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The Use of Visual Materials in Recreating and Interpreting the Past

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Landscapes of Victorian Hamilton: The Use of Visual Materials in Recreating and Interpreting the Past

Walter G. Peace

"The City is often called the Birmingham of Canada, and though comparison with the world's great work-shop in the English midlands is presumptuous, it is not altogether unwarranted."¹

"The City is best seen from a jutting promontory on the mountain immediately south of its easterly limit. From that point the panorama spread on all sides is one of the most delightful which this beautiful earth can give."²

Images and Landscapes

"Landscape" evokes a multitude of meanings. Whether experienced in daily routine or symbolically depicted in art, landscapes are "expressions of cultural values, social behaviour and individual actions worked upon particular localities over a span of time."³ Two important characteristics of place are implicit in this definition. The first of these is the fact that landscapes are comprised of elements or things that can be observed directly. In the case of urban landscapes the fundamental elements are the site, function, and form (morphology) of the city. The second characteristic of landscapes is that of essence or symbolic meaning. In other words, there is an experiential component to the term which goes beyond that which can be observed. Thus landscape can serve as a point of departure in the interpretation of the present and the past by geographers and historians alike.

To "know" or understand a city, there can be no substitute for direct experience. The seemingly simple act of walking through a residential neighbourhood, for example, provides the researcher with information concerning both the elements (what is observed) and the essence (the symbolism) of the landscape. Careful reading of the landscape through direct experience can serve to enhance understanding that is obtained through more conventional, non-

experiential methods, such as the analysis of census data.

In this respect, the urban historian is at a disadvantage since direct experience of the past is obviously not possible. Lowenthal notes, "Unlike geographically remote places we could visit if we made the effort, the past is beyond reach."⁴ To a considerable extent this difficulty can be overcome through the use of visual sources such as maps and photographs. These materials allow the researcher vicariously to enter and experience landscapes of the past. Although there are certainly limitations in the use of these qualitative materials,⁵ they can serve to augment information derived from traditional, quantitative sources (assessment rolls, city directories, and fire insurance atlases). To demonstrate both the usefulness and limitations of these alternative sources, three promotional items from the City of Hamilton at the close of the Victorian era are discussed. Analysis of these sources leads to the recreation of two very different landscapes of Victorian Hamilton. The character of the well-known industrial city is described using the 1893 bird's-eye view map⁶ and *Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada*, published in the same year.⁷ In contrast, a rather different landscape emerges from the pages of *Art Work on Hamilton*, published in 1899. Attention is directed at what is not portrayed as well as what is portrayed in these promotional items. Moreover, an attempt is made to interpret the landscapes depicted in these sources in terms of their underlying meaning and symbolism.

Hamilton: the quintessential industrial city

The City of Hamilton elicits strong connotations of industry, steel mills, and pollution, both for residents and non-residents alike. Nader contends, "Hamilton evokes perhaps the strongest and most immediate image of all Canadian cities; it is famed as Steel City, where the grimy buildings are permanently shrouded in

smoke and pollution."⁸ For more than a century Hamilton's history has been linked to industry. Details regarding the city's industrial awakening have been provided elsewhere,⁹ and it is sufficient to note that the coming of the Great Western Railway in 1853 provided a major impetus to the existing manufacturing base. In 1861 the city's population was 19,096, and there were 84 manufacturing establishments employing 2,225 people.¹⁰

By 1891 the population had risen to 45,423, and the number of manufacturing establishments had increased to 179, accounting for 6,909 workers (nearly one-half) of the city's employed persons.¹¹ As the final decade of the 19th century began "The Birmingham of Canada was due to come of age."¹² It is in this context that attention is now directed toward the landscape of this quintessential industrial city.

