

W A L K I N G A N D
W A Y F I N D I N G I N T H E



A N D R E W L O C H H E A D

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ANDREW LOCHHEAD

PRODUCED IN FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF

THE
MEDIA & DESIGN
INNOVATION Ph.D.
PROGRAM

TORONTO METROPOLITAN
UNIVERSITY
2025

**“When it comes to
excavated ground,
dreams have no limit.”**

- Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 1969.

The first thing any Torontonion will tell you about the PATH system is that they find it confusing. They fear becoming trapped in it. Others confess they find something intriguing or mysterious about it. I fall in the latter category.

The PATH, stylized as PATH despite the fact that it is not an acronym, is a thirty-two kilometre long (and growing) series of pedestrian tunnels and commercial space that connects approximately five square kilometres of downtown Toronto.

It has an over one hundred-twenty year history of moving people and goods under the city, and is by some accounts the world's largest underground shopping centre.

The journey you are about to take, whether physically, or as a reader, or both (?), was originally based on a walking activity I devised for participants in Simon Pope and Sarah Cullen's Graduate Research-Creation Artist Residency hosted at Gibraltar Point Centre for the Arts on Mnisiiing (Toronto Islands), and supported by the Transart Institute.

I am grateful to Transart, and especially to Simon and Sarah for their support, guidance, and friendship.

Introduction

Introduction

What I've learned from my experiences walking the PATH as an artist, scholar and commuter, is that it is more than a convenient place to shop, dine, conduct business, or look at world-class artworks in a largely accessible, climate controlled, environment. It can be a place to find shelter, if one is unhoused, or caught out in a storm, to make anonymous connections—the PATH is known as a cruising ground—or simply get from point a to point b. But it is also an entrance way, a passage, or portal to the stories, memories, and experiences that make up the Land it is on, or in this case, in.

The PATH can direct the curious and alert visitor toward multiple and diverse histories, connections, and narratives, some intentionally hidden, and others hiding in plain sight.

Such an activity can help you to imagine a picture of the PATH and the past and present social, economic, and political developments that helped inform its creation. It provides an opportunity to ask questions about what kind of space it is, how it is used, and to reflect on your own relationship to it.

Through this book you will explore the history of the PATH, while walking through the literal and metaphorical foundations of the city Toronto, of the Canadian nation-state, and within the very soil these entities exist upon and lay claim to.

You will travel over buried streams, under and over railway tracks, experience public art, architecture, move through food courts and visit an abandoned subway station.

You will also learn about more difficult subjects such as the history of slavery in Canada, the role of a famous department store in colonial violence, and some of Toronto's most controversial street names and monuments.

All without leaving the PATH.

I invite you to walk in this complex, confounding, and strangely wonderful space and discover more of the stories and perspectives it has to offer.

- Andrew Lochhead, 2025.

Introduction







Your journey begins here at the corner of Bay Street and Queen's Quay.

This is the southernmost point of the PATH. But it nearly wasn't.

Perhaps you emerged from Queen's Quay Station, the only subterranean station operated by the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) that is served exclusively by street cars.

When it was being planned, this station was meant to connect via underground tunnel to the Westin Harbour Castle Hotel across the street but a dispute between the TTC and the city meant the connection was never built.

The streetcar line served by the station, the 509 Harbourfront line was also supposed to extend further east. However, when Toronto failed to win the bid for the 1996 Summer Olympic Games, this plan was shelved. However, interest in an expanded streetcar line has recently been revived because of the extensive residential and commercial developments in the Port Lands area.

Using the revolving doors step into Waterpark Place.

Judith Schwartz,
Nautilus
Gateway,
Steel and
Bronze, 1992.
(previous page)

Queen's Quay
TTC Station,
1990

Scott Tan
de Bibiana,
Bregman
+ Hamann
Architects,
Waterpark
Place II
10 Bay Street,
Toronto, 1990







On entering Waterpark Place II you are greeted by *Post-Industrial Kid*, a high relief by Canadian sculptor William Hodd McElcheran

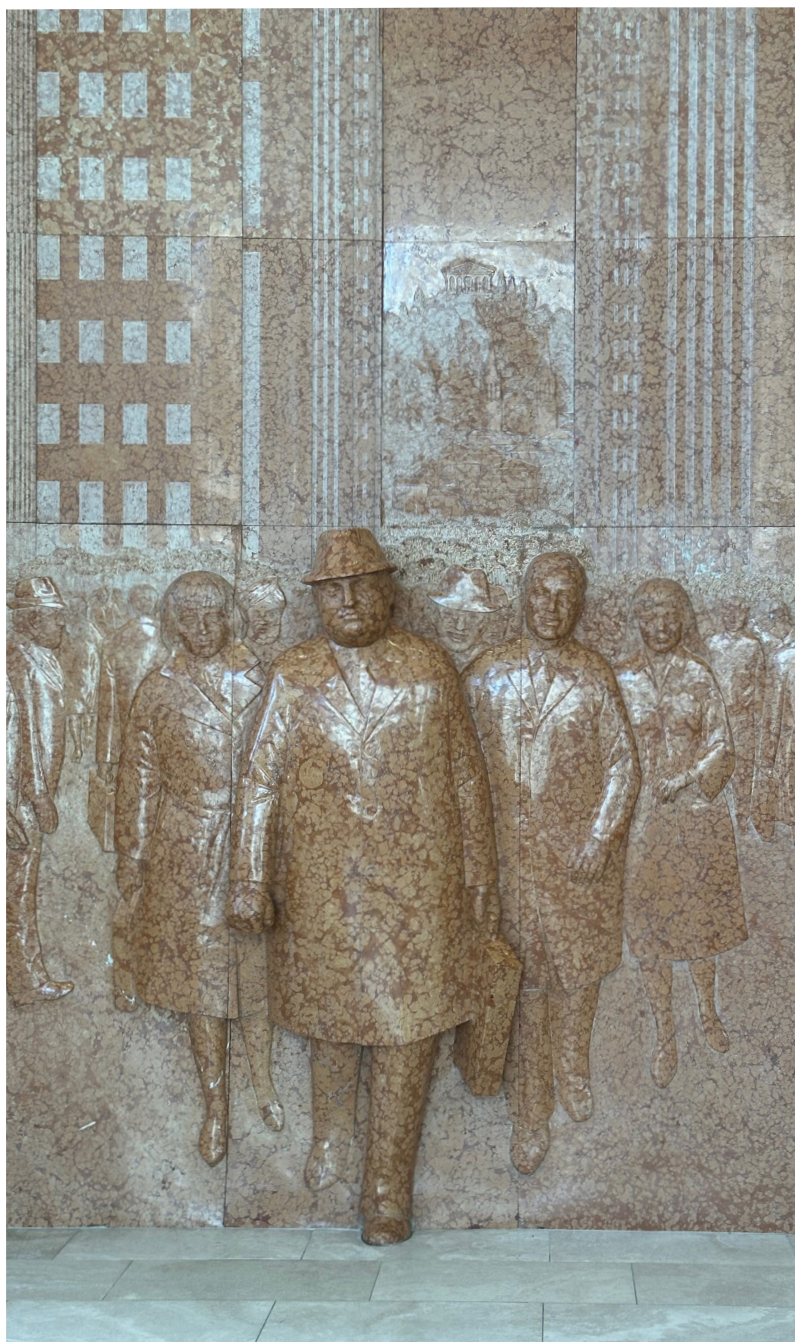
McElcheran's work can be found in various public and private art collections around the world. Perhaps you've seen his "businessmen" sculptures in other parts of the city?

This is his last major public work.

McElcheran's "businessmen" that you can see in this sculpture, and in his other works, were designed to be anti-heroic, satirical sculptures. However they became immensely popular amongst the very people they softly skewered.

There are at least three ways one can interpret this work.

**William Hodd
McElcheran,
*Post-Industrial
Kid*, Marble,
1990**



One is a story of the triumph of capitalism. The artist shows his “businessmen” (and women) walking into the future from a historical scene that connects these figures and the economic system they represent, back in time through the twentieth century, the Middle Ages, and ancient Greece.

In this reading, McElcheran connects capitalism to the development of so-called western civilization, Christianity, and democratic institutions. By telling this story in stone he says in effect; “This is will last forever”

Understanding the work in this manner, it seems a totally appropriate artwork for a building occupied by one of Canada’s largest banks.

But there’s also another way to think about this sculpture—as an autobiography of the artist himself.

A story about capitalism

A story about the artist

The title *Post-Industrial Kid* may reference's the artist's upbringing in Hamilton, Ontario, a city at the time this work was created, was experiencing the decline of its steel industry and was forced to imagine a "post-industrial" future. The child in this sculpture therefore can be understood to represent McElcheran.

The historical narrative, its depictions of a Greek temple, a Gothic Cathedral, and what appears to be a Tuscan village, also seem to trace McElcheran's career.

He originally studied architecture, and Greek temples, especially the Parthenon are considered symbols of architectural perfection. He first became known as a religious architect and sculptor, and therefore an inheritor of the legacy of the great European cathedral builders. He later left Canada for Pietrasanta, Italy, in Tuscany, from where his career flourished and his "businessmen," spread around the world.

When we read the piece from right to left we understand the youth, McElcheran, to be dreaming of his future.



A story about the PATH

In this autobiographical interpretation, Post-Industrial Kid also becomes about its location.

At the north end of the PATH, is another of McElcheran's works, *Cross Section*, one of the artist's first public commissions. It is a terracotta relief, showing people from all walks of life, moving through the Dundas Street Subway Station.

These two works book-end both McElcheran's career and the PATH itself.

Here, in Post-Industrial Kid, the "businessman" sauntering out of the picture plane, guides you, encouraging you to join him in the bustling system of circulation and movement depicted in *Cross Section* and played out in the PATH everyday.

Let's follow him.

