

October 15, 1969

Mr. George Grant
3350 Robie Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Dear Mr. Grant:

Dist'd. <u>8 Sep '94</u> (Date) Mayor (B) Ald., C/M, C/S, Ald. Aide, Press. Director Social Planning
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At the recent meeting of the Africville Action Committee with Mayor Allan O'Brien, a request was made that the Social Planning Office endeavor to provide for your further deliberation on various items of information. In that regard, we have been advised that -

1. Total cost to the City of Halifax for the Africville Relocation Program to date breaks down as follows:

Acquisition of land and buildings	\$475,362
Other costs associated with relocation	117,587
TOTAL	592,949

(Information furnished by Finance Department)

2. Approximate land area acquired 12.8 acres

(Information furnished by Development Department)

3. On December 21, 1967, the following staff recommendation was submitted to the Finance and Executive Committee:

"At the time of winding up its affairs, the Sub-Committee on Africville recommended that "if after complete expropriation of the Africville area, there is any increase in the value of the land, by reason of, or a portion of same, as defined by the City Council of the City of Halifax, that such amount should be allotted to the Trust Fund which has been established by the settlement of the Seaview Baptist Church for the education of the descendants of the area, whose homes were expropriated, and such Fund to expire December 31, 1967"

The Finance and Executive Committee in turn passed the following motion -

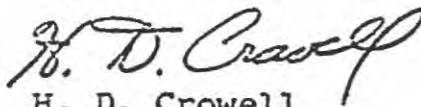
- 2 -

"That the appraisal of the Africville lands be deferred until development of the lands is proposed; and that pending receipt of development proposals, the matter be reviewed every six months."

(Information furnished by City Clerk's Office)

I trust that this information will be of assistance to your committee.

Yours sincerely,



H. D. Crowell
Social Planner

HDC/£

cc His Worship the Mayor
S.A. Ward - City Manager
Committee Members

Number of Africville Families that received a
Relocation Settlement

Forty Families

Fifty-one Individuals

Present Housing Conditions

Public Housing

31

Home Ownership

17

City-Owned Houses & Rents

51

Amount of Welfare Payments: 1963-1969

<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
None	\$1,764.04	\$13,333.50	\$24,186.49	\$61,591.44	\$21,862.03

1969

\$44,911.89

Debts as of November, 1968. Data from a survey by the Social Planning
Department, Halifax, City Hall

HOME LOANS	\$24,064 * \$136,000 =	\$180,064
RENTALS		48,085
Public Housing		<u>9,771</u>
Total		\$217,920

Africville: An Overview

Don Clairmont

Until the heavy immigration of West Indians in recent decades, Nova Scotia was considered to have been the major centre of the Black experience in Canada. Of all the Nova Scotian Black communities Africville has undoubtedly been the best known. Books, national and international magazine articles, television and radio programs, poetry and song - all have told the story of this small Black community which, in the late 1960s, was bulldozed out of existence, but which spiritually and symbolically has resisted burial.

Africville was an exceptional community and a symbol for the struggle against racism and segregation in Nova Scotia. While it was viewed negatively by Whites and Blacks alike, the community was nevertheless a magnet for both groupings. In addition, Africville represented the essence of the Black experience in Nova Scotia -- in its church soul, in its struggle against racism and even in its location, off the beaten-path, on the fringe of the White neighbourhoods. Although it was seen as a haven for the dispossessed, for most of the residents it was a community where they could trace their kinship ties to the founding families over a hundred years earlier.

Africville was founded by descendants of Black refugees from the war of 1812-1814 who were settled in the rocky, barren farmlands of Hammonds Plains and Preston in Halifax County. Seeking better economic opportunities in the City of Halifax, they purchased the properties in

the late 1840s. While it was within the City boundaries, Africville was separated from the mainstream of the City by being a Black community in a racist society, as well as by its location. It was always on its own, and did not receive the services from the City government that other communities received.

The purchase of about six acres of land each by William Brown Sr. and William Arnold in the late 1840s marked the beginnings of Africville. The contours of the settlement changed modestly over the years, but at the time of relocation, Africvilleans still owned a total of about twelve acres of land in the area. The community grew as other families such as the Dixons, the Carverys and the Byers soon followed the Browns and the Arnolds. The census of 1851 reported eighty Black persons living in the Africville area. At the time of relocation in 1964 the population was 400.

Throughout its first half-century Africville was quite rural in character. Goats, chickens and horses were commonplace, and fishing in the Bedford Basin was as much a part of their ^{life} ~~life~~ as paid employment. The population remained small as many Africville residents, like other Nova Scotians, migrated to the more prosperous "Boston States" in the last third of the nineteenth century.

In those early days, life in Africville was hard. Economically the first and second generation residents were not prosperous. Jobs were scarce and racism helped channel Blacks into the low-paying jobs. Few residents attained more than a rudimentary education in their school.

Nevertheless, the difference between Africville and other communities, including others in the City of Halifax, was not

overwhelming. Africville was clearly a viable community with some fine houses, plenty of space, some small-scale entrepreneurs and a strong community spirit rooted in kinship ties.

In 1883, after years of seeking financial aid, the community built a school. At that time, communities were responsible for funding their own schools, and racism often excluded "coloured children" from school attendance. The school served Africville until 1953, at which time children were transferred to integrated schools elsewhere in the City and the Africville school was closed.

Interviewed in the 1960s, 'virtually all the very elderly Africvilleans reminisced happily about their early years. They related stories of their parents riding on horseback through the "woods" around Africville; they talked of skating on the Bedford Basin and of riding the trains into the North Street Station. Others, referring to these early years as good years, recalled the greater independence of the residents and the greater well-being of the community in contrast to their experience in the later period. One respondent pointed out that even without City help the homes in the community were clean and well-kept.

Evidence from census data indicates that Africvilleans performed a wide variety of work between the early settlement days and the First World War. The land was not suitable for farming, but several families kept a few pigs, as well as vegetable gardens. Most Africville men were employed over the years in general labour and low-paid service work. In addition to truckmen who hauled away household waste, there were stonemasons and barrel-makers, longtime occupational specializations of

Blacks in Halifax County.

Most of the people who reported themselves as seamen had worked the ships travelling between Halifax and the West Indies, and they had settled down in Africville. Within the immediate area some short-term stevedoring work, especially loading or unloading coal, was available as was heavy, dirty work toting bags of fertilizer in a nearby bone-meal plant.

Africville women worked ^{to} what is now often called the "double day." A number were employed sewing bags in the bone-meal plant but most were employed as servants and washerwomen. Some of the elderly Africville women in 1968 spoke of cleaning "in most houses in Richmond [north Halifax] before the explosion [1917]", following the tradition of their own mothers. Government institutions hired Africville women to cook and clean and several were employed in the hospital and the prison overlooking the community.

A church congregation was formally established in 1849. When it joined with other Black baptist congregations to form the African Baptist Association in 1854 at Granville Mountain, its pastor was the Association's founder, the great Richard Preston. Preston was also the pastor of several other congregations at that time. Although Africville never had a resident pastor, the church was always the fundamental institution in the community, and the deacons who directed the church represented Africville to outside authorities.

Social life in the first fifty years revolved around the church, with special activities that brought together both the church-going and

the other members of the community. Baptisms, weddings and funerals held in the church fostered a sense of community. Especially significant in this regard was the Sunrise Service on Easter Sunday, a colourful occasion like other community festivities for which Africville was well known; one resident described the service as follows:

"They [church members led by the deacons] went into the church singing spirituals, around four or five o'clock in the morning when the sun came up, and did not come out till three p.m. ... People, including Whites, used to come from miles around to the sunrise service, sometimes from Truro and New Glasgow and usually from Preston and Hammonds Plains".

Also, through the church Africvilleans were linked to the other Black communities in Halifax County and to White congregations in the City. Africville frequently was the site selected for the picnic activities of other Black church organizations. Bedford Basin was an ideal baptismal font and throughout the years, numerous members of the African Baptist Association were baptised by being led into the waters at Africville. In 1874, the Reverend J. Thomas conducted one of the largest baptisms on record in the Halifax area, with forty-six candidates; the ceremony it was reported, "attracted a large concourse of persons from the City."

The Name 'Africville'

In its early years the community was named after the road around which it grew, namely Campbell Road. "Africville" became current around the turn of the century, though this name does appear as early as the 1860s in several petitions to government and in some land deeds. In the nineteenth century both "African" and "Men of Colour" were common descriptive terms. "African village" was perhaps the equivalent of the contemporary expression "Black community". Railroad documents around 1860 referring to business dealings in the area used the phrase "African Village"; the first reference to the settlement as Africville in the minutes of Halifax City Council was in 1867.

Interviewed at the time of relocation Africvilleans had mixed feelings about the name. There was a consensus that it had been imposed by White Halifaxians "because our ancestors came from Africa". At the same time there was ambivalence towards the name since it highlighted racial differences in a racist society. One elderly resident, very conscious of her people's ancestry in American slavery, was scornful of the African designation; "It wasn't Africville out there. None of the people came from Africa. You better believe it. It was part of Richmond [northern Halifax], just the part where the coloured folks lived." Some other elderly residents were more favourably disposed to the appellation, Africville, and hostile to "meddlers" who would have it otherwise.

When the Baptist church was established in the community it was designated the Campbell Road congregation. In 1885 its name was changed to Africville but in 1893 church members requested of the African

Baptist Association a reversion to the original name. It was later changed to the Seaview African United Baptist Church. Notwithstanding that, by the twentieth century the name "Africville" was firmly in place. In the years ahead mail was sent to persons in "Africville"; the local, segregated school bore the name, as did local athletic teams and other voluntary associations.

The Developing Community

"It was lovely, lovely. They talk about Peggy's Cove but I am going to tell you, it was the most beautiful sight you could want to see -Africville. You could get on a hill and look over Bedford Basin in the fall of the year, say from October to around December, and there was a sight to see, especially at twilight when the sun is sinking over the hills at Bedford...And another thing, during the war....when the convoys were in the Basin, there was another beautiful sight. It was one of the most beautiful spots I've been in, in Nova Scotia.

As Africville was developing so too was the rest of the City and the idyllic rural setting was eventually shattered by the roaring of trains and the buzzing of industries. The population of Halifax more than doubled between 1851 and 1915, and the City permitted industrial growth along the shores of the Peninsula to encroach on the residential area of Africville. Just several hundred feet from the settlement a bone-meal plant manufacturing fertilizer was constructed. A cotton factory, rolling mill/nail factory, slaughterhouse and port facility for handling coal completed the the first ring of encirclement; beyond

this ring were other factories and foundries.

When laying railroad tracks straight through the community in the 1850s, and subsequently expanding them twice before the First World War, the railway expropriated land from Africville residents and moved their houses without regard for the community. It was recognized by the Halifax Civic Planning Commission that these developments produced "blight and decay spreading over large areas, thereby resulting in serious reduction of residential values," yet they had not prevented this deterioration of the community.

Moreover, racism and the residents' lack of economic or political influence made the area a choice site for City service facilities not wanted elsewhere. The City closed sewage disposal pits in the south-end of Halifax under citizens' pressure and relocated them on the edge of the community in 1858. They had the Infectious Diseases Hospital built on the hill overlooking Africville in the 1870s, followed by the Trachoma Hospital in 1903. Such developments continued into the twentieth century with, for example, a stone-crushing plant and an abattoir on the edges of the settlement. A culmination was reached in the mid-1950s when the City moved the large open City dump, labelled a health menace by City council and resisted by residents of other areas, to a site just 350 feet from the westernmost group of Africville homes.

Halifax City Council minutes clearly indicate that in addition to using this area for facilities not tolerated in other neighbourhoods, the eventual industrial use of Africville lands was planned. As Halifax was experiencing industrial expansion, there were several resolutions adopted by Council to expropriate the Africville lands. While for one

reason or another these resolutions were not acted upon, the City's policy was spelled out in the following, a response to an interested business in 1915:

"The Africville portion of Campbell Road will always be an industrial district and it is desirable that industrial operations should be assisted in any way that is not prejudiced to the interests of the public; in fact, we may be obliged in the future to consider the interests of industry first."

In 1916, upon request of Africville residents, City Council allowed the use of City-owned property as the site for a new church in the community. A short-term lease was granted with the City engineer's recommendation as follows:

"It is not desirable that the City should part with any of its property in Africville for any such purpose, as it is probable that in the near future, all property in this district will be required for industrial purposes and it will be abandoned as a residential district."