A strong sense of the meaning and character of the industrial city is apparent in the two promotional items published in 1893. The bird's-eye view maps, which were popular in the latter part of the 19th century, are useful sources of information as they "...are generally of considerable accuracy, even in their depiction of individual buildings."¹³ Fox states that "...artists were commissioned to draw bird's-eye views which were partly intended to promote the image of the town depicted. Artistic licence was usually employed to emphasize what were considered at the time to be the more desirable urban attribute to grand buildings, thriving industry and bustling commercial areas and transportation facilities."¹⁴ Reps describes these maps as decorative works of art "...used to bolster commerce and civic pride."¹⁵ Furthermore, he notes: "While it is true that some artists did indeed grossly exaggerate, especially in views commissioned by local real estate promoters, and that artists of nearly all views delineated their subjects in a favourable light, the overwhelming number of city views can be regarded as substantially accurate in

showing the city as a whole as well as in showing details of individual buildings and their surroundings."¹⁶ Comparison of the 1893 bird's-eye view map of Hamilton with the 1898 Fire Insurance Atlas would tend to verify the claim of cartographic accuracy in terms of the location, number, and design of the majority of buildings in the city. This is especially true of the more prominent buildings such as factories, churches, and the residences of the elite.

The 1893 view of Hamilton offers an unusual perspective of the city. While most panoramic views of the city used the Niagara Escarpment¹⁷ as the ideal vantage point, the 1893 map was drawn from an oblique, aerial perspective over the harbour looking south toward the city centre and the escarpment beyond. This perspective immediately emphasizes the city's site characteristics (dominated by the escarpment and the harbour), the grid system of streets, and the activities that were part of its economic order.

The most striking feature of the 1893 map is the prominence accorded to industrial activity in the city. There are more than 150 factory chimneys depicted, each releasing billowing clouds of black smoke. Other noteworthy features of the built environment include churches and public buildings. These, however, are clearly secondary to the factories. Industry was most heavily concentrated in two parts of the city - in and around the central business district (see Figure 1) and along the western portion of the waterfront near the Grand Trunk Railway yards (see Figure 2). The only area in which industry is absent is the elite residential district (now known as the Durand neighbourhood) southwest of the city centre (see Figure 3). In addition to factories, transportation facilities associated with the railways and the harbour are highly visible. The map depicts nine trains entering or leaving the city, three locomotives in the Grand Trunk yards, and nearly fifty ships in the harbour. The theme of the map, then, is the proliferation of industrial activity on the



Figure 1: 1893 bird's-eye view of Hamilton (detail) showing the city's central business district with its prominent public buildings (City Hall is the largest building with the clock tower in the centre of the picture) and factories.

landscape. The clouds of smoke, factory chimneys, and transportation facilities were clearly a source of civic pride, symbolizing growth and progress. These were the outstanding features of Hamilton testaments to the vitality of the city's economic order.

In general terms the map provides a sense of order and regularity that has been superimposed on the landscape. This is most evident in the rectangular grid pattern of streets and the uniformity of the houses in the residential areas. This latter feature, it should be noted, is one example of artistic license being employed. Examination of the houses that remain in these areas clearly reveals considerable variation in size and architectural style. If housing stock had been uniform, there might have been evidence for a proposition about the relative uniformity of social class. Obviously this was not the case.

Further evidence of the landscape's order and regularity is seen in the farm orchards depicted at the eastern edge of the city. As well the map also shows five roads and the

two incline railways that provided access to the top of the escarpment as well as the side of the escarpment being almost entirely cleared of trees within the city limits. These features are perhaps symbolic of the dominance of humanity over nature, suggesting that obstacles of the natural environment can be overcome by human resources and technology. In addition, the subdued role of nature is shown in the residential areas on the map. While the artist has drawn trees along most streets, they are clearly of lesser importance than the houses themselves. This is evident in the detail from the map shown in Figure 3.

In summary, what the map portrays (and does not portray) and the manner in which it is depicted suggest that the "spirit of the age" was intimately linked with the rise of industrial capitalism. Industry, for Hamilton at least, was the icon of the era. Factories were symbolic of wealth, power, achievement, and success. Finally, the order and regularity imposed on the landscape suggest the domination of nature by industrial capitalism.

