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A Second Look at Memoryscapes
Community and Deindustrialization in a Different Kind of Industrial Town, Haileybury, Ontario

William Hamilton

Article abstract

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A SECOND LOOK AT MEMORYSCAPES

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by William Hamilton

Walking tours are becoming an increasingly popular medium for public history. In addition to guiding people through a physical environment they also animate it by presenting stories about its past. Notions of place and heritage crystallize in the minds of the walking tourist to form a landscape of meaning and history, namely, a memoryscape. Scholars such as Toby Butler, David Pinder, and John Wylie explain that because memoryscapes offer a more "nuanced experience of places" they can effectively foster a sense of place attachment.[1] However, it appears that the emphasis upon *how* attachment is generated has overshadowed question of *why* a specific connection to a place is being cultivated.[2] While the discussions about how memoryscapes can connect people to places have resulted in considerable inter-disciplinary dialogue it has generated little in the way of critical reflection.[3] Although the literature that considers walking tours as a *method* is important, it may be equally valuable to examine memoryscapes as a *source.* That is, to consider them as politically-constructed arguments about issues such as community and place that express the perspectives and goals of those who created them. In the same vein, as any other form of public history, memoryscapes are shaped by human ambition and can be used to interpret the past and

[2] For example, British sociologist Adam Reed and American ethnographer Peter Magolda have detailed the ways in which walking tours connect people on a University Walking Tour and tour of London places but do not search for any political meaning. Peter Magolda, "The Campus Tour: Ritual and Community in Higher Education," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 31:1 (January 2000). Adam Reed, "City of Details: Interpreting the Personality of London," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 8:1 (March 2002).

[3] Those that do exist are generally testimonies or they are usually written by those who created them. For example: Robert Kristofferson, "The Past is at Our Feet: The Workers' City Project in Hamilton, Ontario," *Labour/ le Travail* 41 (Spring 1998).

frame the meaning of historical change.

One vantage point from which to approach the politics of memoryscapes is to question how they are being used to foster 'community.' As historians John Walsh and Steven High explain, community is an "imagined reality" that is constantly being recreated, and this process is always very political.[4] The fact that it becomes even more contested in the context of deindustrialization has been illustrated by the recent scholarship that shifts the focus away from the economic fallout of factory closures towards interrogating the cultural meanings of economic change. In this vein historians such as Jefferson Cowie, Joseph Heathcott, Sherry Lee Linkon, John Russo, and High have demonstrated that the loss of industry represents "a fundamental change in the social fabric on a par with industrializa-

Abstract

The Haileybury was formerly a regional suburb in the wilderness for a region's industrial elite. In the face of consistent deindustrialization, however, the city is now faced with reinventing itself. Using Haileybury as a case study, this article argues that memoryscapes (specifically walking tours) must be understood as politically constructed interpretations of community and place. Like other forms of public history, tours present political arguments about themes such as community, identity and future possibilities as well as diverging perspectives. Like museums, music and art, memoryscapes are a venue of public memory though which deindustrializing places struggle with what it means to live in a place now that the industries that used to define it are closed. Consequently, these interpretations can be examined as sources to investigate the issues of community, identity, place and the politics of memory, even in non-industrial spaces and in larger regional, national or even international contexts.

__Résumé:__ Haileybury était jadis la banlieue verte de l'élite industrielle de la région. Aujourd'hui, cependant, dans une période de désindustrialisation, la ville se trouve dans la nécessité de se réinventer. Utilisant le cas de Haileybury comme exemple, cet article présente les memoryscapes (en particulier les tours pédestres guidés) comme interprétations politiquement construites de communauté et de lieu. Comme d'autres formes d'histoire publique, ces tours exposent des arguments politiques sur des thèmes tels que communauté, identité, possibilités d'avenir, et perspectives divergentes. Comme les musées, la musique, et l'art visuel, les memoryscapes sont des lieux de mémoire publique utilisés par les communautés pour se comprendre à une époque où les industries qui les définissaient dans le passé sont en voie d'extinction. Ainsi, nous pouvons examiner ces interprétations pour étudier les problèmes de communauté, identité, lieu, et la politique de la mémoire, même dans les espaces non-industriels et dans des contextes plus vastes: régionaux, nationaux, et même internationaux.

tion itself."[5] The result is a "seismic shift" in local culture that brings previously standing gender roles, class hierarchies, and common sense social discourses into question.[6] As this literature demonstrates,

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[4] John Walsh and Steven High, "Rethinking the Concept of Community," *Historie sociale / Social History* 17:64 (1999), 256, 272.

[5] Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott, "The Meanings of Deindustrialization," in *Beyond The Ruins: The Meanings Of Deindustrialization,* ed. Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott (London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 6.

[6] Steven High and David Lewis, *Corporate Wastelands: The Landscapes and Memory of Deindustrialization* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2007), 6. Sherry Lee Linkon and John Russo, *Steel-Town U.S.A.: Work and Memory in Youngstown* (Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 2002).

deindustrializing places are forced to re-invent themselves and the issue of community is central to this transformation.[7]

The existing international scholarship on the subject is largely confined to iconic places that were defined by the performance of industrial labour.[8] In response to this Cowie and Heathcott remind us that deindustrialization is not just the story of "emblematic places" like Youngstown, Ohio.[9] It is instead a "much broader, more fundamental historical transformation."[10] Although their call to widen the scholarship refers to other manufacturing centers, I want to try and take up their challenge by examining a different type of industrial community and spaces that were never sites of industrial production. This is important because the culture and social relations that were set by industry gave rise to places other than working mans' towns and to communities other than blue collar associations. The wealth and social relations that were generated by production also created the upper class suburbs of industrial cities. They even manufactured entire towns such as Haileybury, which was the regional suburb in the wilderness for Northeastern Ontario's industrial elite.[11]

Haileybury is located approximately 500 km north of Toronto on Highway 11 and is roughly half way between North Bay and Iroquois Falls. Situated on the western bank of Lake Temiskaming, Haileybury is very close to Quebec, which claims the lake's eastern shores.

Haileybury is as much a product of Northeastern Ontario's industries as the working-class mining towns of Cobalt, North Cobalt, Timmins, and Kirkland Lake that surround it and against which it defined itself. The decline of industry in this region caused a 'seismic shift' for Haileybury's local culture since the wealthy mine manager demographic that came to define it has largely disappeared. The impact of this shift upon Haileybury's sense of self brings to mind British geographer Doreen Massey's observation that

> places, in fact, are always constructed out of articulations of social relations (trading connections, the unequal links of colonialism, thoughts of home) which are not only internal to the local but which link them to elsewhere. Their 'local uniqueness' is always already a product of wider contact; the local is always already a product in part of 'global' forces.[12]

When it comes to studying how Hailey-

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[7] High and Lewis, *Corporate Wastelands,* 31. Thomas Dunk, *It's A Working Man's Town*. 2nd ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), xiii-xxiv. Linkon and Russo, *Steel-Town U.S.A.*

[8] For example: High and Lewis, *Corporate Wastelands*. Linkon and Russo, *Steel-Town U.S.A.* Cowie and Heathcott, "Meanings of Deindustrialization."