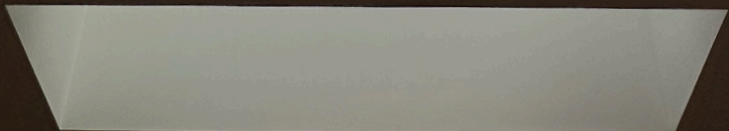
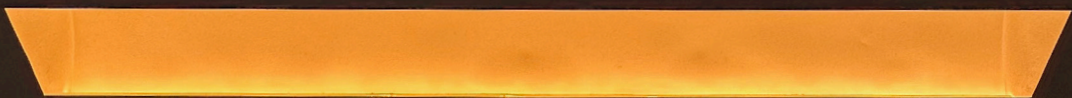


















**Banksy,
*Guard with
Balloon Dog*
Spray Paint,
Stencil, on
Concrete, 2010
as seen through
Johnson Chou,
Laura Hayward
Speculum
Polished
Stainless Steel,
2017.**

This is the work of enigmatic and world famous British street artist Banksy.

The work itself is a reason to stop here. However *Guard with a Balloon Dog* brings up a number of themes and questions that will come up again and again during your walk. Namely the tensions between public and private space, notions of ownership and property, and questions about the nature and role of art and artists in a capitalist society.

It is one of two Banksy pieces, out of an original seven, left in Toronto. The second is located behind a building at the north east corner of Church St. and The Esplanade. The others have since been painted over or otherwise destroyed

The mural was originally painted in 2010 on 90 Harbour Street, the building that once stood on this site, and was once the headquarters of the Ontario Provincial Police.

Bearing this in mind, the message of the work, like that of most street art, can be understood as a challenge to authority, to the social order of the city, and to the systems of property relations that govern it. Systems that are routinely and violently enforced by police or, in this case, upheld by low-wage employees of private security firms.





In the context of Banksy's work, *Guard with a Balloon Dog*, follows a recurring motif of the artist where objects of violence such as molotov cocktails are replaced by objects of whimsy like a bouquet of flowers. Here the artist has substituted a balloon dog for an attack dog, rendering the symbolic violence toothless.

However, the balloon dog also carries another message. This balloon dog specifically resembles the artist Jeff Koons' balloon dog sculptures—sculptures which sell for tens of millions of dollars.

By replacing the attack dog with Jeff Koons' Balloon Dog, Banksy is making a comment about the role of contemporary art's relationships to market economies and private wealth, and how these entities use art as a means of wielding symbolic power, whether through reputation laundering, tax avoidance, or other similar actions.

The capture of this piece and its display by property development firm Menke's, underscores this point. Is this a benevolent act of historic and artistic preservation or the acquisition of a multi-million dollar asset?

Johnson Chou,
Laura Hayward,
Artifact
Glass, Steel,
Banksy's
Guard with
Balloon Dog
(Spray Paint,
Stencil, on
Concrete,
2010),
2017.



Jeff Koons,
Balloon Dog
(Magenta),
1994–2000.
Guggenheim
Museum Bilbao,
2015

Exit Through the Gift Shop

The work's restaging by its new owners as *Artifact* and *Speculum* by Jonathan Chou and Laura Hayward, additionally brings up questions of ownership and agency. Who does street art belong to? Who has the right to claim it or to present art in a way that may significantly change its meaning? How is art used, by whom, and toward what ends?

Do our feelings about this piece or our answers to these questions change when we learn that it was created as part of a publicity campaign that accompanied the Toronto release of the Banksy-directed film, *Exit Through the Gift Shop*?

Is this an advertisement, art, or both? Was it even painted by the “real” Banksy at all?

Moving beyond Banksy, elsewhere in the PATH you will have the chance to see an impressive collection, and collections, of art. Many of these are connected to individual and corporate wealth.

These fortunes are themselves, in many cases, linked to the same systems of private property, development, and resource extraction critiqued as part of Banksy's work. They are also part and parcel of the Canadian colonial project, and complicit in displacement of Indigenous peoples, environmental destruction here and around the world.


FINANCIAL DISTRICT
 Scotiabank Arena 5min
 Union Station   6min

WATERFRONT
 3min Jack Layton Ferry Terminal

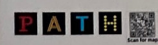


Map directory

1. Commerce Court East	26. 100 Spadina	51. 100 West Beaver Creek	76. 100 West Beaver Creek
2. 100 Spadina	27. 100 Spadina	52. 100 West Beaver Creek	77. 100 West Beaver Creek
3. 100 Spadina	28. 100 Spadina	53. 100 West Beaver Creek	78. 100 West Beaver Creek
4. 100 Spadina	29. 100 Spadina	54. 100 West Beaver Creek	79. 100 West Beaver Creek
5. 100 Spadina	30. 100 Spadina	55. 100 West Beaver Creek	80. 100 West Beaver Creek
6. 100 Spadina	31. 100 Spadina	56. 100 West Beaver Creek	81. 100 West Beaver Creek
7. 100 Spadina	32. 100 Spadina	57. 100 West Beaver Creek	82. 100 West Beaver Creek
8. 100 Spadina	33. 100 Spadina	58. 100 West Beaver Creek	83. 100 West Beaver Creek
9. 100 Spadina	34. 100 Spadina	59. 100 West Beaver Creek	84. 100 West Beaver Creek
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11. 100 Spadina	36. 100 Spadina	61. 100 West Beaver Creek	86. 100 West Beaver Creek
12. 100 Spadina	37. 100 Spadina	62. 100 West Beaver Creek	87. 100 West Beaver Creek
13. 100 Spadina	38. 100 Spadina	63. 100 West Beaver Creek	88. 100 West Beaver Creek
14. 100 Spadina	39. 100 Spadina	64. 100 West Beaver Creek	89. 100 West Beaver Creek
15. 100 Spadina	40. 100 Spadina	65. 100 West Beaver Creek	90. 100 West Beaver Creek
16. 100 Spadina	41. 100 Spadina	66. 100 West Beaver Creek	91. 100 West Beaver Creek
17. 100 Spadina	42. 100 Spadina	67. 100 West Beaver Creek	92. 100 West Beaver Creek
18. 100 Spadina	43. 100 Spadina	68. 100 West Beaver Creek	93. 100 West Beaver Creek
19. 100 Spadina	44. 100 Spadina	69. 100 West Beaver Creek	94. 100 West Beaver Creek
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23. 100 Spadina	48. 100 Spadina	73. 100 West Beaver Creek	98. 100 West Beaver Creek
24. 100 Spadina	49. 100 Spadina	74. 100 West Beaver Creek	99. 100 West Beaver Creek
25. 100 Spadina	50. 100 Spadina	75. 100 West Beaver Creek	100. 100 West Beaver Creek

Map key

1. PATH	2. PATH	3. PATH	4. PATH
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97. PATH	98. PATH	99. PATH	100. PATH



Toronto

OXFORD









PAT

EXIT

GATE 6

GATE 6

TORONTO
MAPLE
LEAFS

BATTLE OF THE
ATLANTIC





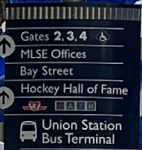
EXIT

P A T

Union Station







Welcome to Scotiabank Arena, home of two of Toronto's two most popular sports teams the Maple Leafs and the Raptors.

Scotiabank Arena is one of the city's most high-profile cultural venues. In addition to hosting hockey and basketball games, it hosts hundreds of concerts, corporate, and community events.

Scotiabank is one of Canada's largest banks and a major sponsor of arts and culture. It has funded everything from photography festivals to literary prizes.

It's also one of two major Canadian banks with connections to and slave economies in the Caribbean. Of the bank's seventeen founders, thirteen amassed their capital dealing in goods produced by enslaved people.

The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC), headquartered across the road on Bay Street, is the other. The bank has historic ties to Halifax banker and shipping magnate Samuel Cunard, who extensively imported West Indian goods made by slave labour, and James Matthew Whyte, a Hamilton banker who enslaved hundreds of people on his Jamaica plantations.

**Scotiabank
Arena**

**Scotiabank,
CIBC,
and Slavery**

**Charles
Dolphin,
Architect**

Before it was transformed into an arena in 1999, this building was once Canada's largest postal station.

The building was designed by Charles Dolphin, who also designed the Toronto Coach Terminal that can be found near the end of your walk, near the corner of Bay and Dundas Street. Early in his career Dolphin worked for the firm who designed the Maple Leafs' previous arena, Maple Leaf Gardens.

**Louis
Temporale,
Sculptor**

The postal station was adorned with reliefs created by Canadian sculptor Louis Temporale, who also carved the decorations of the Bank of Nova Scotia's (Scotiabank) headquarters nearby. These architectural ornaments depict scenes of the Canadian landscape, transport, and communication technology— fitting decoration for a post office.

Terra Nullius

But such technologies are never neutral. Representations of the natural landscape, nature, and wilderness are crucial to justifying Canadian settler-colonialism. Images and accounts of vast wilderness, devoid of human beings, are the foundation of the doctrine of terra nullius or "empty land," the Papal doctrine that provided the legal basis for European conquest of these and other lands.

Transportation and communication systems connect people, goods, and services. The physical distances and terrain they cover and emotional connections they foster bring people physically, and mentally closer together. These technologies are crucial to the practice of nation and empire building. Roads, and especially railroads have played an outsized role in shaping the Canadian nation-state. They have also enabled military expansion, settlement, the extraction of natural resources, displaced people, and destroyed some communities whilst building new real and imagined ones.



Louis Temporal,
Moose and
Duck Roundels,
Limestone
Relief,
Postal Delivery
Building , now
Scotiabank
Arena, 1938.

UNI
STAT

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You have finally reached the underground part of the journey.

How does it feel?
Do you feel any different?

Perhaps one of the reasons the PATH feels so fascinating or mysterious is that it is underground.

The word underground or being underground carries many different meanings. It can mean being culturally tuned in, a place to escape justice or find refuge, or the realm of the uncanny.

In many cultures the underground is the realm of the dead, a spirit world, or the eternal abode of the damned—a Hell.

In Toronto, maybe our Hell is a thirty-two kilometre long mall?

Take some time to consider where you are.

The space you are in is completely surrounded by soil.