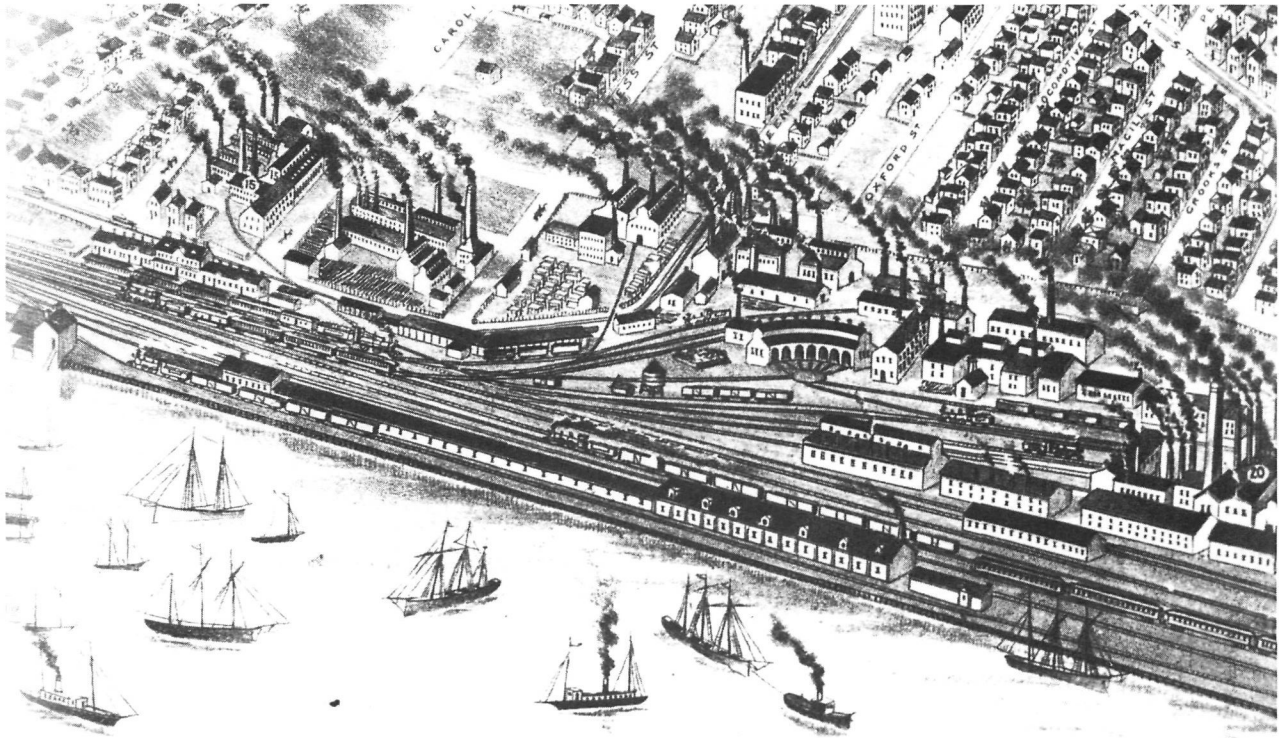


Figure 2: 1893 bird's-eye view of Hamilton (detail) showing the factories and the Grand Trunk Railway yards at the western end of the harbour.



Figure 3: 1893 bird's-eye view of Hamilton (detail) showing the elite Durand neighbourhood to the southwest of the city centre. Note the relative uniformity of house size and style. Some of the city's finest churches are seen here including St Paul's Presbyterian Church at the corner of James and Jackson Streets (see Figure 12).

This, as we shall see, was only one aspect of the landscape's essence.

Coincident with the 1893 bird's-eye view map was the publication of *Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada*.¹⁸ This promotional book was prepared in anticipation of large numbers of European visitors passing through Canada (via Niagara Falls) en route to the World's Fair in Chicago. The first part of the book contains two descriptions of the city (one written by the Countess of Aberdeen during her stay in Hamilton) as well as a short account of Canada's wealth and resources. The remainder of the text is devoted to short, descriptive accounts of 74 businessmen in the city. The 138 photographs were the work of C. S. Cochran, president of the Photographic Association of Canada in 1891 and 1892.¹⁹ Three sketches were also among the illustrations.