[9] Cowie and Heathcott, "Meanings of Deindustrialization." 2.

[10] *Ibid.*, 2.

[11] Please note that in this paper North Eastern Ontario refers to the 'triangle,' of North Bay, Sudbury and Timmins because this is how the walking tours in question define this region. Anthony Downs, *Opening Up the Suburbs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973). Leo F. Schnore, 'The Socio-Economic Status of Cities and Suburbs,' *American Sociological Review* 28, no. 1 (February 1963): 76-85. Sarah A. Lichtman, "Do-It-Yourself Security: Safety, Gender, and the Home Fallout Shelter in Cold War," *America Journal of Design History* 19:1 (2006): 39-55.

[12] Doreen Massey, "Places and their Pasts," *History Workshop Journal* 39:1 (1995), 183.

bury is struggling with deindustrialization, it is essential to consider its identity in part as the product of trans-local relations. This is because its memoryscapes construct arguments about its future by appropriating Northeastern Ontario's dominant regional creation myth. This seems to suggest that the messages and politics behind some memoryscapes may only become apparent when they are considered within a broader network of social relations.

Using Haileybury as a case study, this article argues that memoryscapes must be understood as politically constructed interpretations of contested issues such as community and place. The first walking tour to be examined, *A Guide to Historic Haileybury*, was written by local historian Peter Fancy in 1993. It attempts to preserve the existence of a class-defined 'Haileybury community' at a time when its vitality was threatened by regional industrial decline. Haileybury had been left without its signature mine managers and forced to merge with Bucke Township, a working-class place that Haileybury once defined itself against. Fancy distances the Haileybury community from Bucke (which contains the town of North Cobalt) through his comparison of the 'shackling impact' of the latter's industrial past with the former's bright future. In fact, his appropriation of Northeastern Ontario's dominant foundation myth ensures that North Cobalt becomes a 'stand in' for all of this region's mining towns and makes Haileybury the centre of this area's history. This also serves to confirm that Haileybury is not affected by the fallout of industrial loss while presenting it as the only place in the region with a prosperous future, specifically as a bedroom community. The tour's utility at promoting this construction of community caused it to be reprinted in 2004 when the provincial government forced Haileybury to merge with two of its local rivals, the town of New Liskeard and Dymond Township.

While Fancy views mining as representative of the past, Haileybury's Rock Walk Park tour presents an alternative vision for the future in which Northern Ontario returns to mining. It does this by arguing that the linear boom-then-bust perspective on this industry should be replaced by a more cyclical view that is mindful of the ever-fluctuating economic context that defines whether a mineral can be extracted at a profit. The fact that the two tours disagree on the role that mining will play in Northern Ontario's future underscores the fact that memoryscapes are political constructs and that they can provide commentaries upon contested issues, including topics that are central to the process of adapting to industrial loss. In the case of Haileybury this includes the definition of community and the question of what a now declining industry means in the present and for the future.

In addition to industrial sites, the memoryscapes studied here also engage with a variety of other spaces including mansions and colleges. With this in mind the final section of this article attempts to build upon the scholarship that examines the cultural meanings of deindustrializa-

tion. These works have studied the role industrial landscapes play in discussions concerning community and the collective future. This paper attempts to contribute by illustrating that public spaces can also serve as focal points for these highly charged debates.

The Home of Northeastern Ontario's Upper Class

Much of the scholarship on Northern Ontario is written with the assumption that this region is comprised exclusively of single industry towns.[13] In addition to being historically inaccurate, this approach hampers the study of identity and place.[14] This is because it tends to erase the class divisions that existed between northern communities. The social distance that separated Northeastern Ontario's 'working man's towns' from its more upper class areas reflected the rigid local social dynamics of this region's single industry communities where "you were a mine owner or you were a worker."[15] In addition to defining these places in the past, these class-based differences

continue to inform local notions of identity and place today.

The expansion of permanent Euro-Canadian settlement into Northeastern Ontario was largely motivated by a desire to extract the region's primary resources. The incredible impact that these industries had upon the social, cultural, political and economic characteristics of these towns meant that many came to be defined by the labour that was performed there. For example, North Cobalt, Cobalt, Timmins, Kirkland Lake and Sudbury became "mining towns" since they were places where precious metals were extracted in large quantities for a profit. If these towns represented blue collar work, then places like Haileybury signified the upper class of industrial society, a stratum comprised of mine managers, engineers, and prospectors. Local historian and College Instrumentation professor Brian Dobbs explains that by carving out this niche for itself the town became a regional suburb since

> Haileybury soon became a Mecca for prospectors, miners, and wealthy financiers. Grand hotels, beautiful homes, and a flurry

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[13] Examples include: Rex Lucas and Lorne Tepperman, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown: Life in Canadian Communities of Single Industry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). H.V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines & Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941* 2nd ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974). Abel, Kerry. *Changing Places: History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007). C. Wallace and R. G. Ironside, "Canadian Northern Settlements: Top-Down and Bottom-Up Influences," *Human Geography* 82:2 (2000): 103-114.

[14] Many Northern towns, such as Dymond or Haileybury, were never mining, forestry or agricultural centers.

[15] For explanations specifically related to the Haileybury, Timmins, Cobalt, North Bay area please see: Nelles, *Politics of Development,* 108-109, 120-21, 132, 140, 147-48, 151, 156-79. Abel, *Changing Places,* 43-49, 56-60, 73, 77-78, 94-96, 107-108, 114, 119, 124, 107, 119. Laurel Sefton MacDowell, *'Remember Kirkland Lake' The Gold Miners' Strike of 1941-42.* The State And Economic Life Series, edited by Mel Watkins (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 51. Ralph Victor Deline, "The Growth and Social Development of the Township of Teck (Kirkland Lake 1906-1951)" (M.A. Thesis, Laurentian University, 1999),17.

of businesses sprang up to meet the growing population. Haileybury became the place to meet, the town to do business, and a good community to raise children.[16]

This exclusivity was reinforced by a by-law that prevented people from carrying a lunchbox, which identified them as working class, in public.

Haileybury became 'the place where the wealthy chose to live' in part because it was a space where they could fulfill the social requirements of a 'proper British gentlemen'.[17] C.C. Farr was Haileybury's founder and planner and the defining feature of his vision for this town was to use it to transplant British notions of class and respectability into Northeastern Ontario.[18] The literature regarding ethnicity and morality in Northern Ontario suggests that 'British' was equated with 'superior' or 'upper class.'[19] Further, the vast majority of this region's mine managers were relatively well educated Anglo-Americans who viewed themselves as having a higher social standing than the largely immigrant working classes they employed. Taken together, this suggests that Haileybury was attractive as a place where the wealthy captains of industry could live like "proper British gentlemen."[20]

Living in Haileybury meant physical, cultural, social, and residential seclusion for mine managers from the working classes they employed. Attractive in its exclusivity, this town of approximately 5,000 was home to thirty-five millionaires. It also attracted many of the mine managers who are the central figures in the dominant local foundation myths of Northeastern Ontario's mining towns.[21] In addition to being credited with founding individual mines and towns, these people are also seen as being the driving force behind this region's history.[22]

One outcome of the concentration of this region's wealth in Haileybury was that it did not develop a working-class landscape of head frames and assay offices

[16] Brian Dobbs, *Ghosts of Haileybury* (Cobalt: Highway Book Shop, 1997), 32.