The Underground

A Land Acknowledgement

For the Mississauga of the Credit, who are the treaty stewards of this land, the Anishinaabeg, the Haudenosaunee, and the Huron-Wendat whose traditional lands you are on today, and for many Indigenous people from around the world who call Toronto home, Land is a sentient being, an ancestor, and teacher to who all of us as treaty people owe a duty of care and respect to. This is why you see the word capitalized, where appropriate, as "Land," in this book.

Pause here to take time to acknowledge this living thing you are inside of, surrounded by, and that is made from everything that has ever lived or died on it. Think of the stone and steel that make up this space. The copper in the wires, the tungsten in the lights.

This is Land too.

By thinking this way how does it change your relationship to this space? If these elements are part of a living thing, of an ancestor, how does it change your perspective on the extractive practices that have built the PATH?

What has being on and in the Land taught you so far?

If you are a settler, or settler-descended, a newcomer, or a non-Indigenous visitor, do these perspectives on Land make you feel about your relationship to Land? Do you have a relationship to Land? Why or Why not?

Consider how you can enact your treaty responsibilities to care for Land.

Is this walk a way to acknowledge Land?

A Walking Land Acknowledgement

The Whale Bone

In the 1980s workers digging the streetcar tunnel from Union Station to Queen's Quay, happened upon part of a whale skeleton.

No one is quite sure how it got here.

One thought was that it was from a local attraction, Piper's Zoo, which stood on the site of what is now the Royal York hotel.

In the summer of 1881, Piper's Zoo—which today is commemorated by Piper's Lane, a small alleyway running behind the fancy and famous hotel—displayed a rotting whale carcass to curiosity seekers willing to pay for the pleasure, and put up with the stench.

But this whale bone was dated to the 1840s, long before Piper's Zoo existed.





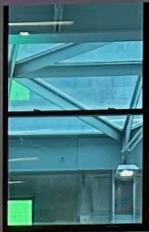
Emergency
Station
En cas
d'urgence



Front St.

St.

Front St.

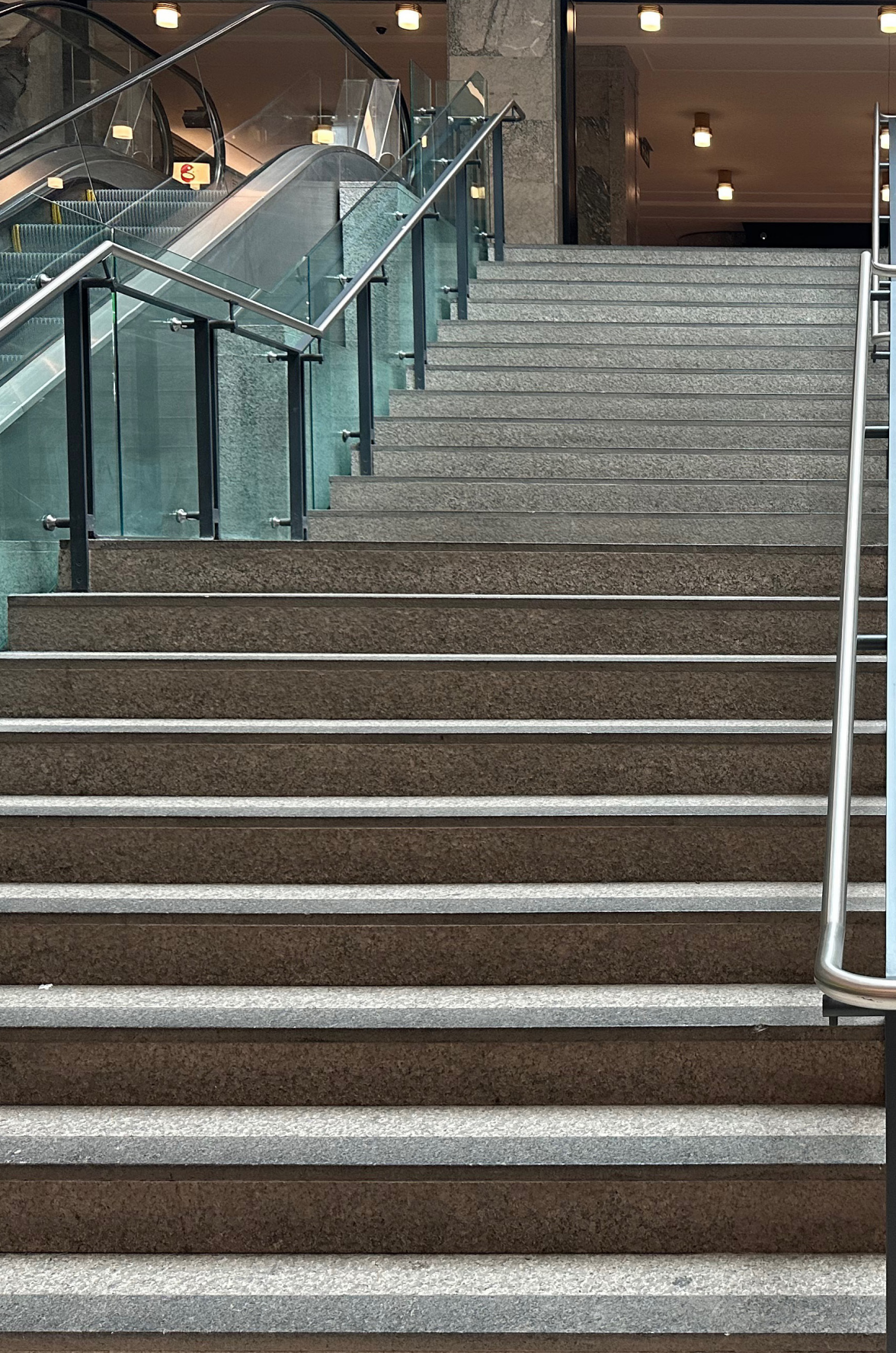


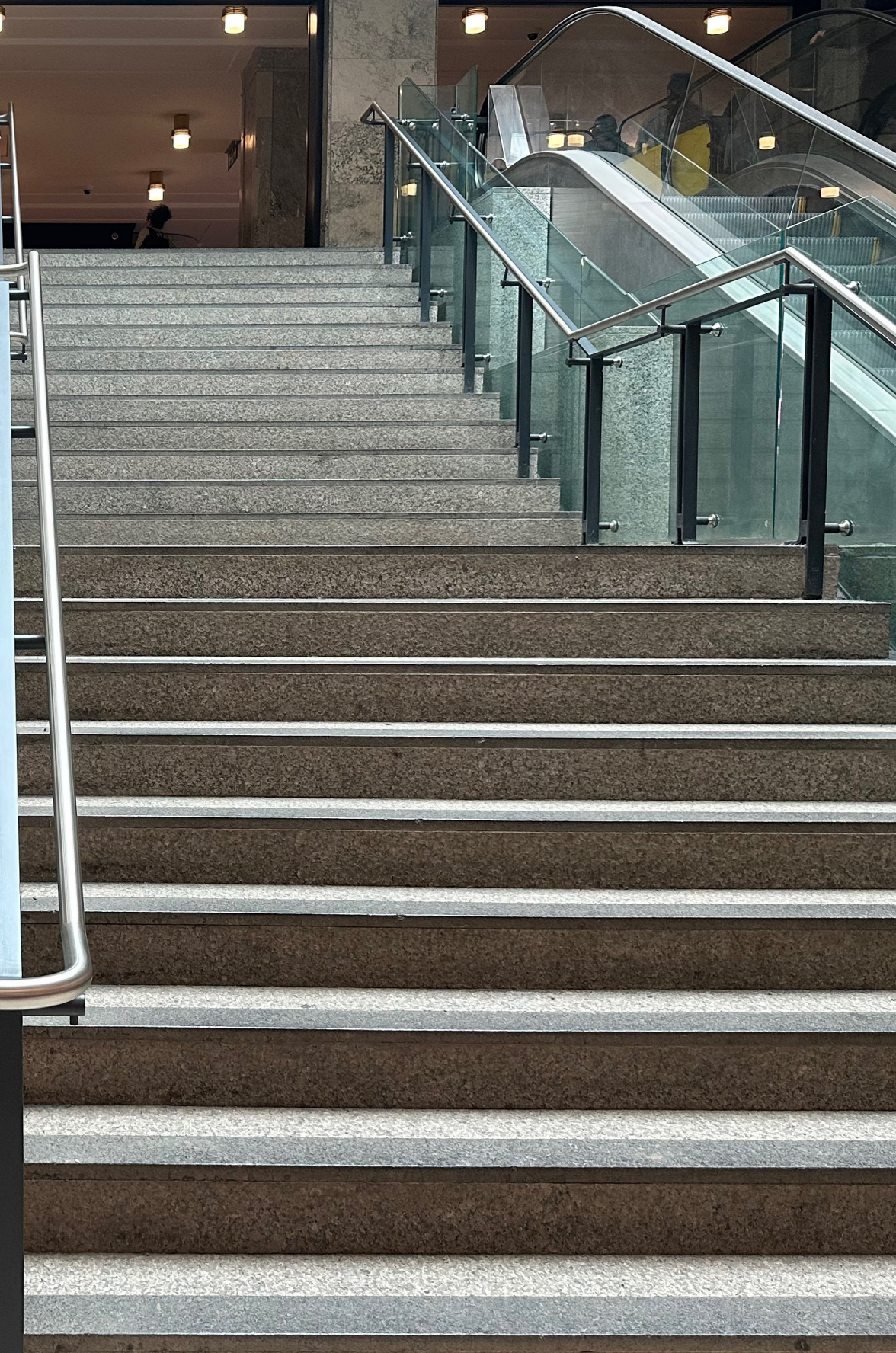
Front St.



Front St.









University of Guelph &
Chase-Wynjack Fund Present

All Beings Connected

Sponsored by TD

Presenting Artist: Luke Swinson

The Original Treaties By Luke Swinson

This piece represents the peaceful treaties Anishinaabe people made with the earth, sky and all living beings. Treaties allow us to work together, uphold our commitments and build relationships with creation. The hand holding an eagle feather symbolizes our connection to Creation and the enduring strength of our people. All living things, including the flowing waters, come together under the Mother Moon and Grandfather Sun.