The types of businesses and activities described in the text are listed in Table 1. Economic activities dominate the list, comprising 86 per cent of the total. This is not surprising given the promotional nature of the book. The Sawyer and Massey Company (see Figure 4), for example, is described as "...a combination of two of the most extensive and widely-known manufactures of agricultural implements in the Dominion, and are the successors of the long-established firm of L. D. Sawyer and Co., which for the past fifty-three years has been prominently identified with the history of Hamilton, and has held an honoured position among her leading industries."²⁰ The city's image is further reinforced by the claim that "no other Canadian city has won for itself the industrial celebrity that Hamilton has attained."²¹

The 141 illustrations are categorized in Table 2. Wholesale and retail activities account for approximately 19 per cent of the total, reflecting Hamilton's predominantly commercial past, while industries account for a further 15 per cent. In total economic activities, perceived to be an integral part of the city's future, comprise 44 per cent of the

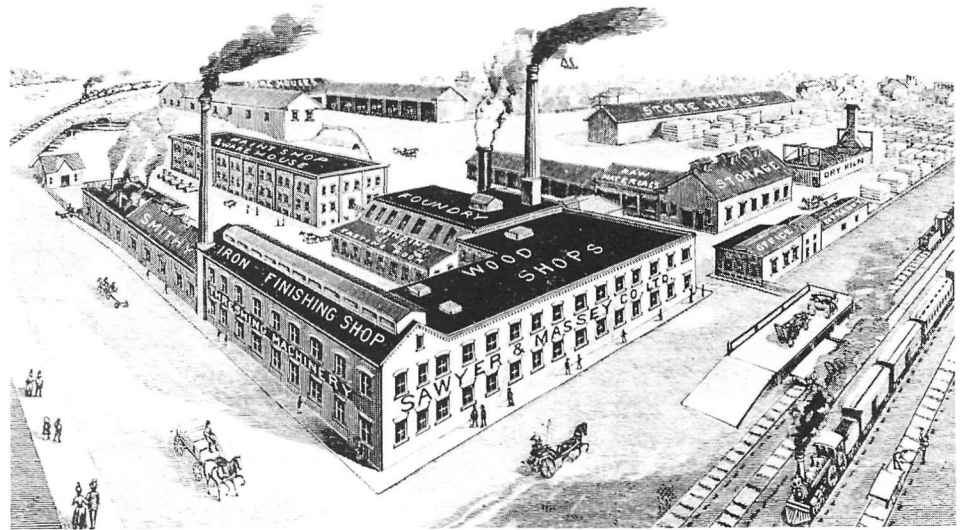


Figure 4: The Sawyer and Massey Company as shown in Birmingham. Note the overall order and cleanliness of the property and the small figures (beneath the company name) which exaggerate the size of the buildings.

illustrations. In addition, virtually all of the private residences depicted belonged to individuals who were prominent in various manufacturing, commercial, and financial activities in the city, which reflected both the social and economic orders of the city. Thus 86 photographs (61 per cent) are either directly or indirectly linked to the city's economic order.

Individual factories are depicted in the most positive light possible. The Sawyer and Massey Company (see Figure 4) is a case in point. The buildings and surrounding property are clean and orderly. This was undoubtedly in stark contrast to the interior spaces of the company's smithy and foundry. The smoke being released from the chimneys attests to the firm's prosperity (curiously, it disappears soon after leaving the chimney). The proportions of the structures are exaggerated by the small figures walking past the factory. Finally, there is a complete absence of the negative environmental conditions associated with industries. In consequence, we see several people casually strolling past the factory in the lower left corner of the picture.

The clean, orderly appearance is evident in virtually all of the factories illustrated. In Figure 5, for example, the Meriden Britannia Works, manufacturers of silver plated ware are featured. The photograph has been retouched to accentuate the building's roofline, gables, and towers, thereby enhancing its appearance. Furthermore, the photograph (like many others in the book) was taken at a time of day when there was little or no activity in the scene to detract from the building itself.

Similar observations apply to E. and C. Gurney and Company, manufacturers of stoves and ranges, depicted in Figure 6. This building, constructed in 1875, is one of the most elaborate factories in terms of architectural detail. The mansard roof features ornate dormer windows and iron cresting while the round-headed windows of the first three stories are highlighted by stone arches and decorated keystones. These characteristics of the building are suggestive of the wealth and prosperity of the firm and its owners.

