

4.241 The Making of Cities

Down Here at The Locus of Disappearance:
100 East Hastings St. Block & The Carnegie Community Centre

Urban Artifact 1: *The Block of 100 East Hastings Street*

& for those smoking crack
beside railroad tracks of uselessness
to derail a birthplace renovated into exile¹

On April 5, 2023, merely five months after Ken Sim was sworn in as Vancouver’s new mayor, police constables and public services workers had shut down the stretch of East Hastings Street between Main and Columbia (The 100 Hastings Street Block) in an attempt to “bring East Hastings encampments to a close.”² A fleet of city compactor trucks swooped to the curbs where tent structures were set up, trashing, and taking away what are otherwise the only means of sheltering for many Downtown Eastside residents.³ The decampment operation, Sim claims, is justified out of the ongoing concerns for fire safety, building access, and urban beautification and is being carried out through an empathetic approach.⁴ Yet, in Vancouver’s April 14th press release, the sheer magnitudes of eviction and dispossession were celebrated as if they were a waste-management miracle – as 2,500 kilograms of *garbage removed daily*.⁵



Fig. 1 Traffic Camera showing the Blockade at East Hastings Street Outside of Carnegie Centre (Image by City of Vancouver. In “East Hastings Closure In Effect As City Brings ‘Encampment To A Close,’” by Anytime Vancouver, April 5th, 2023.)

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It was hardly the first time that City of Vancouver mobilizes the narrative of neighborhood improvement against its own Downtown Eastside - a tenacious neighborhood that was one of the city's first turfs, before bearing an ongoing history of systematic impoverishment and stigmatization for over half a century. The Southwest corner of the Hastings & Main intersection, where settlers occupied as the city hall until 1929, has since then been haunted by the exact settler-colonial desire that incorporated Vancouver on *xʷməθkʷəy̓əm* (Musqueam), *sk̓wxwú7mesh* (Squamish) & *səlilwətał* (Tsleil-Waututh) lands in 1886.⁶ The contemporary logic of Downtown Eastside revitalization, as the Canadian writer Amber Dean aptly points out, indeed “echoes nineteenth-century rationale for colonizing [Vancouver.]”⁷ Citing geographer Neil Smith, Amber argues that the myth of urban frontier, positing the inner-city working class outside of the public sphere, bespeaks the disproportionate dehumanization of DTES residents who are “frequently categorized as “urban poor / low-income / working class *and* Indigenous.”⁸

When the dismantled shelters and confiscated belongings of people living in the Hastings encampment are being tallied by weight rather than being indexed by name, such dehumanizing mechanism is the most salient: “[the tenants are] seen as less than social, a part of the physical environment.”⁹ Like bags of waste disappearing into the void of trash compactors, tented shelters, manifesting “wasted lives” in the eyes of law enforcement, must be forced into disappearance.

In the case of the April 14th city report, the flattening of shelters and personal properties needed for subsistence into quantifiable amounts of material waste further renders the unhoused individuals as an *unfixed* class of urban residents. Downtown Eastside's media representation is nothing short of references to waste – documentary films, urban myths, and contemporary art¹⁰ have all contributed to its predominant and stigmatized image - a neighborhood mournfully

troubled by addiction, violence, and mental health crises. The choice to inhabit the streets, then, is not conceived by the bystanders as an effect of larger, systemic failures and planned displacements. To simply end up on the sidewalks of East Hastings Street alludes to a fatalistic individualism of wrongdoing. A series of oblique turns which lead to a “wasted life” in dire need of benevolent support from a city to whom those conditions were enacted upon in the first place. Images of waste, as Amber Dean contends, operates cunningly in conjunction with those that portray the neighborhood as a social void:

The logic goes something like this: because “waste: is non-productive, in economic terms, it is easily rendered as nothing, and therefore nothing *there*. This is kind of (indisputably capitalist) logic is thoroughly bound up with the Enlightenment principles of “progress,” those taken-for-granted markers of triumph and success that are in turn thoroughly immersed in the logics of imperialism and colonization.¹¹

The notion of waste implies that the possessions of the campers are of little value and disposable – therefore, their lives “transient and mobile.”¹² Between the denial of property ownership and the voidance of the street lies not only an agenda to eject “those supposedly transient and mobile lives” from the urban center, but also “a sense that [their] lives are less valuable, less grievable, and therefore less worthy of attention or concern if they are disappeared.”¹³