This piece is paired with another artwork upstairs in the Great Hall by Luke's father, August Swinson, which speaks to our personal relationship and connection to the land and its inhabitants.

About the Artist

Luke Swinson is a visual artist with Anishinaabe roots from Kitchener, Ontario. A member of the Mississauga of Scugog Island First Nation, Luke's work reflects his desire to better understand and reclaim his Indigenous culture. He seeks to promote cultural education and preservation through his art projects.

Find out more at
luke-swinson.ca





Union and Gord Downie &
Charlie Wenjack Fund Present

All Beings Connected

Sponsored by TD

Presenting artwork  of Anishinaabe

About Union

Union is committed to reflecting the diversity of Canadians in all our programs. Our programming vision celebrates diversity, identity, inclusion and accessibility. Our goal is to strengthen the connections between public art and civic engagement, ultimately create connections amongst our communities.

About the Gord Downie & Charlie Wenjack Fund

Inspired by Charlie's story and his goal to build a better Canada, the Gord Downie & Charlie Wenjack Fund aims to promote understanding and create a new level of reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Our efforts are focused on the level of Indigenous youth by building awareness, education and connections between all peoples in Canada.

Learn more at downiewenjack.ca

About TD

TD recognizes art from the Indigenous community is made of diverse voices and holds different meanings that transcend conversations about the past, present and future. TD has been supporting artists from Indigenous communities since 1982 and is committed to Truth and Reconciliation by amplifying diverse voices that connect the power of art as a means to learn more about the historical and ongoing challenges of Indigenous Peoples in Canada.

Learn more about how TD is supporting Indigenous Communities at td.com/indigenous.

Find all moments
by td.com/indigenous





MARKET

THE DETOX MARKET

↑ Green Hall UP







Commet
- Schot
- Concorville
- (mou)



Behind this barrier—is it still there?—is the entrance to a tunnel that once connected the Royal York Hotel to Union station.

Opened in 1927 the tunnel has been closed since the mid-2010s.

This tunnel was one of the earliest, but not the oldest, tunnel that would become part of the PATH.

You'll visit this older tunnel later on your trip.

Union Station/ Royal York Tunnel

No Access to TTC
beyond this point







VIA Rail Canada

Great
Hall

UP
Express

Rogers
CN T



ers Centre
Tower

Ripley's Aquarium
Convention Centre





You are in Union Station's Great Hall.

Flanked on either side by two enormous Romanesque arched, glass and steel windows, that allow it's Art Deco features to be awash in the light of morning, or bathed in the warm glow of the setting sun, the Great Hall is truly one of Toronto's most remarkable pieces of early twentieth century architecture.

This is Toronto's third "Union Station" and its construction was a joint venture between the newly merged Canadian National Railways (CN) and the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), the builders of the first transcontinental railway.

The CPR itself was created as a partnership between the Conservative government of John A. MacDonlad and private mining and banking interests.

However, it's first use was to transport soldiers from Toronto's previous Union Station to suppress the 1885 Resistance led by Louis Riel fought by the Métis and other Indigenous peoples against the Government of Canada, in part due to displacement and encroachment on their territories and way of life by the CPR and land speculators.

Union Station

Building the Canadian Pacific Railway

The transcontinental railway was envisioned as a nation building project. Its construction has become part of Canada's national mythology that endures today.

Its connections to the Canadian colonial project, resource extraction and military force might remind you of what you learned at Scotiabank Arena about the connection between colonialism, imperialism, and transportation networks.

The building of the CPR is largely responsible for the way Western Canada was settled, and where towns and cities developed. The names of many of these settlements can be found on the border surrounding the Great Hall.

Roads (and railroads) gather people together but they can also divide, and devastate. They can help establish settlements, and can contribute to the ruin of communities they bypass.

The railway not only changed how Canada was settled it changed relationships between people, Land and how those relationships were organized.

CPR and Chinese Labour

We can think of how the building of the CPR governed relationships between Canada and the Chinese workers employed as labourers along its route.

After the railway was complete, these labourers faced discrimination, segregation, and official racism in later government policies such as the Chinese Head Tax, designed to prevent Chinese settlement in Canada.

Another example is the shift in navigation practices that the railroad represented. Indigenous people and early settlers would have travelled large distances by water; and limited overland routes. The railway and the earlier building of colonial roads such as Dundas Street changed this.

Consider the difference between travelling by water or rail. What takes longer? How might that experience of time, terrain, and landscape impact how you viewed yourself in relationship to Land and the people you encountered?

Union Station is a good place to ask these questions because it is located, in part, on top of an old river delta where several streams, called by settlers, the Market Streams, flowed into Lake Ontario.

This is also why the street the station is located on today is called Front Street. It was the shoreline of Lake Ontario.

Navigating Land and Land relationships

The Market Streams



The Michi-Saagig Nishnaabeg philosopher Leanne Betasamosake Simpson writes that the shoreline is a space of learning, a place of exchange, a space where elements meet

The “Market Streams” would have been a gathering place for Indigenous people and early settlers. They would have provided drinking water; ample space for foraging, fishing, hunting, and swimming. A place to trade, a site of encounter.

Perhaps this confluence inspired the Wendat name for this space, “Tonrontonhk,” meaning “land of plenty,” in English. However recent scholarship has cast doubt on this origin.

Head back down into the subway, back onto “dry land.”

As you wander the halls look for a sign reading Union Station Artifact.

The Market Streams



SUBWAY







P-C420

Union Station
Artifact

Behind this door is the mysterious
“Union Station Artifact.”

It's actually a storage closet that also
provides access to the display cabinet you
saw earlier at the top of the stairs.

All the same it's still fun to imagine what's
behind the door even if you know the
answer:

When this walk was photographed the
“artifact” was a large-scale work by
Lukas Swinson from the Mississauga of
Scugog Island First Nation, entitled
The Original Treaties. Swinson describes his
artwork as such:

“This piece represents the peaceful treaties
Anishinaabe people made with the earth,
sky and all living beings. Treaties allow us to
work together, uphold our commitments
and nourish relationships with creation. The
hand holding an eagle feather symbolizes
our connection to Creator and the
enduring strength of our people. All living
things, including the life-giving waters, come
together under Grandmother Moon and
Grandfather Sun.”

Swinson's work was paired with his father
August Swinson's *All Beings Connected*
displayed in Union Station's Great Hall.

The Union Station Artifact



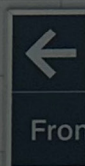




UNIO



N 1



← Additional Fare Vending Machines

← Additional Fare Vending Machines



Public Notice

Respect & Dignity

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Royal Bank Plaza
Royal York Hotel







Royal Bank Plaza



Amy Pompadore (sometimes spelled as Pompadour) was one of the last enslaved people in Toronto. She was enslaved by John and Sophia Denison who lived for a time in a cottage near this site.

Most people don't know or don't think of Canada as being a place where slavery happened. This is in part due to a national mythology that emphasizes Canada's role in the Underground Railroad and as a safe haven for refugees from American slavery. It may also be because rather than large-scale plantation slavery, as in the United States, enslaved people in the British colonies of Upper and Lower Canada were domestic servants, mechanics, or farm labourers.

It is true that Upper Canada was the first jurisdiction in the British Empire to pass anti-slavery legislation. But this legislation did not end slavery in the colony. What it did do was ban the importation of enslaved people and guaranteed freedom to people who escaped slavery in the United States. People who were already enslaved when the legislation was passed would remain slaves for the rest of their life. Children born to enslaved people after the law passed would be free at age twenty-five, and their descendants would be born free.

**Amy
Pompadore**

**Slavery in
Canada**

**The Act to Limit
Slavery 1793**

The Pompadore Family

What this meant is that the law created multiple classes of free and unfree people.

Black Canadians would carry the burden of proving their “free” status and remained in danger of being kidnapped and taken to the United States.

Amy Pompadore and her family, brother Jupiter and sister Milly were enslaved by colonial administrator Peter Russell and his sister Elizabeth. Their father Pompadore was a free man employed by the Russells.

The life of Amy's mother Peggy, who continually resisted the conditions of her enslavement, by refusing work or running away, is well documented in the historic record. The details of her life have been the subject of scholarly research and poetry by Dr. Afua Cooper and Dr. Natasha Henry Dixon and celebrated in works such as artist Camille Turner's *Hush Harbour* (2012) and *The Resistance of Peggy Pompadour* (2013) audio walking tours.

Under the terms of Upper Canada's anti-slavery law, the Pompadore family would theoretically never be free, though they would eventually live freely following the death of Elizabeth Russell in 1822.



**Commemorating
The Denisons,
The Russells
and
The Pompadores
in Toronto**

**Peggy
Pompadore
Plaque,
37 Sherbourne
St.,
Heritage Toronto,
2022.**

In 1808 Amy Pompadore (and by some accounts Milly as well) was given as a “birthday gift” by Elizabeth Russell to Sophia Denison. Some sources contend this was to punish Peggy for her continued resistance.

The Denison family and their descendents would become some of Toronto’s wealthiest landowners and are today celebrated in the names of no less than eleven local streets and landmarks.

The Russells are remembered by at least four place names including Peter Street, Russell Street, Russell Hill Road, and Abbey Lane.

The Pompadores are commemorated with a single historic plaque near Sherbourne Street, the location of Russell Abbey, the home of Peter and Elizabeth Russell.

What messages does this commemorative imbalance send about who’s stories and who’s lives matter in Toronto?

Slavery in Upper and Lower Canada officially ended in 1834 when the Slavery Abolition Act took effect throughout the British Empire.



In 1793, the government of Upper Canada passed the first antislavery law in the British Empire when it banned the importation of enslaved people. Anyone of African descent who entered the province became legally free.

In 1834, slavery was completely banned in British North America (now Canada). Slavery remained legal in the United States until 1865, and more than 35,000 enslaved people fled to Canada using a system of secret travel.