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The contents of *Birmingham*, then, appear to echo the spirit of industrial capitalism, which also underlies the artist's rendering of the bird's-eye view map discussed above. The book clearly established the city's identity as being rooted in industry. What distinguishes *Birmingham* from the map is the fact that it affords a view of landscape elements from the ground. Here it is possible to examine specific elements of the landscape in much finer detail than the map allows. Of particular interest are the individual factories in *Birmingham's* illustrations. Goss²² notes that buildings can be viewed as both cultural artifacts (where architecture reflects the values of a culture) and objects of value (where value is measured in terms of use, exchange, sign and symbol). Thus architecture, as a component of the landscape, has practical value as well as meaning. The manner in which individual factories are depicted is symbolic of wealth, achievement, and success for both the city as a whole and the factory owners, who were part of the newly emergent class of industrialists and entrepreneurs. Thus we can view buildings as cultural artifacts reflecting the culture of industrial capitalism.



Figure 5: The Meriden Britannia Works as shown in *Birmingham*. Note how the roofline has been drawn in to give the building a clean, sharp appearance.

The label Birmingham of Canada was perhaps pretentious, but not altogether unwarranted. Industry provided a symbol for the city that set it apart from other cities in Ontario at the close of the 19th century. Of paramount importance was the fact that industry, as an integral element of the landscape, was the basis of the city's image and identity. For better or worse, this identity persists to the present day.

Aesthetics in the Industrial City

In 1899 W. H. Carre and Company published *Art Work on Hamilton*, one in a series of what have been termed "self-congratulatory view books."²³ Carre also produced similarly titled books about Montreal (1893) and Toronto (1898), among other Canadian cities. A series of books of the same genre was published for American cities by W. H. Parish of Chicago at the same time. Much of the inspiration for these books came from a period of heightened awareness of and concern for the "preservation of the built as well as the natural elements. As the centennial celebrations of the United States approached, the growing pride in the United



Figure 6: E. and C. Gurney and Company as shown in *Birmingham*. In terms of architectural style and decoration this is one of the most elaborate factories portrayed in the volume, reflecting the success of the company and its owners.

States in its buildings became visible in a type of popular documentation comparable to what was being produced at the same time in Europe."²⁴

These high-quality photographic presentations serve as both artistic works and historical records of local urban and rural landscapes. Despite the fact that the publication of *Art Work* coincides with what Roberts²⁵ identifies as a period of accelerated industrial growth in Hamilton, the city depicted here is anything but the manufacturing city so staunchly promoted at this time. The contrasting landscapes depicted in *Art Work* and in *Birmingham* are even more startling in light of the fact the C. S. Cochran was the photographer for both books.

Art Work consists of 12 volumes containing 100 photographs and a 16-page text describing the history and character of Hamilton and its environs. As described above, the promotional nature of *Birmingham* logically resulted in a focus on the city's economic order. Carre's book, on the other hand, all but ignores this element of the landscape. Instead, it emphasizes the

aesthetic qualities of both the natural and built environments.

The tone of book is vividly represented in the first photograph (see Figure 7) which depicts a sunny spring day in Gore Park in the heart of the city. Several men are seated on benches while other stand around the ornate cast-iron fountain. A woman is pushing a carriage along a walkway past some flower beds. The foliage of the trees all but obscures the buildings on James Street. This scene and similar ones symbolize the dialectic of humanity and nature presented from two perspectives: nature in the city and the city in nature.



Figure 7: Gore Park as shown in *Art Work*. This scene is an example of the dialectic of nature in the characterizes many of the urban settings depicted in the volume.

The photographs in *Art Work* are categorized in Table 3. One striking difference is immediately apparent in comparison with Table 1. Almost one-quarter of the photographs in *Art Work* depict non-urban settings. There are no comparable pictures in *Birmingham*. Further emphasis on the natural environment is apparent in the 19 scenic views of locations along the Niagara Escarpment. Figure 8, for example, portrays both the idyllic and rugged qualities of nature at Wester's Falls above the nearby town of Dundas. In describing the journey up the escarpment, *Art Works* notes: "The greater part of this drive (the Beckett Drive) is hewn out of solid rock. From many parts views of the city, of the lake, and of parts of the surrounding countryside are obtained, and the immediate surroundings are very beautiful in their sylvan and semi-savage rudeness."²⁶



Figure 8: Webster's Falls. This is typical of views in *Art Work* which portray the aesthetic qualities of the natural environment in Hamilton and vicinity. There are 19 photographs of sites along the Niagara Escarpment in the book.

