware was then rebuilt as to satisfy the needs and appeal to the desires of the Creative Class owner or tenants.[419] Through renovation, these buildings became compatible with the

[418] "Urban Regeneration: The Hamilton Brand," Renew Hamilton, A Chamber of Commerce Initiative, December 2013. http://renewhamilton.ca/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2014/03/HAMILTON-BRAND-Renew-Hamilton-Training-Program.pdf

[419] Rachael Williams, "Old industrial buildings and young professionals," *Hamilton Spectator* July 11, 2013. https://www.thespec.com/news-story/4240438-old-industrial-buildings-and-young-professionals/

highly restricted language, code, and set of rules of the creative-city-as-operating-system. Materials like brick, wooden beams, hardwood floors, and polished concrete, in formats including expansive open spaces (workshop, warehouse, mill etc. emptied of its equipment) with large windows and high ceilings, were converted into Class A office space that is LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) certified, like a "creative industries complex, with space for workshops, studios for artists and office space for creative professionals" or the ubiquitous contemporary historic condo conversion.[420] The interiors were emptied and refilled with modern heating, ventilation, air conditioning, electrical wiring, and sprinklers, polished floors, carefully placed walls, and sanitized exposed features like brick, beam, or metal, to attract similar up-scale tenants, users, and events. It had been done elsewhere, so the plan was easy to punch in, the basic blueprints already existed and were just adapted to whatever space was found to be available. This resulted in a homogenization at the deepest and most fundamental level, at the hardware level, where even though they appeared slightly different, the renovated buildings were essentially the same. Such spaces were often finally and predictably finished with similar types of fixtures and furnishings, mass produced faux historic and minimalist chic. Ironically, the earliest factories had rooms with residential character where "the owner dreamed of the future greatness of both himself and his machines."[421] In renaissance Hamilton, homes were renovated with factory characteristics and factories were converted into homes, all while relishing in the greatness of a new generation of machines.

[420] An example of converted industrial space into creative studios and offices is the old Imperial Cotton complex on Sherman Avenue North between Barton and Burlington Streets. https://cottonfactory.ca/

[421] Walter Benjamin, *Arcades Project,* translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 226.

The somewhat critical discussion of renovation that has been presented so far is not meant to suggest that buildings should not be maintained or brought up to date. It is to say, however, that there is an important difference between a reasonable level of maintenance or repair and the predictable gutting and refinishing of historic buildings that has become common. Renovation is so often regarded as a universally positive thing, but we need to take a more critical look at what is going on in many cases. It should not have to be a choice between the ruinous/abandoned and the restrictive creative regeneration with its associated rent gouging. Take for instance, Treble Hall, an 1879 three-storey brick building in the Renaissance Revival Style designed by well known Hamilton architect James Balfour. The building originally housed prime retail on the first floor, offices on the second, and a four hundred seat assembly hall for concerts, public meetings, and theatre on the third. Again, this was a building that served the city with a diverse set of uses. Though, like so many other Hamilton buildings, its interior was rearranged and its uses adapted over the years; the third storey was divided into two and split into boarding rooms. In time, these upper floors went vacant while a shop or two survived on the street level. Also, it came under the same title as an adjoining 1840s brick building with King Street frontage (Pagoda building) and the two restaurants (Pizza Pizza and Pagoda) extended their storage areas into the Treble Hall space.[422] The buildings were offered for sale many times over the years but did not sell until 2010, after the city's renaissance (and the nearby Lister restoration) was already underway. It was purchased by a well-known local 'restoration

[422] These types off odd arrangements are not uncommon; another example is Core Urban Inc.'s "The Alley" development, where the interior of the building at 14 James is connected to the one at 11 King (was the hip hop store Urban Alley/The Alley before, which was the Mills China building). Ultimately sold to Core Urban Inc. and the wall is knocked down so offices run from King to connected James building. http://www.coreurban.ca/portfolios/the-alley/ and Paul Wilson, "Restoration at King & James."

businessman', who gutted it back to brick and beams, exposed the hardwood floors, cleaned the façade, and replaced the windows. This was not a true restoration, but the building was cleaned out and up, given some new paint, and high quality (but not restored) windows. For a short time it housed a French-themed-café-cocktail lounge-boutique (Moulin Rouge) on the first floor while the rest of the building was "rented out for movie shoots, fashion shoots, and parties."[423] Several years later it was sold to a real estate developer and refinished into apartments.[424] The developer split the grand third floor into two and reconfigured the space with modern apartment formats and mocked up model units to appeal to affluent potential renters, an ironic recreation of the boarding room format updated for the twenty-first century and economy. The second, third, and fourth floors went up for rent as:

> Condo style apartments with 100 year old exposed brick and beams. 20 foot ceilings on the 4th floor. Stainless steele [sic] appliances… modern open loft-style layout, and a Clean Air Certificate for the building.[425]

Located in what was has long been one of the poorest neighbourhoods in Hamilton, a 306-385 square foot rental was advertised at $1490-1590, a larger 723 square foot unit was asking $2350. It was another unique and storied property in Hamilton turned into a processor for the renaissance, its micro-sized units the perfect living quarters for the much sought-after well paid transient millennial creative.

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[423] Carmela Fragomeni, "SOLD: Hamilton's historic Treble Hall building downtown, *Hamilton Spectator* August 25, 2015. https://www.thespec.com/news-story/5813269-sold-hamilton-s-historic-treble-hall-building-downtown/

[424] The developer was Anthony Quattrociocchi, founder of the Yoke Group, a real estate development company founded in 2012. https://www.yokegroup.ca/

[425] NOW LEASING! Treble Hall, Condo Style Apartments available Oct." kijiji ad, November 2018. https://www.kijiji.ca/v-1-bedroom-apartments-condos/hamilton/now-leasing-treble-hall-condo-style-apartments-available-sept/1336020756

Homogenization by renovation does not just chip away at the diversity and texture of the city, it also has human consequences as not all renovation projects are abandoned. With real estate renovation also comes a type of social renovation. The much-desired detached brick single family house has been a major target for renovation in Hamilton. Many such houses in the lower city have been (usually illegally) converted into apartments that range from elegant and spacious duplexes to dingy (at at times, unsafe) rooming houses. Such properties have become highly attractive to renovators. Take the case of a 3500 square foot illegal rooming house that was discovered by bylaw officers and then ordered to convert back to single family use as per zoning regulations. The owner/landlord could not afford to comply with the order so he sold it quickly, below market value, to an investor who could convert it.[426] This type of renovation emptied out the old walls, divisions, and material as well as the people who lived there, resulting in the displacement of the previous tenants who lost their homes and had to find somewhere else to live in a city where affordable housing was quickly diminishing due to precisely this type of renovation practice.[427] Since 2010, when the city began enforcing property standards and rental housing zoning bylaws more strictly—as part of the larger Creative City renaissance clean up effort—such enforcement, combined with rapidly rising prices, led to more sales to investors and renovators, as owners happily take large profits before a possible crackdown on their property.[428] Real estate listings are full of freshly renovated single family houses in traditionally poor

[426] Sommers, "Governing Incivility," 337-338.

[427] It is important to note that many of these rooming houses and illegal apartments are problematic in their own ways, particularly in terms meeting fire and safety regulations.