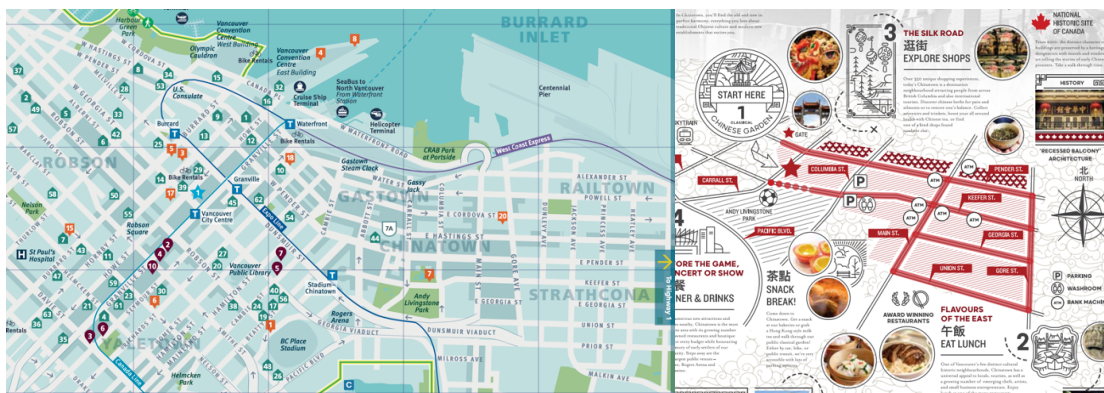


Fig. 2 (Left) Destination Vancouver Tourist Map Showing the Downtown Eastside Area, omitting the neighborhood’s name. (Map by Destination Vancouver)
Fig. 3 (Right) A Walking Tour of Vancouver’s historic Chinatown. (Map by Chinatown Business Area Improvement Association)

Take a glimpse at the up-to-date official tourism guide of Vancouver’s Downtown Peninsula, and one would notice that amid the clear demarcation between different neighborhoods, the name Downtown Eastside has, indeed, disappeared. The omission is not a one-off cartographic mistake either: Flipping through a constellation of formal as well as informal informational maps furnished for tourists and newcomers to the city that are produced across different times, Downtown Eastside’s geographic area is always interpreted as either a part of Chinatown, Strathcona, or simply as the periphery of Downtown. On Chinatown Business Improvement Area Society’s diagrammatic Walking Tour Map, East Hastings is not even drawn as a street, while the blocks north of East Pender Street are simply rendered as patches of maple leaf texture, delineating them as uncharted territories of irrelevancy. Meanwhile, on Vancouver Police Department’s Patrol District Map, Downtown Eastside and its policing scope are distinguished from other parts of the area with abundant clarity:

District Two includes the neighbourhoods of Strathcona, Grandview-Woodlands, Hastings-Sunrise, and the Downtown Eastside. Officers focus on problem-oriented policing – identifying people, premises, and areas that are [using] a lot of police and emergency provider resources.¹⁴

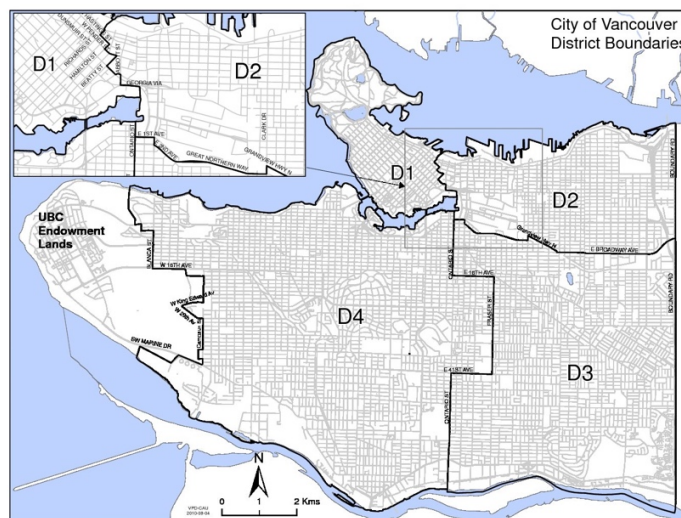


Fig. 4 City of Vancouver District Boundaries, 2010. (Vancouver Police Department)

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To be sure, the boundary between Chinatown and Downtown Eastside has historically been and remains political.¹⁵ For over a century ago in 1907, an anti-Asian riot had provoked the tensions between the white urban poor and the Chinese migrants. With support from conservative trade unionists and politicians, a group of mobsters whose jobs have been undercut by cheaper Chinese and Japanese labor rallied to the city hall just behind the 100 Hastings Block's east end, sabotaging Chinese-owned properties, and businesses along their way.¹⁶ Yet, It was also in the same location ten years later that white and middle-class women in BC gained suffrage,¹⁷ where the Chinese community struggled for basic human rights in the 1920s,¹⁸ and where in 1935, the striking relief camp workers organized before embarking on the freight train for the "On-To-Ottawa" Trek.¹⁹ All had happened before the block had gain its own name. "Skid road" was the generic, derogatory term that the locals frequently called the area during the Post-War years, reflective of a historical amnesia conditioned by the city's political and economic gravitation towards the West End between the two wars.²⁰