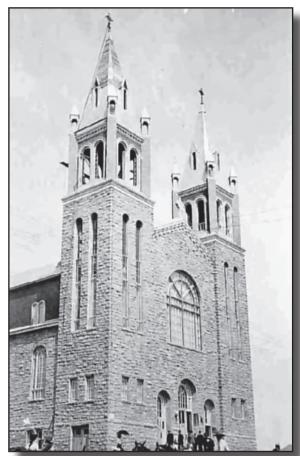[17] Shane Peacock, "The Big Leagues In The Northern Bush" *Beaver* 78:1 (1998), 3.

[18] Farr was also motivated by a fear that the French population around Lake Temiskaming would come to dominate the region. Peter Fancy, Vol. 1, *Temiskaming Treasure Trails 1907-1909* (Cobalt: Cobalt Highway Bookshop, 1993), 118. Abel, *Changing Places*, 42.

[19] Karen Dubinsky and Franca Iacovetta, "Murder, Womanly Virtue and Motherhood: The Case of Angelina Napolitano, 1911-1933," *Canadian Historical Review* 71:2 (1991). Karen Dubinsky, "Sex and the Single-Industry Community: The Social and Moral Reputation of Rural and Northern Ontario," in, *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929,* ed. Karen Dubinsky (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). Nancy M. Forestell, "Women, Gender, and the Provincial North," in *Northern Visions: New Perspectives on the North in Canadian History,* ed. Kerry Abel and Ken S. Coates. (Peterborough: Broadview Press, LRD, 2001).

[20] Forestell, "Women, Gender, and the Provincial North."

[21] Although this is the dominant narrative in many of Northeastern Ontario's single industry towns it is was, and remains, very contested.

[22] For examples see: Michael Barnes, *Fortunes In The Ground: Cobalt, Porcupine & Kirkland Lake* (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co, Limited, 1993), Peter Fancy, *Temiskaming Treasure Trails*, Volumes 1-5. (Cobalt: Highway Book Shop 1992-1995). Dobbs, *Ghosts of Haileybury*. MacDowell, *'Remember Kirkland Lake'*.

Figure 1: Haileybury's Holy Cross Roman Catholic Cathedral in 1913. Photo courtesy of the Haileybury Heritage Museum and is used with permission.

Row' [See Figure 1].[23] An island of wealth in an otherwise working class region, Haileybury drew people from neighbouring communities. As reporter Shane Peacock explains, "If you wanted to sit and talk to a respectable gal over a shot of whiskey, you had to go to Haileybury."[24]

The Great Fire of 1922 that destroyed ninety percent of Haileybury's built environment is as central to the town's identity as notions of cosmopolitanism [See Figure 2].[25] It is the turning point of all accounts of the past and the local museum and two monuments have been created to commemorate it. Although many of the European-style hotels and other landmarks that helped to distance this upper class community from its working class neighbours were burnt to the ground, Millionaires' Row was spared. With this noted exception, the fire "left [Haileybury] as an empty shell" and the town spent the next twenty-five years on the verge of bankruptcy.[26] After the fire the town was left to ponder, "can Haileybury keep itself alive?" as it suffered through the 1930s and 1940s.[27]

In addition to these local conditions, Northern Ontario's regional situation proved to be detrimental to Haileybury's recovery. The rich mines of nearby com-

like many other towns in the provincial Northeast. Instead, the horizon of this "town where money overflowed to satisfy all the pleasures of life" was marked by grand cathedrals, stock exchanges, theaters, social clubs, "a big-time race track," and most importantly the mansions of its millionaires, which were clustered together in an area known as 'Millionaires'

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[23] Dobbs, *Ghosts of Haileybury,* xiii. Peacock, "The Big Leagues," 4.

[24] Peacock, "The Big Leagues," 3.

[25] Dobbs, *Ghosts of Haileybury,* 110.

[26] *Ibid.,* 110. Peter Fancy, vol. 5, *Temiskaming Treasure Trails, 1934-1945* (Cobalt: Cobalt Highway Bookshop, 1995), 76-89.

[27] Fancy, vol. 5*, Temiskaming Treasure Trails,* 76.

Figure 2: Haileybury's Holy Cross Roman Catholic Cathedral in 1922 after the Great Fire. Photo courtesy of the Haileybury Heritage Museum and is used with permission.

munities like North Cobalt, that once provided a steady flow of wealth, began to close in the 1930s.[28] Despite experiencing a short boom at the beginning of the Second World War, Northern Ontario's mining industry began to slow down during the 1940s. The Lend-Lease Act and the exodus of enlisting miners accelerated this process.[29]

The provincial Northeast continued to sink into economic recession as more mines closed during the 1950s and 1960s.[30] This industrial decline stemmed the flow of the millionaires that had once defined Haileybury and brought notions of community into question across the region. For one, economic hardship forced many of the small towns that were created in the more prosperous past to consider merging. Even places that saw themselves as rivals, such as New Liskeard, Dymond and Haileybury, pondered amalgamation during the 1970s.[31] Although Haileybury remained comparatively wealthy it was forced to merge with Bucke Township in 1971.

Haileybury surged briefly in the

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[28] Peter Fancy, vol. 4, *Temiskaming Treasure Trails, 1923-1933* (Cobalt: Cobalt Highway Bookshop, 1995), xi.

[29] The 1941 Lend lease Act was detrimental to the Canadian mining industry because it stipulated that Britain and Canada could purchase war material from America on credit. Before 1941 Canada was formerly purchasing war material from the United States using gold. William Alexander Binny Douglas and Brereton Greenhous, *Out Of The Shadows: Canada in the Second World War, Revised Edition* (Toronto: Dundurn Press Limited, 1995), 48-51. Judy Fudge and Eric Tucker, *Labour Before the Law: The Regulation of Workers' Collective Action in Canada, 1900-1949* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001), 225. Stan Sudol, "Inco's Sudbury Nickel Mines were Critical During World War Two," *Republic Of Mining* 3. MacDowell, 'Remember Kirkland Lake', 39-45.

[30] Joe Mavrinac, "Kirkland Lake," in *At The End Of The Shift: Mines And Single Industry Towns In Northern Ontario,* ed. Matt Bray and Ashley Thomson (Toronto: Dundurn Press Limited, 1992), 15.

[31] "Regional Government," *Temiskaming Speaker*, September 10, 1970. "Ontario Town's and Villages Conference at New Liskeard," *Temiskaming Speaker,* July 11, 1970.