[428] Stricter enforcement of property standards stems from both complaints and from more proactive bylaw enforcement measures initiated by the city since 2010, when they launched an eighteen-month blitz called "Project Compliance" to assessed compliance with property standards and yard maintenance bylaws in Hamilton's rental housing market. Sommers, "Governing Incivility," 170-173.

neighbourhoods and though it is impossible to know which were formerly apartments or rooming houses, it can be reasonably assumed that any number of them were. Consider a 2018 CBC Hamilton article on a Victorian brick house that "looks like a scene ripped straight out of a horror movie" for sale at $450 000 in very desirable area (Bay and Stuart). The house had eight bedrooms and two kitchens. Clearly at some point it was a duplex, but more likely a rooming house. The property was described as "a 2,400-square foot, two-and-half-storey brick century home with nine-foot ceilings, 60 amp service, an updated furnace (in 2000) and a fully fenced yard." Several pictures of the house's interior displayed its horror movie quality through an obvious lack of maintenance and repair over decades: peeling paint, water damage, stained carpets, boarded up ceiling holes, and doors off their hinges; dirt and grime clinging thick to every surface inside. The description of the houses stated it "needs to be gutted and renovated" and is a "rare opportunity for investors, renovators and landlords."[429] The house sold within one day of the article being published. Such spaces, with the inevitable displacement their renovation necessitates, are the sites of the slow but steady processing of the renaissance as gentrification.[430]

Downtown Hamilton's availability for renovation was inextricably linked with its poverty. The concentration of poverty in the lower city has been remarkable over the last several decades. For most of its history, Hamilton had very good housing stock and many of the more

[429] Adam Carter, "This $450k Hamilton real estate listing looks like a horror movie set," *CBC News,* August 22, 2018 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/hamilton-450k-house-listing-1.4794427

[430] David Ley, *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Jamie Peck Neil Smith, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City,* (London: Routledge, 1996).

dilapidated houses and areas were removed during renewal years.[431] Harris et al show that Hamilton had a stable middle class population through the 1970s.[432] During the 1980s and 1990s, the downtown housing stock aged (much of it approaching the one-hundred-year mark and the majority built before 1960 in the downtown wards) at the same time that poverty was increasing due to economic changes.[433] In many cases maintenance suffered and single family houses were broken up into rentals. Through the 80s and 90s, a very poor pocket sprung up just east of the downtown core and spread eastwards along Barton Street, such that, by the 2000s, Hamilton had greater geographic segregation of the very poor than any other of the ten major Canadian cities.[434] On Barton Street, many of the abandoned shops that once served the middle and working class neighbourhoods surrounding the steel mills were converted into illegal street level apartments.[435] In 2006, downtown wards had an average household income 25% lower than the provincial average (15% lower than rest of the city).[436] The *Hamilton Spectator's* award-winning "Code Red" series investigated downtown Hamilton's troubling poverty and associated health risks. In the mid 2000s, along a long but narrow corridor (roughly three kilometers long and a half kilometer wide) from Queen Street North to Sherman Avenue North, between King Street to the south to Cannon Street to the north, 42 per cent of people were living below the poverty line while in a smaller pocket within this corridor (James-Wellington and

[431] Doucet and Weaver, *Housing the North American City,* 422-23.
[432] Harris et al., "A City on the Cusp," 10.
[433] According to a series of ward profiles assembled by the city of Hamilton in 2011, the dwellings in Ward 1 were 62.3% pre-1960 construction; ward 2, 43.3%; ward 3, 81 %; and ward 4, 77.6% https://www.hamilton.ca/city-initiatives/strategies-actions/ward-profiles
[434] Harris et al., "A City on the Cusp," 11.
[435] Buist, "Code Red: Barton Street's lost promise."
[436] Sommers, "Governing Incivility," citing StatsCan. These same areas have high levels of dependence on government transfers as Harris et al, "A City on the Cusp," 9, shows 11.8% of people receive some government transfer.

King-Cannon) it was closer to fifty percent."[437] The city's germinating potential was linked to this poverty. Firstly, the lack of development enabled the older inventory of industrial, commercial and residential architecture to survive. Secondly, when the time was right, it made them affordable for investors, developers, and middle class renovators. The built environment was desirable, but the population was not. For many years, downtown's problems of miniscule investment and increasing dilapidation were blamed on the concentration of poor people who were cited as either criminal (violence, prostitution, drugs) or disruptive (through behaviors such as smoking, spitting, swearing, begging). When people talked about improving downtown it was often explicit that such people needed to be somehow removed.[438] More recently, as many houses were reverted back to single family middle class occupancy and redevelopment accelerated downtown, the poor were pushed out towards the periphery. Hamilton is just at the beginning of a process that has gripped and transformed other larger and more global cities where the redevelopment of the city centre has resulted in the deliberate or inadvertent removal of the poor.[439] However, if not removed, like subdivided apartments and old rooming houses in brick century homes, the poor can also be renovated.

In the renovation scheme even the poor can be cleaned up and improved. Take for example Hamilton's much anticipated Pier 8 redevelopment plans.[440] A document created by the

[437] Buist, "Code Red Day 4."

[438] Sommers, "Governing Incivility," 166-168; Denise Day, "No place to go: Deinstitutionalization, a plan gone wrong," *Hamilton Spectator,* July 14, 1994; Howard Mark, "Take back our streets," *Hamilton Spectator,* August 31, 2006; April O'Flaherty, "If you go downtown, bring plenty of change," *Hamilton Spectator,* July 22, 2000; Bob Borycki, "We deserve a safe place to shop downtown," *Hamilton Spectator,* July 5, 2003.

[439] Zukin, *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 221.

[440] Pier 8 is a mixed used waterfront redevelopment site in Hamilton's North End.

developers of Pier 8 cites the need for the project to "meet a wide range of needs" and serve a "diverse group of people." It also offers an "introduction to the many different people who will interact within the development."[441] Included in the profiles of prospective residents are two people requiring affordable housing. The Pier 8 project has a five percent affordable housing mandate; of the 1292 condo units to be built, sixty-five will be affordable housing units.[442] Two of twelve people profiled (over sixteen percent) need affordable housing, which is an unofficial over-representation of the social conscience / benevolence of the project. Omar is an immigrant single father who wants his son "to grow-up in a more community friendly environment but he cant afford a suitable place to do so." The affordable housing initiative "fills this void." There is also "precariously employed" Martha, a college graduate who lives in a rooming house downtown, suffers from mental illness, relies on government assistance and is afraid gentrification will target her house. Martha is "enthusiastic" about the affordable housing mandate at Pier 8 and "will finally be given the opportunity to live in her own residential unit with full access to the amenities and quality of building finishes she would not otherwise be able to afford."[443] Note that this narrative also implicitly approves of her rooming house being a target for gentrification. The pleasant, affordable housing at Pier 8 makes the fact that her house will likely revert seem innocent or even beneficial. What it does not account for is all the other people living in her rooming house, or countless similar places, and the fact that there would

[441] "From Hamilton to the World" Pier 8 User Stories, Gulfdream Pier 8 Limited Partnership, April 4, 2018. https://d3fpllf1m7bbt3.cloudfront.net/sites/default/files/media/browser/2018-04-05/gulfdream-pier8-userstories.pdf

[442] Craggs, "Developer will pay at least $41M for prime Pier 8 waterfront land," *CBC News*, June 14, 2018. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/waterfront-shores-1.4705822

[443] "From Hamilton to the World," Pier 8 User Stories.

clearly not be enough units for all of them at Pier 8, or anywhere else.[444] There is also a matching between the physical characteristics of the built environment (quality finishes, safety and cleanliness) and the characteristics of the poor, as Martha and Omar are quality people, safe and clean. These are not the problematic poor that have plagued the city's reputation for decades, scaring middle class people away from downtown or discouraging companies from locating their offices in the city's core.[445] Omar and Martha are the token poor who add a touch of feel-good benevolence to the multimillion dollar project. Omar is presumably not the type of guy that will break into your car to fund a drug habit. It goes without saying that Martha does not work in the sex trade to help make ends meet. While of course they are real people and represent other real people and experience, they also slyly represent something else that has been cleaned up and sanitized. Through Omar and Martha, the poor have been renovated. Even some of the shabbier poor can also fit into the renovation scheme, through becoming a type of human cultural capital themselves, for the visual pleasure of those Torontonians, suburbanites, or homegrown creatives brave enough to dabble downtown and wanting a little character, a little grit, a little authenticity, but only in the right proportion. Discussing the area around Treble Hall on John North:

> I'd say the area is going up-scale but there's a certain value in people who may be at the lowest point in their life being part of that street scene. I noticed recently in Toronto for instance that if you looked hard you might notice that one out of 20 people on the downtown streets had a look of despair or perhaps unfashionable shabbiness, but they're just not as noticeable because of that 1:20 ratio. Unfortunately in Hamilton it has been close to an apparent one to one ratio and we need to get it to about 1:10. Having said that however the ratio has improved over even the last two

[444] A study on rooming houses from 1993 found 1000 units, but by 2003, there were half that many (mainly because buildings were sold). Lise Diebel "Hamilton's poor describe hard life in rooming house," *Hamilton Spectator,* January 20, 2003.