It was not until the late seventies when the blocks on East Hastings Street gained political traction through a series of campaigns ran by the Downtown Eastside Residents Association fighting for de-stigmatization and establishing an infrastructure for mutual aid. The name Downtown Eastside was arduously earned, and its removal from city maps speaks to an open rhetoric to void the neighborhood of social vitality. Vancouver poet Bud Osborn writes about Downtown Eastside's rhetorical disappearance in his 1998 poem, *Raise Shit*:

[...]
still our words and presence create
a strange and profound and strong unity
as in memory of
the long hard nerve-wrecking battles we've fought
for the Carnegie centre
[...]

for zero-displacement by-laws
against hotel evictions
[...]
and for our very name
the downtown eastside
removed from city maps
the most stable community and neighborhood in
vancouver
suddenly disappeared
but recovered through struggle
our name reclaimed
but the meetings
*the pressure*²¹ (emphasis added)

Osborn's verses acutely articulate the urban processes that manifest Downtown Eastside as the site of struggle. Against municipally sanctioned violence which incessantly summons the illusion of absence to rationalize displacement, Osborn also notes that such resistance is rife with undulating uncertainties, undermining twists, and chronic distrust when the residents contend with the city bureaucrats. Just as collapsing the Downtown Eastside image into one of desolation does a disservice to the community, it is equally crucial to not blatantly valorize its image into one of homogeneous community activism. To borrow the words of American sociologist Avery Gordon:

Complex personhood means that all people (albeit in specific forms whose specificity is sometimes everything) remember and forget, are beset by contradiction, and recognize and misrecognize themselves and others. Complex personhood means that people suffer graciously and selfishly too, get stuck in the symptoms of their troubles, and also transform themselves. Complex personhood means that even those called "Other" are never never that.²²

Social life configured by the 100 Hastings St block, then, is never a straightforward history of resistance against Vancouver's modernist urban planning, which frequently stages itself around the dichotomy between the landlord and the evicted. To realize that such urban lives are

complicated and are cases of living with “modernity’s wounds” is more the urgent amidst Vancouver’s escalated decampment operations.²³ Contending with Downtown Eastside’s urban history through the lenses of “complex personhood,” one starts to unravel how the City of Vancouver employs the volatile logics of disappearance to fabricate cultural stigma that renders the 100 East Hastings block devoid of hope for a systemic change.

The tactic of disappearance, as Avery Gordon postulates, runs the smoothest with complicated situations because it “is an exemplary instance in which the boundaries of rational and irrational, fact and fiction, subjectivity and objectivity, person and system, force and effect, conscious and unconscious, knowing and not knowing are constitutively unstable.”²⁴ In other words, as a form of state power, disappearance is designed to convert the state of vulnerability into grounds for accusation by breaking down the distinction between what is certain and “in-doubt.”²⁵ By deploying calculated moments of obstructions and absences in how the Downtown Eastside is being represented, or not represented at all, the city of Vancouver is able to meticulously manipulate the neighborhood’s visibility to become in tune with its own desires. The convenient omission of Downtown Eastside on the maps is only a signal transmitted from Vancouver’s apparatus of disappearance that unremittingly fabricates the 100 East Hastings Street block its micro-geography of blame, with dire consequences on the ground.²⁶ The block, in turn, is toggled invisible as the city presents its image to the wider public while being accused of stigmatizing the image when its invisibility is called into question.

How is Downtown Eastside’s regime of disappearance being challenged? Let us a closer look at the traffic camera image of the decampment blockade. On the top left corner are two neo-classical columns in a pseudo-Tuscan pillar order. They appear to be made from smooth, pale white marble blocks, radiating an eerie aura that illuminates the curbs and raised stairs surround

its base even under broad daylight. An almost ghostly presence. The two pillars are seen in many of the video and photo documentations of the decampment process, often only partially visible and serve as the backdrops for the contested ground between the encampment tenants, housing activists, police officers and public service workers.