1980s as part of a regional economic upswing that can largely be accounted for by a temporary increase in social service jobs.[32] However, this was only a memory by the 1990s. As one newspaper editorial explained, the "prosperous years of the 1980s have lured us into a false security. We came to believe that the father state takes care of all. Discovering this to be different came to be a shock."[33] Haileybury was left to reevaluate its identity and place in Northeastern Ontario during the 1990s as it searched for an alterative source of economic prosperity. The only sure thing, it seemed, was that the period before 1922 was the town's "glory years."[34]

Maintaining the Haileybury Community in an Age Without Mine Managers

The search for a new economic foundation to replace the closing mines

and mills of Northeastern Ontario appears to have been in full swing by the early 1990s. Tourism featured prominently in the economic recovery plans of many northern communities. A primary concern for these heritage projects was the need to compete against other centers to attract a portion of the North's limited tourist revenue.[35] It appears that the need to compete by offering an attractive local experience led to the presentation of historical narratives that emphasized, and possibly exaggerated, the uniqueness of individual communities across Northeastern Ontario.[36]

The necessity to showcase the uniqueness of Haileybury's history and the desire to maintain it as a separate community proved to have been mutually reinforcing in *A Guide to Historic Haileybury*. This 57-page self-guided walking tour was written by local historian Peter Fancy and

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[32] Statistics Canada, Agricultural Division Research Paper, Ray D. Bollman, Roland Beshiri, Verna Mitura, *Northern Ontario's Communities: Economic Diversification, Specialization and Growth*, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2006). The report also demonstrates that from 1981-2001 employment in primary sector jobs decreased by 47 percent, manufacturing jobs decreased 23 percent and, metal manufacturing decreased by 43 percent. (15) They also assert that wages for industrial employment fell as an increasing proportion of jobs were classified as 'unskilled.' (4-5).

[33] The sense of betrayal is common among northern communities, "perpetual indigent, is deeply humiliated" "Beyond the Great Divide," *Highgrader* (January -February 1997), 31-32. "The End of Work," *Temiskaming Speaker,* 27 January 1993. "Building Boom In Haileybury," *Temiskaming Speaker,* 9 January 1969.

[34] Alexander Herkes Telfer, *Worth Traveling Miles to See: Diary of a Survey trip to Lake Temiskaming, 1886,* ed. Lorene DiCorpo (Toronto: Published by Natural Heritage, 2004), 23.

[35] In fact, tourism was seen as a 'top five' concern for Haileybury's economic future. Town Council, *Town Council* (Temiskaming, Ontario: 22 November 2004). In fact, so much research, development, and energies were put into tourism that for New Liskeard to develop its Clay Belt Museum it did not have to conduct very much research because it drew on the existing regional studies regarding feasibility, etc.. Darlene Wroe, "Feasibility Study for the Development of the Claybelt Museum Concept," *Temiskaming Speaker*, January 20, 1993. "Temiskaming Trails has Golden Potential," *Temiskaming Speaker,* 3 February 1993. "Tourism Conference to be Held," *Temiskaming Speaker* 14 April 1993. "Luring Tourism to Timmins," *Temiskaming Speaker* 23 March 1993. Darlene Wroe, "A Little Tour," *Temiskaming Speaker* 24 August 2005. "Haileybury looking at a Service Board, Tourism and Development," *Temiskaming Speaker* January 1998.

[36] Cobalt stresses the uniqueness of its mining history in its tourist pamphlets. Englehart Museum

first published in 1993. Fancy has also authored the very informative five-volume *Temiskaming Treasure Trails* collection that traces the towns' history from 1904 to 1945. Sponsored by the Temiskaming Abitibi Heritage Association, *A Guide to Historic Haileybury* begins by establishing Haileybury as a unique community by separating it from the 'other places' within its political boundaries. Fancy states that "because their recent merger has made Haileybury as broad as its Bucke Township limits, this booklet guides you beyond central town streets to related North Cobalt, Moore's Cove, and West Road histories [which together comprise Bucke Township]."[37] Introduced in this way, Haileybury becomes central to the narrative while Bucke Township is defined as a separate, if related, place. Interestingly, Haileybury merged with Bucke Township twenty-two years before this tour

was published. A central issue in the discourses that surrounded this merger was whether Haileybury could retain its distinct identity after it merged with a place that it formerly defined itself against.[38] Thus, the presentation of the merger as 'recent,' speaks less to chronology and more to Fancy's need to establish Haileybury as a distinct community existing within a wider set of political boundaries.

The defining characteristic of Haileybury is class, and the houses of Millionaires' Row are its definitive landmarks. For example, they are used to introduce and conclude the small tour that was created by the Town of Haileybury. Millionaires' Row is also the defining feature of the tour penned by Fancy. *A Guide to Historic Haileybury* introduces the reader to the area via the lakefront. This landscape is used to present the town as a regional centre and it is accompanied

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emphasizes its uniqueness as a 'rail town' http://www.museumsnorth.org/. Timmins also presents itself as a distinctive place since here people can experience an industrial past. "Unlike some Northern Ontario cities, Timmins is not ashamed of its economic dependence on resource-based industries. While some communities downplay their historical dependence on the mining industry, Timmins appears to relish its relationship with the sector. Children play ball and adults play golf in the shadow of the headframe of the Hollinger Mine. The city's major tourist attraction is one of the mine's former stopes. Headframes are visible throughout the area, and old ore cars dot a number of the thoroughfares. Timmins has embraced its past." "Timmins is Building Upon its solid base in Mining," *Northern Ontario Business,* 1 October 1991. Kirkland Lake's *Hockey Heritage North* attraction. With regards to Kirkland Lake's overall approach see: The Petryna Group, *The Kirkland Lake Economic Development Strategy: Executive Summery*, Commissioned by the Corporation of the Town of Kirkland Lake (Kirkland Lake: Town Hall, 1991) and Kirkland Lake Economic Development Advisory Committee, *Why Kirkland Lake Summit, 'Key Directions for Building Town Spirit'* ed. Lorrie Irvine (Kirkland Lake: 1999), and The Corporation of the Town of Kirkland Lake, *Museum: Statement of Purpose including Mission and Mandate* (Kirkland Lake: Museum of Northern History at the Sir Harry Oakes' Chateau) Ted Irvine, interviewed by William Hamilton. *An Interview With Ted Irvine,* Hockey Heritage North, 4 June 2008. Montreal: Concordia University

[37] Peter Fancy, *A Guide To Historic Haileybury* (Cobalt: Highway Book Shops, 1993), 2.

[38] A central issue of the transition from the smaller political units of New Ontario was that of local autonomy and whether Haileybury could remain as the 'district town'. Haileybury Council under fire for tax and amalgamation" *Temiskaming Speaker,* September 10, 1970. "Regional Government" *Temiskaming Speaker,* 10 September 1970. "Dymond-Harris-New Liskeard talk about amalgamation, *Temiskaming Speaker,* 11 June 1970 "Haileybury queries Amalgamation," *Temiskaming Shores,* 10 September 1970.

Figure 3: One of the houses on Millionaires Row that is included in the Guide to Historic Haileybury walking tour as it stands today. Photo by the author.

by appropriate stories such how farmers from Quebec used to come to there to sell their produce and how this town was home to the North's first water taxi.[39] After Haileybury's position as a regional hub is established the tour moves inland to narrate several of the town's main streets. Here the emphasis shifts to the stores, theaters, and hotels that stood before the 1922 fire. This largely non-existent built environment is used to show that Haileybury was the cosmopolitan center of the North.