Throughout this early period as Africville's residential value was being run down, there was little evidence in official records of any concern about this devaluation nor about what might happen to Africville residents had the land they occupied been in fact expropriated, nor what their wishes may have been. In fact there is no record of any concern for the health and safety of the Africville residents in relation to the hazards posed by these developments. One Africville resident summed up the situation saying, "They said the people in Africville encroached on the government but I would say the government encroached on the people."

The lives of Africville residents, in fact, deteriorated because of the encroaching industrial development. Complaints and petitions, whether for police services, building permits, or garbage pickup, fell

on deaf ears, and over time the City's attitude towards them became one of neglect only disinterest and disregard for their requests by the City.

This was clearly illustrated in the City's treatment of a important Africville petition in 1919. Partly as a consequence of developments relating to the First World War and partly as a natural unfolding of the City's negative attitudes and practices, bootlegging and raucous living had become a serious problem for the community. Many residents collaborated in preparing the following a petition to City Council in June 1919:

"We, the undersigned ratepayers, do hereby make application for better police protection at Africville. We base our application on the following grounds; that a police officer seldom or never visits this district, except for a warrant or subpoena; the conditions that now prevail here are worse than at any time before; that these lamentable conditions tend to turn the majority away from the good teaching which they have received; that there is now an utter disregard of the Lord's Day by many residents; that there are many persons, strangers in our midst, living openly in a state of debauchery, which must corrupt the minds of youth for we are more or less subject to our environment; that there is nightly confusion, carousal and dissipation which disturb the peaceful night; that these carousals have been the centres for spreading infection throughout the village; that we believe, if this disgraceful state of affairs continues there will be grave crime or crimes committed.

Our earnest desire is that your Honourable Body, in this period of reconstruction, carefully consider our application so that the omission of the past may be rectified and by your assistance the evil influence now at work may be greatly reduced; then shall we be better able to train the young in the way of good citizenship and place the village on a better plane of Social Welfare."

Like other Africville petitions and protests, this one received short shrift from City officials. While other Haligonians enjoyed police protection, the petitioners were advised that "the City department had no spare men to send such a distance", that the residents should "form their own police department and anyone they

appoint to act as a policeman, the Mayor would swear in as a Special Constable" and that "in the event of any serious trouble being reported the Chief is always in a position to send a squad to this district".

Reconstructing the history of Africville through records and interviews one could almost sense the drop in community spirit and morale that followed upon this blatant acknowledgement of powerlessness. The community had tried once again to put their community on equal footing with the rest of the City, but the officials rejected their request.

Vulnerable to Change

Subsequent to the First World War, Africville became increasingly vulnerable to relocation plans. Most residents continued to press for changes and coped as best they could. Frustrated, some ambitious and regularly-employed residents moved out of the community to obtain modern services and other opportunities, or they encouraged their children to do so. Disadvantaged and problem-laden persons, Black and White, some displaced by developments in the City centre, moved in, usually as renters on Africville land and sometimes occupying City property. The growth of population and the informality of property boundaries combined with this modest influx of renters, created an image of disorganization. The influence of church leaders also began to wane as it was clear that they could not bring about any progressive action by the City. Africville's social problems grew and it acquired a bad reputation among both Blacks and Whites in the Halifax area.

Interviewed around 1970, several non-Africville Black Haligonians recalled that when younger, they were warned by their parents against

Increasingly then Africville became stereotyped as a slum, a hazardous place, a community of "drifters." It was an incorrect view that weighed heavily on the many sixth-generation residents with keen memories of past struggles and past glories (Africville for example produced a world champion boxer, George Dixon, an ordained minister, Edward Dixon, and a nationally recognized singer, Portia White, taught in its school). And it belied what one writer has aptly called the true story of the community, namely "the story of many persons who have managed to keep their pride despite circumstances that would have ground many of us under". In addition, of course, it disregarded the many well-kept homes and the community-spirited people striving to keep the flame alive, no matter what the odds.

Throughout this period, from the end of the First World War to the time of relocation, the City's attitude towards Africville did not change. The emphasis was on eliminating the community rather than helping it. One elderly relocatee noted in 1968: "Ever since I was old enough to understand, they [City officials] were talking about relocation. They talked about it so much that we thought it would never happen."

happen."

The gap between services and facilities available in Africville and those provided elsewhere in the City widened. While the rest of Halifax evolved into an attractive, modern urban site, the City failed to pave the roads in Africville. The City did not provide garbage and snowplow service, water and sewerage facilities, or building-code enforcement. City officials used as an explanation the fact that the City had zoned this residential community for industrial development. Failure to make improvements and to provide services went on even in the face of known health hazards. For example the makeshift wells in Africville ran dry in the summer and were a constant threat to health. In 1954 the City Manager noted:

"The water supply in Africville is from shallow wells which show more contamination than is desirable. The proximity of privies to these wells is particularly bad with the rocky soil conditions. The City of Halifax has been fortunate that no serious health conditions have resulted from this situation."

In the aftermath of a major fire in 1947, the future of Africville was publicly debated. City staff and aldermen for the most part reiterated the view that rather than extending water and sewerage to Africville, "the property...be cleared in case some industry might want to go there". For once Africville residents were consulted on the matter. They expressed a strong desire to remain in the area and to work with the City in developing the community. Their views were

ignored.

In 1957 a fire in Africville claimed the lives of three children. The absence of a water main and hydrants in Africville made the community very vulnerable and also prevented residents' obtaining insurance coverage. In the early 1960s, after a fire had destroyed one of the best homes in the community, the deputy fire chief said "the location is inaccessible and the lack of hydrants added to our difficulty." The victim whose home was not insured was quoted as saying:

"We have all tried up here to get a proper water supply. Two houses have burned in the last five years. But it's hopeless; they just won't do anything for us."

A strong sense of alienation and powerlessness was left in the community. Clearly, the City was unwilling to provide services. Yet protests and petitions continued and sometimes there were small victories.

In the late thirties, for example, Africville residents successfully petitioned for their own postal suboffice (prior to this they had to walk seven miles to mail letters), for a few street lights and for street numbers. But the sense that the community would never be properly developed as a fully serviced urban site caused potential strong leaders to migrate -especially in the period immediately

following the Second World War. One local Black authority on Africville observed:

"There seemed to be in the community the feeling that nothing could happen anyway, a sort of pessimistic, not cynical, but a lack of confidence and a feeling that nothing is going to happen and if it does, so what? There is nothing we can do about it. They tried in so many ways to get little improvements. They tried for ordinary services...and they failed....you see, the community had reached a stage where it became a sort of haven, a refuge for the people who couldn't keep their heads above the water in the City, [sic] not the stable and solid families that settled the community initially. This brought out a change in the community and in the community spirit".

As might be expected, there were corresponding changes in the vitality of the church. Baptisms became less frequent and by 1960 only a handful of the baptized residents were under forty years of age. Regular church attendance declined, rarely exceeding thirty. In the years just before relocation, the church was rarely opened except for church services, limited to one each Sunday. A minister who served Africville during the 1950s observed that "the church was the only organization [the Africville residents] had and then, the church only had a few people who were interested."

The church elders became less influential as both they and others acknowledged powerlessness; as one deacon observed in 1968: "The government is a powerful machine to fight against. They will use their power to defeat you. That is why I was one of the first families to move from Africville [at the time of relocation]."

Despite the racism, the stigmatization, the City neglect, the loss of much leadership potential through out-migration and the decline of the church's practical leadership, Africville continued to be a viable and valued community. It was still a place where everyone knew one another, and where most people were related by kinship to one another and to the original settlers. As noted, when consulted by City officials in 1948, the residents indicated their desire to stay and develop the community with some governmental assistance. And in the 1950s, when for a while building permits were being issued, fifteen residents (of the sixteen who applied) obtained permits to repair their dwellings or erect new structures.

Like any genuine community, Africville was clearly always being rejuvenated by new generations and new leaders even as it was being battered by formidable forces. Accommodations had to be made but the struggle for community and well-being was always enjoined and perhaps the successes were especially meaningful given the adversity faced.

The church continued to have profound symbolic importance for Africvilleans. It was the soul, the historical continuity,

of community, the tangible evidence of value but it was not an effective vehicle for practical social change. Perhaps the Africvilleans' profound struggle was reflected in the often moving church services for which the Africville congregation was well known. One local Black minister who served several churches in the area commented in an interview in 1968:

"If you know anything about soul music today...they had it in Africville. I always made a point when I really wanted to put some life in my church, I brought them in. Whenever I announced that the Africville group would be there, the church would be filled."

(sidebar) to b.3.

Africville's population groupings

There were four recognized population groupings in Africville, defined by their property and housing claims, depth of their kinship ties and their involvement in the church.

The largest group of adults were residents with direct kinship links dating to the early years of the community who owned their land their homes; many were active in the church.

The second group of home owners were those Black adults who had married into the community. Typically, they had regular employment and were comparatively well-off. Some participated prominently in church-related activities and were community leaders. They were the most vocal group when it came to relocation and were among the first group to be negotiated

with.

These two groups, roughly two-thirds of the Africville population, lived in the main settlement area.

There were a small number of families who lived in houses built ^{on} land they did not own, and some of these residents lived there for brief periods only. This group made up roughly 5 percent of the Africville population. It included both Whites and Blacks. Virtually all adults, these people usually had kinship ties in the community. They inhabited the worst housing in Africville, in an area known as "round the bend."

The fourth group of residents, perhaps 25 percent of the adult population, lived in the area called "Big Town," off to the right [south?] of the main settlement. These people were Blacks who had mostly moved into the Africville area primarily in the 1930s and 1940s. They were ^{thought} to be living on land that did not belong to them, although some "Big Town" residents did own their land. To a large extent they were irregularly employed and uninvolved in church activities. The "Big Town" area had a reputation within and outside the community for its raucous lifestyle. To the extent that social control officials - police, health and welfare officials and the like - had dealings in Africville it was mostly with the residents of "Big Town."

RELOCATION OF AFRICVILLE

The people of Africville

By the middle of this century Africville had become a ~~only a~~ moderately diversified community. The large majority of residents were Black with deep roots in the community. Including children, seventy-five percent of all Africville inhabitants in 1959 had lived ⁱⁿ there all their lives and about the same percentage could trace kinship ties back to the founding families a hundred years earlier. ~~Among those~~ residents born and raised in Africville, ~~the large majority~~ (about eighty percent) ~~had never lived anywhere else~~. About twenty-five percent had lived in Africville for less than nine years. Also within a five-year period, without any change in the overall population total, there had been a gross migration of eleven families and eight boarders.

On The Eve of Relocation

In 1959 the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, conducted a survey of socio-economic conditions among Blacks in Halifax. Data from this survey provide a snapshot of Africville just prior to relocation. Fully fifty percent of the 394 residents counted were under fifteen years of age, roughly twice the percentage for Halifax as a whole.

Only a third of Africville's labour force had regular employment and fewer still had full-time work. Roughly seventy percent of the employed males and females worked as domestics/cleaners or labourers/stevedores. Tradesmen, porters, and clerical workers were few in numbers. About one-fifth of the eighty Africville households had an earned income in 1958 of more than \$3000. One person reported an individual 1958 income of more than \$4000, while 47% of the Africville workforce reported a 1958 earned income of less than \$1000, compared with less than five percent at that level of income in Halifax as a whole.

Among the Africville residents who were out of school, more than forty percent had attained grade 6 or less and four males and one female had reached grade 10. More than sixty percent of the Africville school children were behind in their educational achievement (i.e., older than they should have been for the grade they were in) and only one of the school children at that time was beyond grade seven.

The survey asked household heads about their views on living in the community. Roughly sixty-five percent of the respondents reported their liking for living in Africville and their reluctance to move. About one quarter both disliked living there and said that they would be willing movers. Most of these were household heads who had married into the community and who were most likely to be regularly employed and earn over \$3000. These people were also among the most vocal members in

the community.

However disadvantaged Africville residents may have been in terms of jobs, income, education and amenities, the community provided much of value for its members. For a wide variety of reasons most residents wanted to stay there and develop the community. Africville residents often used mid-city Blacks as their reference standard on housing and general life style, and they noted that Africville "was better than in the City, better than some of those slums downtown"; they added that the cost of accommodation also was substantially less in Africville. While the church was still the only community organization, Africville residents enjoyed a rich, informal and neighbourly life. And despite the poor conditions, most adults expressed optimism that their children would somehow have a better life without needing to relocate. In fact according to the 1959 survey, the number one concern of household heads was not housing or jobs but the quality of education that the children were receiving.