[445] Sommers "Governing Incivility," 317.

> years. I see typical pedestrians who make up the majority of city residents on the streets at any time of the day or night."[446]

This quote is from a well-known redeveloper of historical properties in Hamilton and unselfconsciously explains how middle class people find value in someone else at the lowest point in their life. The poor become part of the built environment in a way, like trendy street furniture or the right ratio of cafes to art galleries. At this time, Hamilton was still in the early stages of redeveloping its downtown and poor were being nudged away from a very small area around James North, King Street, and Gore Park. This was largely accomplished through new and stricter enforcement of bylaws and ACTION (Addressing Crime Trends in our Neighbourhoods Team) police squads.[447] During this phase many of the poor were still present and convertible into this type of human cultural capital. Ultimately, renovating the poor restores the downtown to an acceptable mix of characters and consumers, of "bag ladies" and "fashion models."[448] It is another example of the fine tuning of Creative City authenticity described in the previous chapter.

Finally, I would like explore an alternative experience with renovation that demonstrates the vastly different fates of the old within the built environment of the renaissance city. As we have seen, renovation dealt effectively and profitably with many of Hamilton's supposed failures. Yet, amidst all the Creative City excitement, promotion, and renovation, in and around

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[446] "Urban Regeneration: The Hamilton Brand," Renew Hamilton, A Chamber of Commerce Initiative, December 2013. http://renewhamilton.ca/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2014/03/HAMILTON-BRAND-Renew-Hamilton-Training-Program.pdf

[447] The Hamilton police website states that, "the officers are deployed based on an ongoing analysis of locations, crime trends, and offenders… Hotspot analysis is a statistical technique used to identify incidents that are concentrated within geographical areas over time. Identifying crime hotspots and analyzing both neighbourhood and crime characteristics within these areas are critical pieces of information for fighting crimes." https://hamiltonpolice.on.ca/about/chiefs-office/organizational-structure/community-policing/community-mobilization/action

[448] Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class,* 228.

downtown, there were also the bungled Civic Square superblocks that did not incite the same enthusiasm as their surroundings. Lister was the space (and representative of other similarly old spaces) that became charged with value in the creative-city-as-operating system's chronotopic frame, but Jackson Square and City Centre—as the outmoded obsolete junk hardware from the urban renewal years and their decades-long legacy—did not become charged and responsive in the same way and this fact explains their different treatments. The superblocks, with their bland office towers, a convention centre, a performance hall, an arena, and a couple of malls, did not have the same potential as the older material, the Victorian, stone or brick, the Treble Halls and Lister Buildings.[449] Instead, these two malls were renovated in a piecemeal way over the years to suit a variety of shifting purposes. This represented a functional type of maintenance and repair to suit new roles or tenants, with few a minor aesthetic changes in recent years. The malls were definitely not discussed as worthy of preservation or rehabilitation, but instead, have continuously been suggested for outright demolition, or at least complete aesthetic and functional overhauls.

The superblocks and their structures were a drag on the city's renaissance. Jackson Square was "the elephant in the room… Where does Hamilton's decidedly unhip urban mall, located in the downtown core, stand in the face of changes going on around it?"[450] The mall was representative of the mistakes of the renewal era that had become so entrenched and normalized

[449] There is a trace of appreciation for the Art Gallery of Hamilton and the Library/Farmers' market—both of which have seen major renovations to the exteriors—but this fondness has much more to do with their content than their form.

[450] Paul Weinberg. "Rethinking Jackson Square," *Hamilton Spectator,* May 24, 2016. https://www.thespec.com/opinion-story/6566115-opinion-rethinking-jackson-square/

they were not even questioned.[451] It was concrete, low and sprawling, disconnected from the street, and architecturally uninteresting. Its neighbouring mall, City Centre (formerly the Eaton Centre) though built almost twenty years later has always been a "white elephant" and suffered the same criticism of disconnectedness from the streets around it.[452] Jackson Square has been called a blight and "windowless world." City Centre was described recently as "the worst building in Hamilton…which dominates a two-block corner of prime, downtown retail real estate. It's an impenetrable fortress with few windows or opportunities to connect the inside and outside worlds together."[453] To many, the two malls were, without question, cases of what Jacobs' famously called the "great blight of dullness."[454] What was particularly problematic about the negative sentiment towards the malls was that even those who embraced other aspects of downtown life, especially many of those taking active roles in the Creative City renaissance, were still hostile towards the malls. The creative-city-as-operating system could not effectively operate on this hardware; they were incompatible.

Jackson Square and the City Centre were constructed at different times in different styles, have different owners, and different futures, yet they coexist oddly together. The two malls are fully connected and often conflated, though they are stylistically very distinct. They are themselves a kind of collage and montage, thick with different layers of time and space as well as odd juxtapositions. They form a sprawling interconnected complex (Jackson Square has 390

[451] For instance, Street Smart," *Canadian Architect* Oct. 1, 2011. https://www.canadianarchitect.com/features/street-smart/ states that Jackson Square exemplifies the ongoing challenges of downtown.

[452] Paul Wilson, "'Blow it up.' What's next for the shiny downtown Hamilton Mall," *Hamilton Spectator,* November 20, 2018. https://www.thespec.com/opinion-story/9040573--blow-it-up-what-s-next-for-the-shiny-downtown-hamilton-mall-/

[453] Narula, "An insider's guide to Hamilton."

[454] Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 233.

000 square feet of retail space and City Centre has 423 9000 square feet of retail, though it is not all used for retail anymore) with layered temporalities and mixed aesthetics. There are many entrances, exits, and connections to office towers, hotel, conference centre, a four-block rooftop plaza.[455] Furthermore, Jackson Square and City Centre are also connected to other spaces from the renewal era that have already been extensively aesthetically renovated, notably the library and farmers market.[456] Jackson Square is a 1960s idea with 1970s construction and aesthetic while the City Centre was completed in 1990, but unapologetically calls to other eras in a typical postmodern style.[457] Jackson Square, with its low ceiling is a darker and more enclosed-feeling space with a very limited colour scheme mostly consisting of beiges, that suddenly opens up into the light and bright City Centre with its soaring skylights, ornate details, and a white, pastel-peach, and turquoise colour scheme. Jackson Square has a famously labyrinthine layout, where writers from a retail history blog noted, "we got lost at least once in the mall, which we were kind of amused by."[458] Such a confusing maze-like quality is something that is increasingly not part of the modern international metropolis with its focus on way-finding equipment and a general standardization that comes along with urban global capital; the stuff that makes places all

[455] Meredith MacLeod, "City Centre sold as part of $109M deal," *Hamilton Spectator,* February 19, 2014. https://www.thespec.com/news-story/4373144-city-centre-sold-as-part-of-109m-deal/ and "Jackson Square Renovations: DPAI Architecture Inc. https://dpai.ca/project/jackson-square-renovations/

[456] Jackson Square received $5 million worth of minor renovations starting in 2012. The improvements consisted of some lighting, an entrance way, new corridor transitions, and a new entrance to the washrooms. "Jackson Square Renovations: DPAI Architecture Inc.