Canadian community developed in Toronto, helping newcomers with jobs and housing

Peggy and her children — Amy, Jupiter, and Milly — were enslaved by the administrator of Upper Canada, Peter Russell, and his half-sister

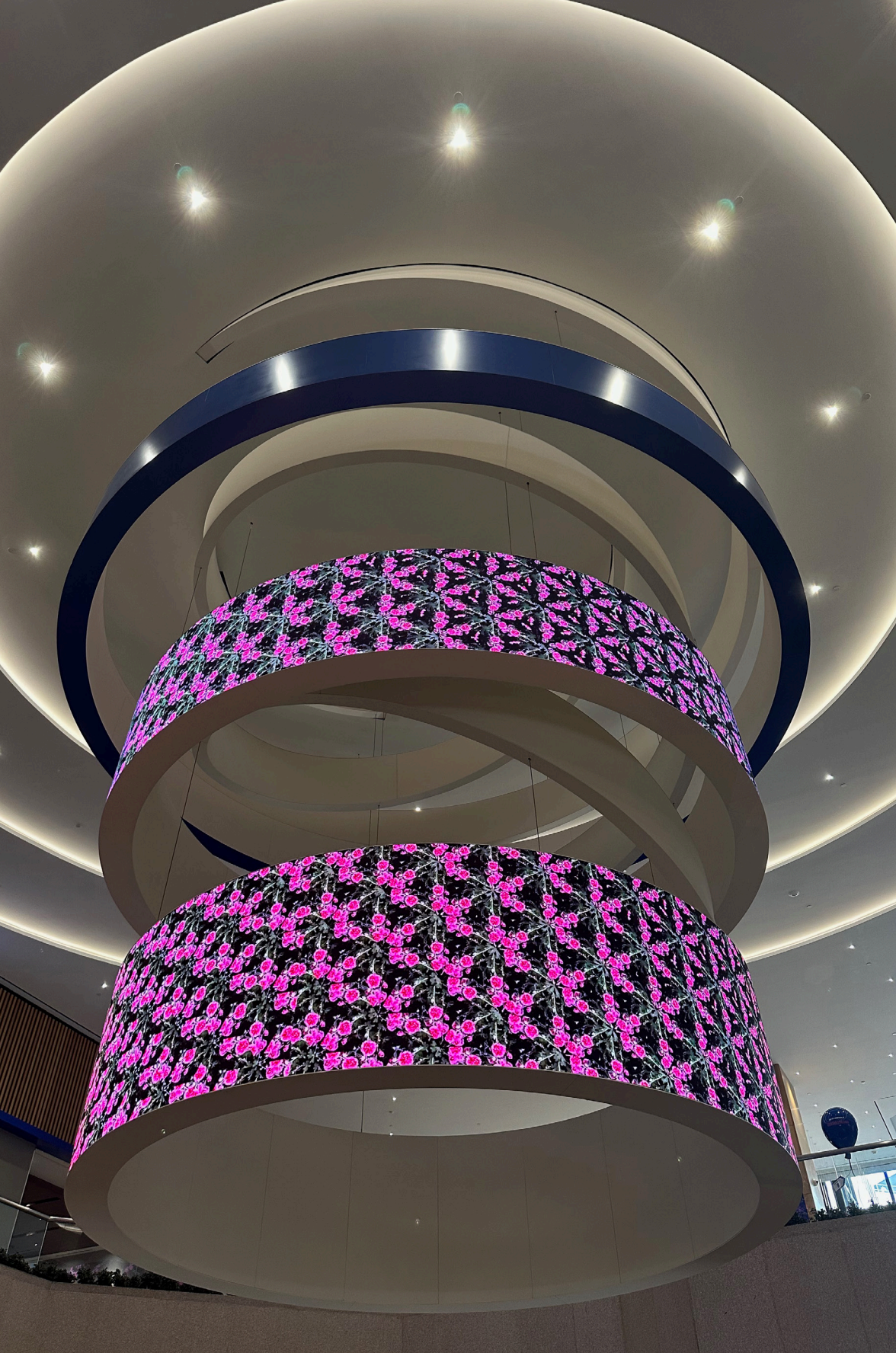
Peggy and her family worked as labourers on the Russell farm or as domestic servants: cooking, washing, laundry, and making soap and

Around 1810, Elizabeth Russell gave Amy to her goddaughter Sophia De

An elderly Peggy Pompadore was still in York in 1827; she died soon

Yach. Feb. 2nd. 1862.

sell Peggy away from her family.



The PATH is home to a world-class art collection, something you've already learned along our walk.

The RBC Community Gallery is one of the newest places to see art in the PATH.. Opened in 2022, the space features works expertly curated from the bank's significant Canadian art collection.

It is a positive way to make this private collection accessible to a public who may not get to regularly visit museums or galleries

But what are the implications of such patronage? What relationships does it reveal about private wealth and art economies?

How do spaces like this gallery blur boundaries between public and private realms? How does this blurring obscure the limitations of such a space— what is possible in it, what is permitted, and who polices these boundaries? What is the role of art in this situation? How can art and artists defy and transcend the ways in which its commissioners, promoters, and patrons try to use it?

The next gallery on our walk might give us some clues to those answers.

The RBC Community Gallery

Natalie Bujold
Hollyhock Ballet
**RBC Art
Collection**
Digital Video,
4:31, 2023

Rest areas in the PATH

Look on your left. You should be passing a rest area adjacent to a block of Royal Bank automated teller machines.

These spaces are more than just a place to get cash or pay bills, they are areas of rest, part of accessibility requirements introduced by the City of Toronto that govern so-called “publicly accessible, private spaces.” These spaces by their definition confound notions of public and private.

The PATH itself is entirely private space. It is governed by thirty-five different companies, and coordinated by the City of Toronto, which controls its right-of-way and official wayfinding in the PATH.

Try to keep track of the number of these spaces you encounter in the PATH.

Are they welcoming? How many people do you see using them?









TD SOUTH TOWN
79 WELLINGTON WEST









This gallery showcases the work of Indigenous artists held in the collection of the Toronto Dominion Bank (TD).

While the bank has expanded its collecting practices in the last half century, the core of its collection is comprised of some of the most historically significant works by some of the best-known artists from the Arctic and Northern Quebec.

The earliest works in the bank's collection were acquired in the 1960s.

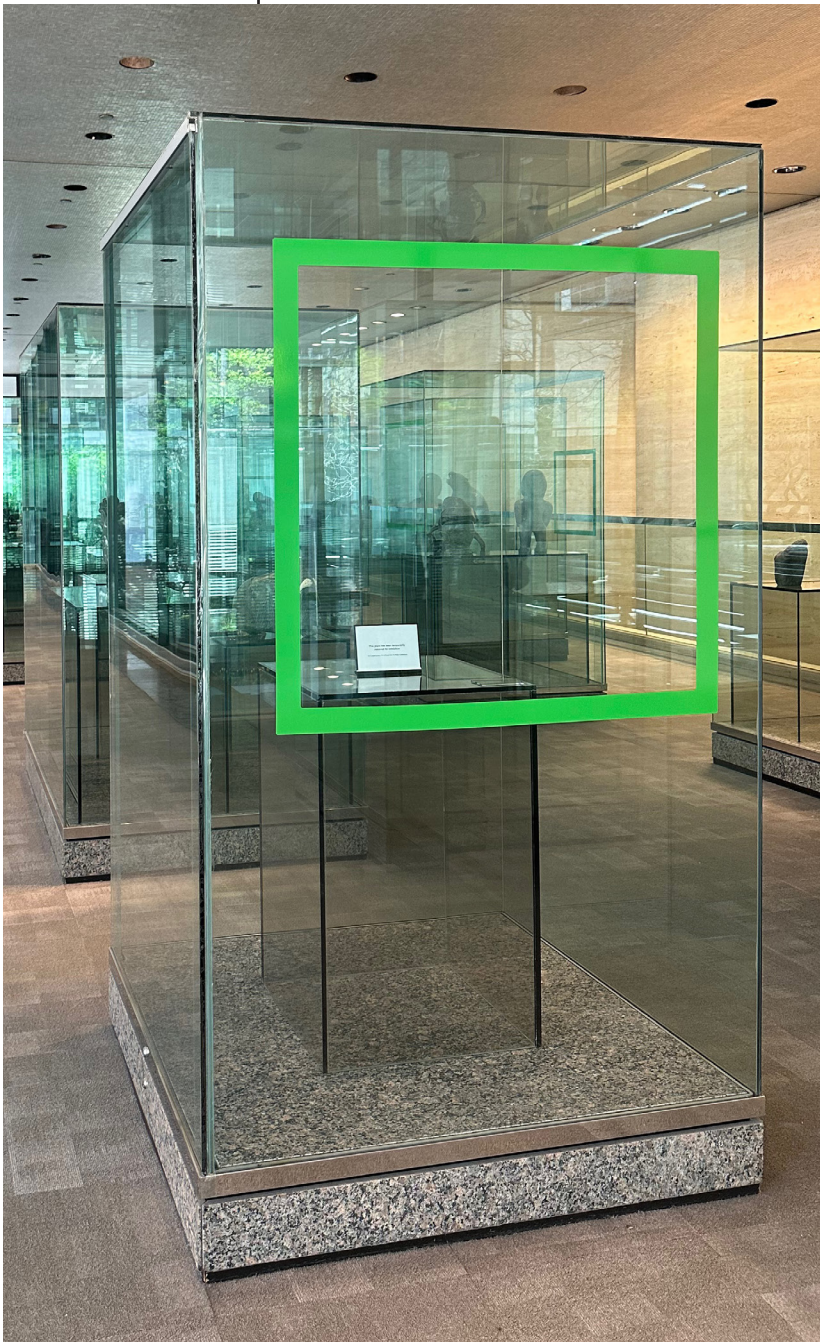
This was a significant time for Inuit art and artists, whose work was becoming highly prized in the global art market, and for the Canadian nation-state that would mark its "centennial" later in the decade.

The development of the market for Inuit Art and the invention of "modern Canada" in the years following the Second World War, are in fact highly linked.