In sum, on all the socio-economic indicators noted above, namely size of dependent population, work, income and education, the Africville averages were less favourable than those of Blacks and Whites elsewhere in the City. And of course the lack of City services, the difficulty of securing any kind of fire insurance and City Hall's indifference to zoning, building and other specifications meant that housing varied in quality and land ownership was often not clear. Personal pride

and community tradition accounted for the fact that so many homes were presentable, especially on the inside. The best housing was in the main settlement area where all the homes had electricity and about fifteen had stone or cement foundations. Nineteen properties were assessed at more than \$1000 in 1962.

In 1964 Reverend W.P. Oliver, the distinguished Black leader in Nova Scotia and former pastor to Africville, writing as regional representative of the Adult Education Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Education, noted the substandard level of City services to the area: "The community presents a picture of neglect, poor roads, primitive and unsanitary wells and outside privies."

City officials tried to blame residents rather than accept responsibility for the substandard services. They said that the costs of existing City services (educational and welfare services) to Africville far exceeded the taxes levied and that much tax was in arrears. They were also quick to cite appraisal reports which contended in 1961 that "only thirteen deeds could be documented" and "there were no more than two lots as marketable commodity (sic) with legal title in Africville." Yet the City did not apply the test of tax revenues compared to spending to other areas. The failure of the City to see its own role in Africville's lower standards is another illustration of racism towards the community.

When the relocation push came from City officials in the early 1960s, Africville residents were economically hard-

pressed and poorly organized. The social structure of the community was complex. Sixth-generation residents rubbed shoulders with White transients. A strong church tradition co-existed with a widespread and largely false reputation of raucous living.

Essentially Africville was a small Black community, with a majority of its population interrelated through kinship ties, and possessing an exceptional sense of historical continuity. But the community lacked the political power and influence. Outsiders, Black and White alike, could not see Africville as viable and its continued existence as desirable.

Moving People: Relocation and Urban Renewal in the 1950s/60s

In the 1950s and 1960s, urban renewal and public housing construction became commonplace in cities throughout Canada and the United States. In Canada, under the partnership funding of federal, provincial and municipal governments, programs were designed to demolish and rebuild downtown areas. The people displaced by these plans were usually of low socio-economic status, often ethnic minorities. Their homes, often labelled "slums," were destroyed and the area developed for business or institutional purposes. The displaced persons were offered rent-subsidized, public housing owned and managed by a municipal housing commission, although many chose to go elsewhere.

The people promoting urban renewal emphasized economic

revitalization, beautification, the elimination of slums and the provision of more adequate housing for the disadvantaged. Such programs were part of a widespread pattern of relocation and mobility carried out by government during this period. Large relocations took place in Newfoundland and other rural areas.

In urban renewal the demolition of housing in one area and the relocation of its residents was justified on the grounds that both the city and the residents would benefit. Beautification and civic pride, attracting industry and increased revenue from taxes were among the expected civic benefits. The residents who were directly affected would presumably receive better housing -- usually public housing.

Nevertheless, the formulation and implementation of urban renewal was controlled by politicians and planners. They assumed that the outcome would benefit the relocated residents even when the people affected disagreed and said so. Often the organizing group were in close collaboration with developers.

In the situations where the residents' needs were considered, the assumption was that life-style and life opportunities of the disadvantaged could be improved by being displaced and moved to new, usually higher-quality housing. By combining programs of educational upgrading, job-skills training and counselling with dramatic change in housing, urban renewal could solve poverty and other social problems.

In Canada, major pioneering urban renewal projects in

Toronto in the mid-1950s and early 1960s received positive evaluations by the original planners. One of these early activists was Albert Rose, professor of social work at the University of Toronto, who was later brought to Africville.

The large public housing areas that were constructed for relocatees (e.g. Regent Park, Alexandra Park) were deemed by researchers to represent improved housing. Studies indicated that people relocated in public housing fared better and were more satisfied than those who moved into private housing, though this comparison said more about the substandard condition of the private housing people moved into than it did about the quality of public housing.

Large rent-subsidized public housing complexes did provide better housing people could afford on the private market. Apart from housing, urban renewal in Canada received positive assessments since, unlike much American experience, it did not appear to destroy social networks and generate profound social uprooting. For example, persons displaced by urban renewal in Toronto and in Winnipeg tended to maintain their social networks and in any event they had an average length of residence in their of area of less than 10 years.

Halifax and the "Africville Problem"

As noted in Chapter 2, the relocation of Africville people and the use of the land for industrial or services purposes had been favoured by the City for many decades. Indeed, several

minor relocations had occurred over the years to accommodate railway expansion and many policy statements had been advanced in City Council suggesting wholesale relocation might be imminent. Two events in particular translated this longstanding intent into reality, namely the Stephenson Report of 1957 and the creation of the City's Department of Development in 1961. These events in turn relate back to the modernization and growth of Halifax and the launching of widespread urban renewal in Canada.

Stimulated by the Second World War, Halifax -- and Canada generally -- experienced significant population and economic growth in the decade, 1945-55. By 1956, its population had reached 93,000, a fourfold increase since 1856 and within the same City boundaries. The surrounding metropolitan area was also growing rapidly, gaining an additional 60,000 people between the end of the war and 1956. Industrial development, especially on the waterfront was steadily advancing, and the peninsula of Halifax was clearly being "pushed to its limits." Also, as in other Canadian cities at this time, Council was setting up committees to examine housing problems and relate to new urban renewal programs launched by the two senior levels of government.

The Halifax branch of the Community Planning Association of Canada, an influential voluntary organization of planners, politicians and high status community activists, pressed for housing reform and modernization. They encouraged the City to

hire a noted city planner, Gordon Stephenson, Professor of Town and Regional Planning, University of Toronto, to investigate housing conditions and needs and to recommend redevelopment policies for Halifax.

[The Stephenson Report]

Stephenson recommended urban renewal and redevelopment schemes for several areas of Halifax, including Africville. In his report he commented on Africville as follows:

"There is a little frequented part of the City, overlooking Bedford Basin, which presents an unusual problem for any community to face. In what may be described as an encampment, or shack town, there live some seventy negro families.... The citizens of Africville live a life apart. On a sunny day, the small children roam at will in a spacious area and swim in what amounts to their private lagoon. In winter, life is far from idyllic. In terms of the physical condition of buildings and sanitation, the story is deplorable. Shallow wells and cesspools, in close proximity, are scattered about the slopes between the shacks.

There are only two things to be said. The families will have to be rehoused in the near future. The land which they now occupy will be required for the future development of the City."

The report conveyed a tone and outlook on Africville that was commonplace among the experts, professionals and even activists who became involved in determining the community's future. It avoided the question of the City's responsibility in the state of the community. Africville was identified more as a problem than an opportunity, and its people were objects of pity not justice. Rightly indignant about external conditions in the community, the outsiders had little knowledge of the history of community and its past struggles, and they put very

little value on the idea of community itself.

In identifying the value of the land for industrial and harbour development, the Stephenson report echoed the City's past deliberations and stimulated further activity by City staff in planning for expropriation, plans that were already afoot. In 1954 a report was approved by Council to expropriate the Africville property for industrial purposes and solve "the long-standing problem of Africville" by moving the community en masse to a properly serviced and laid-out site on City-owned property about two miles away; the report was never acted upon.

In 1957 the City did expropriate some property owned by an Africville resident for a proposed Industrial Mile, a land assembly on the basin shore. While this project failed to materialize, the concept was incorporated in the City's 1962 North Shore Development Plan which called for "a limited access expressway to pass through the Africville district which is slated for removal starting in the spring"; this plan too was never implemented as such.

Although little concrete action took place with respect to these redevelopment proposals, the heightened activity and the great number of reports and council motions were clear signals of the City's eagerness to use the land for economic growth. At the same time, momentum was building on the housing front too, as a result of the Stephenson Report. In 1961, Council's Housing Policy Review Committee recommended clearance of

existing housing in Africville.

With the establishment of a Development Department in the same year to coordinate all phases of the development and redevelopment of the City, including an urban renewal program, the die was cast -- "to examine and recommend a solution to the Africville problem" was now a key priority for the Department. City staff reports were prepared arguing that, although Africvilleans were reluctant to relocate, complete relocation on an individual household basis was the only realistic way.

Large scale programs had been implemented in the north and central areas of the City, close to Africville. A large public housing complex, Mulgrave Park, had been built to house the many low-income Black and White families relocated by these developments and more public housing was being planned. In terms of either the number of people or the number of homes affected by the overall urban renewal at this time, Africville was to account for less than 10% of the City's relocation up to 1965.

Overall, the City's approach was a program where the priority was on urban economics and beautification, not the needs of the residents.

In the Development Department's report released in July, 1962 recommending the elimination of Africville, it was estimated that the cost of acquisition and clearance of Africville property would range between \$40,000 and \$70,000. Alternative housing would be offered in unsegregated,

subsidized rental public housing. Residents without legal title to the land where their house stood would receive a payment of \$500 as compensation for giving ~~up~~ their home to the City. Residents with proof of land ownership -- and it was felt this would be a small number -- could claim compensation through the courts or in negotiation with the City.

There was nothing about the historical injustices, nothing about the community life and nothing about new life opportunities for the people. In October 1962 acting upon this report the Committee of the Whole, meeting in Council Chambers at the City Hall, adopted these measures unanimously.

Africville's Response

The day after the report of the Development Department was released to the press, J. Ahern, the M.L.A. for the area, called for a public meeting in Africville. He argued that relocation was unnecessary and certainly unwanted by Africvilleans, adding "Africville could be developed into one of the finest residential districts in Halifax at a very low cost."

One evening in August 1962, local politicians and some one hundred Africville residents and supporters crowded into the small Seaview African United Baptist Church. As in 1948 when the City asked for residents' views and as in 1959 when the Institute of Public Affairs undertook its survey, the

Africvilleans strongly rejected relocation and urged instead that they be allowed to stay in Africville and develop it according to City specifications.

No momentum of community protest or political leadership developed from this public meeting, and any potential for protest or continued resistance was undermined by the City staff and well-intentioned outsiders. Africville's own response to imminent relocation got channelled in a totally different direction, one that was in keeping with current thinking.

Formation of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee

In 1961, prior to the official establishment of the Development Department an Africville resident, Joe Skinner was frustrated at not being able to secure a building permit to build a ranch-style bungalow on his Africville land. Through his railway union contacts he sought advice from the Montreal office of the National Committee on Human Rights, in the Canadian Labour Congress. He was advised, along with a handful of other Africvilleans who allied with him, to "organize the people of Africville into a group...and...press your case until the City takes remedial action." A ratepayers association was formed whose core members were Skinner, Leon and Emma Steede, deacons [need first names] Mantley and Jones, and Harry Carter.

Association members, limited in resources, perceiving themselves without local allies and increasingly worried about

the relocation threat, sought further assistance from the National Committee on Human Rights. In August 1962 the committee sent to Halifax "our best man in this field ... Alan Borovoy, a lawyer and our Ontario Human Rights Director ... [well-respected for] breaking down discrimination and obtaining anti-discrimination legislation in the housing field."

Borovoy travelled to Halifax from Toronto for a short visit and brought together the core members of the ratepayers association and a small group of White and Black community leaders in the Halifax area. As a result, the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee (HHRAC) was formed with the tasks of assisting the Africville group and, as well, becoming active in advancing human rights legislation in employment and in housing. From then on the fate of Africville and its response was inextricably linked to HHRAC.

At that time in Canada and the United States there was not only an optimism about government programs of urban renewal, but also a strong civil rights movement emphasizing individual rights and freedoms and opposing racial segregation, unfair housing and employment practices.

Alan Borovoy was one of the leading proponents of civil liberties in Canada. It is not surprising that he would emphasize that a "Black ghetto should not be subsidized" and that he would stress the importance of racial integration. From the outset he would see Africville in the context of the larger struggle against segregation in Nova Scotia, and

elsewhere in North America.

Like Professor Stephenson, he had little appreciation of Africville's history and of its value as a community. He perceived Africville to be a slum and relocation to be virtually inevitable. Since his organization had no resources to commit to Africville and since his contacts indicated that Africvilleans had no strong power base from which to bargain, he considered that the best strategy for Africville was to develop an organization of influential Blacks and Whites which could be an important support resource for them.

This same basic thinking appears was shared by most core non-Africville members of the new Human Rights Committee, all of whom had a record of significant involvement in the human rights field. Strongly opposed to segregation and discrimination, they considered the relocation of the residents to be inevitable and saw their role as assisting Africvilleans get the best possible deal from the City. There was some recognition, especially but not only by the Black members, that Africville was a community not just a collection of people. At the same time, they had little familiarity with Africville's people or history and most conceived the community resourceless and slum-like.