The ghost, when conceived as a social figure rather than a spiritual one, is often the “empirical evidence” which suggest that a haunting is happening, and haunting is a way of knowing “what has happened [in the past and] is happening” in the present.²⁷ A way of knowing that is necessarily inarticulate and spiraling, but disrupts what is clearly disappearing precisely because “the ghost is primarily a symptom of what is missing.”²⁸ Such a way of knowing, then, does not merely evoke the past as nostalgia. Rather, haunting becomes a form of cultural work that “renews the past, refiguring it as a contingent ‘in-between’ space, that innovates and *interrupts the performance of the present.*”²⁹

The two columns are a part of the Carnegie Community Centre, a historical building that has served the neighborhood for over a hundred years through its various incarnations and remains as a vital piece of social infrastructure in Downtown Eastside. It is perhaps the only sanctuary space that the Downtown Eastside citizens find refuge, no matter if they are a seasonal worker in the Hastings Mill in the 1920s taking a moment to read in the common room, or a resident of Single-Room-Occupancy hotel accessing a drug-and-alcohol free space in the 1990s.³⁰ In the epilogue of this essay, I attempt to write a (necessarily abbreviated and fragmented) micro story about the Carnegie Library Building through the lenses of its two pillars. How has an artifact of corporate philanthropy, born into falling behind the city’s expectations, firmly anchored itself and the community around it in Vancouver’s locus of disappearance?

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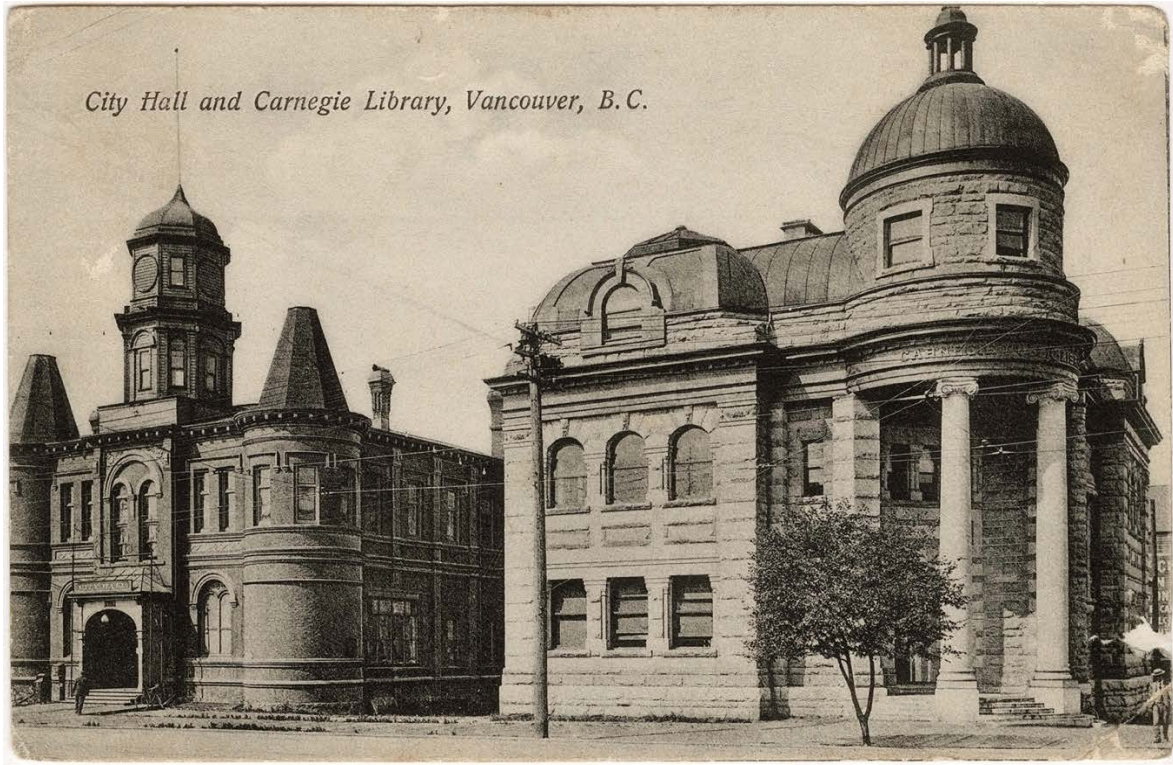


Fig. 5 A Postcard showing The Newly Built Carnegie Library next to the old City Hall, 1910s. Print: collotype on postcard; 9x14 cm. AM1052 - City of Vancouver Archives Postcard Collection. (AM1052-: AM1052 P-254)

Urban Artifact 1.5: 401 Main Street, The Carnegie Community Centre

[...]
and that's just it
the necessity for heeding
the prophetic blast and rallying cry
delivered by Larry Campbell
now the provincial coroner
in the Carnegie Centre last summer
"raise shit" he said³¹

The stone blocks that would stack against each other to resemble the shape of two neo-classical columns started their lives on Gabriola – a small island in the Strait of Georgia where the *Snunéymux* (Snuneymuxw) people have traditionally lived. They were brought to the intersection of Hastings Street and Westminster Avenue (now Main Street) alongside with exquisite, stained glasses manufactured in Toronto, granite stones from a local quarry, a time-capsule, and many, many bookshelves.