After the war, the government of Canada sought to support its claims to the vast arctic island chain, in part to counter US and Soviet hegemony in the region, and in part to facilitate the extraction and exploitation of the region's mineral wealth—a process in which Canada's major banks like TD were investors.

The Toronto Dominion Gallery of Indigenous Art

**Pauta Saila
Bear,
Stone and Ivory,
1964**



As part of these endeavours the government encouraged and sometimes forced Inuit to abandon their largely nomadic lifestyle and settle in government administered towns.

In order to replace the loss of income from traditional pursuits such as hunting, fishing, and fur trading, the government encouraged Inuit to take up the arts.

While the Inuit have had millenias old traditions of small-scale carving, the government's art programs introduced western concepts of sculpture and other non-traditional practices such as printmaking in the 1950s.

At the same time efforts were made to establish a fine art (rather than folk art) market for Inuit art. Scholarly articles emphasized formal or imagined connections between Inuit sculpture and artists such as Henry Moore.

Inuit art, including many of the pieces in this collection, were exhibited at international exhibitions such as Expo '67 in Montreal.

The use of these sculptures in this manner projected a new image of a multicultural Canada abroad, and to assert a unique national identity for Canada seperate from Great Britain and the United States.

The Inuit Art Program

**Pisteolak
Qimirpik
Young Man
Playing MP3,
Stone, Antler,
Electrical Wire,
2010.**

Inuit artists were initially encouraged to represent traditional themes, often at odds with the realities of their lives in settled towns. These themes are well-represented in this collection. However, also on display, is the way that Inuit artists have, over time, challenged depictions that represent them as primitive and isolated from the rest of the world. One sculpture, *Starving Ethiopian* (1987) by Tutuyea Ikkidluak depicts a victim of the Ethiopian famine, other more recent works depict everyday activities such as listening to music, shooting pool, or curling.

Can you find these sculptures on display?

Through the initial efforts of the Canadian government, collectors, and scholars, many Inuit artists and their families have become famous artists in their own right. Kenokuak Ashevak, Hunter Toonoo, Johnny Inukpuk, Pisteolak Ashoona, Napachie and, Annie Pootoogook, are household names, whose work is highly-prized and has been exhibited at museums art art fairs around the world.

The popularity of Inuit art has provided steady income for individuals and the creation of a Inuit-owned cooperative system for art sales ensures community benefits from art production and sales.



:

**Johnny Inukpuk
Man Wringing a
Seal Line
Stone, c. 1965.**

The successes of Inuit artists and art cooperatives are something to be celebrated. However, these successes should not distract from a legitimate critique of the colonial, racist, assimilationist, and paternalistic spirit with which the Inuit art program was developed. Nor should it prevent reflection on the question of why limiting Inuit and northern Indigenous mobility was so important for the government that they resorted in some cases, to forced relocations, and made decisions that resulted in the destruction of communities, families, and individual lives. These actions— for which the government would issue an official apology for in 2010— in part established conditions for many of the the socio-economic and health concerns that affect people in the north today.

But there is another question that also needs asking: What about these green boxes?

Why are these works displayed like this?

By placing these TD trademark squares on the vitrines do the gallery curators transform powerful works of art into advertising for the bank?



Yves Klein
Blue (changing) sculpture, 1965
Bronze
IC 70-7

**Catherine
Boivin,
Ready to Wear,
Recycled
Denim Jeans,
2018.**

Should artists have control over how collectors present their work?

It's a question that we asked when visiting Banksy's piece and one we'll think about again when we visit Michael Snow's *Flight Stop* later.

For now, it's worth concluding this visit by noting that the assembly of this collection also coincided with the development of the very building in which it is now housed, the Toronto Dominion Centre, a building that at the time symbolized a growing Toronto's aspirations, and which would play an important role in the development of the PATH.

Before you return to the lower level of the PATH consider looking around the lobby of the bank. You will also find works from Brian Jungen (Dane-za-Swiss), famed Anishinaabe artist and curator Robert Houle, Caroline Monnet (Anishinaabe-French), Atikamekw artist Catherine Boivin and more.



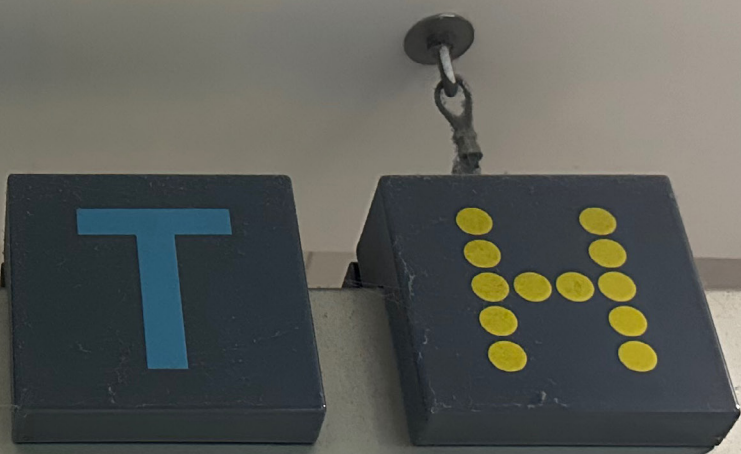
TORONTO

EXIT



DOMINION CENTRE





BYMARK



This unassuming hallway plays an important role in the history of The PATH but is also an important site in the history of Toronto.

The building it is a part of, and that you are standing in now, the Toronto Dominion Centre (TD Centre), reflects a time of dramatic change in how the growing city and Canada saw its place in the world and how that vision of a modern city and country was represented architecturally.

When TD Centre was being planned, Toronto had just hit a population of two million people and was on its way to overtaking Montreal as Canada's largest city—a feat it accomplished in 1981.

Energized by the impending celebration of Canada's "centennial" TD wanted to build a landmark that announced Toronto's arrival as a centre for global finance.

The years leading up to and following the centenary celebrations were also marked by the emergence of a new colonial narrative in Canada advanced by the government of Lester B. Pearson.

This story cast Canada as a welcoming, multicultural, modern country with a globally-minded perspective.

It also involved adopting new national symbols such as the maple leaf flag and to the dismay of some, downplaying historic and cultural ties to the United Kingdom.

The Toronto Dominion Centre

A new story for Canada

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe

The beginning of the modern PATH system

In line with this enthusiastic national and international spirit, TD would enlist the world-famous architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe to design what was at the time a first-of-its-kind project in Canada—a partnership between a bank (TD) and a commercial real estate developer, Fairview (now Cadillac Fairview) owned by the wealthy Bronfman family, who Mies van der Rohe had worked for previously.

The project would be Canada's largest office development, including multiple office towers, featuring a below ground retail concourse, connected to the Toronto Transit Commission's Line 1 subway. This underground level can be considered the beginning of the modern PATH system.

TD Centre was Mies van der Rohe's last work before his death in 1969. The building is what art historians call a "gesamtkunstwerk."



EXIT

WOMEN

OPTOMETRIST

The Great Toronto Fire

This long, German, word, means that Mies van der Rohe designed everything from the building, to its furniture and even the typefaces used in the building.

The vision was so complete that until the 1990s retailers were forbidden to use their own branding on their signage in favour of Mies van der Rohe's proprietary typeface.

The location of TD Centre was also symbolic. It was built on the site where the Great Toronto Fire of 1904 began.

The hallway you passed on your left when entering the TD Centre corresponds to the exact location in the Wellington street factory of the E & S. Currie Neckwear company, where the fire started. A new building for a new Toronto, built quite literally on the ashes of the old.



FIRST CANADIAN PLACE



TO ADELAIDE STREET







Directory

Even Floors
Use escalators to
Main Level









Do you smell that? That slightly chlorinated, rusty, musty, damp, smell?

We're near a water fountain.

If you grew up in Canada you know this smell. It's "mall water fountain smell" and it's so strong here you can almost feel the smooth terrazzo tile of a large public fountain set in the centre of a shopping centre or maybe a food court?

This scent is facilitated by the breakdown of bacterial microorganisms and algae. The odours of their end-of-life cycles, mixing with oxidizing copper pipes, carry, for me, the whiff of youthful nostalgia, memories of suburban teenage years.

What does this smell remind you of? Anything at all? Perhaps it will remind you of this place, when we smell it again in the Eaton Centre.

Smell is a powerful trigger for memory and it is also a form of wayfinding both toward the past and toward the future, consider the turn-of-phrase "follow your nose."

Think of how you've navigated The PATH. What different elements have guided you so far?

Have any other scents in The PATH caught your attention? What did they make you think of?

Mall Water Fountain Smell

Smell as wayfinding



SCOTIA PLAZA

PATISON



Scotiabank



ODD
FLOORS 3-21



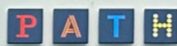
ADELAIDE ST

BAY ADELAIDE



FOR MORE INFO
VISIT www.ninki.com.au
PERSONS ONLY

REET WEST E CENTRE



P A T H

FINANCIAL DISTRICT

Bay Adelaide Centre
West Tower 1min

P A T H

DOWNTOWN YONGE

Hudson's Bay 2min
Sankofa Square 9min

we

By now you've likely noticed a few different styles of wayfinding infrastructure in the PATH.

You've also likely noticed the multicoloured PATH logo on walls, and above doors.

These colours are part of the original directional system of the PATH.

Each colour in the PATH system logo, and the colours used for the directional arrows on on these signs, represents a cardinal direction.

The problem is that most Torontonians don't know this!

North is blue and represents the colder temperatures of the north.

South is red for the heat of more southern climates.

East and West are represented by yellow and orange recalling the colours of the rising and setting sun respectively.

However this was not the first wayfinding scheme proposed for the PATH.



**Original PATH
wayfinding signs**

Wayfinding Controversies



A system that used guideposts resembling Toronto city street signs was rejected by the companies that govern the PATH.

They were concerned that such a design undermined their authority and would lead people to think that the PATH was public space.

In the twenty-first century new wayfinding signs were commissioned by the City of Toronto that focused on navigation by above ground landmarks.