Although seventy-one persons attended meetings of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee (HHRAC), over the time it dealt with Africville, the core non-Africville members numbered seven, four Whites (two educators, a businessman and a

union leader) and three Blacks (a principal, a lawyer and a minister). None of the local area's elected politicians, at any of the three levels of government, took on a role. Few Africville residents were involved either.

The HHRAC met forty times between 1962 and 1967 but only five Africville residents attended more than two of these meetings, seven of which were held in Africville's Seaview Church. The chief Africville participants were the Steedes and Harry Carter. The Steedes in particular were widely respected in Africville as a caring, friendly couple who could articulate the community's concerns. Still, even they had no mandate to represent the whole of Africville. They largely acted as go-betweens to the community for HHRAC and others and themselves called no meetings of Africville residents.

Once HHRAC came on the scene it became the only channel used for Africville-City contact regarding relocation plans and related considerations. Subsequently only one formal meeting of Africville residents was held outside HHRAC auspices. In October 1962 a meeting called by the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured Persons , chaired by Rev. W. Oliver and attended by some thirty Africville residents, was held at the Seaview Church. Published accounts indicate that the participants discussed the relocation question and concluded that under the circumstances relocation was almost inevitable and therefore emphasis should be placed on bargaining for the best terms possible.

Within two months of a large public meeting where most if not all Africvilleans present indicated their rejection of the City's plans to relocate them, relocation was deemed to be "almost inevitable" by the residents as well as their advocates. It would appear that the basis for independent community action was quite limited and that outside allies could not be convinced of the community's viability. From here on HHRAC's core non-Africville members became in effect the community's representatives. They focused on obtaining better terms and compensation for the residents. While the involvement of these committee members did not cause any basic alteration in the Development Department's plans about Africville, it did result in the subsequent relocation requiring a great deal more of City money and staff time than anticipated.

Throughout the fall of 1962 and the whole of 1963, the HHRAC pursued various relocation issues with both Africville residents (basically the handful identified above) and City staff (basically the Development Department). HHRAC conveyed the concerns and questions which Africvilleans and others had to the Director of the Development Department who in turn provided written responses to the committee. As represented in documents of the HHRAC, Africville residents were specifically concerned with getting a "house for a house," with meeting the costs, financial and otherwise, of new housing arrangements and in obtaining a fair deal for their property. More generally

they and the HHRAC members wondered about the value of the land for industrial purposes and whether there was any alternative to the individual household relocation plan being suggested.

The responses of the Development Department were businesslike, rational and devoid of any sense of responsibility to Africville or any special generosity on the City's part. The City said that while the area was designated for industrial usage no such plan was imminent. It said that there was no alternative to individual household relocation since the costs for bringing Africville up to City specification would be over \$800,000. City officials claimed that the City would find it too costly and even morally objectionable (i.e, segregationist) to recreate Africville elsewhere in the City.

HHRAC members were assured that all Africville residents would be offered accommodation in public housing and, especially, that there was no realistic alternative to the kind of relocation envisaged by the City staff.

In May 1963 the HHRAC arranged for City staff to attend a public meeting at the Seaview Church and clarify City policy to Africvilleans. The meeting was quiet and ignited few sparks of protest. The HHRAC members were still somewhat anxious and uncertain about City claims that the demolition and relocation plan was the best or the only option for Africville. They decided to recommend to City Council that a noted outside specialist in the field of housing, urban renewal and social

welfare, Dr. Albert Rose of the University of Toronto be invited to come to Halifax to advise on the Africville situation.

In selecting Rose as an outside expert, HHRAC had selected one of the leading advocates of urban renewal in Canada. For many years Rose advocated demolition of existing neighbourhoods and the construction of public housing as the ^Solution to the problems of low-income housing. He had published academic papers where he argued that the first major urban renewal project in Canada had brought many benefits to the people whose community was torn down.

Rose visited Halifax on November 24-26, 1963. He discussed the Africville situation with City officials, university specialists, professional social workers and members of the HHRAC. His contact with Africville was limited to two hours touring the community in the company of City officials and to meeting once with the Africville members of HHRAC. As with Professor Stephenson and Alan Borovoy, Dr. Rose was convinced that relocation was inevitable, that Africville conditions were deplorable and that rehabilitation of the community would be too costly. Like them, he also felt that he could not recommend a segregated community, even a modern one, to replace what was there. Although very limited in his knowledge of the community he considered that action and certainly not an in-depth study was required. Moreover he believed that Africville residents and community leaders (presumably HHRAC and others) agreed that

the community should be cleared. Indeed in his report to Council a few weeks later Rose contended that the residents of Africville were "ready and eager to negotiate," that community leaders agreed it was a slum and that it would have been cleared a long time ago "if the inhabitants were of a different racial background." Rose, in effect, endorsed the City's proposed plan, namely to negotiate terms with the residents for relocation, without any consideration to retaining the community.

The Rose report recommended that Africville be cleared over a two- to three-year period, and the residents receive not only better housing but also employment assistance and training, compensation for furniture and equipment needs, generous welfare assistance and free legal aid. Further, the report recommended that the HHRAC be involved in designing and monitoring the relocation and that a trained social worker, operating out of the Development Department, be hired to document the needs of each Africville household.

The Rose report was praised by the local media and by City staff. The HHRAC voted unanimously to accept the recommendations of the report and on January 9, 1964 at a meeting in Africville, called by HHRAC, thirty-seven of the forty-one Africvilleans present voted to accept it. One week later City Council unanimously adopted the Rose report in principle and set up a special committee composed of members of Council, City staff and members of HHRAC to advise Council

concerning implementation of the report.

Implementating the Relocation

"Every year, as long as I can remember, I can remember them coming out there and surveying land and surveying all over the place. And the next thing that you know you see in the paper is where they are going to root Africville out, bulldoze Africville out". (Africville resident, 1969)

"The emphasis was on the fact it was a social problem. So finally the then City fathers in 1961-62...attempted to do something for these people who were in the community of Africville and were considered to be disadvantaged people". (Relocation Social Worker, 1969)

Africville survived for well over a hundred years in spite of City policy and actions. Understandably, then, few residents believed at the time of relocation or later that the City's motives in the early sixties were to assist Africvilleans in any significant way. Certainly the City's historical position was that the lands would ultimately be required for industrial purposes and there were such plans under consideration at the time.

In implementing the relocation program the City basically followed the policies recommended by Dr. Rose. The program was coordinated by the Department of Development. A trained social worker employed by the Province was seconded to the City for three years. He was charged with visiting and documenting the social and economic situation and requirements of each family and guiding all Africville residents through the relocation process. Regular meetings between him and the Director of Development established the basis for each negotiation with

individual residents, which were then carried out by the relocation social worker.

[In general there were two types of "compensation" -- compensation for land and buildings, and assistance in starting anew elsewhere. The latter, as Rose specified, was especially to entail generous welfare assistance for as long as required, employment and educational rehabilitation, and help in securing better housing accommodations. Apart from property settlements, the relocation social worker was the main authority in new housing arrangements, welfare assistance and furniture money.

In keeping with Rose's recommendation, the HHRAC continued to have a significant role in the relocation process. Initially reports detailing settlements were passed on to the City Council's Subcommittee on Africville then to HHRAC before being formally submitted to City Council for ratification. Later the procedure was streamlined when these two bodies merged to form a new Subcommittee on Africville with three Council representatives and three Black non-Africville representatives from HHRAC.

Once a settlement was reached with each party, the relocation social worker's report would be submitted to the Subcommittee, then to Council's Finance Committee and finally to Council as a Whole. There were very few cases where the relocation social worker's reports were contested, though initially there was more independent checking carried out by the HHRAC representatives. Once the relocation process began

there was no significant formal involvement of any Africvilleans. HHRAC acted as if it were an arm of the City bureaucracy. It was given powers by the City and expected to look after Africvilleans' interests; in return, its involvement stamped the relocation program as progressive and humane.

Although the key person in the relocation process was the Director of Development, the relocation social worker was the main contact for residents. A forty-year-old Cape Bretoner, he exhibited some empathy with Africvilleans and appreciated their long struggle, and he was able to win the trust of most residents. He spent most of the first six months (i.e., June to December 1964) meeting the residents informally in their homes and on the roads. His perception was that the community was quite divided in its views about the program and that there were five or six groups.

The relocation social worker spent most time initially with those Africvilleans who had participated in HHRAC and with influential residents who were at least somewhat willing to move. He also visited frequently with the Big Town area residents whom he sympathized with and admired because of their resourceful if somewhat rebellious and deviant life style. Relatively little time was spent with the young adults, presumably because here the critical relocation aspect was not property settlement but programs to effect new life opportunities, an aspect that in practice was accorded low priority. Comparatively little time also was spent with

stubborn and resistant residents.

The City strategy was to remove as soon as possible those willing to relocate, quickly demolish their dwellings and sheds and thereby underline the fact that the demolition of the community was well under way.] The marginal/transient group, composed of Black and White adult renters, received the least attention since the relocation social worker shared the view of many Africvilleans and even these persons themselves, namely that they did not really belong to Africville; indeed asked how he dealt with one White transient, the relocation social worker replied: "I informed him of his rights as a citizen."

Despite, or perhaps because of, the long-standing threat of relocation, most Africville residents indicated that they were surprised when they realized that relocation actually was going to happen. Approximately forty percent of the adults interviewed in 1968-69, roughly two years after their relocation, indicated that they were very or somewhat willing to relocate upon becoming aware of the relocation program.

Many residents were confident that they could negotiate a good deal for their property while younger household heads hoped that the relocation rhetoric would be realized in new opportunities for themselves. The transients, mostly older adults without families, realistically saw themselves as outsiders without any claims, non-participants in the relocation business who accepted the "inconvenient" relocation in an unemotional fashion and simply hoped for a good deal.

Among the Big Town residents there was more anxiety than grief. They reported themselves (and the relocation social worker concurred in his assessment of their position) willing to relocate but scared that their lack of bargaining power and regular employment would leave them and their families without a secure haven anywhere. Elderly long-time residents clearly exhibited the greatest grief and the most reluctance to relocate.

The Cost of Relocation

There was little community organization developed around the relocation. There were no general community meetings held to discuss the relocation independently of those called by HHRAC and other outside officials. The negotiation structure reduced the chances of a collective action by Africville residents. The arrangement implied that professionals were looking after relocatees' interests and that little could be gained by community mobilization.

The style of relocation negotiation by Africvilleans was "everyone for himself," tempered by various strategies to assist close family members. Significant suspicion and jealousy developed partly because of the complications of land ownership claims (only fourteen residents had clear legal title to their property) and partly because of the secrecy and diversity of the specific settlement packages arranged through the relocation social worker. The City's strategy to settle with

some influential residents and quickly demolish their properties yielded the anticipated results.

"There were 'community leaders' who were going to represent the people of Africville against the City...The first thing you know [these leaders]...are the first ones to move. Well! When we saw them leaving, we all figured that what's the sense of staying if the leaders of the rest of us are gone."

Residents differed in how actively they set about trying to get the best deal for themselves and their families in the relocation negotiations, from those who took an active part, to those who resigned themselves to the decisions of the social worker/negotiator. Some of the older residents set what they considered a high price and refused to budge or to enter into any negotiations at all. Very few Africvilleans used any outside assistance such as HHRAC members or free City legal and real estate services. A handful reported contact with other local Black leaders for assistance during the relocation process. Essentially Africvilleans depended upon their own resources and their relationship with the relocation social worker.

The actual relocation took place essentially between 1964 and 1967, beginning a month of the social worker taking up his duties. The first deal involved a woman who sold her house (she did not own the land) and received \$500, free moving, accommodation in public housing and the cancellation of an outstanding \$1500 hospital bill. The settlement was deemed fair by HHRAC which had undertaken an independent appraisal of the property.

All told the City spent about \$550,000 for the Africville lands and the buildings; another \$200,000 was budgeted (up to 1969) for welfare assistance, furniture allowance and the waiving of unpaid taxes and hospital bills. The trustees of the Seaview Church accepted a \$15,000 offer for the church building and the money was deposited in an education trust fund to be used for Blacks in the Halifax area, with preference to be given to children of Africville relocatees.

City expenditure far exceeded the Development Department's 1961 estimate of \$70,000. In fact the total costs approximated \$800,000, the figure that was earlier deemed prohibitively high for the alternative of a separate housing development for the Africville community. Unlike most urban renewal projects, the City did not receive federal funding for the aquisition and clearance of Africville properties as the National Housing Act provided for compensation only where legal title was unquestioned.