[457] The City Centre also calls back to the Eaton's stores that sat on its property before, particularly the circle and crescent shapes in white metal that adorn the outside, which serve as a reinterpretation of the old façade of the Eaton's store.

[458] Prange Way "Hamilton City Centre/Lloyd Jackson Square: Hamilton, Ontario. *Labelscar: The Retail History Blog* January 24, 2008. http://www.labelscar.com/canada/hamilton-centre

look the same.[459] While City Centre is much a more straightforward galleria style mall, with stores all branched off a central thoroughfare, its multiple levels see less foot traffic and its opulence combined with its emptiness give it what is often described as an eerie quality.

The malls mark the eastern boundary of the urban renewal superblocks. Just across James street is an area that was untouched by renewal but is now part of the renaissance, with buildings from the 1800s and early 1900s, some renovated, like the Lister Building, and others still semi-dilapidated. Both malls were originally built as retail spaces and still contain many stores selling a variety of marginal and mainstream goods. As their retail lives failed, they took on different functions, producing unusual combinations, like a chiropractor's office, hip-hop clothing store, pour-over coffee cafe, cheque cashing place, hairdressing school, and government office all proximate to one another. During the mid 1990s there were also numerous rent free spaces given to non-profits to increase the foot traffic in the complex, though they were evicted in 1998.[460] Unlike the individual shop or building, the whole complex was too big and too central to go totally vacant and in this way, one of its key criticisms also helped it survive. There has long been a collective interest between the city and the mall's manager to see the space used. Various sections were closed off and reopened over the years for larger scale projects. Despite its unstylish aesthetic, Jackson Square actually provided an inventory of adaptable usable space downtown. The complex has continually been injected with new bits of life, commerce, and services. Take for instance the relocation of Hamilton's famous farmers' market (during the renovation of the library/market building), which "reopened for business in a most unfarmlike

[459] Anthony D. King, Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture, Urbanism, Identity (London: Routledge, 2004).

[460] Bill Dunphy, "Charities lose free mall space." *Hamilton Spectator*, October 10, 1998.

setting—the belly of Jackson Square." The temporary (eighteen months) market appeared out of a kind of void, from "the mall's west end, sealed off for more than a decade."[461] When the downtown core got its first large grocery store (Nations) in 2013, it too popped up from the reserves of space in Jackson Square (the same space the market had used previously).[462] When City Hall was undergoing its major renovation in the 2000s, the city was run from excess space leased in City Centre. As part of its growing presence downtown, McMaster University also moved into Jackson Square's 50 000 square foot BMO bank tower at the corner of King and James that had been empty for nearly two decades.[463] Most recently, the lower level of the City Centre has welcomed a new entertainment space, Thunder Alley bowling.[464] Jackson Square's "worst days" are supposedly over, with vacancy improving and some name brands returning to the mall.[465]

The City Centre had a little less turnover than Jackson Square but hung on nonetheless. After the major retail collapse of its anchor, Eaton's, it became home to Liquidation World and

[461] It was the Phase 4 section that had the skating rink and many shops until being walled off in 1998. Paul Wilson, "This dealer is staying downtown," *Hamilton Spectator* April 24, 2009. https://www.thespec.com/whatson-story/2175765-this-dealer-is-staying-downtown/

[462] Nations Fresh Foods is a newcomer to the grocery and prepared food industry; their first store opened in Woodbridge in 2012. http://nationsfreshfoods.ca/

[463] Steve Arnold, "Jackson Square is renewed and improved," *Hamilton* Spectator February 24, 2016. The McMaster tenant is the Continuing Education Centre that was previously in the modern 1950s courthouse on Main Street, but which has been taken back by the courts.

[464] Thunder Alley is a 40,000 square feet entertainment complex located in the mall's lower level. The $3.5 million project was originally proposed in 2014, but had been on a standstill until a new developer decided to take over in 2017. As of 2018, it had a few bowling lanes open, but plans to eventually open 20 bowling lanes, an arcade, restaurant, bar and stage for live music. Razan Samara "City centre: One of the wonders and oddities of downtown Hamilton architecture has a history of promise, neglect, and potential resurgence," *The Silhouette* April 5, 2018. https://www.thesil.ca/city-centre

[465] Steve Arnold, "Jackson Square is renewed and improved." See Appendix A for a full list of current tenants.

then lower-end department store, Hart. The upper floors currently house sparse retail and a number of services, offices, and branches of the municipal government. Unlike Jackson Square which has had the same owner since being built, the City Centre has changed hands a number of times. Notably, it was sold off after the collapse of Eaton's in 2000 for $4 100 000. It was sold again in 2011 for $25 000 000, and again in 2014 as part of a larger deal involving three properties across Ontario.[466] Most recently, in 2017, City Centre, assessed at about $23 000 000, was almost sold for $55 000 000 to a holding company, though that deal fell through.[467] As of November 2018, City Centre was again for sale and advertised as a "major mixed-use development opportunity" with close to 1.8 million square feet of developable space, having both commercial and residential potential where "all but one of the existing leases benefit from a sale and demolition clause."[468]

Despite improvements, lowering vacancy rates, and developer interest, the complexes remained unappreciated and heavily criticized. Discussion of Jackson Square and the Eaton Centre almost invariably centered around how they needed to change. Criticisms hinged on the material and architectural quality of the space as well as the atmosphere. Jackson Square was dark and disorienting while City Centre was kitschy and empty. Comments online got straight to the points that were eluded to in more official sources, the malls' poor aesthetics and most notably, a considerable bias against many of the malls' regular users, members of Hamilton's poor and marginalized downtown population. Jackson Square's "brutalist pebbley concrete is

[466] MacLeod, "City Centre sold as part of $109M deal."

[467] 2587508 Ontario Inc. v. Hamilton City Centre Holdings Inc., 2018 ONSC 3131 (CanLII), http://canlii.ca/t/hsbfc and Wilson, "'Blow it up.'"

[468] CBRE Retail Investment Group, Hamilton City Centre, 77 James Street North, "The Offering" http://cbrecanada.com/hamiltoncitycentre/?fbclid=IwAR0vfOd3Z83mrKu6_gIqJlaY0kmMaPgtGbG2LMEoxxCGAjJfbcrEdupscjw See Appendix A for list of current tenants.

horrible." It is "a concrete dungeon full of thrift junk" with a "huge section near the hotel that still feels like 1983 when you walk through it." In terms of the users, "what often passes for appropriate behaviour by certain mall regulars makes the facility a horror and uninviting to many." Regarding an idea to put a skate park for the young people who often hang around the mall on the roof one commentator wrote, "the only "kids" that would use it would be the same ones that constantly hang around the mall. The ones from the Notre Dame house, people staying in the Salvation army, Good Sheppard, etc. It isn't like little Tommy from down the block is going to come to play. It's going to be more shit heads." There was also the long-standing and common idea to "knock the square down. Its the worst mall any ways, everything closes at 6pm and is of a low scale."[469] Or, "the mall has turned into a giant flea market of stores with a marginalized client base. My suggestion blow it up. It is embarrassing to the centre of the city."[470] Comments like these exist on many news stories or blogs about Jackson Square and come up in conversation with many middle class Hamiltonians.