The controversies around wayfinding signage and the challenges in designing an appropriate system underscore the political, physical, and perceived relationships that govern movement and movement through space.

P A T H

DOWNTOWN YONGE

Hudson's Bay 2min

Sankofa Square 9min





A small detour to my personal favourite artwork in the PATH.

If you climb the stairs and turn the corner you will see the other circle.

If you cross the courtyard and enter the nebuilding to the west, you can also visit a *Straight Flush*, a 2009 light installation by American artist James Turrell.

Another small reminder that the PATH is perhaps one of the best art museums in Toronto.

Micha Lexier
Two Circles
(Detail), 2016.
d. 6 7210 mm
650 000
Hand-Glazed
Ceramic Tiles,
Bay-Adelaide
Centre

Zen Kyoto

SUSHI & RAMEN

ZEN KITCHEN

MEXICANA



Scotiabank





We're now approaching the former, flagship location of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) department store.

In 2025, after three-hundred fifty-five years in business, the company ceased trading permanently.

Some commentators have linked its demise to its acquisition by American private equity firm NRDC Equity Partners in 2008.

When this walk was designed the American President was threatening to annex Canada and make it the "fifty-first state," there was an escalating trade war and rising animus between the two countries. At that time many people read the story of HBC's closure as a cautionary tale about the predatory nature of American capitalism or a parable about Canada-U.S. relations.

While perhaps a stretch to conflate HBC with the Canadian nation-state, it is no exaggeration to say that the company has played an outsized role in the development and colonization of the Land currently known as Canada.

The Hudson Bay Company

The Founding of HBC

But stories like this can be dangerous. These highly nationalist narratives tend to paint HBC, and by extension, Canada, as an innocent victim of American economic imperialism and aggression. This characterization ignores HBC and Canada's role in a similarly violent and ongoing colonial system that included slavery, and that wielded economic and military power in similar ways to the USA.

The Hudson's Bay Company was founded in 1670 by a royal charter granted by Charles II of the United Kingdom.

The colonial company was proposed by two French fur traders, Medard Chouart des Groseilliers and Pierre Esprit-Radisson (yes that's who the hotel chain is named for!) Rebuffed by their own King, the pair proposed a venture to Prince Rupert of the Rhine and his cousin Charles II. The charter granted to them would provide a way for the United Kingdom to enter the financially lucrative fur trade.

HBC's royal charter gave the British a monopoly on fur originating in the Arctic and Hudson Bay watershed. It gave the company control over one-third of the lands that comprise Canada today. The company called this territory "Rupert's Land, after their patron Prince Rupert. Of course Rupert's Land was not empty, nor was it the Crown's to give.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY



The outdoors:
when you think

Mountain
Equipment
Company

OPEN THIS HOLIDAY
11AM - 7PM

**EVERYTHING
MUST
GO!**

**EVERYTHING
0% TO 80% OFF**
LOWEST TICKETED PRICE
LIMITED EXCEPTIONS MAY APPLY



No one will ever know for certain how many people, languages, communities or nations lived in so-called Rupert's Land. The spread of diseases and violence brought about by European contact makes these numbers inestimable.

At the same time, for the Inuit, Dene, N  hiyaw, Eeyou, Anishinaabe, M  tis, Siksika, and other Indigenous peoples living in Rupert's Land, contact with HBC also provided opportunities to trade, and provide for their families. However it also encouraged a dependence on these trade networks and the European goods that came with them. In some cases this trade sowed discord and animosity between Indigenous peoples.

Control of Rupert's Land provided the HBC and the British Crown with opportunities to identify other resources beyond fur for extraction and development. This included searching for minerals and new trade routes to the global East including the Northwest Passage.

To do this HBC and the Crown relied heavily on Indigenous knowledge of the Land. It was the need for this knowledge that led to a change in company policy allowing its traders to intermarry with local populations.

The Hudson Bay Company

← **SUBWAY**

← **CF** Toronto Eaton Centre

It is from these relationships that the distinct Métis culture was born.

However, some scholars suggest the lack of seriousness with which some European men took these marriages can be considered the root of a culture of violence toward Indigenous women which continues today, and contributes to the disproportionate rates of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, transgender, and two-spirit people.

The collapse of the fur trade in the late nineteenth century led to the sale of Rupert's Land to Canada.

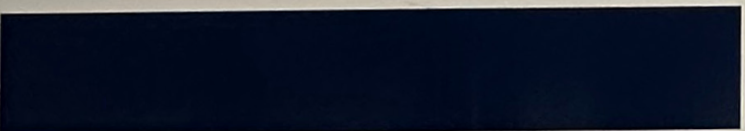
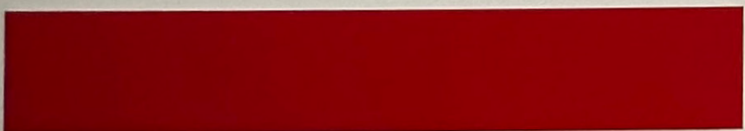
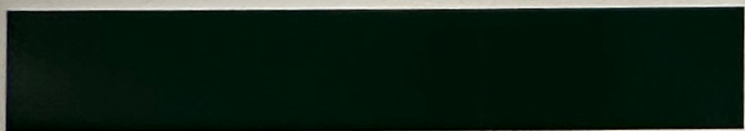
Of course the Land was not HBC's to sell, and this angered many Indigenous nations who were not consulted about any such arrangement.

This "sale" is what brought Manitoba, Saskatchewan, the Northwest Territories (and later Nunavut) into the Canadian confederation

Following the sale of Rupert's Land HBC pivoted into trading consumer goods rather than furs, and became the department store it is, or now was.

The colonial role of HBC has led many settlers to strongly identify HBC with the Canadian state and adopt its symbols such as the striped "point blanket" as de facto national symbols without much thought to the complex history they represent.

The Hudson Bay Company



Dundas

College

Wellesley

sub

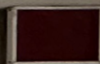
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A

United Rentals

**STORE
CLOSING**

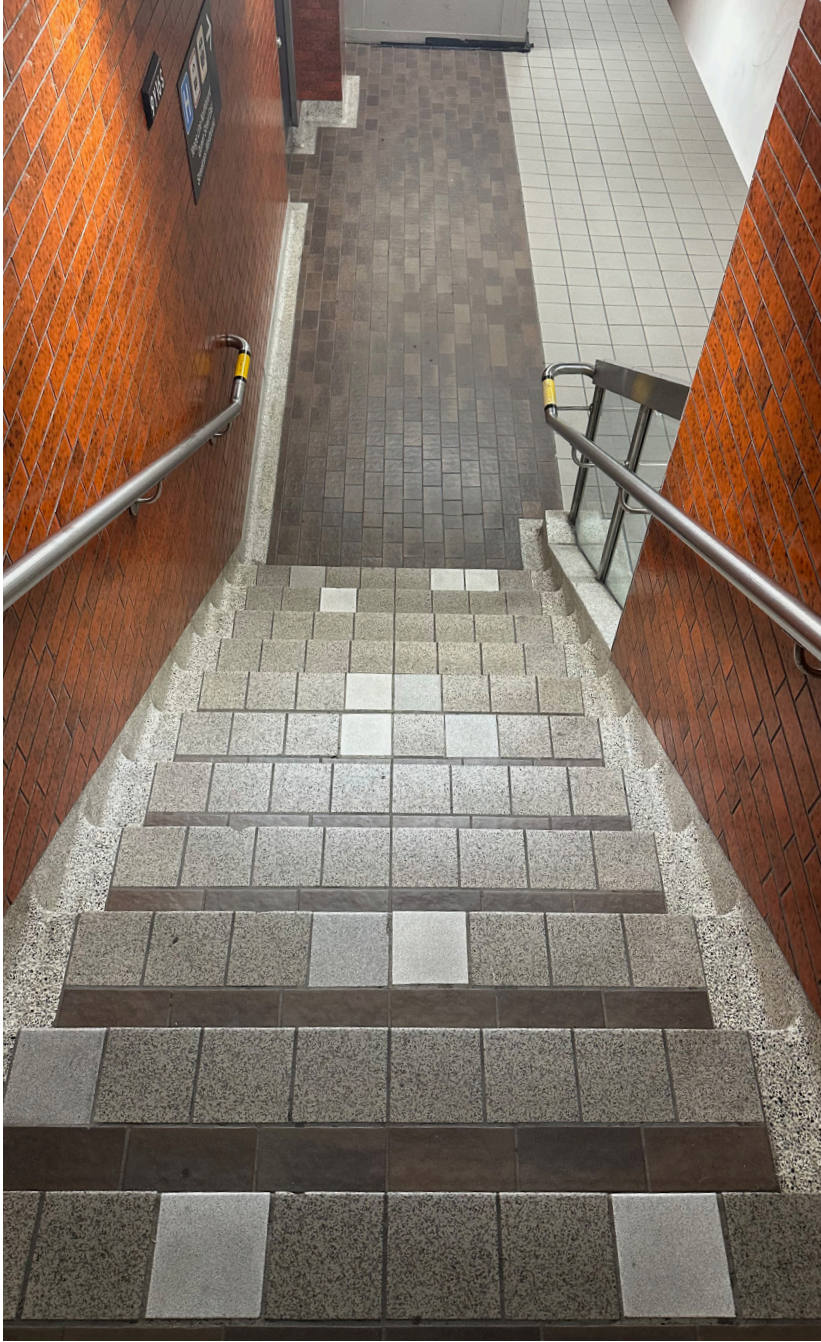
way













Stand on the brown tiles, and you'll be standing on the platform of one of Toronto's "lost" subway stations, Lower Queen Station.

In the 1940s city transit planners wanted to develop a streetcar subway along Queen Street from University Avenue to Church Street. Lower Queen Station was built into the Line 1 (Yonge University Line) Queen Street Station in the 1950s as part of this plan. The station was designed to be expandable should the city wish to add an additional subway line in the future.

It turns out the city did eventually want to add another subway line, but in a completely different place — Bloor Street. Thus Lower Queen Station remained unfinished.

But behind the wall in front of you a partial tunnel and tracks still exist.