While the relocation plans had called for educational and occupational programs and the creation of new and better life opportunities for the relocated people, ⁱⁿ actually, virtually nothing happened along these lines. Relocatees were directed to existing programs or services. After residents had been relocated, there was almost no follow-up. The social worker, the only person assigned to this, was too occupied with negotiations and rehousing.

Black and White members of HHRAC and the Special Africville

Subcommittee expressed shock upon learning this fact in 1968. One noted, "I assumed there was a follow-up...I didn't know that these people were just left completely to their own resources...I should have known but I didn't."

Africville residents had no direct way, as a group, to bargain or to call attention to shortfalls in the program. HHRAC members were concerned activists but as volunteers they had limited time and resources and depended largely on the reports of the relocation social worker. He, in turn, had little time to pursue new programs and also had to balance the interests of Africvilleans with the City's concern for quick clearance at modest costs. The conflict of interests in the social worker's situation does not seem to have been a matter of concern at the time. Finally, because the goals and objectives of the program remained vague, success was difficult to gauge in any event.

The benefits of relocation fell far short of the promises in other respects as well. City staff sometimes moved relocatees to run-down, decrepit city-owned housing slated for redevelopment. A number of Africvilleans also complained about being moved in "big yellow city trucks"; as one relocatee declaimed "City people sent a truck to move my furniture. Just think what the neighbours thought when they looked out and saw a garbage truck drive up and unload the furniture."

Promises and understandings in the settlement packages were often neither fully authorized nor written down and they became

points of contention later when the relocation social worker's job ended in 1967. Finally the relocation itself ended on a sour note when expropriation threats and intimidation were used to get the last Africville resident, "Pa" Carvery, to come to terms. Construction work on a new bridge was being delayed because its Halifax base was to be built on his property. The delay was proving costly to the City so Carvery was summoned to City Hall in December 1969 and, in the presence of several top City staff, shown a suitcase filled with money. He related the incident as follows:

"They sent for me and when I got there I was taken into someone's office. There was five or six people in the room [actually there was the City solicitor, the director of finance, the internal auditor, the social planner, the Africville Special Projects Officer and two plainclothes officers] plus a suitcase full of money tied up neatly in bundles...The suitcase was open and stuck under my nose so as to tempt me and try to pay me off right then and there...I didn't like it at all...It hurt me...I told them 'you guys think you're smart...well, you're not smart enough', then I got up and walked out of the office".

On January 2, 1970, Carvery, the last holdout, having reluctantly reached an agreement with the City, vacated his premises. Four days later his building was bulldozed.

Of course well before this, the relocation organization had been dismantled. The relocation social worker had returned to Cape Breton. Members of HHRAC had turned their attention to provincial legislation and organization. The Department of Development had turned its attention to the Halifax waterfront. Africvilleans were again on their own.

The Initial Impact of Relocation

Despite the substantial failure of the relocation promise, many Africville residents, especially the young adults with families and individuals without strong community ties were initially satisfied with the settlement they received from the City. Young families usually received enough to make a new beginning -- furniture allowance, social assistance and public housing units. Those who had neither property nor high expectations were often satisfied with trivial settlements, such as a few hundred dollars, some short-term welfare and rental accommodation in the City's redevelopment area. Those with bargaining power considered that they were able to get what they wanted.

Older residents with deep roots in the community were most likely to be dissatisfied even when they perceived themselves as obtaining a fair deal in the negotiations. One person observed:

"I suppose I got a fair deal but we'll be in debt for the rest of our lives. I'd sooner be back in Africville. I owned my own home there. I got mortgage payments to meet here."

Housing in Halifax was in short supply and the scale of urban renewal being undertaken in these years made it difficult for families and individuals in need to secure public housing. Racism made the housing situation more difficult for Blacks. Just prior to the relocation and on the basis of a rumour that public housing for Africvilleans was to be constructed in ^{an area} ~~their~~ area, some Whites arranged a protest with the message "We don't

want Africville people here." And during the relocation there were two instances of White neighbours' harassing Africville relocatees who purchased homes ~~in their area~~.

Nevertheless by most criteria the quality of the new housing was better for most relocatees. Twenty-eight families and seven unattached individuals obtained public housing units while twenty-four family heads became homeowners. Generally these relocatees appreciated the better facilities, services and conveniences. In some instances of home ownership there was a sense of quite complete satisfaction. For example, one relocated resident observed:

"My children, they come to visit me and they like the home and hate going back to Montreal. This is an ideal place for an old couple to retire. We have all the conveniences. The neighbourhood is friendly and the scenery is beautiful. We have to pay twice as much now to live; we have the same amount of money coming in as we had in Africville but it's well worth it".

Relocatees who were in other rental situations, some fifty-five adults and ten families, fared less well with their new accommodations, much of which was substandard and slated for demolition.

Africville residents typically relocated in the north and central areas of Halifax, not too far from the Africville site. Most were quite familiar with their new neighbourhood, did not feel out of place there and maintained close contacts with

their former Africville friends.

After Relocation

The costs of relocation were not initially insignificant, and for many they increased as time went on. With better housing came increased expenditure for mortgage/rent, fuel and the like. To people underemployed, without adequate and regular income, unused to such expenditures, improved housing brought new worries, family strains and indebtedness. Since there had been no effective employment or education program, the relocatees became very dependent upon social assistance. More than half of the relocatee households regularly received City or provincial welfare, whereas prior to relocation, no more than ten percent did so. The financial pressures were very onerous for homeowners, especially among those whose relocation settlement was modest or who lacked regular employment. Within two years, five such homeowners had lost their new homes and several others were threatened with a similar fate. With public housing came bureaucratic rules affecting valued life styles; one relocatee noted, "I wanted one of my grandsons (fifteen years old) to move in with me but that would have been an extra thirty dollars a month. So that would have too much money to pay."

Interviewed in 1969 the majority of relocatees - -about 70%

-- reported having suffered personal crises as a consequence of relocation and having trouble making ends meet. The initial satisfaction of many relocatees waned as the short-term benefits, e.g. furniture allowance, welfare, sympathetic attention of City officials, became apparent. Moreover, many relocatees found that different City bureaucrats challenged unwritten agreements they had had with the social worker concerning rental subsidy and social assistance.

On the whole, Africvilleans had become more vulnerable to money problems, more beholden to others' rules (public housing or welfare authorities) and less enmeshed in family and community support systems. Further, many had lost their main bargaining chip, their property, and as one man said with grief "I will die and won't be able to leave my children anything." Small wonder then that 95% of the relocatees thought that the City got the best of the "relocation deal" and even 80% felt that they personally did not get "a good deal" from the City.

As the City became aware of the problems through the requests to the Social Planning for welfare, their response was to encourage the organization of a committee -- the Committee of Former Africville Residents -- which led shortly thereafter to the creation of the Seaview Credit Union. The modestly-funded Credit Union (the Province contributed \$50,000 and the City \$20,000, all of which was supposed to be repayable) was to be managed and controlled by former Africville residents in collaboration with Social Planning staff. While the Credit

Union was providing short-term help to those in pressing need, more attention was to be directed at long-term solutions of employment, housing and education. Within a year and a half this post-relocation program lay in ruins. The Credit Union funds were largely disbursed and there was little hope of much repayment in part because the recipients had no means for doing so and in part because disgruntled relocatees considered the loan money to be relocation compensation.

The other long-term plans for educational and employment were so modest as to be virtually irrelevant.

In the late summer of 1969, the former Africville residents formed their own Africville Action Committee. Led initially by relocatees who were pragmatic and dissatisfied less with the fact of relocation than with the terms of the relocation "exchange," this group was hoping to get more direct compensation. With wide Africville support, the organization lobbied for more just property settlements, in effect a final overall government payment that would constitute an emergency fund for the relocated residents. Over the next two years the committee mobilized support among other City organizations, wrote letters to the newspapers and met with the mayor and City council. The lack of resources and experienced leaders coupled with the bureaucratic and legal objections to proposals, and the passivity, if not cool response, of local politicians, ultimately caused the Action Committee to wear down and fade away. It did however spawn, with Social Planning, a few

marginally useful programs such as a special employment training project in which a handful of relocatees participated. And it was instrumental in arranging an appropriate ceremony for the old Africville community.

On Sunday, August 6, 1972 twelve hundred persons, young and old, gathered on the Africville site for a spiritual revival and memorial service; it was an honourable event for a unique community.

Africville as a Symbol

At the time of relocation many non-Africville Blacks shared the wider society's negative conception of Africville and supported the relocation program. Black leaders, aware of the causes of Africville's peculiar development (especially the racism), expressed hope that the residents would be treated fairly and generously. Some leaders called for the construction of a serviced new Africville community, but most Black leaders did not explicitly adopt this view which had the premise there was something very valuable about the Africville community. Rather, they emphasized that the relocation should bring real opportunity for the families and individuals relocated in an integrationist context.

Apart from the Black members of the HHRAC, there was little involvement in the relocation by Blacks outside Africville. Moreover, Africvilleans apparently did not seek support in the broader Black community.

The climate of opinion at the time emphasized civil rights and integration rather than the celebration of the Black community in itself, and the articulation of the Black experience in Nova Scotia. In metropolitan Halifax some Black spokesmen were impatient with what they viewed then as the inward, community-looking, traditional Black leadership and were in sympathy with integration and the relocation program.

Since the relocation, however, Africville has become central in the new Black consciousness in Nova Scotia. It has become something to appreciate and identify with. Africville has become a symbol of why Black organization and solidarity are necessary to fight racism.

In the early 1970s one prominent Black leader indicated that when he went into a new community to organize the residents there, his message was "Let's pull together, or else we'll be another Africville" -- a message that was proclaimed on many occasions in the following years.

There are several reasons for the considerable change in the perception of Africville and the relocation in the years immediately following the relocation. The shortfalls in the relocation program and the subsequent protests by Africvilleans alerted Blacks to the dangers of government-initiated change where there is neither adequate acknowledgement of racism nor sufficient opportunity for participation and advocacy. Black leaders also began to draw similarities between Africville and other Black communities where deeds were in disarray, housing

conditions poor and the land was becoming valuable for watershed, industrial and other purposes. Perhaps most importantly there was the emergence of new cultural, organizational and political responses among Black Nova Scotians; these were associated with the growth of Black identity and pride, the promotion of unity among Blacks and an assertive, confrontational approach to racism and disadvantage.

New secular organizations have developed such as the Black United Front and the Afro-Canadian Liberation Movement. There has been a considerable increase in the number of Black professionals --lawyers, teachers and social workers. The Human Rights Commission has been set up by the provincial government after considerable pressure from Black leaders. Black artists, writers and entertainers have put expression to a new mood in the Black Community. Indeed, the Africville experience has been credited by many observers as providing a stimulus for some of these developments. Certainly too, these developments have led to redefinitions of the Africville situation. As one leader observed "This [the Africville relocation] could not happen again."

Indeed it has not. Since Africville, Black communities such as Beechville and North Preston, on the outskirts of the City, have progressed through housing cooperatives and community development programs essentially under the control of their residents.

The symbolic significance of Africville goes beyond the Black community. The wider Nova Scotian society has increasingly come to accept that the relocation broke up a community and did not provide an adequate substitute for the residents. The Africville experience has helped to clarify what community signifies -- not housing, sewerage etc., but identity, interdependence and need.

The Africville relocation has symbolic value as virtually the last large-scale relocation of people into public housing and the destruction of their community. Such upheavals, common in the 50s and 60s, have since become discredited. The relocation, thanks to the social worker and the Black members of HHRAC, did yield some benefits to some individuals but, like other urban renewal programs, it became largely a re-housing scheme with welfare payments added to ease the transition.

The Legacy of Africville

Where Africville once stood there is now an under-utilized park, which comes to life each summer when the Africville Genealogical Society holds its reunion weekend there. A member of the Society explained its objective as follows:

The reunion is important to the descendants because it gives them a place to come back to and remember. And it is important to teach the children...we hope that they can learn from what has happened" (Interview, 1986)

There is still an organization among Africvilleans and the last line has not been written as far as the land usage is

concerned. The negative stereotype of Africville has been laid to rest and the initial City and media claims of a progressive relocation have been debunked. Asked to reflect on Africville one older relocatee in 1969 stated simply

"Africville was a place where many coloured people lived together trying to do the best they could".

Africville lives on as an indictment against racism, as a critique of technocratic, imposed approaches to social change and as a celebration of community and the human spirit. Twenty-five years ago the local newspaper proclaimed "Soon Africville will be but a name. And in the not too distant future that too, mercifully, will be forgotten". It hasn't been. It shouldn't be. It won't be.