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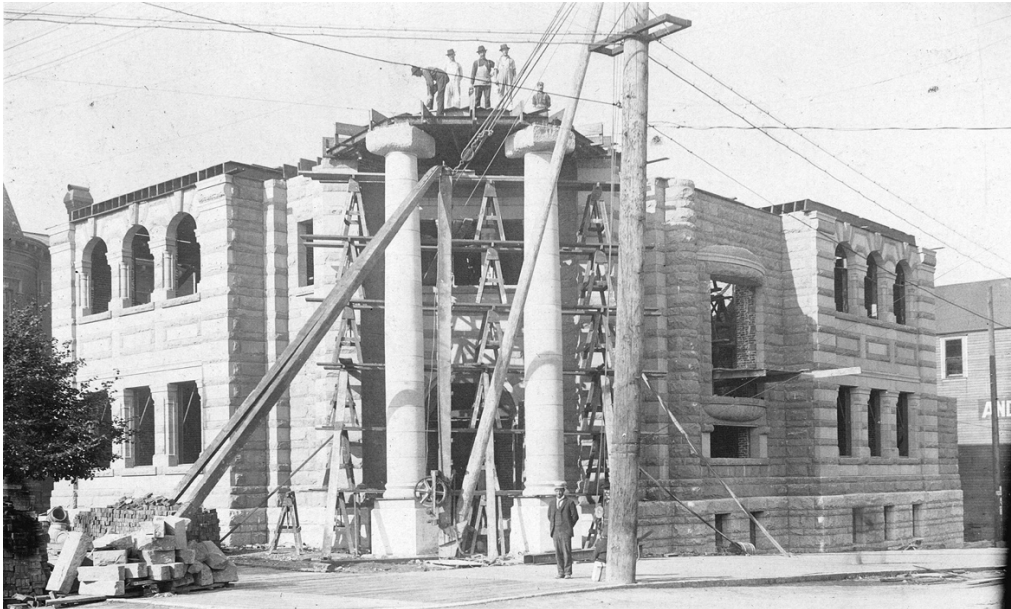


Fig. 6 Carnegie Library Under Construction, 1902. Silver Gelatin Print; 13x21 cm. AM1376 - City of Vancouver Archives Photographs Collection.
(AM1376-: CVA 1376-27)

As a collection of artifacts imported and procured through extraction, they were each endorsed with very different colonial symbolisms. The stained glass had vivid portraits of great British poets like John Milton and Edmund Spenser,³² reflecting the British Empire's desire to align its periphery "in line with colonial ideals and imaginings."³³ The two neo-classical columns, meanwhile, were the materialization of a slight identity crisis. The city of Vancouver had requested Ottawa in 1901 to provide them with a library similar to that of the \$20,0000 endowment that Andrew Carnegie had just turned into a public library.³⁴ Vancouver's request came in during a time where Andrew Carnegie was trying to figure out his approach to philanthropy.³⁵ The Carnegie Libraries built before 1901 adopted a paternalistic approach, where the grandeur of Romanesque towers and decorated columns in the style of H.H. Richardson symbolized the benevolence of the donor.³⁶ The Carnegie Libraries built later, however, embraced Carnegie's sense of protestant liberalism, where his secretary James Bertram had optimized the designs for circulation efficiency and adopted the trendy neo-classical style where magnificent columns declared it as a publicly-accessible institution.³⁷

The two columns at Vancouver's Carnegie Library, however, were styled in a period where neither Bertram nor Carnegie himself were certain of the future of their gifts. The corporation's confusion shone through the shape of the columns. The shafts retain the proportions of a Corinthian pillar while sitting on Tuscan bases and shaped in Tuscan order. The capitals are taken from the Ionic order but too small. Nonetheless, the two columns appreciated their presence in that street corner embracing Hastings Street, accompanied by the city hall, the Pantages Theatre, and the Woodward department store.