The presence of nature in the city is evident in Figure 9, which shows two views of tree-lined East Avenue in the southeast part of the city, and Figure 10, which depicts Inglewood, a Gothic Revival mansion and its ten-acre estate nestled at the base of the escarpment immediately south of the city centre. Once again architecture is a manifestation of personal wealth and success. In 1899 East Avenue was part of a recently developed middle-class suburb and Inglewood was the

residence of John Stuart, president of the Bank of Hamilton.

Throughout its pages *Art Work* ascribes little significance to the economic order of the city. This is clearly evident in two panoramic “bird’s-eye view” photographs, one of which is shown in Figure 11. This view, looking over the Durand neighbourhood toward the city centre and the harbour beyond, gives almost no indication that Hamilton was a leading industrial city at this time. The outstanding feature of this photograph is clearly the mosaic of residences and trees. Significantly, not one of *Art Work*’s photographs depicts manufacturing establishments. The relationships between humanity and nature is symbolically drawn full circle with two photographs depicting scenes in Hamilton Cemetery. One of these cemetery scenes shows the monument marking the grave of George Hamilton, the city’s founder, suggesting both a link to the city’s historic legacy and ties with nature. This affinity for the natural environment was a product of contemporary values and culture. Weaver describes the Hamilton Association for the Advancement of Literature, Science and Art (founded in 1857) as being “...a local expression of the Victorian passion for natural history.”²⁷

Completing the aesthetic order of nature in *Art Work* is the portrayal of the built environment. A wide variety of architectural styles in both public and private buildings is represented. Among these styles are Romanesque (City Hall, the YMCA, and the Canada Life Building), Gothic Revival (St Paul’s Presbyterian Church, shown in Figure 12), Greek Revival (Central School), and Italianate (General Hospital and the Drill Hall). Many of the buildings depicted had been recently constructed, while others, such as Central School, the Sun Life Building, and three churches had been built in the 1850s. The collage of architectural styles and vintages that characterized the urban landscape provides the reader with a sense of architectural order and diversity which



Figure 9: East Avenue from Stinson Street and East Avenue from Main Street. Several photographs in Art Work contain photographer Cochran’s personal stamp. His residence is in the centre of the bottom picture.

Table 1:
*Activities described in the text of Hamilton:
The Birmingham of Canada.*

Type of activity	N	%
Industry*	20	27.0
Wholesale*	13	17.6
Finance/banking*	8	10.8
Hotel/restaurant*	8	10.8
Retail*	8	10.8
Transportation*	4	5.4
Education	4	5.4
Newspaper*	3	4.1
Public service	2	2.7
Social organizations	2	2.7
Miscellaneous	2	2.7
	74	100

*Economic activities

Table 2:
*Activities described in the text of Hamilton:
The Birmingham of Canada.*

Type of activity	N	%
Wholesale/retail*	28	19.9
Private residence	25	17.8
Industry*	22	15.6
Church	14	9.9
Panorama/street scene	12	8.5
Education	11	7.8
Financial*	8	5.7
Public building/place	7	4.9
Recreation	7	4.9
Transportation	3	2.2
Charity	2	1.4
Club/association	2	1.4
Non-urban setting	0	0.0
	141	100

*Economic activities



Figure 10: View on James Street South. This Gothic Revival mansion, known as Inglewood, was built in the 1850s. It is thought to have been designed by William Thomas, architect of St. Lawrence Hall and St. Michael's Cathedral in Toronto.