After the reader is introduced to Haileybury in this way, the tour concludes with Millionaires' Row [See Figure 3]. This is the part of the tour where the past is engaged the most directly since these homes are presented as the 'authentic' Haileybury. In fact, Fancy states that because they have "remained untouched by the 1922 fire, a stroll along its [Millionaires' Row] length stirs your sense of past Haileybury times."[40] A detailed history of each of the fifty 'historic' homes is provided and the message here is clear: the 'historical truth' of Haileybury can be found in the homes of its former millionaires.

The fact that class is the defining feature of the Haileybury community and is

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[39] Fancy, *A Guide To Historic Haileybury,* 4.
[40] *Ibid.,* 31.

used to separate it from its working-class neighbours is brought to fruition in the conclusion of Fancy's tour, which compares Haileybury to North Cobalt, the nucleus of Bucke Township. While he speaks *to* Millionaires' Row, Fancy speaks *about* North Cobalt. That is, he engages with the former in an active and personal way while the latter is discussed at arm's length in a more detached manner. In fact, some sites from North Cobalt that Fancy discusses in the text of *A Guide to Historic Haileybury* are not included on its map.[41]

By the time one of Fancy's walking tourists enters North Cobalt they already 'know' that it is a place removed from the Haileybury community. According to this guide, traveling into North Cobalt is to journey through time and space into a backwater place. The tone of the tour changes as well. Instead of discussing authentic homes or a built environment that was tragically removed by fire, the discourse turns to the ruins of a past that serve no purpose in the present. This can be seen in how the landscape of North Cobalt is characterized by things like "two large concrete pillars" that formerly "supported a bridge" [See Figure 4].[42]

Defining North Cobalt's industrial landscape as being disconnected from the present is central to the tour's messages regarding how having a mining

heritage impacts the future possibilities of northern communities. In the heart of North Cobalt the past and present meet in a comparison of Haileybury and North Cobalt's prospective futures. Fancy explains that:

> East along Lakeview Avenue across the Mill Creek bridge was St. Joseph's College site where many people survived the 1922 Fire. Demolished in the 1930s, the building left its cement sidewalks and flower garden to walk and smell today. Continuing on past a mine shaft house alone in the southern field, this Lakeview way steers up and around the distant bend into the middle of the 1907 mining ground, overgrown today. Up the right-hand hillside among the rocks are concrete remains of Cobalt Contact's 1920s concentrating mill; to the left its tailings waste spilled grey among the poplar groves.[43]

While St. Joseph's College is technically in Bucke Township, as an instiution of higher learning it is more in tune with Haileybury's identity. Further, by associating it with the Fire, the axis of Haileybury's grand narrative, St. Joseph's College comes to represent Haileybury. In this comparison Fancy argues that the upper-class values and heritage of Haileybury have left it something enjoyable that it can build upon. This is contrasted with North Cobalt, which is seen as being unable to 'recover' from its industrial past. This working-class community faces en-

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[41] Examples include the Cobalt Contact and the Agaunico Mine (p.51).

[42] Fancy, *A Guide To Historic Haileybury,* 50

[43] *Ibid.,* 51 Another story through which Fancy argues that mining is no longer economically possible or part of the region's future: "Paul Morisette, ten years later he started the diamond drilling company which persisted until ageing mines lost their desire to search for ore." (*Ibid.*, 19). Another example, of mining being the past is the "Dickson Creek Mining Company [that] started work in 1915 – down one hundred feet in search of silver high-grade never found." (*Ibid.*, 53).

Figure 4: The remains of North Cobalt's industrial landscape as they are featured in A Guide to Historic Haileybury walking tour. Photo by the author.

vironmental damage and a built environment that is disjointed from the present.

The assertion that a mining past shackles towns and ultimately prevents them from being able to adapt or reinvent themselves in the present is increasingly apparent in the way that Fancy's tour portrays Northeastern Ontario as a whole.[44] This region is constructed as an area that is comprised of only mining towns, with Haileybury as the singular exception. As a result, Fancy's discussion of North Cobalt sets the interpretive framework for the tour when it mentions peripheral places such as Timmins and Kirkland Lake.

Presenting the rest of Northeastern Ontario as being comprised of only mining towns also reinforces this region's dominant foundation myth, which places mine managers as the driving force behind the creation of the area's towns and mines.[45] Fancy puts this myth to work by claiming for Haileybury the 'founding fa-

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[44] The notion that industrial landmarks prevent a town from moving forwards is not new, for example, Cape Breton (High and Lewis, *Corporate Wastelands,* 34-35). However, to see this in a place that defines itself in opposition to industrial centers and used to present it's own future is new.

[45] Please note that this myth is very political and contested in both the past and present. For an examination in the context of the 1941-1942 Kirkland Lake Gold Miners Strike, see MacDowell, 'Remember

thers' of the region's blue-collar communities. This includes Noah Timmins and Henry Timmins who are credited with 'founding' Timmins; and Harry Oakes, Ed Hargreaves, and Bill Wright who 'founded' Kirkland Lake.[46] This severs to situate these places in the 'typical single industry town' category exemplified by North Cobalt. Each is presented as being unable to overcome its industrial past. In addition, the appropriation of the dominant narrative by Haileybury precludes the possibility of counter narratives.

The appropriation also includes many 'second tier' characters who are praised for 'opening up' this region for large-scale industry. For example, pioneering figure Walter Little who is credited with connecting Kirkland Lake to the south via roads and railways. Fancy's tour explains that Little was driven to develop Kirkland Lake after he heard rumors that "promised monetary profits to any businessmen willing to risk the daily ups and downs of a new mining camp [Kirkland Lake]" from the prospectors that Haileybury attracted.[47]

Claiming the stars and supporting cast of Northeastern Ontario's dominant foundation myth as products of Haileybury makes it the starting point for these stories. The gold and silver mines may be where the stories end, but Haileybury was their beginning. Since many of these local myths do not define where their great

figures came from, Fancy's appropriation does not conflict with the narratives that towns like Kirkland Lake or Timmins are telling about themselves. Instead, he provides a prelude for a collection of stories that his readers will be will be familiar with. Thus, when *A Guide to Historic Haileybury* evokes this foundation myth it is employing a series of symbols that are readily decoded by its inhabitants.

While Northeastern Ontario's mining towns become the products of Haileybury, *A Guide to Historic Haileybury* does not connect this community to the 'boom-then-bust' fate of single industry towns. Quite the opposite, Fancy argues that despite the uncertainty of mining, Haileybury has always been a haven of stability. For example, he suggests that Hargreaves "had his meat market [in Haileybury]. More of a security it was, he used to say, than gambling with his wife's and children's welfare in Wright-Hargreaves mine ownership at Kirkland Lake."[18] Not having been a mining town, but 'always' a stable island of wealth where the upper class lived, Haileybury's future is not drawn into question by industrial decline. Instead, using the past to contextualize the present in this manner makes it appear natural that "today, Haileybury continues to build on its past role as a bedroom community."[48] This also makes it more attractive for the mid-

Kirkland Lake', 37-64.

[46] Dobbs, *Ghosts of Haileybury,* 35, 51.