The two columns were stationed like two young sentries when in 1949, two men from Seattle walked into the doors of the vestibule. They were library consultants from the Seattle

Public Library and University of Washington, who had advised the Vancouver Library Board to shut down the over-crowded, largely working-class library at once.³⁸ Then, in 1954, two men from New York City walked up the slightly littered stairs, making the same judgement.³⁹ They made another visit in 1957, reiterating their recommendation. The columns were scared that they will be dismantled soon. After all, the city hall had moved away from it, and the small businesses had also avoided being near them – even the Vancouver Public Library, the original tenant of the Carnegie Building, had migrated westwards to its new location on Robson Street.⁴⁰

One way that they mitigate such fear was through the accompany of the frequents and the locals, whom continued to hangout beneath them on the stairs when the library was closed in the Summer of 1933, occupied the room right above them in 1935 for a hunger strike, and just accompanied them while walking up and down East Hastings Street, during the building's prolonged closure as a piece of defunct social infrastructure.⁴¹



Fig. 7 Photograph showing men on the steps of the Carnegie Library Building, 1972. Silver Gelatin Print; 13x20 cm. AM336 – Vancouver Museums and Planetarium Association Fund. Image reproduced by the permission of City of Vancouver Archives. (AM336-S3-2-: CVA 677-948)
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The two columns stood placidly during the years of Carnegie Building's abandonment, until a headline article from the *Vancouver Sun* in 1968 citing Tom Campbell, Vancouver's mayor at that time: "I can't see any use for a derelict building, I want to see a modern highrise office building or hotel in its place."⁴² The columns are intimidated – it seems that the time of demolition has, after decades of threats disguised as professional consultation, has come.

Expect that their time did not come. One day in February 1976, the Carnegie Building's long-shut doors were unlocked by Bruce Eriksen of the Downtown Eastside Residents Association, who has been lobbying a left-leaning city councillor for years over breakfast to establish a community center in the space of that building.⁴³ A committee meeting were held that day to secure marginal city funding for renovation.⁴⁴

Eriksen would later paint all over the boards that covered the building to publicly criticize the Canadian Government's plan to fund the transformation of the once industrial Granville Island into a shopping district, in order to leverage federal funding for the Carnegie Building – "\$6 million for Granville Island. \$0 for the Carnegie."⁴⁵ Carnegie Building reincarnated into the Carnegie Community Centre which was only possible with immense efforts from the DERA. The doors opened to the residents first in 1980. The two slender columns, finally at ease, were jubilantly holding a banner that says, "Grand Opening: January 20th," which was written with a spray paint can.