Table 3:
*Photographic content of Art Work
on Hamilton*

Type of activity	N	%
Wholesale/retail*	3	2.9
Private residence	10	9.8
Industry*	0	0.0
Church	11	10.8
Panorama/street scene	11	10.8
Education	8	7.8
Financial*	8	7.8
Public building/place	15	14.7
Recreation	6	5.9
Transportation	5	4.9
Charity	0	0.0
Club/association	1	0.9
Non-urban setting	24	23.8
	102**	100

*Economic activities

** There are 100 photographs; two of them depict two specific buildings, each in a different category, thus N = 102.



Figure 11: Bird's-eye View, City of Hamilton. This panoramic view gives virtually no indication of the city's industrial character. Inglewood (see Figure 10) is shown partially hidden by trees in the lower left of the picture.

mirrored that of nature and contributed to the quality of life in the city.

Completing the portrayal of the aesthetic order of the city is the manner in which people are depicted in *Art Work*. Numerous scenes suggest an almost leisurely pace of life, one of the benefits of industrial capitalism enjoyed by the upper class. Figure 13, for example, shows activity at the Royal Hamilton Yacht Club on Hamilton Beach. In fact recreation and leisure activities are the subjects of six photographs including golfing, boating, and an afternoon at the racetrack. Photographs showing children playing on sidewalks and people strolling along downtown streets reinforce the following description of Hamilton's populace: "Its working people are well paid, enjoying the happy mean between wealth and poverty; and its homes are homes of comfort and great average happiness."²⁹

Clearly this description does not apply to all of Hamilton's citizens, as it completely ignores the ill-effects of industrialization on the conditions of the working class. There are, for example, no photographs depicting working-class housing and activities. In fact, it is proudly noted that "there are no squalid haunts of poverty..." which was clearly a gross exaggeration.³⁰ Perhaps *Art Work* was produced to assuage the conscience of the upper class. Photographs depicting charitable institutions such as the Asylum for the Insane, the Orphans' and Aged Women's Home, and the House of Refuge stand as examples of the benevolence of the privileged class toward those who were less fortunate. The content of *Art Work*, while directed at and experienced by only one segment of Hamilton's population (the elite), clearly portrays a very different landscape, in terms of both elements and essence, from that depicted in Birmingham.

Conclusion

What, then, do these sources tell us about the character of Hamilton at the end of the



Figure 12: St Paul's Presbyterian Church. Built in the 1850s, this edifice is one of Hamilton's most outstanding structures. The spire is regarded as the finest in Canada. Curiously the text of Art Work claims that "there are in the city no church edifices remarkable for size or architectural beauty." (See note 28.)



Figure 13: Royal Hamilton Yacht Club House - Hamilton Beach. This is an example of the several photographs in Art Work depicting the leisure activities of the elite. Hamilton Beach was the location of many summer cottages belonging to some of the city's wealthiest families.

19th century? Clearly all three items discussed here stand as visual evidence of the elements that comprised the city's landscape at this time. The accuracy of the evidence provided by the map can be verified in fire insurance atlases and other sources. Beyond this, however, visual sources provide evidence regarding the essence or meaning of the landscape in which individual and class experiences took place. The symbolism and meaning of *Art Work*, for example, could not be inferred easily (if at all) from the more traditional, quantitative sources available to the urban historian. Thus visual sources can be useful in that they enhance our understanding of past landscapes and their meanings. At a more general level these sources are indicators of the spirit of the age. As Olsen suggests, "Now that the very survival of the city has been called into question, a heightened awareness of pleasures that persist in some of them can only make us more perceptive as urban historians, more grateful as city dwellers."³¹

As was noted above, use of such visual records requires that the researcher be aware of their inherent limitations. Such records, of course, do not stand alone and should be studied in conjunction with other sources. Furthermore, the artists and photographers were selective in what they chose to portray (or not portray) and how it was portrayed for the intended audience. Thus what is being interpreted has, in fact, already been interpreted by the artist or photographer. Since the sources discussed here were promotional in nature, it is to be expected that the city would be presented in a favourable light. Such selectivity and distortion reflect the biases of individual artists, photographers, and publishers. They also reflect those things that were important to the wider populace at that time. A severe misrepresentation of the facts would certainly have diminished the popularity (and sales) of the book or map. By extension, grossly inaccurate renderings would also affect the ability of those responsible for their production to earn a living.