[47] Other examples include Jack Cunningham-Dunlop ("one of the most successful mining engineers and executives in the history of the Canadian mining industry," Dobbs, *Ghosts of Haileybury,* 35). and J. A. McKay (The "sales manager for the Northern Ontario Light and Power Company," Fancy, *A Guide To Historic Haileybury,* 37).

[48] http://www.temiskamingshores.ca/htm/historyhail.html

dle class people Haileybury is trying to attract because the town becomes a place where they can live like mythic figures.

Striving to recreate itself as a bedroom community at a time when industrial decline has deprived it of the mine mangers that used to define it, Haileybury is confronting the challenge of deindustrialization in part through memoryscapes. Politically constructed walking tours strive to confirm the continued existence of its upper class community through the rearrangement of political space. The fact that class is this community's defining feature speaks to the importance of analyzing class relations among places that were 'made' by industrialization and highlights the need to expand the deindustrialization scholarship into towns without headframes or smokestacks. Walking tours present arguments about the meanings of place and community and part of their political relevance is tied to the time when they were constructed. Reinserting them into their historic context can help answer questions such as why *A Guide to Historic Haileybury*, which was written by Fancy in 1993, was reprinted in 2004.

The Creation of Temiskaming Shores

A major part of how Northeastern Ontario is continuing to adapt to the changing realities of industrial loss is through amalgamations. In 2004 provincial restructuring forced Haileybury to merge with the neighbouring town of New Liskeard and township of Dymond to form the City of Temiskaming Shores. This city has a population of approximately 10,000 people. Unlike many places in this region, Haileybury, New Liskeard and Dymond are not separated by forests. However, despite the fact that the urban spaces of these towns blend together seamlessly, this amalgamation was a much more serious challenge to the maintenance of Haileybury's sense of community than its pervious merger with Bucke Township.[49]

In addition to occurring on a larger scale, the 2004 merger forced together three communities that had developed strong senses of unique local identity and saw each other as rivals. While Haileybury defined itself against Bucke Township, they also shared mutual ties before they merged.[50] However, the rivalry that separated the places that merged in 2004 was so strong that Haileybury had rejected New Liskeard's proposal to merge in 1970.[51] It also appears that these pre-existing separate identities were nurtured in Haileybury, New Liskeard and Dymond by the heritage apparatuses that developed during in the early 1990s. Each place tended to emphasize its own unique local

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[49] http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/data/profiles/community/Details/Page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1 =3554020&Geo2=PR&Code2=35&Data=Count&SearchText=Temiskaming%20Shores&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom=

[50] It appears that this relationship stems back to the age of industry when North Cobalt's mine managers lived in Haileybury and the miners came to Haileybury for entertainment. "Bucke – Haileybury Plan Recreation Centre," *Temiskaming Speaker*, February 31, 1969. "New Liskeard Council Learns of Bucke – Haileybury Plans", *Temiskaming Speaker,* 16 July 1970.

[51] "Law and Order," *Temiskaming Speaker,* 16 July 1970.

history and a sense of 'historical rivalry' with its neighbours.[52] For example, newspaper articles and editorials that pertain to the 2004 merger were almost always introduced by accounts of very divergent pasts. They were usually prefaced by statements like: "it is well known that there is, and has been keen and sometimes bitter rivalry" between these places that must now overcome "100 years of rivalry."[53] When asked why she was skeptical about the merger in 2008 long time Haileybury resident Marg Arthur explained that:

> I imagine it's the same in many small communities, there's an animosity between the towns, Haileybury, New Liskeard and Cobalt. Cobalt decided not to amalgamate, the year before it won 'Ontario's Most Historic Town', and got money through it and so [they] decided that it would not amalgamate so there on their own. So maybe it will prove to be in several years to be a good move but the transition, it's proved to be painful.[54]

When asked about the existence of animosity today she stated that: "[we have] always, always had it, not as much now, but [there are] still threads."[55]

In fact, people still generally identify themselves as living in Haileybury, New Liskeard or Dymond instead of Temiskaming Shores.[56]

It is interesting that Haileybury used North Cobalt, instead of Dymond or New Liskeard, to establish its uniqueness in the 2004 reprinting of *A Guide to Historic Haileybury*. In addition to the fact that the tour had already been written this way, it appears that North Cobalt was simply the best locality to be used to dramatize the uniqueness of the Haileybury community. As commercial and agricultural areas respectively, Dymond and New Liskeard do not fit into the 'Northern Ontario as mining towns' metahistory that is used to 'prove' the uniqueness of Haileybury. Therefore, not mentioning New Liskeard and Dymond is a very powerful way to protect Haileybury's distinctiveness. This is because it grants the tour's arguments what French philosopher and literary theorist Roland Barthes would describe as an "eternal justification" which has "a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a

[52] See footnotes 35 and 36.

[53] Ernie Fauvelle, interviewed by William Hamilton. *An Interview With Ernie Fauvelle,* Narrator's Home, October 11, 2008. Montreal: Concordia University. "Editorial," *Temiskaming Speaker* 24 September 1970. "The Tri-Towns Overcoming 100 years of Rivalry and Amalgamation," *Temiskaming Speaker,* 27 December 2001.

[54] Margaret Arthur, interviewed by William Hamilton. *An Interview With Margaret Arthur,* Narrator's Home, 14 October 2008. Montreal: Concordia University.

[55] Margaret Arthur, interviewed by William Hamilton, 14 October 2008. This is confirmed by Fauvelle who explains that these places are still seen as being different, for example: "[New Liskeard is] the 'shopping end of town' here [Haileybury] it was more the district end of town where we have the offices for government." in Ernie Fauvelle, interviewed by William Hamilton, 11 October 2008.

[56] For example, Ernie Fauvelle who has lived in Haileybury for several years defines himself as a "New Liskard-ite", Ernie Fauvelle, interviewed by William Hamilton, 11 October 2008. This has persists in online discussions, for example, a contributor by the screen-name of 'pikeybastard' stated that "[I] can't believe there is actually someone else on this from New Liskeard, oh and by the way i refuse to call it 'Temiskaming Shores'" http://www.canadaka.net/forums/ontario-f33/temiskaming-shores-t5759.html

statement of fact."[57]

North Cobalt was also attractive to use as an 'other' because the political context of the 2004 merger was drastically different from the 1971 amalgamation. Whereas Haileybury could politically dominate an under populated and relatively poor Bucke Township, it did not command this type of hegemony in its relationships with New Liskeard and Dymond. These moneyed places are semi-regional shopping centers. Dymond has the only Wal-Mart and mall between North Bay and Kirkland Lake while New Liskeard is home to the University of Guelph's Agricultural Research Station. This balance of power is reflected in the fact that many of Temiskaming Shores' politicians have come from outside of Haileybury. Although Haileybury wanted to assert its unique identity when it was forced to merge with its rivals, it had to be much more covert in doing so.

It is interesting that *A Historic Guide to Haileybury* was useful as a political response to the separate, if analogous, mergers of 1993 and 2004. This suggests that considering issues of historical 'fact' is not always as important as considering how the past is being constructed or how it is being used. Context is provided, or in this case not provided, for a reason and it appears that pondering the silences can be as important as considering what is said. The fact that memoryscapes are interpretations of contested issues suggests that the possibility for divergent views among walking tours exists. In fact, in addition to tabling the town's concepts of community and future, Haileybury's memoryscapes also create spaces for the expression of alternative perspectives concerning the role of mining in Northern Ontario's future.