Plans to revive Lower Queen Station have been a part of every major transit plan in Toronto up until the present.

However, changes to subway train technology have meant that Lower Queen Station will not be incorporated into the new The Line 6 (Ontario Line). Instead a new station is being dug below your feet.

Lower Queen Station

EXIT

ESCALATOR TO QUEEN



EN STREET EATON CENTRE





Welcome to the Eaton Centre. The Eaton Centre is Canada's third largest shopping mall, and because of its connection to the subway system by The PATH, it's also North America's busiest mall.

The mall is named for the Eaton's department store and factory which once stood on this site, and which became the first major retail tenant of the centre.

Eaton's was a major employer in Toronto in the late nineteenth and twentieth century. Its mail order catalog revolutionized the ways Canadians shopped and connected far-flung locales to popular consumer goods and trends.

Look up, and you'll see artist Michael Snow's *Flight Stop* (1979). The artist won a civil suit against the Eaton Centre in the 1980s for violating the "moral integrity" of his work by placing ribbons around the necks of the geese as part of a holiday display. The suit helped to change copyright law in Canada.

The Eaton Centre is located in the historic boundaries of St. John's Ward.

St. John's Ward was what urban planners today would call a "settlement community." It was home to newcomers, mostly poor Irish, and refugees from American slavery.

Eaton Centre

**Michael Snow,
Flight Stop
Foam, Fibreglass,
Photographic
Print, 1979.**

The Ward

The Ward

The Ward, as it is sometimes known, was a hotbed of Black cultural life in Toronto. It was home to many Black-owned businesses and some of the first Black churches in the city. There was a strong Jewish community, and later, Italian Portuguese, and Chinese people would call The Ward home.

The story of The Ward's demise as a neighbourhood is a familiar one and foreshadows the fate of other low-income, racially diverse communities in Canada such as Africville in Nova Scotia, or Hogan's Alley in British Columbia.

The neighbourhood is increasingly described in newspapers of the time as a slum. It's living conditions become a source of public health concerns. Subsequently, health concerns become moral concerns about the prevalence of sex-work, or the opportunities that the neighbourhood affords for "race-mixing." Eventually a highway is built through the middle of The Ward in the form of modern day Dundas Street.

This is not to say that the residents of The Ward did not face challenges or that their circumstances were not difficult.

But by presenting The Ward as a set of problems to be solved, rather than treating it as a place where people lived, government, the media, and erstwhile well-meaning people would further marginalize an already marginalized community. The encroachment of institutions such as Toronto City Hall, hospitals and the Ontario Legislature on The Ward's boundaries would also increase pressure on the neighbourhood and drive up real estate values.

In the 1950s the last remnants of The Ward, including Toronto's first "Chinatown" were demolished in order to build Toronto's new City Hall and Nathan Phillips Square. Later, the relocated Chinatown that you recognize today would be threatened again by plans to turn Dundas Street into a six-lane highway, a fate it escaped thanks to intense community activism.

The Eaton's Factory and Department Store which employed many residents of The Ward in the early twentieth century was demolished in stages, culminating in a mysterious 1977 fire that cleared the way for the building of the mall you are in right now.

But part of this complex still exists.

Chinatown

483 Bay

NO SMOKING
within 9 metres of Building
Entrance or Exit



NO VAPING



Street





Behind the doors to 438 Bay is the old Eaton's tunnel. Built in 1900, it once connected the department store and it's Annex building on Bay Street. It was incorporated into The PATH system to move office workers from the Bell Trinity Square building to the Eaton Centre and it's subway connections, dining, and shopping opportunities. This makes the tunnel you are in now, the oldest part of The PATH.

Once you've finished exploring the tunnel, you can return to the Eaton Centre. Turn left and follow your nose. Do you smell something familiar as you approach the fountain?

From the fountain, head north toward the subway.

As we near the end of The PATH we move closer to Dundas Street and Dundas TTC station.

Toronto's longest east-west street, Dundas Street, has been the subject of a high-profile public conversation over the role its namesake, 18th Century Scottish politician Henry Dundas, aka First Viscount Melville, played in delaying the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade.

The story of how this conversation began is a story to which this walk is connected.

The Old Eaton's Tunnel

Mall Fountain Smell (again!)

Dundas Street and Dundas Station.



Give the gift card that gets them anything.







DUNDAS



The author of the on-line petition that first raised the issue of Dundas Street's name, is also the creator of this walk.

I published the petition in 2020 at the height of that years' Black Lives Matter uprisings, in solidarity with long-standing calls from Black and Indigenous communities, to address place names that celebrate figures connected to white supremacy and colonial violence.

The idea to focus on Dundas Street was inspired by the work of Sir Geoff Palmer and Adam Ramsay to add a plaque to the Melville Monument in Edinburgh, Scotland detailing the human consequences of Dundas' efforts to delay abolition."

The petition gathered over fourteen thousand signatures and the process it began has resulted in major changes to Toronto's memorial landscape including the 2021 adoption of a new municipal commemorative policy, a 2022 vote by City Council to rename Dundas Street (now officially "on pause"), the naming of a library for the co-founder of the Ontario Black History Society, Daniel G. Hill. the adoption of Sankofa Square as the new name for Toronto's main municipal square, located just up the escalator and across the street from where you stand now.

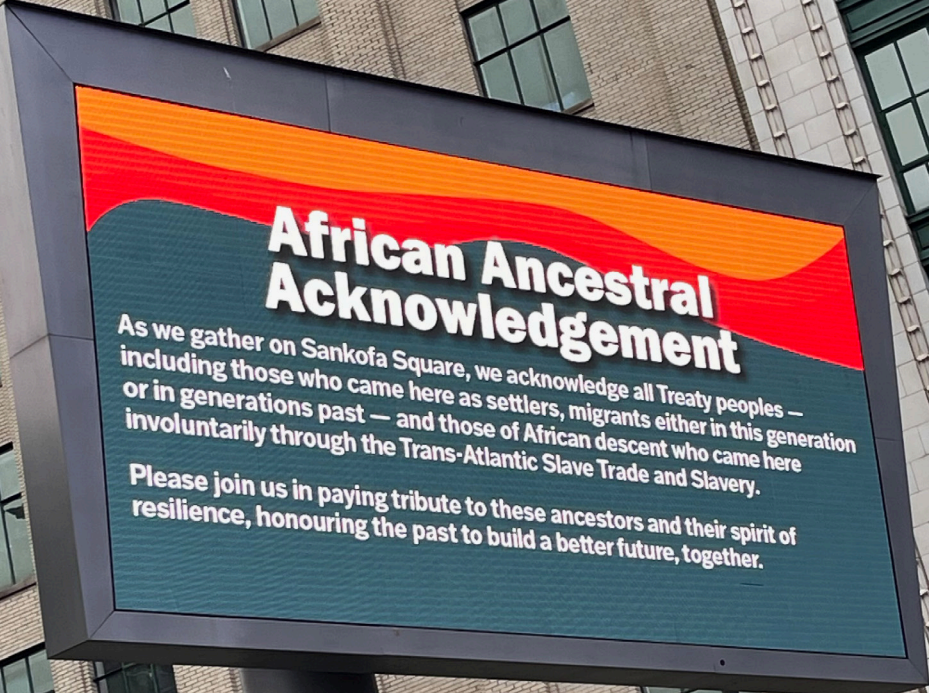
**Let's Rename
Dundas Street**

**Sir Geoff Palmer,
Adam Ramsay,
and Edinburgh's
Melville
Monument**

**A new
commemorative
framework for
Toronto**

**Daniel G. Hill
Library**

Sankofa Square

A large billboard is mounted on a brick building. The billboard has a dark grey frame and a background with a wavy orange and red top section and a dark teal bottom section. The text is white and bold. The billboard is positioned in front of a multi-story brick building with many windows. A large, dark, cylindrical structure is visible in the foreground, partially obscuring the billboard.

African Ancestral Acknowledgement

As we gather on Sankofa Square, we acknowledge all Treaty peoples — including those who came here as settlers, migrants either in this generation or in generations past — and those of African descent who came here involuntarily through the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and Slavery.

Please join us in paying tribute to these ancestors and their spirit of resilience, honouring the past to build a better future, together.

Sankofa is a Twi language word and concept from the Akan people. Embraced by the African diaspora, the idea of Sankofa means that it is okay to go back to the past to reclaim knowledge that informs the future.

The name Sankofa Square honours the contributions of African and African descended people to this Land, and to Canada. It also creates a powerful counter-monument to the still extant colonial names of Dundas Street and Yonge Street—both of which are connected to African slavery.

The decision by Toronto to address the commemoration of Henry Dundas has also helped to support and inform other renaming initiatives, including the decision to rename Ryerson University to Toronto Metropolitan University, and the decision by the Toronto District School Board to find new names for Ryerson, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Dundas Public Schools. *

In 2025 the Toronto Transit Commission Board of Directors, entered into a partnership with Toronto Metropolitan University that resulted in the renaming of Dundas Station to TMU Station.

*This decision resulted in the Provincial Government seizing control of the democratically elected school board.

Sankofa

**African ancestral
acknowledgement
at Sankofa Square**

**Toronto
Metropolitan
University**

**Toronto District
School Board**

TMU Station







Back underground, at what is now called TMU Station, you have come full circle, connecting to the beginning of your walk.

This is William Hodd McElcheran's Cross Section. The relief depicts the hustle and bustle of the daily commute and the diversity of Toronto as a city.

As you ride the escalator look closely and you may even catch a glimpse of the divine. McElcheran, who you'll remember began his career as a religious architect, depicts Christ himself amongst the busy crowds.

The way your upward movement and the movement of others in the station brings this terracotta relief to life is a good metaphor for the journey we have taken today.

Think about how your movements have animated the stories you encountered, the connections you have made between the spaces, Land, and knowledge you have gained. Consider how you will carry these stories and relationships with you and how you will share them with others.

Your walk has just begun.

**William Hodd
McElcheran,
Cross Section,
Terracotta,
Dundas Station,
Toronto,
1984.**







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