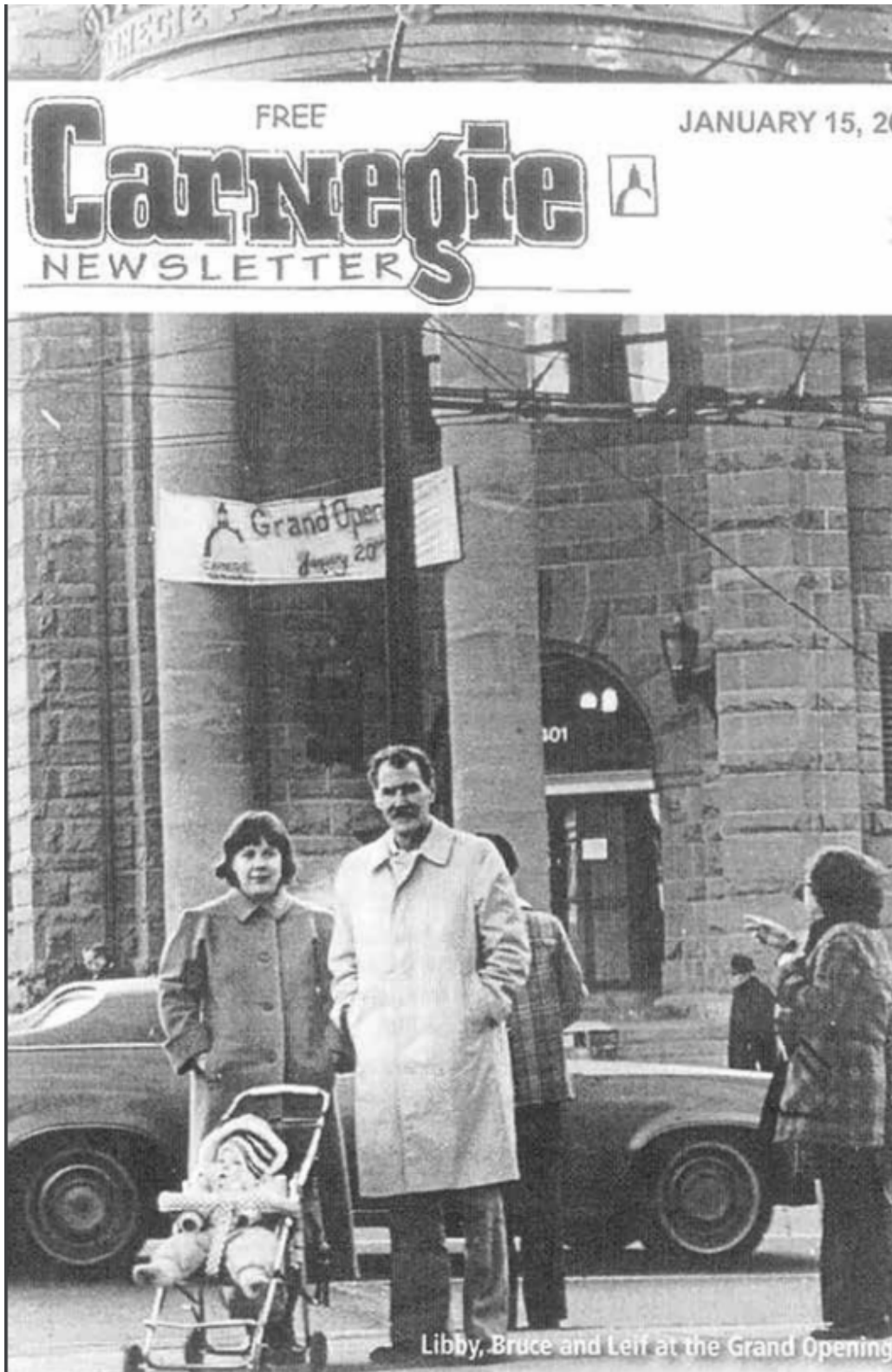


Fig. 8 Libby, Bruce and Leif at the Grand Opening. (“From the Immemorial,” in *40 Years 1980-2020: The History of Carnegie Community Centre*, 2020)

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Notes

¹ Bud Osborn, “Down Here,” in *Keys to Kingdoms* (Vancouver: Get To The Point Publishing, 1999), 17.

² Ken Sim was sworn in as the 41st Mayor of Vancouver on November 7th, 2022.

³ The city claims that at least 18 individuals have claimed shelter status since the decampment process on their April 14th. Update here: <https://vancouver.ca/news-calendar/city-of-vancouver-provides-update-on-east-hastings.aspx>. For further reading, see Nono Shen and Ashley Joannou. “Tents and suitcases go into garbage compactors as Vancouver encampment is dismantled.” *Toronto Star*. April 5th, 2013. <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2023/04/05/cp-newsalert-vancouver-asks-police-to-end-tent-encampment-in-downtown-eastside.html>

⁴ “Mayor Ken Sim on decampment of Hastings Street,” *Global News* online, April 11, 2013, <https://globalnews.ca/video/9615288/decampment-of-hastings-street>

⁵ “City of Vancouver provides update on East Hastings,” City of Vancouver website, April 14, 2013, <https://vancouver.ca/news-calendar/city-of-vancouver-provides-update-on-east-hastings.aspx>

⁶ Ironically, after the great fire just a few months after Vancouver’s incorporation in 1886, its first city hall was temporarily located in a tent just a few blocks away from the Hastings tent city. To see a brief history of Vancouver’s various city hall iterations, visit Vancouver Heritage Foundation, <https://placethatmatter.ca/location/original-city-hall-sites/>

⁷ Amber Dean, “The Present Pasts of Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside,” in *Remembering Vancouver’s Disappeared Women: Settler Colonialism and the Difficulty of Inheritance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 47.

⁸ Amber Dean, 48.

⁹ Neil Smith, “Preface,” in *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city* (London: Routledge, 1996), xvi.

¹⁰ A good example that deploys the imagination of emptiness as a means to experiment with alternative representations of Downtown Eastside is Stan Douglas’s long-form photography, “Every Building on 100 West Hastings,” produced in 2001.

¹¹ Amber Dean, “The Present Pasts of Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside,” in *Remembering Vancouver’s Disappeared Women: Settler Colonialism and the Difficulty of Inheritance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 47 - 48.

¹² Amber Dean, 49.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ “About VPD – Organization,” Vancouver Police Department, accessed May 21st, 2023, <https://vpd.ca/about-the-vpd/organizations-divisions/>

¹⁵ Nono Shen, “Vancouver’s Chinatown in a generational divide over Ken Sim’s election as mayor,” *CBC News* online, October 21st, 2022, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/sim-chinatown-vancouver-mayor-1.6625717>. In this article, Shen cites Vincent Tao, a Downtown Eastside activist and organizer with the Vancouver

Area Network of Drug Users (VANDU) who has expressed suspicion about Ken Sim's plans to "revitalize" Vancouver's historic Chinatown.