The North's Return to Mining

Walking tours and the arguments they present are contested, like all forms of public history. This will be illustrated through an examination of the Rock Walk Park memoryscape. While *A Guide to Historic Haileybury* clearly placed mining in the past, the Rock Walk Park memoryscape envisions a future in which this industry will once again support the North. The Rock Walk Park, located beside the Haileybury School of Mines, is composed of two paths that lead walking tourists through a large collection of ore samples. Although there are rocks from across the world, this collection focuses primarily on the provincial North. Each exhibit rests upon a limestone pedestal and is accompanied by an identification plaque [See Figure 5].

Graham Gambles, the parks' Promotional Manager and one of its founders, explained during an interview that the Rock Walk Park is important to this region because:

> It gives kids a chance to look and maybe to get interested in geology, and for Northern Ontario that is where the money is going to come from in the future, we are not going to have any big factories so we are stuck with mining, forestry, and agriculture, and a little

[57] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*. trans. Annette Lavers. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 143.

Figure 5: This is one of the many rock samples and information plaques that are on display as part of the Rock Walk Park. Photo by the author.

bit of tourism, but I don't think that's going to pay too well, that's just a back up for the summer.[58]

While this is not the dominant perspective and the mining industry does appear to have been politically marginalized in many town halls by the new emphasis upon tourism, faith in the return of mining is shared by others in the region. In fact, it is a relatively common theme in the public discourses that concern Northern Ontario's future.[59] As a public presentation of this alternative perspective, the Rock Walk Park provides voice for a competing vision of this region's future.

The Rock Walk Park advocates for a revaluation of how the mining industry is understood. As High notes, the "boom and bust" metaphor "structures our understanding of economic change in the resource hinterland."[60] While High is referring to academic discourses this metaphor is also used by those who live within these places to conceptualize primary resource industries. The Rock Walk Park challenges the linear boom-then-bust storyline by asserting that mining must be framed by the economic context that defines whether a mineral can be extracted at a profit. That is, whether it is classified as ore or waste. As Gambles explains:

> Remember I was telling you that ore is a mineral that you can extract at a profit and if it's not at a profit its called waste? Well this [motioning towards an ore sample] was just west of Kirkland Lake at Esker Park. And they worked on this for a number of years diamond drills said that there was enough gold down there that you could call it ore. So they put in a shaft and did exploratory mining and they found out that 'yea it was in there but it was so convoluted that the grade

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[58] Graham Gambles, interviewed by William Hamilton. *An Interview With Graham Gambles,* Rock Walk Park, 11 October 2008. Montreal: Concordia University

[59] Dave Attwater, "The Trouble with Mining," *Temiskaming Speaker,* 27 January 1993. Seen as regular theme in *Highgrader* Magazine. Gregory Reynolds, "Kinross Goes For Gold," *Highgrader,* (March-April 1996). Nick Stewart, "Shear Numbers Reveal Project Potential," *Northern Ontario Business* 27:4 (February 2007).

[60] Steven High, "Introduction," *Urban History Review* 35:2 (Spring, 2007), 4.

that was coming out was lower than what you could put through a mill and get a profit. That's at 250 bucks an ounce for the gold. Now it is up at 800 dollars. But there's a little problem, this site had been completely bulldozed over, everything was capped. All the machinery and the mine and everything has been removed millions of dollars of exploration material for developing that mine has been eliminated. You can't go back in there and start easily, your going to have to have bucks in order to see it worthwhile even at 800 dollars an ounce. I suspect it is and that somebody is going to go back in there and open it up again. But they're going to have to make that initial investment over because the government said that everything has to be obliterated when you close off

William Hamilton: And that's part of why you made the Rock Walk Tour, right?

Graham Gambles: Yes, that's right.

William Hamilton: And how does that work again?

Graham Gambles: Well, say for example you're a geologist and you come through and take this as an example of ore that was in that particular mine. So guys should start to think, 'Well maybe I should go back in and take a look at that.' If it doesn't open right now there is nothing to say that in one hundred years from now that the price is up at two thousand dollars an ounce, some geologist trained through here says 'I wonder where that old mine is and I wonder if it is possible to get in there?' He's already looked at this rock, he already has an idea of what it is.[61]

This is not an exception since the Rock Walk Park showcases ore samples from across Northern Ontario as 'proof' of the future potential of mining and a challenge to the linear 'boom-then-bust' storyline of

mining and resource towns. This pitch is reinforced by stories about the profits that were made when a previously closed mine was re-examined and ore deposits that were not initially found because geologists did not drill an extra foot when prospecting or were only looking for a single type of ore.[62] On this tour mining is not an industry of the past that prevents places from moving forward. It is instead an industry that is waiting for the economy to shift the boundary between 'waste' and 'ore' with the belief that when this happens what is now waste will be reclassified as ore and mining will become profitable again.

The Rock Walk Park and *A Guide to Historic Haileybury* assign different roles to mining. They each use the past to put forward divergent, politically-motivated arguments about this regions' future and this clearly illustrates that memoryscapes can present conflicting interpretations about issues of critical importance. It also suggests that walking tours and memoryscapes are underutilized sources in the deindustrialization scholarship. Although questions relating to industry are central, deindustrialization is more than an economic process. Consequently, the cultural and political outcomes of industrial loss are being debated in spaces aside from industrial sites.

The Landscapes of Deindustrialization that lay Beyond Abandoned Factories

A recent trend in the international deindustrialization literature that

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[61] Graham Gambles, interviewed by William Hamilton, 11 October 2008.
[62] *Ibid.*

examines the cultural meanings of indus-
trial loss is to subject the industrial land-
scape to careful scrutiny by "reading phys-
ical space as a kind of representation."[63]
It shows that sites such as abandoned
factories are culturally important as bas-
tions of memory and signifiers of place. It
further demonstrates that these areas are
often inserted into the very heart of the
highly political debates that surround
notions of community and collective fu-
ture. However, public spaces can also be
focal points for such dialogue. This is to
be expected since, as geographers, politi-
cal scientists, and historians explain, these
are contested areas that emerge from the
(conflicting) interactions of the values,
ideologies, cultures, hegemonies, and
politics of their societies.[64] Public spaces
in communities seeking to recover from
industrial loss are also part of the process
of deindustrialization and, as such, can
be central to debates about what kind of
places these towns will become. The case
of the sale of public land to Grant Forest
Products is a prime example. This com-
pany is a northern-based multi-national
producer of oriented strand board. Be-

fore it was forced to sell several of its fac-
tories in Canada and the United States
in January 2010, it was the third largest
producer of oriented strand board in the
world and one of Northeastern Ontario's
major employers.[65]

Grant Forest Products was a very
powerful economic force in the provin-
cial North when it approached the newly
created City of Temiskaming Shores in
April 2005. Grant did so in order to re-
quest that the public land surrounding
the Grant Boat House Development be
designated as "surplus," which would al-
low the company to purchase it.[66] The
Grant Boat House is code for the man-
sion of Peter Grant, the company's presi-
dent. The issue of whether Temiskaming
Shores should sell this public land to
Grant was the first major challenge the
new city faced and it came at a time when
the community was beginning to realize
that it had to change. As a newspaper ar-
ticle commenting upon this issue stated:
"[we] can't keep the status quo or the
community will die."[67] As the city moved
into a less prosperous age, this event was
seen as precedent setting. It would deter-

[63] Linkon and Russo, *Steel-Town U.S.A* ., 7. High and Lewis, *Corporate Wastelands*.