Postscript

With few exceptions all quotations used in this paper have been taken from Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, The Africville Relocation Report, Volumes 1 and 2 (Halifax: The Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1971,1973). For a more detailed and wider reaching assessment of the Africville Relocation the reader is referred to the book by the same authors, Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, revised edition, 1987).

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INTRODUCTION

It might be considered desirable to develop a detailed history of settlement in the Africville Area. However, Professor Gordon Stephenson in his Redevelopment Study of the City of Halifax seems to have stated the problem of the area in a simple and precise manner. Professor Stephenson's comments are quoted below:

"There is a little frequented part of the City, overlooking Bedford Basin, which presents an unusual problem for any community to face. In what may be described as an encampment, or shack town, there live about seventy negro families. They are descendants or early settlers, and it is probable that Africville originated with a few shacks well over a century ago. Title to some of the land will be difficult to ascertain. Some of the hutted homes are on railway land, some on City land, some on private land. There will be families with Squatters Rights, and others with clear title to land which is now appreciating considerably in value.

The Citizens of Africville live a life apart. On a sunny summer day, the small children roam at will in a spacious area and swim in what amounts to their private lagoon. In winter, life is far from idyllic. In terms of the physical condition of buildings and sanitation, the story is deplorable. Shallow wells and cesspools, in close proximity, are scattered about the slopes between the shacks.

There are no accurate records of conditions in Africville. There are only two things to be said. The families will have to be rehoused in the near future. The land which they now occupy will be required for the further development of the City.

A solution which is satisfactory, socially as well as economically, will be difficult to achieve. Africville stands as an indictment of society and not of its inhabitants. They are old Canadians who have never had the opportunities enjoyed by their more fortunate fellows."

Professor Stephenson's comments will serve as an introduction to this report which will attempt to review existing conditions and suggest ways in which the people in the area can be assisted.

THE AREA AND THE PEOPLE

Africville is a sprawling community overlooking the Bedford Basin. There are no legal boundaries to the community but the population is concentrated in three specific areas. The properties considered to form the community of Africville are indicated on Plan No. P500/46 attached.

BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

There are about 150 structures in Africville. Approximately 85 of these structures are of a residential nature. There is a church and two commercial buildings. The remaining structures are outbuildings used in conjunction with either the residential properties or the commercial buildings.

None of the structures in the area have been the subject of an intensive inspection under provisions of the City Charter or Ordinance 50. A casual inspection indicates, however, that the great majority of the buildings could be considered for demolition under the provisions of the City Charter. Only the occasional structure would not be considered dangerous or dilapidated.

MUNICIPAL SERVICES

The community of Africville is not served with either piped sewer or piped water. Such roads as are in the area are unsurfaced. Sanitary conditions in the area are very unsatisfactory. Complete implementation of the requirements of the Health Statutes would undoubtedly indicate that few, if any, properties were fit for continued habitation.

THE PEOPLE

There are approximately 80 families in Africville. The total population amounts to about 370 people.

Some of the heads of families in the Africville area are regularly employed with the C. N. R., Dockyards, and with the City. Other persons work in seasonal employment and as domestic help. Some families have no apparent employment.

There is evidence to believe that some of the families have been residents of the Africville area for at least 40 years. Most of the families have been living in the area for at least 10 years. There does, however, appear to be a constant movement of persons in and out of the area and within the area. Absolute statistics are difficult to obtain.

OWNERSHIP OF LAND

It is very difficult to reach firm conclusions respecting ownerships of lands and buildings in much of the area known as Africville. Staff investigations indicate that the Nova Scotia Light and Power Company Limited and the C. N. R. in acquiring properties in the area also encountered difficulties in establishing clear titles.

In attempting to determine title, searches were started from the original land grants, which were made in the 1750's. There was a continuity to these grants to the year 1795 when records become very vague. The next clue to title appears in the City Atlas, 1878. This Atlas, which has no legal basis in fact, indicates that approximately 80% of the properties in the Africville area were owned by the City of Halifax.

There has been some clarification of title in recent years as a result of expropriations by the C. N. R. and by the City of Halifax. The C. N. R. rights-of-way and ownerships are indicated on Plan No. P500/46. The City acquired title to many of the properties in the southwesterly section of Africville when it expropriated for the Industrial Mile in 1957.

The area expropriated and which forms part of the Industrial Mile is also shown on Plan No. P500/46. Most of the lands were owned by the Halifax Relief Commission and the Canadian National Railways. Some of the residential properties within the expropriation area were thought to be in the ownership of the Estate of William Carvery and an amount of \$1 was paid into Court in respect of these properties. There has been no claim by the Estate of William Carvery. There have been no claims in respect of other residential properties within the expropriated area.

Further investigation of the title to lands in the north-eastern portion of the Africville community has lead to the discovery of 13 registered Deeds. The root of one title has been traced back to the turn of this century. The roots of the remaining titles are obscure and disappear from four to twenty-five years ago.

It seems quite possible that many of the families in the Africville area would be able to prove some element of ownership. It also seems probable that almost all rights of ownership would stem from Squatters Rights, which in turn passed through a process of unregistered Deeds to registered Deeds in the thirteen instances mentioned. There might be a few other registered ownerships that Staff were unable to locate.

It should also be noted that great difficulty has been encountered in attempting to plot the location of the lands covered by the thirteen registered Deeds. Eleven of the Deeds have been plotted in a very imprecise manner. It has been impossible to plot the location of the land in the remaining two Deeds.

Title to the Africville properties is in a chaotic state. While ownership of a sort could be proven in most instances, the expense of proving such title might be more than the property was worth.

ALTERNATIVE COURSES OF ACTION

As Professor Stephenson points out in his study, Africville presents an unusual problem for the City of Halifax. The community is, as far as can be determined, over 100 years old. Ownership to lands and buildings is very confused. The great majority of the structures are in such a state of disrepair and dilapidation that they could be ordered demolished under the provisions of the City Charter. Almost without exception, the buildings lack piped sewer and water and, as a consequence, could be ordered vacated under provisions of the various Health Statutes.

There appear to be three basic approaches available to the City. These are:

1. The City can do nothing about the problem--this has been the basic approach for over 100 years.
2. The City can make full use of its statutory powers to remove blight. It can limit compensation and assistance to the absolute minimum required by Law.
3. The City can use its statutory powers to remove the blight and, at the same time, temper justice with compassion in matters of compensation and assistance to families affected.

It appears to be generally agreed that something must be done to eliminate blight in the Africville area. Alternative 1 is not an acceptable solution to the problem. Alternative 2 is a possible solution to the problem and should be examined in detail. Alternative 3 is a probable solution to the problem and, because of this, must surely be examined.

The legal machinery available to the City for the removal of the present unsatisfactory housing conditions in Africville is as follows:

1. Almost all residential structures within the area could be ordered vacated under provisions of the various statutes applying to the occupancy of buildings.
2. The great majority of the structures in the area could be demolished under provisions of the City Charter or under provisions of the Fire Prevention Legislation.
3. The City could expropriate the vacant lands.
4. The City could order those properties now occupying City land to be vacated and arrange for their demolition immediately.

If this course of action is followed, families from the area would be forced to find their own alternative accommodation. The onus would be on these families to prove in Court their right to compensation for the lands and, in some isolated instances, the land and buildings taken from them. The probability is that compensation paid by the City would be very slight as proof of ownership would be very difficult to establish.

Absolute implementation of strict legal responsibility and authority does not in itself appear to provide a suitable solution to the total problem. Africville is a unique area and, in the interests of history and fair treatment to the residents, the approach should be tempered with natural justice. Alternative 3 appears to be the most acceptable approach to the problem.

Families displaced by redevelopment, by demolitions, or the implementation of Ordinance 50 in other areas of the City are, subject to certain conditions, offered decent, safe, and sanitary housing accommodation in public housing projects. There is no good reason why families from the Africville area should not be offered equal opportunity to better their conditions. The offer of alternative housing must be an integral part of the programme for Africville.

It seems to be the general opinion that most families in the Africville area would like to remain in that general location. Some of the conditions which influence the desire of families to remain in the area will disappear as more attention is focused on the area. The City must determine whether it is prepared to provide housing in the location or whether alternative housing in other locations would serve to satisfy any moral obligations to the families displaced. Despite the wishes of many of the residents, it would seem desirable on social grounds to offer alternative housing in other locations within the City. The City is a comprehensive urban community and it is not right that any particular segment of the community should continue to exist in isolation.

The City is now studying a major subsidized rental public housing project in the Uniacke Square Area. This project is intended to create approximately 1,100 family housing units. These housing units are designed to assist all those families from all of the City who are unable to provide themselves with decent accommodation. This project, when started, could easily provide the alternative housing for the 80 families now living in the Africville area.

Aside from the apparent social necessity to integrate the Africville community with the City as a whole, there appear to be sound financial reasons why this should be done. A separate housing project for the Africville community would necessitate the construction of a project which might well cost \$800,000. This project

might be built with assistance under Section 36 of the National Housing Act but such assistance might be somewhat difficult to obtain. Section 36 projects are not normally built for a particular segment of the community. In addition, family incomes from the Africville area would probably not be sufficient to produce the average shelter rental required from such projects. In other words, the Africville community might not by itself be able to create the average rentals required for a Section 36 project whereas, if it were integrated with the community at large, incomes would not likely create a major problem in relation to the required average rental.

The second point of significance respecting assistance for the Africville community pertains to the matter of compensation for the loss of property. It has been previously indicated that most properties could be ordered demolished under the provisions of the Charter. No compensation could be legally claimed from the City as a result of these demolitions. It has also been stated that the lands could be expropriated and that many occupiers of the lands would have difficulty in proving title to the lands so taken.

In other parts of the City, these same actions are taken under provisions of the City Charter. Owners are not compensated for buildings demolished and owners must prove title through the Courts in order to qualify for compensation for lands and buildings expropriated. While unfortunate precedents can be established by deviating from the strict letter of the Law, there seems to be merit in some deviation in the case of Africville. Africville is unique and, if deviations are permitted, it could be with the clear understanding that such deviations were for Africville and Africville only. Many of the families in Africville have occupied quarters in the area for generations.

It is suggested that natural justice requires an unusual approach to the question of compensation. Some families will be able to prove a legal right to just compensation. Others will have no claim whatsoever. The latter group, subject to certain safeguards, might be offered a gratuitous payment in return for a Quit Claim Deed to all of their interest in a particular property.

Gratuitous payments could only be made by the City if special legislation is obtained from the Provincial Government. Such gratuitous payments would have to be carefully controlled so that only deserving persons would receive them. This control might be attained by requiring that the claimant obtain an affidavit from his Minister or some other responsible person to the effect that the claimant was the apparent owner of the property for a period of five years. If properties have apparently changed hands in the period covered by the affidavit, the new apparent owner could be compensated if he could obtain a sworn affidavit from the original owner confirming that a purchase and sale transaction between the two had in fact taken place. Alternatively, the new apparent owner might present written evidence of the transaction.

CONCLUSIONS

It is the opinion of Staff that the blighted housing and dilapidated structures in the Africville area should be removed. It is the further opinion of Staff that the full legal authority of the City should be used to accomplish this removal. It is the further opinion of Staff that the use of legal authority should be tempered with understanding and natural justice on matters of housing and matters of compensation for the apparent owners of land and buildings within the Africville area.

IT IS RECOMMENDED that the following general policies be adopted:

1. Families from the Africville area should be offered alternative accommodation in subsidized rental housing projects. It is suggested that because of the unique position of Africville such offers should not be conditional upon income and that the City should take steps to attain agreement of the Province and the Federal Government in this respect.
2. That the subsidized rental housing offered to the residents shall be within projects constructed for the total population of the City and that no special project should be built for this community.
3. Where clear title to land and buildings rests with the City as a result of recent expropriations, apparent owners as of the date of expropriation be paid a gratuitous payment of \$500 each in exchange for a Quit Claim Deed and vacant possession of the property. Immediately vacant possession is taken by the City, the buildings would be demolished at City expense.
4. Where clear title does not rest with the City, expropriation will be carried out. Owners who are able to prove title can claim through the Courts for compensation and settlement will be affected through the Courts or by negotiation. Owners who are unable to prove title will be paid a gratuitous payment of \$500 in exchange for a Quit Claim Deed and vacant possession of the property. In each instance, vacant structures will be immediately demolished at City expense.

5. That if recommendations 1, 3, 3, and 4 are adopted, City Staff in conjunction with Welfare and Church organizations will immediately meet with leading members of the Community to explain the City's position and the course of action proposed to be undertaken by the City.