The idea of demolishing Jackson Square to restore the old grid or build something supposedly better has loomed for decades.[471] The City Centre is usually lumped into these criticisms because the malls are connected and it is an "urban fortress and a brick wall impeding

[469] stone, May 3, 2016, 10:29, ANONYMOUSADAM, May 3, 2016, 10:42. stone, May 3, 2016 10:49, Miss Manners, May 3, 2016, 13:04, Ex-Square, May 6, 2016, 8:34, comments on Weinberg, "Rethinking Jackson Square."

[470] albermarle March 2 2015 9:09 am. comment on Meredith MacLeod, "Thinking Jackson Square with design flair," *Hamilton Spectator*, March 2, 2015. https://www.thespec.com/news-story/5454349-rethinking-jackson-square-with-design-flair/

[471] There was talk in the 1990s of tearing down the mall but the city did not consider it seriously, Carmelina Prete, "Redesigning Jackson Square" *Hamilton Spectator,* May 9 2001. The land use plan for downtown from 2001 (amended in 2004) made suggestions for opening up the streets around Jackson Square or even reintroducing streets in accordance with the old grid. Putting People First: The new land use plan for downtown Hamilton. Planning and Development Department, City of Hamilton, 2004.

the progress of the renewal of James Street."[472] In fact, the City Centre has been labeled the worst building in the city and several different sources have noted that "someone has to be brave enough to blow it up and do it over."[473] Such comments provide a sense of how these buildings have acted as emotional containers for the negative sentiment towards downtown, scapegoats for many of downtown's problems and seemingly cannot be rescued in the same way as structures like the Lister Building. Everybody hates Jackson Square for one reason or another. Creatives hate it because it is unhip, everything that is wrong with modernism/renewal in one space. Economic development types hate it because it does not attract major retail chains. City Hall hates it because it is a monument to municipal planning failure. A diverse group of other people hate it because poor people hang around there. Furthermore, Hamiltonians seem unable to forgive Jackson Square for the destruction that took place to build it (even those who cannot remember anything before it lament an idealized past). Similarly, they cannot forgive City Centre for occupying the site of the old market and City Hall and for its even more spectacular retail failure.

The general, superficial, and narrow views of Jackson Square and City Centre, full of class-based negative sentiment, build a kind of nightmare image in which so many details stand out for criticism, the buildings, the people, the style, the stores, yet this does not properly account for the value of their role in the city. The unstylishness of the malls and discomfort with poverty seems to mire their uniqueness and usefulness to the downtown core. For all the talk of diversity

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[472] MacLeod "Jackson Square wants to be more street friendly" *Hamilton Spectator*, November 15, 2013. https://www.thespec.com/news-story/2262466-jackson-square-wants-to-be-more-street-friendly/

[473] Narula, "An insider's guide to Hamilton; Lisa Grace Marr, "A New Look City Centre: Fercan Developments pulling out all the stops to spruce up the former Eaton's Centre," *Hamilton Spectator,* August 2, 2006 and Wilson, "'Blow it up.'"

and mixed use space in current urban trends, these diverse and very mixed use spaces are greatly underappreciated. The malls unwittingly create a vibrant urban space which is not the sanitized, surveilled, neoliberal downtown consumer experience as a mixed-use utopia of bank branches, Starbucks, and the Apple store with chic condos, boutique hotels, and hip restaurants surrounded by design firms in trendy office spaces being enjoyed by middle or upper class people. Rather than the contrived mixed-use of new developments and trendy urban design, the malls and the area are a real mixed-use space with methadone clinics, government offices, and art galleries, half way houses, Victorian mansions, and 1960s apartment buildings, street kids and college students, lawyers and drug dealers, national retail chains and local dollar stores, fine dining, pizza shops, and food banks. The only thing missing is the super rich and it is not that they are unwelcome, but rather that the malls are simply not their preferred environment. Perhaps a space like that downtown is worth preserving and nurturing. There is a diversity in and around Jackson Square and City Centre that has already disappeared or is quickly disappearing from prime downtown space in many cities. They provide unstylish but equitable space downtown, where a nonprofit can afford the rent and where social services can be in close proximity to those they serve.

Beyond the aforementioned retail, recreation, dining, community, non-profit, grocery, business, government, educational, and social services, the malls also have a gathering function, drawing together and connecting the surrounding streets and users. The malls bring together both those who duck in for the first time to avoid the rain and those with a more intimate familiarity, with knowledge of routes through the labyrinth, whether they are a lawyer on a short lunch or a homeless person staying warm in the winter. Despite criticisms of a disconnection from the street, the malls, in their own way, become the street, blurring the boundary between the

interior and exterior, the public and the private. Yet, the legacy of Civic Square's original dream quality hangs on in fantasies about what the complex could be. People talk and write about what the space might be if it were to be torn down, turned inside out, opened up, or if the aesthetics, tenants, and users were swapped out for something different (better). But, perhaps the malls do not need to change. Instead, maybe it is the normative development language used to discuss the malls that needs to change.

CONCLUSION:

Throughout this thesis, I have been largely applying ideas of the city-as-medium borrowed from the work of the German theorist Friedrich Kittler and adapted through other thinkers. Before concluding, I would like to make a detour through the work of another German theorist, Walter Benjamin. One reason for this detour is to point to possible future directions for the type of urban media work undertaken so far because unlike Kittler, Benjamin was open to the role of people in shaping the complexities of urban life. Rather than so-called man as mere point of data less relevant than the corresponding address or command, Benjamin was interested in the different urban characters and touched on both phenomenological and class-based elements Kittler's technical framework is unable and unwilling to deal with. Kittler's post-humanism has been compatible with the kind of depopulated material history most of the thesis covers, but less adequate for the complexities of contemporary urban life introduced in the preceding chapter. While I have already opened Kittler's framework up to emotional storage and types of affective communication, a Benjaminian approach, inspired by the *Arcades Project* and borrowing its technique allows us to build off this emotional storage to gain greater insights into the current moment. In order to do so, I would like to revisit the malls once again. Having established the malls as trash within the chronotopic frame and demonstrated that the creative-city-as-operating-system has a hard time accessing them in any meaningful way, we can use Benjamin—as a great theorist of media, materiality, commodities, and trash—and the *Arcades Project* to gain an alternative type of access to these spaces, particularly one that is more open to human and experiential elements. As we gain new access to Jackson Square and City Centre we can arrive at insights about our current moment, and even possibly imagine different futures for our cities.

Benjamin pushed the limits of—and gave new meaning to—historical materialism through the *Arcades Project's* investigation into the "small, discarded objects, the outdated buildings and fashions," the "trash of history," by "searching for truth in the "garbage heap."[474] Renovated places, like many of those discussed so far have only been able to provide a certain narrow kind of access and reading of our present moment, one dictated by economic cycles of disinvestment and reinvestment in the built environment. If we want alternative access to our own moment, need to look towards our own trash, for our own arcades, our own ruins. In doing so we avoid both the fetish of particular historical preservations or conversions, and the wanton destruction of development in the name of progress; we can "refuse the lure of celebrating the new, or eulogizing progress" while at the same time preventing "a sentimentalizing of the past."[475] The non-renovated ruin is the failed dream of the previous era, but it offers a different kind of potential than that discussed so far, because in its failure, it has been freed from its wish image. In its failure it can stir awakening, not the potential of renovation, but the revolutionary potential of the devalued ruin that is always lingering around, waiting to be called up, realized, or grasped. It offers the ability to think differently about downtown development, perhaps to alter the cycle of destruction and renovation, to break free of the trajectory that reconstructs the city only for the affluent. Benjamin challenges us to embrace these trash-places not as they could be, *but as they already are*.

Some might argue that Hamilton's abundant industrial ruins are more suitable sites, as other recent applications of Benjamin's theory focus on these types of sites.[476] Such places,

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[474] Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project,* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 93 and 217.

[475]Ben Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 65.