¹⁶ Larry Campbell, Neil Boyd and Lori Culbert, "The Early Years," in *A Thousand Dreams: Vancouver's Downtown Eastside and the Fight for its Future* (Vancouver: Grey Stone Books, 2009), 7.

¹⁷ "Women's Suffrage," Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, accessed May 22nd, 2023, <https://www.leg.bc.ca/wotv/pages/womens-suffrage.aspx>

¹⁸ Larry Campbell, Neil Boyd and Lori Culbert, "The Early Years," in *A Thousand Dreams: Vancouver's Downtown Eastside and the Fight for its Future* (Vancouver: Grey Stone Books, 2009), 10.

¹⁹ Ann Curry, "A Grand Stone Lady: Vancouver's Carnegie Library," in *The Library as a Place: History, Community, and Culture*, ed. John E. Buschman and Gloria J. Leckie (Westport, Connecticut: Libraries Unlimited, 2007), 67.

²⁰ The shifting center of power was also largely influenced by the adjacent municipality, South Vancouver's decision to amalgamate itself with the city in 1929, thus moving Vancouver's cartographic center.

²¹ Bud Osborn, "Raise Shit," in *Keys to Kingdoms* (Vancouver: Get To The Point Publishing, 1999), 30.

²² Avery F. Gordon, "Her Shape and His Hand," in *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 4.

²³ Avery F. Gordon, 5.

²⁴ Avery F. Gordon, "the other door, it's floods of tears with consolation enclosed," in *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 97.

²⁵ Gordon, 125 – 126.

²⁶ For further readings on the notion of "geography of blame," see Paul Farmer, *AIDS and Accusation: History and the Geography of Blame* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993) Here, I added the prefix "micro-" to indicate how the accusation of the 100 East Hastings Street block as an entrenched zone of hazards operates on the neighborhood level in a manner similar to that of how geographies of blame operates on a transnational scale.

²⁷ Avery F. Gordon, "Her Shape and His Hand," in *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 8.

²⁸ Avery F. Gordon, "the other door, it's floods of tears with consolation enclosed," in *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 63.

²⁹ Homi K. Bhabha, "Introduction: Locations of Culture", in *Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 10. Emphasis added.

³⁰ Ann Curry, "A Grand Stone Lady: Vancouver's Carnegie Library," in *The Library as a Place: History, Community, and Culture*, ed. John E. Buschman and Gloria J. Leckie (Westport, Connecticut: Libraries Unlimited, 2007), 63, 73.

³¹ Bud Osborn, “Raise Shit,” in *Keys to Kingdoms* (Vancouver: Get To The Point Publishing, 1999), 33-34.

³² “N.T. Lyon at Carnegie Centre,” *Institute for Stained Glass in Canada: Documenting Canada’s 19th, 20th and 21st Century Stained Glass Heritage*, accessed May 23rd, 2023, <https://www.glassincanada.org/our-building/carnegie-community-centre/>

³³ Amber Dean, “The Present Pasts of Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside,” in *Remembering Vancouver’s Disappeared Women: Settler Colonialism and the Difficulty of Inheritance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 44.

³⁴ Ann Curry, “A Grand Stone Lady: Vancouver’s Carnegie Library,” in *The Library as a Place: History, Community, and Culture*, ed. John E. Buschman and Gloria J. Leckie (Westport, Connecticut: Libraries Unlimited, 2007), 63.

³⁵ Abigail A. Van Slyck, “GIVING: The Reform of American Library Philanthropy,” in *Free to All: Carnegie Libraries & American Culture 1890 – 1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 32 – 40.

³⁶ Abigail A. Van Slyck, 12.

³⁷ Van Slyck, 34.

³⁸ Ann Curry, “A Grand Stone Lady: Vancouver’s Carnegie Library,” in *The Library as a Place: History, Community, and Culture*, ed. John E. Buschman and Gloria J. Leckie (Westport, Connecticut: Libraries Unlimited, 2007), 65.

³⁹ Ann Curry, 68.

⁴⁰ Curry, 70.

⁴¹ Curry, 70.

⁴² Larry Campbell, Neil Boyd and Lori Culbert, “The Early Years,” in *A Thousand Dreams: Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside and the Fight for its Future* (Vancouver: Grey Stone Books, 2009), 12.

⁴³ Larry Campbell, Neil Boyd and Lori Culbert, “We Call It the Downtown Eastside,” in *A Thousand Dreams: Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside and the Fight for its Future* (Vancouver: Grey Stone Books, 2009), 30.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

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