The course of action outlined is one course of action which can be taken to eliminate unsatisfactory conditions in the Africville area. In the opinion of Staff, the course of action suggested is fair and equitable to all concerned. It would be accomplished over a period of time and through a gradual process as alternative housing becomes available.

The course of action suggested appears to be within the means of the City. If legal ownership cannot be proved by any resident of Africville, the total cost of acquisition and clearance would be of the order of \$40,000. Legal ownership can, of course, be proved in certain instances and there is no way of knowing exactly how much compensation might be awarded. It would seem, however, that the outside limit of City financial participation on acquisition and clearance would be about \$70,000.

It does not appear that assistance under Section 23 of the National Housing Act would be available to the City in the acquisition and clearance of these properties. Section 23 provides for compensation only in the event of legal rights of owners. Settlements proposed are essentially of the gratuitous nature and many are applicable to properties which, legally speaking, are now in the ownership of the City.

C O P Y

December 6, 1963

REPORT OF A VISIT TO HALIFAX WITH PARTICULAR
RESPECT TO AFRICVILLE

November 24-26, 1963

To: His Worship the Mayor and
Members of City Council.

From: Dr. Albert Rose,
Professor of Social Work,
University of Toronto.

Terms of Reference

On September 6, 1963, the Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights submitted a Brief to City Council in which the following recommendation appeared (P.2):

"The Committee has concluded, in view of its numerous meetings and consultations, that

- (1) the complexity of property tenure in Africville,
- (2) the strong sense of community in Africville,
- (3) the probable high cost of relocation arrangements likely to be acceptable mutually to Africville residents and the City of Halifax, and the apparent need for special financial arrangements, and
- (4) the depressed condition of housing in Africville,

would warrant the City's taking extraordinary measures.

The Committee recommends, therefore, that City Council engage a person of outstanding qualifications, in training and experience, to study Africville in depth and for the purpose of formulating specific recommendations of sound ways and means of solving problems in housing.

The Committee advises that, as a first step towards implementing its recommendation, City Council bring to Halifax a specialist who would be requested (after a preliminary survey of Africville, and discussion with City staff, with the Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights, and with other resources) to state whether, in his judgment, a study in depth is indicated."

The Committee further recommended that this writer be the specific specialist invited to visit Halifax and "to state whether, in his judgment, a study in depth is indicated."

Implementation

Mr. P. F. C. Byars, City Manager, extended the appropriate invitation on September 16, 1963, but first the responsibilities of the writer at the University of Toronto and later, the responsibilities of Mr. Byars and his staff, delayed the fulfillment of this undertaking until late November. In the meantime, however, I was enabled to read all the available staff reports on the situation in Africville, a number of magazine articles commenting upon this community, and the report of the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, entitled "The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia."

During my recent visit of some 48 hours I was able to tour the community under study and to interview or otherwise consult the following persons or groups:

Members of the Staff, City of Halifax

Mr. Peter F. C. Byars	- City Manager
Mr. Robert Grant	- Director, Development Department
Mr. George F. West	- Commissioner of Works
Dr. Edward M. Fogo	- Commissioner of Health and Welfare
Mr. H. Bond Jones	- Supervisor of Welfare

University and Community Specialists

Mr. Guy Henson)	- Institute of Public
Mr. Donald F. Maclean)	Affairs, Dalhousie University
Mr. Laurie T. Hancock	- Director, Maritime School of Social Work.
Mr. John Horricks	- Executive Secretary Welfare Council of Halifax

Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights

The Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights convened a special meeting, attended by 13 of its members, for the purpose of considering the entire situation with the writer. This meeting, on the evening of November 25th, occupied four hours and was the most important confrontation of my visit.

The Present Situation

The community known as Africville, within the municipal boundaries of the City of Halifax, is without doubt one of the most intensively studied communities in North America. It has been the subject, in whole or in part, of articles in Macleans Magazine and the United Church Observer, of radio and television programmes, and of research studies by the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University and the graduate students of the Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax. In recent years as well, the Development Department of the City has devoted a considerable effort to the study and reporting of this community.

A great many basic facts, the fundamental data required for the re-planning of the area and the relocation of its residents, are already known. These data include: the number and composition of all resident families; the age and sex distribution of all residents; the number, nature and condition of all structures considered to fall within the community, whether residential or otherwise; the length of residence of families living in Africville, the labour force status, employment and unemployment, and approximate annual incomes for 1959; the mean age and grade of school children and their intelligence scores in a recent year; the number and proportion of resident families who claim to have a deed to property in Africville; and the preference of such families for relocation housing if and when their community is redeveloped by the City of Halifax for the purpose of creating a reservoir of industrial land.

As a result of the concern of the larger community in Halifax with the situation in Africville, the City Manager and members of civic staff have prepared a number of substantial reports concerning this community, particularly during the past eighteen months. In my view the work of the staff has been excellent and the reports are

impressive. The many difficult questions raised by the residents of Africville and by the Advisory Committee on Human Rights have been answered fully, frankly and sympathetically. (Reports dated July 23, 1962; September 11, 1962; November 26, 1962, January 23, 1963).

My meetings on November 25-26, 1963, and in particular a long and frank discussion with the Advisory Committee, have provided further important information and opinion. On the evening of November 25th, I raised three significant issues of public policy in the form of questions for consideration by this Committee, half of whom are coloured people, representatives of Africville and perhaps of the Negroes of Halifax, broadly speaking. These questions were:

1. Can a modern urban metropolis tolerate within its midst a community or grouping of dwellings which are physically and socially inadequate, not served with pure water and sewage disposal facilities?
2. Can a minority group be permitted to reconstitute itself as a segregated community at a time in our history, at a time in the social history of western industrialized urban nations, when segregation either de jure (in law) or de facto (in fact) is almost everywhere condemned?
3. Are there solutions to the immediate problem at hand which are feasible, sensible and just, and which will cause a modest, as against a massive, disruption to the families and individuals concerned?

The answers of the members of the Committee, without reference to race or colour, as individuals and as members of the group, were "No!" to the first two of these questions and an expression of hope and faith in the policies and attitudes of the people of Halifax in response to the third question.

The Major Findings of the Study Visit

1. The residents of Africville appear ready and to some extent

eager to negotiate a settlement concerning the ultimate disposition of their community.

The leaders of the community readily admit that Africville is a slum, that it should be cleared and that it would long since have been cleared if its inhabitants were of a different racial background.

2. In any negotiation the unique situation of Africville must be given special weight by the civic administration and the people of Halifax.

There is literally no community in Canada, perhaps none in North America, quite like Africville. Its long history, its special population and their employment characteristics, the years of neglect of this community by the administration of the City of Halifax, the unique importance of this settlement for all the people of Nova Scotia and for Canada, must be borne in mind by the negotiators.

These negotiations must not be diverted or subverted by the argument frequently heard by this investigator, that one or more features of a possible settlement will set a precedent. Africville will not, we trust, occur again, and its solution will not become a precedent. The settlement reached by the City of Halifax must be just and humane and its special features need not be extended to those present or future pleaders whose situation in the face of urban redevelopment will not in any real sense approximate that of the residents of Africville.

3. The expropriation of Africville and the relocation of its residents is far more than a housing problem. In essence this process is a welfare problem, not a mere problem of financial assistance but a multi-dimensional task.

This is the first time in a quarter-century of slum clearance, public housing, and redevelopment activity in North America, that the removal of a severely blighted area will take away from a large

proportion of the residents, not merely their housing and their sense of community, but their employment and means of livelihood as well (in this case, scavenging on the adjacent city rubbish disposal area.)

4. The people of Africville are not, by and large, chronically dependent upon public funds for support. They are a proud people who go to great lengths to remain independent and ask for financial assistance "as a last resort." At the present time approximately ten families only are in receipt of welfare assistance provided through the City of Halifax. The Dalhousie Study revealed one family in six headed by a female person but not all of these are "dependent families." Some male heads of families are, however, nearing retirement age and may soon have little or no income beyond the old age pension.

There is a very real danger that the dislocation attendant upon expropriation and relocation will be so disruptive of existing living patterns, that many more families will require and seek public assistance. To prevent this as far as possible will require a great deal of planning by the City of Halifax and many community groups.

5. The fundamental needs of the people of Africville are housing, employment and income. A careful assessment will need to be made of the circumstances of each family.

The housing solution can be viewed as a tri-partite undertaking:

- (1) There are certain families (estimated by the Development Department at 12 to 15 and by the Advisory Committee at 20 to 25 in number) who possess an acceptable deed or title to their property in Africville.

It is believed that these families will receive a sufficient amount of money as a result of the expropriation proceedings to enable them to meet the down payment requirements in the purchase of suitable older houses in the downtown area.

- (2) There are certain families (estimated by the writer at 25-50 in number) who will seek admission to public housing.

Their major problem will be to maintain the payment of rent and service charges (payments to which they are not now accustomed) and to adjust to a new system of rules and regulations in publicly provided housing accommodation.

From the point of view of the community, and in the interests of these families, applicants for public housing from Africville should be distributed among new public housing projects under construction or projected for the future, in the ratio of about 20 per cent of all families in occupancy.

- (3) The bulk of the families (estimated at half or more of the approximately 80 families resident in Africville) will likely arrange their own relocation housing and probably will seek rental accommodation within Halifax or elsewhere in the Province of Nova Scotia.

In the case of the latter two groups, where no clear title or acceptable evidence of ownership exists, the City has offered a flat sum of \$500 per family as a compensation, in recognition of the equity these families have in this long-standing community.

6. The related problems of employment and income are not solved by a process of relocation and compensation and cannot be met in this manner, even if compensation were increased.

Those persons from Africville who are employable must be assisted to seek and obtain employment suited to their skills and experience, if any, within the City of Halifax or its Metropolitan Area. This will require not merely the acceptance and enforcement of the Fair Employment Practices Act of the Province of Nova Scotia but more especially, a change in attitude and the sympathetic understanding of the employers, workers, consumers and general citizenry of the community.

Those persons who do not appear to possess marketable skills or experience must be assisted to obtain vocational guidance, counselling and, if possible, training or retraining.

7. The residents of Africville are seeking, therefore, a system of assurances or guarantees as a part of the settlement to be negotiated. Their concerns include the following:

- that the City of Halifax will guarantee the monthly rental, if necessary, for families admitted to public housing, during a period of readjustment which might be limited to six months;
- that welfare assistance will be made available without prejudice, to relocated residents of Africville as they seek to create new living patterns within the City;
- that Africville families seeking to purchase houses in Halifax will be assisted to find accommodation at a fair market price and that legal advice will be available;
- that Africville families will not be forced, through discrimination in the housing market, to seek accommodation only in those areas slated for redevelopment within the next few years;
- that the Civic Administration will seek to encourage the people of Halifax to offer employment to coloured people and to cease discrimination against those whose address is now known to be in Africville.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The writer was asked to state whether, in his judgment, a study (of Africville) in depth is indicated. It is my carefully considered view that no further research in depth is required or is likely to be helpful in the solution of the problems described in this report.

The time has come, in my view, for the City and the people of Halifax to cease the study and the debate and to formulate and promulgate clearly, a policy and a programme of social action with respect to Africville. The writer, accordingly, recommends that:

1. The City Council of Halifax enunciate a clear policy that the community of Africville will be expropriated and cleared during the period commencing April 1, 1964 (or shortly thereafter) and

that this process will be completed not later than December 31, 1966;

2. The Civic Administration enter into early negotiations with the representatives of Africville and the Advisory Committee on Human Rights, to work out the design and the staging of the clearance and relocation programme;

3. The Civic Administration encourage families to come forward voluntarily to negotiate settlements in respect of their property in Africville, whether such property is clearly owned or not;

4. The expropriation settlements recognize the special situation described in this report and that the compensation presently offered by the City to those without a deed be considered a minimum amount;

5. The compensation for this latter group be varied in accordance with size of family and/or marital status, recognizing the special needs of unmarried mothers with dependent children;

6. The Halifax Housing Authority be encouraged to admit a number of families relocated from Africville into each new housing project as it reaches completion, in the ratio of approximately one in every five families accommodated;

7. The Development Department of the City be assigned the responsibility of administering the entire relocation programme and that for this purpose a special budget be appropriated to enable:

- (a) the employment of a trained social worker or social scientist to visit and document the social and economic situation and requirements of each family unit or single individual, and to recommend the order or priority of relocation; and
- (b) the development of a registry of available housing for sale or for rent (outside public housing) which might be suitable for families or persons relocated from Africville; and

(c) the creation of a special relocation fund to assist families who require furniture or equipment to enable them to function properly and live decently in their new accommodation.