[476] Edensor, "Haunting in the Ruins," 43.

however, are less suitable than the downtown malls. Industrial ruins are sites of production rather than consumption and most importantly, generally off limits. They are not public space that one can freely roam and not sites where one can locate the everyday experience of the city. They are outside the circuits and networks of the city's normative everyday operation. Additionally, industrial ruins perhaps take Benjamin too literally. His ruin was not fully abandoned, but rather, turning towards abandonment, "the Parisian arcade, not in its heyday but as a 'ruin' existing in a time when it has been superseded, outmoded."[477] Benjamin's ruin was the outdated space of consumption which contained the slag of the commodity cycle, still for sale, rather than the remnants totally out of view/circulation. The literal arcade (Lister) is also inappropriate because its renovation has temporarily rescued it from history and made it a manifestation of progress. We need a trash-place that suits our time and context similarly to how the arcades served Paris, something in between the destruction of rebuilding (or renovating) and the stoppage of time in historical restoration. It is through these spaces that we can follow Benjamin's lead, but within our own context, to re-enter the malls attuned to our own potential awakening. Jackson Square and the adjoining City Centre bookended the grand dream of the urban renewal era as the first and last projects of the downtown's large scale destruction in the 1960s. They were quickly outmoded (as the arcade was by the department store) but hang on, haunting the streetscape of the 2000s as remnants of an abandoned fantasy and failed future.

Here we can take another look at what we might call the dream layer of Jackson Square and City Centre. This is not the dream of what the malls could but, but rather the dream that they already are. The dream layer offers a different perspective on the malls, one where the visitor is thrust into an unexpected experience, is struck, as for Benjamin, "in order to understand the

[477] Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory*, 65.

arcades from the ground up, we sink them into the deepest stratum of the dream; we speak of them as though they had struck us."[478] In the dream layer, Jackson Square and City Centre do not have potential to be renovated into something better, rather, in falling out of synch with regular retail trends and maintaining an outdated aesthetic, they have already realized a unique potential. A writer for McMaster's student newspaper, *The Silhouette*, wrote an article on the City Centre, seemingly to acquaint students with a place downtown they may not have visited, or even heard of. The writer themselves had only stumbled across it after entering in to flee a thunderstorm. She described City Centre as a "peculiar" building where the "ominous brick" walls on the outside give way to a surprising interior with "obsessively symmetrical architecture" and a "strict colour palette:"

> As I passed white pillars, peach-coloured patio umbrellas and blue-stained glass, it felt more like walking through a Wes Anderson film than a shopping mall…. I left the building feeling a mix of astonishment and confusion. Months later, I still think about the building that's often forgotten."[479]

The shopping mall is a form most university students are generally familiar with, yet this particular mall was so odd and unsettling. She did not offer more details on what exactly the building made her think about, but it is clear that it left an impression, that it struck her in a way, as to motivate her to both write the article and keep thinking about the space. It was disruptive to her regular experience of the city. Other traces of City Centre's impressions are found in the comments of its often-photographed atrium/galleria on Instagram, where one user calls it the "weirdest place I have ever been."[480] What strikes people is a mixture of its physical and material properties as well as its unusual use (or lack of use) much like how Benjamin's arcades

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[478] Benjamin, *Arcades Project,* 206.
[479] Samara, "City centre."
[480] itmecoryb, comment on, veronotsounique, "Too bad the City Centre Sucks," *Instagram* January 19, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BeJUI60AkLb/?taken-at=335744551

were characterized by the obsolescence of the hardware itself as well as the commodities/trades they contained and the people drawn to and milling about them, the people at home in such an environment:

> Often these inner spaces harbor antiquated trades, and even those that are thoroughly up to date will acquire in them something obsolete…in hairdressers' windows, you can see the last women with long hair…and while these things are petrified, the masonry of the walls above has become brittle.[481]

In this description of the arcades, the remnants from the past take on the same ossified, stone-like quality as the literal stone of the arcade walls that is aged, brittle, ruinous. Jackson Square and City Centre manifest the same sense that the obsolescence of the material ties in with the unfashionableness of the clientele. Jackson Square's minimalist concrete facades show signs of age and wear, like discolouration and cracks. The buff bricks around the entrances to City Centre are stained and dirty while the rusting decorative white metal accents betray their original attempt at timelessness. Inside, marginal goods and out of fashion people—themselves showing age, wear, cracks, and stains—circulate unselfconsciously, blending in with the surroundings, not being out of place. While the arcades housed "the last women with long hair" after the era of the flapper, outmoded hairstyles, remnants of the once ubiquitous mullets or perms of the 1980s, abound in Jackson Square and City Centre too. Similarly, there is an unplanned out-of-fashion-ness in terms of clothes that is not the self-aware sartorial play of ugly Christmas sweaters and urban hipsters. "Hamilton's [style] is wearing whatever the hell you want…there are certainly a lot of people who do try to be cool, but at Jackson Square you do see a lot of people who couldn't care less."[482] There is an Instagram account that posts photographs of such people (as

[481] Benjamin, *Arcades Project,* 204.

[482] Razan Samara, "An unconventional look: Hamilton's strange style gives the city its character," *The Silhouette*, June 7, 2018. https://www.thesil.ca/an-unconventional-look

well as numerous more self-aware hipster types) specifically in Jackson Square. It is called "square_where" and showcases "the unique and unconventional styles of Jackson Square."[483] An article discussing the account and Hamilton's style states:

> There is diversity in people's style, but there's an underlying attitude that seems consistent across the board. Pardon me when I say this, but a lot of people simply don't give a shit… Eye-catching fur coats, outfits that push the limits of patterns and layering, eccentric pieces and repurposed pajamas often make up the Jackson Square fashion scene…dressing like its 1987…There's a post-industrial feel [to the way people dress], it's kind of gritty, vintage, second-hand, and worn.[484]

Here is yet another example of the oft-noted 'characters' downtown. An expression of something unusual, interesting, and different, the increasing diversity in the city, reminiscent of the human cultural capital noted earlier, albeit less dehumanizing. Even though most of the pictures on *square_where* are the "people who do try to be cool," the underlying inspiration and people who really "give Hamilton character" are the old-school Hamiltonians who really "couldn't care less."[485] Juxtaposed, both groups of unusually dressed people hint at the rising tensions in the renaissance city. On the one hand there is an acceptance of diversity through young open-minded people who notice, and in their own way appreciate, this strangeness offered by Jackson Square and City Centre, rather than the hostility often expressed. Yet, there is also an underlying tension between subject and object evident in some photos of those who do not pose and are snapped without knowing it.[486] There are also traces of a subtle economic tension

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[483] square_where: Jackson Square Fashion Blog, *Instagram* https://www.instagram.com/square_where/

[484] Samara, "An unconventional look."

[485] Samara, "An unconventional look."

[486] Examples such as: square_where, "chased this #scottypippen fan down a few blocks to capture the finesse of his 1996 Chicago Bulls Starter jacket which becomes a severe #fashionstatement on 40 degree days such as these" August 11, 2016. https://www.instagram.com/p/BI-SFXkg5zr/?taken-by=square_where or square_where, "Ummmm, pardon? #thanksbutnothanks," *Instagram,* August 28, 2018. https://www.instagram.com/p/BnDC_BunVT0/?taken-by=square_where

between young college or university educated people on Instagram and some of the people they photograph; the children of the knowledge economy and the legacy of deindustrialization and deinstitutionalization. Another profile on Hamilton has also noted its fashion sense, but attributed its unique looks to young new residents with no mention of Hamilton's fashion trailblazers. Apparently Hamilton's quirky style is a result of, "a new generation of young creatives [who] are starting to stick around the city, along with an influx of Toronto transplants, who are all contributing to the growing arts community. You can see that influence in the choice of colour, patterns and unique vintage looks popping up on the streets."[487] In this description, the marginal and funky-dressed poor are either invisible to the author or already pushed out of view.