[64] Don Mitchell, "The End of Public Space? The People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democra-
cy," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 84:1 (1995), 115. Heikki Patomäki and Teivo Teivain-
en, "Critical Responses to Neoliberal Globalization in the Mercosur Region: Roads Towards Cosmopolitan
Democracy?" *Review of International Political Economy* 9:1 (March 2002), 42-44. Katharyne Mitchell, "Con-
flicting Geographies of Democracy and the Public Sphere in Vancouver BC," *Transactions of the Institute of
British Geographers* 22:2 (1997): 162-79. High and Walsh, "Rethinking the Concept of Community."

[65] Rick Owen, "Grant Forest Products Sold: Georgia Pacific says it will Strive to Maintain Local
Jobs," *Northern News* 13 January 2010. Paul Waldie, "Canada's Largest Home Hits the Market," *The Globe
and Mail,* 12 April 2010.

[66] Town Council, *Special Council Meeting* (Ontario, Temiskaming Shores: Town Hall, 19 September
2006).

[67] Darlene Wroe, "Grant Forests Product's Haileybury Project," *Temiskaming Speaker*, 15 February
2006.

mine how the new government would operate, and ultimately what kind of place the city would become.

This topic was very political since public land was widely regarded as the city's most valuable resource.[68] In fact, ideas circulated that it could be used to create or complement existing tourist attractions as a way to secure future prosperity. The particular parcel of land that Grant was interested in was especially controversial because an archeological survey conducted two years earlier had determined that it contained sites that were significant for the area's Native peoples.[69] This space also had several chimneys that were valued as "the last physical monuments to the Great Fire of 1922 that people can touch and feel."[70] Finally, it provided local people with access to Lake Temiskaming's waterfront for recreation and included a road that connected Haileybury to the Farr Cemetery.

Protestors argued that this land should not be sold to Grant because it served public needs and had heritage value. The debates surrounding this issue took on a moral tone as protestors imagined what their community was becoming. In fact, accusations of political favoritism and an inability, or unwillingness, to stand up to Grant were wrapped in a discourse that warned of a "social sickness in the community that is getting out of control."[71] This issue also caused some people to voice fears concerning what would happen to other culturally significant areas. As one editorial asked: "What will you sell next 'the fall fair' grounds or the 'New Liskeard beach' all you people are seeing are dollar signs, but we the taxpayers of Temiskaming Shores want something left for our children and grandchildren."[72]

Ultimately, despite fierce opposition and a petition against the sale that was signed by 4,000 citizens, the land was sold to Grant. When evaluating this event it is important to consider the very difficult position that the municipality of Temiskaming Shores was in at this time. The city was under a year old and did not yet even have a city hall. It was in the middle of a difficult merger and sources

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[68] "Embezzlement of Riches," *Temiskaming Speaker* 28 September 2005. Haileybury "Waterfront Proposal", *Temiskaming Speaker* 14 September 2005.

[69] Town Council, *Regular Council Meeting*, (Ontario, Temiskaming Shores: Town Hall, 13 February 2006).

[70] *Ibid*.

[71] For example, approximately fifteen presentations were made to Council to protest the sale of this land during a public meeting that was held on 13 February 2006. The first presentation was made by Norm Hawirko, the Chair of the Temiskaming Shores Municipal Heritage Advisory Committee. He stated his belief Council had chosen to ignore the historic sites on the land Grant was interested in and "that a forensic analysis of the paper trail of what occurred in this period could put Council in an untenable legal position." Some of these presentations contained blatant accusations of political favoritism or council's unwillingness to confront Grant. For example, Art Beacham "asked Mayor Hawken if he was in a conflict of interest since his firm has undertaken work for the proponent on this particular project" while Simon Wareing suggested that the prevailing attitude of the community is that "Council will do what Grant wants anyway." (Ontario, Temiskaming Shores: Town Hall, 13 February 2006).

[72] "Leave the Waterfront Alone," *Temiskaming Speaker*, 14 June 2006.

Figure 6: The Farr Cemetery as it exists today. Photo by the author.

of municipal revenue were becoming increasingly uncertain. In fact, Temiskaming Shores' economic future gained new immediacy in 2005 when it lost its particleboard plant. This loss was surprising since the future of the plant appeared to be solid for the first time ever in 2002 when it was purchased by Uniboard Canada, a subsidiary of German based Kunz.[73] Large companies like Grant Forest Products can wield an almost preponderance of power in struggling Northern communities that have limited sources of revenue and few options to attract lucrative investment. They have the financial resources to pay for archeological assessments that could yield more favorable results and to hire lawyers from international corporations.[74]

As the debates and politics in this case demonstrate, public spaces can be central to discussions about how a place will reinvent itself. For this reason it appears that examining public spaces can result in a more complete understanding of the cultural and political meanings and outcomes of deindustrialization. However, it is important to examine public spaces as part of the broader built environment because changes to once site can impact those around it. The sale of land to Grant, for example, restricted access to the Farr Cemetery [See Figure 6]. This served to disrupt *A Guide to Historic Haileybury* since the route Fancy outlines can no longer followed. The Cemetery can still be reached through North Cobalt, however, which shatters the illusion of a sepa-

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[73] Tony Kryzanowski, "Solid Ground," *Logging and Sawmilling Journal, 17 February 2004.*

[74] For example, Grant hired Woodland Heritage Consultants Limited to conduct a second archeology assessment that produced results favorable to Grant's acquisition of the land. It must be noted that this land was bulldozed by "a private company" before it was purchased from the town and that this second assessment occurred in the wake of this disruption. Town Council, *Regular Council Meeting*, (Ontario, Temiskaming Shores: Town Hall, 13 February 2006).

rate Haileybury community. Entering the Cemetery from North Cobalt also changes the meaning of this space; the 'Farr Cemetery' sign and the iron gates that mark the Cemetery and give it a sense of holiness are no longer visible.

Conclusion

In the same vein as other forms of public history, memoryscapes present political arguments about important concepts like community, place, identity, and future possibilities. These are important themes and therefore diverging interpretations exist and are expressed in walking tours. Like museums or monuments, walking tours are a venue of public memory though which deindustrializing places struggle with what it means to live in a place now that the local or regional industries that formerly defined it are closed or closing. Consequently, these interpretations can be examined as sources to investigate issues such as community, identity, place, the politics of memory, and how these topics are playing out in non-industrial spaces. However, it is important to consider these expressions of identity in larger regional, national, or even international contexts. As we have seen, one benefit of a trans-local approach is that it enables a different type of industrial community to be studied. In this case it is a town that did not have any mills, mines, or factories but was nonetheless created by the wealth and social relations of industrial production. These places too are struggling with deindustrialization.