In modern cities the concrete and glass towers are symbolic of wealth and the ascendancy of the corporate elite in the post-industrial society. So, too, the factories, churches, and domestic buildings of the 19th century were manifestations of the rise of industrial capitalism. Qualitative sources, such as those described here, afford an opportunity to understand and appreciate landscapes and urban experiences of the past through the eyes of contemporary observers.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

- ¹ *Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada* (Hamilton, 1893): 14.
- ² W. H. Carre, *Art Work on Hamilton*, (Hamilton, 1899): 1.
- ³ *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, ed. D. Meinig (New York, 1979): 6.
- ⁴ D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985): 187.
- ⁵ See D. Mattison, "In visioning the City: Urban History Techniques Through Historical Photographs," *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine*, 13 (1984).
- ⁶ 1893 (*Hamilton, Ontario*) Entered According to Act of Parliament of Canada in the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety-Three by Toronto Lithographing Company, Toronto, in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture.
- ⁷ Two editions of *Birmingham* were published, the first in 1892 and the second in 1893. There are minor differences between the two. All references to *Birmingham* in this paper are based on the 1893 edition.
- ⁸ G. Nader, *Cities of Canada, Volume Two: Profiles of Fifteen Metropolitan Centres* (Toronto, 1976): 244.
- ⁹ See J. Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History* (Toronto, 1982) and R. L. Gentilcore, "The beginnings: Hamilton in the nineteenth century: in M. J. Dear, J. J. Drake and L. G. Reads ed. *Steel City: Hamilton and Region*, (Toronto, 1987): 99-118.
- ¹⁰ R. D. Roberts "The changing patterns in distribution and composition of manufacturing activity in Hamilton between 1861 and 1921" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, McMaster University, 1964): 63.
- ¹¹ *Ibid*: 63.
- ¹² Gentilcore: 118.
- ¹³ R. L. Gentilcore and C. G. Head, *Ontario's History in Maps* (Toronto, 1984): 238.
- ¹⁴ M. F. Fox "Birds-Eye Views of Canadian Cities: A Review," *UHR* 1 (1972): 38.
- ¹⁵ J. Reys, *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America: Lithographs of Towns and Cities in the United States and Canada, Notes on the Artists and Publishers, and a Union Catalog of the Work, 1825-1925* (Columbia, 1984): 65.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid*: 67.
- ¹⁷ This is another instance of artistic licence being invoked. The map clearly shows the incline railway at Wentworth Street despite the fact that it did not begin operation until August 1895, two years after the date of the map. Its inclusion is, in all likelihood, based on the fact that construction had been proposed in 1893, if not earlier.
- ¹⁸ See Note 7.
- ¹⁹ *Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada*: 27.
- ²⁰ *Ibid*: 65.
- ²¹ *Ibid*: 14.
- ²² J. Goss, "The Built Environment and Social Theory: Towards an Architectural Geography," *Professional Geographer* 40 (1988): 392.
- ²³ See the bibliographic note in *Art Work on Toronto*. Originally published by W. H. Carre 1898, reprinted by Blantyre Books, Toronto, 1984.
- ²⁴ P. Lambert, "Photographic Documentation and Buildings: Relationships Past and Present," *Archivaria*, 5 (Winter, 1977-78): 65.
- ²⁵ Roberts: 3.
- ²⁶ *Art Work on Hamilton*: 15
- ²⁷ Weaver: 77.
- ²⁸ A. McKay, *Victorian Architecture in Hamilton* (Architectural Conservancy of Ontario, The Hamilton Niagara Branch): 13-14. (See Figure 12). The quote in the caption for Figure 12 comes from *Art Work on Hamilton*: 10.
- ²⁹ *Art Work on Hamilton*: 15.
- ³⁰ The quote is from *Art Work on Hamilton*: 16. For a more accurate assessment see M. Doucet, "Working Class Housing in a Small Nineteenth Century Canadian City: Hamilton, Ontario, 1852-1881" in *Essays in Canadian Working Class History*, ed. G. S. Kealey and P. Warrian (Toronto, 1976): 83-105.
- ³¹ D. J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris and Vienna* (New Haven and London, 1986): 311.