This brief detour through Benjamin and some of the alternative views of Jackson Square and City Centre brings us full circle back to the Kittlerian concepts of storage, transmission and processing through the built environment. Here we see the storage, transmission, and processing of the tensions in the changing city, tensions between the past and the future, between affluent fantasies and everyday hopes and dreams, between the the city's delay / outmodedness and its moving up to date. It is a tension between a Victorian brick house's future as a renovated dream home or continued existence as a semi-dilapidated house, which is the same tension between the hostility towards the downtown malls—the desire to tear them down or blow them up—versus the curiosity and affection felt for the same structures by different people. The built environment as hardware is manifesting the city's existence on the brink or a choice between inclusivity and a diverse, shared downtown space or exclusivity and homogenization towards gentrification. The malls, for instance, while certainly deserving of some criticisms, over time, have thickened, housing their own unique ecosystem like a coral reef growing on a shipwreck. They are evolving

[487] Narula, "An insider's guide to Hamilton."

spaces that serve diverse needs downtown, even if they seem a little strange by current urban retail standards. Furthermore, these spaces offer a critique of our current moment, revealing some of what is usually hidden in the sanitized marketplace. They are spaces where some of our collective social failures are on display, the broken equipment, broken promises, broken people, broken dreams. As spaces of social mixing, the malls make certain people and groups uncomfortable, this discomfort reflecting the increasing cleanup and sameness of cities, the well-kept consumer paradises where the poor are pushed out of view, unless they are in a clean low wage workers uniform.

I want to suggest there is more at stake in the malls than most people realize. Having survived this long, Jackson Square and Eaton Centre deserve something different than Toronto's Eaton Centre, which was also an unloved 1970s inward facing mall in a downscale and undesirable part of town—that had also previously been the main street and high end shopping district—until it, and the entire surrounding area was revamped with the kind of mainstream consumer retail outlets many in Hamilton's economic development camp desire.[488] The success of downtown does not rest on either demolishing or renovating the malls into a work-live consumer paradise. The fates of the occupied and functioning malls—not the abandoned or renovated and sanitized Lister Building and the so-called renaissance—are what is really at the heart of Hamilton's possible futures. As we have seen from the past, the choices that will be made here, specifically in terms of the material changes—whether mega renovations or

[488] Ute Lehrer and Jennefer Laidley, "Old Mega-Projects Newly Packaged? Waterfront Redevelopment in Toronto," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 3, no. 4 (2008): 797 and Kenneth G. Jones and Michael J. Doucet, "The big box, the flagship, and beyond: impacts and trends in the Greater Toronto Area," *The Canadian Geographer* 45, no. 4 (2001): 494-512.

demolition and rebuilding—will have major impact on the city's identity and legacy, and not necessarily the type those advocating the changes predict or hope for.

Perhaps we could consider how the city might collectively long for these odd places if they were suddenly gone or radically altered. Hamilton had one of the most intact Victorian downtowns before they demolished it for the superblocks. It also had one of the largest and most spectacular modernist superblock renewal projects which has quickly begun losing its distinct characteristics. Many people in Hamilton lately think that is a good thing, perhaps these buildings deserve this treatment as retribution for what was lost to build them in the first place. It is common and popular to deride the Civic Square superblocks and their buildings for all their flaws, while mourning the downtown that was demolished to make way for their construction, but such attacks are eerily similar to those that resulted in the destruction of the Victorian downtown in the first place. Can we not image a future where the city laments destroying the material, architecture, and atmosphere of Jackson Square or City Centre? After all, Hamilton still has much of its nineteenth century layout and plenty of Victorian and Edwardian buildings, it has hundreds of parking lots that can be built into modern condos, but it only has one Jackson Square and City Centre. As difficult as they might be to love and as imperfect of a legacy as they have created, the superblocks and their hardware have taken on their own layers of accumulation and deserve an alternative assessment. Perhaps the urban renewal years were not as big of a failure as commentators over the last forty or so years have claimed, but rather, have become the preeminent medium through which the city's supposed failures have been transferred from one era to another. The physical city has been the medium for the transference of (social, cultural, economic) failure; the physical city stored, transmitted and processed this failure over time. The logic of the city-as-medium demonstrates that the orderly fantasy (and failure) of the

industrial Victorian city was transferred to the fantasy (and failure) of urban renewal and the superblocks, then transferred to the fantasy (and forthcoming failure) of the Creative City renaissance. We know the failure is coming because the nothing fundamental has changed, the built environment follows the cycle of building, destroying and rebuilding that will continue to repeat itself as materials and formats are always turning over to obsolescence.

In conclusion, I have demonstrated how a Kittlerian approach to the city as a medium can be developed into insightful historical analyses of a particular city. The model, as variously developed, adapted, and supplemented throughout the thesis, provides a novel way to approach urban history and urban cultural studies, through a material and infrastructural history of the built environment. This fundamental hardware position, underlain by particular infrastructural sensibilities and logics, brings new insights to both the historical and contemporary city. There is a value in analyzing elements of what the city was literally built from—rather than who the city was built by—that fosters greater appreciation of surveying, quarrying, brickmaking, building, aging, demolishing, rebuilding, and renovating as processes that order and define the space we come to experience as a place. The city-as-medium approach is especially useful as a way to bridge the past and present, to better contextualize and understand the contemporary city, attuned to the unique context of a specific place; it allows us to challenge narratives of progress in their different historical manifestations, to locate and critique our own contemporary assumptions about how to build and inhabit our cities. I hope the method is able to foster critique of current moment in a way that resonates with those participating in the current moment, as it has demonstrated a particular pattern in Hamilton that we can see reproducing and repeating itself. When those who criticize urban renewal and long for the old Victorian downtown only focus on an aesthetic or material quality (i.e. Victorian and stone or brick as

good, Brutalist and concrete as bad) they fail to see the fundamental similarity in the processes of devaluing at a more basic hardware and formatting level. They can see the modernizers' denigration of the old (Victorian) in favour of the new (modern), yet are blind to their own denigration of the old (modern) in favour of the older (Victorian)—which is always renovated, therefore it is actually quite new and simply disguising itself as old—ultimately leading towards a very similar favouring of the new (i.e. totally revamped or demolished and rebuilt malls) at the expense of the old (modern). Analyzing the city as a medium allows greater focus on processes, transmissions, and different types of storage that enable these patterns to emerge or reveal themselves. Then, after gaining a fuller picture at the hardware level we can pivot towards the 'why' of valuing and devaluing, towards the different receptions of the built environment's various storage, processes and transmissions. This area in particular, is where Kittler's model must be opened up and supplemented with other types of histories and theories.

Kittlerian analysis is unable to deal sufficiently with the dynamics between people and the built environment in historical and the current moments. It offers broad sweeping views and patterns at the expense of the details of social and cultural life or experience, particularly how different groups might have experienced the city differently, or who had control over different types of building materials. For instance, much of the working class material history, frame dwellings, old boarding houses, taverns, and the like have not survived. The buildings and materials that continue to exist in the city of today carry with them the privilege of the wealth that created them in the first place, while other material elements of working class life, like the old factories and mills that have survived are in the process of being coopted, converted, and cleansed. Kittler's model necessitates a certain class (and gender, and race) invisibility that I have tried to acknowledge, though not necessarily rectify, in pointing towards gentrification and

other social processes manifested in the built environment. We have seen some connection between buildings and the people that live in and around them and I have tried to demonstrate that material and formats of the built environment are not neutral, but instead, filled with particular values and emotions. More work, however, needs to be done in this regard as I have offered only anecdotal evidence of the processes of renovation and rebuilding that suggests gentrification downtown. It would be interesting to get more facts and data on housing, the numbers of converted apartments, the changing retail landscape, and demographics in the lower city.

Finally, this thesis has provided more warnings than solutions, but I would like to close in pointing towards a way of thinking about possible solutions, urging us to consider building and dwelling. Thinking about the built environment and accompanying infrastructures in informational and technological ways, but also open to human experience of such conditions, spaces, and places draws us towards Heidegger's sense of dwelling.[489] One of the challenges with Heidegger in this regard, as he was no urbanist, is thinking about how his ideas might be conceived in the city rather than retreating to a hut in the Black Forest. Yet, for Heidegger "the real dwelling plight lies in this, that mortals ever search anew for the nature of dwelling, that they must ever learn to dwell," so perhaps it is now that his sense of idealized pastoral dwelling can be outmoded by the urban. For Heidegger, our relationship to dwelling is an ever-changing one that requires consistent thought; "enough will have been gained if dwelling and building have become *worthy of questioning* and thus have remained *worthy of thought.*"[490]

[489] Martin Heidegger, "Building, Dwelling, Thinking," in *Poetry, Language, Thought,* trans Albert Hofstadter, (Harper and Row, 1971).

[490] Heidegger "Building, Dwelling, Thinking," 159.

One small step towards dwelling in cities, would be a considerably more complex and carefully consideration of our building practices, but also their histories. Dwelling concerns all of the built environment; the European claim on indigenous land, the pollutant-ridden infilling of the bay, the expansion of the city and resources it requires, the renovated houses and offices, the new condo towers, the idle abandoned buildings, the parking lots and also all the people using them as well as wider relationships to climate, atmosphere, and other living, and even spiritual things. For existential architect Christian Norberg-Shulz, dwelling involves being "able to read the revealing of things which make up our environment."[491] I hope to have demonstrated one way to begin to approach such a revealing, to read the built environment not in terms of its potential to be continually challenged forth, but rather to see the structures of the city as something other than standing reserve built of older standing reserve, to turn away from the exploitative renovation practices and gentrification as processes forcing a type of homelessness, both the literal homelessness of those pushed out, and the homelessness of those claiming new space in the city without true thought on building and dwelling. As Harvey reminds us, "the freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is…one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights."[492] Thus, in closing I would like to urge Hamilton to carefully consider its Creative City approach, to actually be creative rather than simply pander to the Creative Class, to look for solutions to its various problems attuned to its own history and perhaps a sense of dwelling that nurtures an intimacy between the geography, materiality, the built environment, atmosphere, community, and fellow man.

[491] Norberg-Shulz, *Genius Loci*, 170.
[492] Harvey, "The Right to the City," *New Left Review* 53 (2008): 23.

APPENDIX A: List of tenants in City Centre and Jackson Square

City Centre: Tenants as of March 2019

Retailers:

- Boardwalk Shoes
- Cash 4 You
- Classic 4 U
- Cell Phone Depo
- City Centre Beauty Salon
- City Rags
- Crunch Canada
- Direct Cell
- Discount Mart
- Dollar Plus Outlet
- Fairweather
- Fine Furnishings
- Gold & Silver Galleries
- Hart Department Store
- I.D.A. Pharmacy
- Izzy's Kids World
- LACED
- Mido Centre
- Mountain Gifts & Toys,
- One Stop Alterations and Dry Cleaning
- Rug Emporium
- Salon Millenium
- Stone Men's Outlet,
- Super Lottery
- Taj Mahal Hala Meat & Grocery
- Thunder Alley (Bowling)
- Tip & Toe
- Xpress Mobile

Offices and Services:

- Alorica
- at Your service
- Cain Chiropractic
- Carmen’s Group
- City of Hamilton
- EWEF
- John Howard Society
- Trip Central
- Workforce Planning Hamilton

International Food Court:

- Coffee & Donut
- Wah Sardaaji
- Deco's Deli
- Perfect Plate
- Pizza Bella

Jackson Square: Tenants as of July 2017

Bath & Beauty:

- Angel Beauty Bar
- Chanchal Perfumes
- Cards, Stationery & Gifts
- Board Games Central
- Carlton Cards
- Pop Culture

Education

- Collège Boréal
- Hamilton Suzuki School of Music
- Hamilton-Wentworth District School Board
- Liaison College
- Marca College Hamilton
- McMaster University

Electronics, Computers & Telephones

- Batteries & Gadgets
- Bell World
- CellRoX
- Fido
- Freedom Mobile
- Koodo Mobile
- Long Distance Phone Card
- Tbooth wireless
- The Source
- Wireless+
- WirelessWave
- WOW! mobile boutique

Entertainment & Leisure:

- GoodLife Fitness
- Landmark Cinemas

- Yuk Yuk's

Fashion Accessories
- 1001 Nights
- Bentley
- Imported Shades and Gifts
- Sunglass Stop

Financial Services
- Bank of Montreal ABM
- Continental Currency Exchange
- W-03 Meridian Credit Union
- RBC
- Royal Bank ABM
- ScotiaBank ABM
- TD
- TD ABM

Footwear
- Payless ShoeSource
- Shoe Corner
- Shoe Point
- Stepss

General, Variety, Lottery & Books
- Anna's Lottery
- As Seen On TV Gadgets
- Coles
- Dollarama
- Gateway Newstands
- Gateway Newstands
- Heroes N' Legends – Pop Culture
- Lucky You Lottery
- New York News Café
- New York News Café
- Power Deals Dollar Store
- Laura Secord
- LCBO
- Nations Fresh Foods

Home Décor
- C-45 La Galleria Canada
- Linen Trends

Jewellery

- Golden Gate Jewellery
- HT Jewellery
- Mike's Jewellery
- Time & Jewel Centre

Ladies Apparel

- Anna Bella
- Ardene
- Kimberly Fashion
- Me Boutique
- Nygard Fashion Outlet
- Red Fashion
- Sirens
- Suzy Shier

Personal Care & Health Services

- Joseph's Coiffures
- Maverick Studio for Men
- Medical Centre Optical
- Nails for You
- Naturals
- Primrose Optical
- Rexall
- Summer Sun Tanning Salon
- Total Image Salon & Spa

Quick Service Foods

- Aichi Japan
- Booster Juice
- Burger King
- Freshii
- Hurry Curry
- Jimmy The Greek
- JusTeas Bubble Tea & Special Eats
- Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC)
- Mo’s Golden Pretzel
- Mr. Sub
- New York Fries
- P.A.M.'s Coffee & Tea Co.
- P.A.M.'s Coffee & Tea Co.
- Pita Pit
- Rita's Italian Ice

- Starbucks Coffee Company
- Tabouli
- Taco Bell
- Tim Hortons
- Venti-Café
- Wally Parr Sausage
- Wok Express

Restaurants
- Anchor Bar
- Country Style Bistrodeli
- Crack Me Up
- Oak Café
- The Honest Lawyer Restaurantainment
- The Works Gourmet Burger Bistro
- Tim Hortons
- Toby's Goodeats

Services
- A Best Needle Alterations
- Best Western Shoe Repair
- Fine Threads
- Jackson Square Conference Centre
- Jackson Square Dental Office
- Jackson Station Post Office
- Options Emploi
- Pro 1 Hour Photo
- Sheraton Hamilton Hotel
- T&T Alterations And Dress
- The Hamilton Chamber of Commerce
- tripcentral.ca
- Unique Shoe Repair & Western Wear

Sporting Goods and Apparel
- Heroes N' Legends
- SuperStar Sports

Unisex Apparel
- Bluenotes
- International Clothiers C-26 Roots
- Urban Planet

Hamilton Public Library
Hamilton Farmers Market

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