8. The City of Halifax provide free legal aid through its Legal Department and the enlistment of volunteers from the legal profession, to assist Africville residents to purchase homes or otherwise relocate themselves without payment of exorbitant charges, fees or other levies.

The writer will conclude this report by repeating a statement he made to the Advisory Committee on Human Rights during his recent visit to Halifax, in the following words:

"Surely the coloured man is entitled to no less and no more consideration than the white resident of an urban redevelopment area! At the same time, because his needs are greater in nature and amount (education, employment, civil rights) he should and will receive greater consideration. Yet he must make an effort to express these needs."

If the social and economic assistances recommended in this report, or similar programmes, are forthcoming and are administered with sympathy and understanding, we may look forward to a relatively smooth process of relocation and redevelopment. The alternative is a condition of chronic dependency for many of the families under study. The staff of the City of Halifax should seek the support and assistance of all community groups to forestall this unfortunate possible outcome of years of study and effort.

Respectfully submitted,

(Sgd.) Albert Rose

Dr. Albert Rose

University of Toronto,
December 6, 1963.

Council,
January 16, 1964.

REPORT - DR. ALBERT ROSE RE: AFRICVILLE

The City Clerk advised that at the meeting of Council held on January 2, 1964, consideration of the following recommendations from the Finance and Executive Committee had been deferred in order to give the Committee on Human Rights an opportunity to study the report of Dr. Albert Rose and to make their observations at this meeting:

"The report of Dr. Albert Rose respecting "Africville" was submitted and the conclusions contained therein were considered as follows:

1. Further studies of the Africville area would not assist in the solution to the problem;
2. The City should declare that it will acquire and clear the properties in the Africville area over a period of about two years and nine months under a carefully phased programme;
3. That persons with title to the property either through possession or by deed should be compensated at full market value. This was in accordance with Staff recommendations;
4. That persons who were the apparent owners of structures but with no legal claim to land should be paid a minimum of \$500.00 with additional compensation to be based on family size and/ or marital status.

The Staff Report recommended a flat payment of \$500.00 in these cases as the owners of the structures would have no legal basis on which to claim compensation;

5. That all families displaced as a result of acquisition and clearance should be offered accommodation in regular public housing projects constructed or to be constructed by the City. Doctor Rose advises against the establishment of a special public housing project for the residents of the area. Doctor Rose's recommendations in respect of rehousing coincide with the original Staff Report;
6. Because of the nature of the community, the problems of employment and accommodation, that extraordinary measures should be taken on the matter of guidance and assistance during the gradual re-allocation process. The detail of the type of assistance suggested is set forth within the body of the report.

Your Committee makes the following recommendations:

(a) that the report of Dr. Albert Rose respecting Africville be approved in principle;

(b) that the City Manager be directed to take the necessary action towards implementation of the specific recommendations contained therein by April 1, 1964;

(c) that the City Solicitor be directed to prepare the draft legislation required to permit implementation of the recommendations."

The following letter was submitted:

Council,
January 16, 1964.

His Worship the Mayor
and Aldermen
City of Halifax
Nova Scotia

Your Worship,
Madam, and Gentlemen:

The Rose Report and its recommendations have been approved unanimously by the Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights and by ninety per cent of the residents of Africville who attended a public meeting at Africville held, under the Committee's auspices, on Thursday evening, January 9, 1964.

The Committee would invite attention to its comments about three matters dealt with in the Report:

(1) The Report reads, on page six, "It is believed that (certain) families will receive a sufficient amount of money as a result of the expropriation proceedings to enable them to meet the down payment requirements in the purchase of suitable older houses in the downtown area." The Committee submits that this sentence should have read, "...to enable them to meet the down payment requirements in the purchase of suitable houses." It is feared that the "suitable older houses in the downtown area" might well prove to be houses in areas slated for early redevelopment and necessitate a further relocation of families now resident in Africville. A concern that this necessity not arise is expressed, indeed, in a statement found elsewhere in the Rose Report: (P.8) "... that Africville families will not be forced, through discrimination in the housing market, to seek accommodation only in those areas slated for redevelopment in the next few years."

(2) The Committee understands that public housing tenants are not evicted for legitimate inability to pay rent. The Committee trusts that this policy will continue, with reference to families to be relocated from Africville, and that taken into account will be the concern expressed in the Rose Report (P.8) "...that the City of Halifax will guarantee the monthly rental, if necessary, for families admitted to public housing, during a period of readjustment which might be limited to six months."

(3) The Committee regards as particularly important the Rose Report's recommendation (p.9) concerning the "employment of a trained social worker or social scientist" whose services would assure that Africville families and individuals are given special attention in coping with problems that will arise during the period of transition.

The Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights would like to express, at this time, its willingness to co-operate with the City of Halifax (as recommended in the Rose Report, P.9), in working out "the design and staging of the clearance and relocation programme."

Yours very truly,

THE HALIFAX ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON HUMAN RIGHTS

H. A. J. Wedderburn
CHAIRMAN

Donald F. Maclean
SECRETARY

His Worship the Mayor invited Mr. Wedderburn, Chairman of the Committee on Human Rights to address the Council.

Council,
January 16, 1964.

Mr. Wedderburn stated that the Rose Report is acceptable to the residents of Africville, but they request that the following additional matter be considered:

That those who will be in the process of buying homes, shall be protected by the City by a written guarantee in case of lapse of payments due to sickness, unemployment or minimum pension so that their position will not be jeopardized.

His Worship the Mayor: "All we are doing tonight is establishing broad principles. We have done so in the matter of compensation and we are going to seek legislation to enable the City to pay compensation where there is clear title. Part of the motion of the Council instructs the Mayor to meet with Provincial and Federal authorities on this matter. I did have one meeting with the Minister of Welfare of the Province and he has requested that we meet regularly over this period. I met with the view of attempting to secure the assistance of the Province so that the compensation may go beyond that recommended by Council. All are prepared to overcome the neglect of many years; and I can assure you that we are prepared to do everything we can to make this move as painless as possible, and try to look after the people as best we can within our resources, and beyond our resources."

Alderman O'Brien felt that steadier and more satisfactory progress could be made on the Africville problem if a Committee were appointed composed of members of Council, staff members and representatives of the Committee on Human Rights. He contended that since this is the kind of development where the lines of policy and administration cross back and forth, that separate approaches to it would not enhance the development of the finer points brought forward by Dr. Rose.

His Worship the Mayor stated that Alderman O'Brien had made an excellent suggestion, and he agreed that it would be wise to have a continuing look at the problem because many other problems will arise which the staff will not be able to handle by reason of their terms of reference.

MOVED by Alderman O'Brien, seconded by Alderman Lane, that an Advisory Committee be appointed, composed of members of Council, staff members and representatives of the Committee on Human Rights, to consider the recommendations contained in the Rose Report, and to report to Council with recommendations as to the phasing of the whole program.

Council,
January 16, 1964.

His Worship the Mayor stated that any person who wished to speak on the matter before Council, would be heard at this time.

Mr. Leon Steed, resident of Africville and a member of the Committee on Human Rights, stated that he had been approached by a number of the older residents of Africville who questioned their own ability to maintain payments on new properties and to pay the high rent plus service charges in Federal-Provincial housing projects because of their low incomes.

His Worship the Mayor: "I think that if this is kept under continuous study, we can overcome the problem by extraordinary actions, and I think Council is prepared to take extraordinary action. We cannot discuss individual cases tonight but we are attempting to start to correct this housing problem; and I have faith in Council that they will support the recommendations from the Advisory Committee to help overcome the problems that arise in making the move."

The motion was then passed.

The following Resolution was submitted:

WHEREAS City Council has received a report dated July 23, 1962 from City Staff recommending certain steps to be taken for the removal of unsatisfactory housing conditions in the Africville area.

AND WHEREAS City Council has received a further report dated December 6, 1963 from Doctor Albert Rose of the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto dealing with the same subject.

AND WHEREAS Doctor Rose's report agrees with the basic suggestions of the aforesaid report of July 23, 1962 but recommends additional assistance to the residents of the area during a phased reallocation process.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the City Council approve, accept, and confirm the recommendations contained in the Staff Report of July 23, 1962 and Doctor Rose's report of December 6, 1963.
2. That City Council instruct the City Solicitor to prepare permissive legislation for submission to the 1964 session of the Nova Scotia Legislature which will permit the City to compensate in an equitable manner the apparent owners of properties in the Africville area, such legislation to include but not to restrict the generality of the foregoing:
 - (a) that the City may pay the market value to those apparent owners who hold unclear title to lands and buildings in the Africville Area, so-called; and
 - (b) that the City may pay an amount of not less than five hundred dollars but not more than fifteen hundred dollars to the apparent owners of buildings in the Africville Area, so-called, but who have no title to the lands on which such buildings are located.

Council,
January 16, 1964.

3. That City Council authorize His Worship the Mayor to approach the Provincial Government and the Federal Government to determine if either or both Governments would be prepared to bear all or a portion of the costs to the City of undertaking the programme set forth in Clauses 1 and 2 of this Resolution.

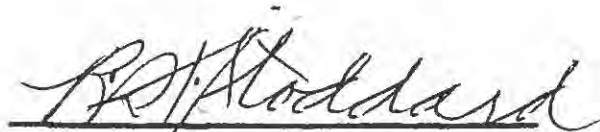
Alderman O'Brien questioned the \$1,500.00 limit provided in Clause 2(b) of the Resolution and contended that inclusion of the restrictive figure places the Council in an inflexible position as far as compensation is concerned.

The City Solicitor stated that in accordance with instructions received at the January 2 meeting of Council, he had prepared draft legislation which is permissive in character and does not contain any restrictive limits as to amounts. The legislation will be submitted to Council in due course.

MOVED by Alderman O'Brien, seconded by Alderman Trainor, that Clause 2(b) of the Resolution be amended by deleting the words "but not more than fifteen hundred dollars". Motion passed.

MOVED by Alderman Trainor, seconded by Alderman O'Brien, that the Resolution as amended be approved. Motion passed.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a
true copy of the minutes of a meeting of the Halifax City
Council held on January 16, 1964

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "R. H. Stoddard", written over a horizontal line.

R. H. STODDARD
CITY CLERK

DATED at HALIFAX, N.S.
OCTOBER 20, 1967

INFORMATION REPORT

TO: Halifax City Council
FROM: Director of Development and Planning
DATE: 19 October 1994
SUBJECT: Presentation: Mr. Irvine Carvery, The Africville
Genealogy Society

ORIGIN:

7 September 1994 Committee of the Whole Meeting

SUBMITTED BY:


Director of Development and Planning

CITY MANAGER'S CONCURRENCE:


City Manager

BACKGROUND:

Mr. Irvine Carvery, of the Africville Genealogy Society, attended the Committee of the Whole meeting on 7 September 1994 and asked the city to endorse the Africville Genealogy Society's application for funding under the Canada Infrastructure Program.

DISCUSSION:

Staff received the application the week of 10 October 1994 and are researching the issue for a report to Council. This report will be submitted to Council shortly.

BUDGET IMPLICATIONS:

There are no budget implications at this time.

ALTERNATIVES:

There are no alternatives at this time.

PREPARED BY:

William D. Campbell
Manager of Development Services

APPROVED BY:

Richard J. Matthews
Director of Development
and Planning

WDC/pb

THAT WAS THE WEEK

Dec. 12-18, 1963:

Africville ^{Dec 17} study slams Halifax

THERE IS LITERALLY no community in Canada, perhaps none in North America, quite like Africville," Dr. Albert Rose, a University of Toronto professor, said in a study released during the week marking the 15th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Requested by the City of Halifax, the study contained an eight-point program of social action with respect to the black community on the shores of Halifax Harbour at the Narrows. Rose also stated that the community's "long history, its special population and their employment characteristics, the years of neglect of this community by the administration of the City of Halifax, the unique importance of this settlement for all the people of Nova Scotia and for Canada, must be borne in mind by the negotiators" working out the settlement's future.

Meanwhile, Premier Robert L. Stanfield told a meeting of Sydney service clubs that "Our (Nova Scotian) anti-discriminatory legislation is the broadest in Canada and we will enforce it." The provincial Human Rights Act became law in 1963 in addition to the Fair Employment Practices Act and the Fair Accommodation Practices Act, passed earlier.

Santa Claus, using the Department of Transport ship Edward Cornwallis, set sail on his annual Christmas trip to Sable Island. The ship carried some 50 tons of supplies, including Christmas trees and gifts, turkeys, candy and other foodstuffs in addition to regular supplies.

A call for legislation requiring treatment of raw sewage entering Halifax Harbour "from several hundred sewer outfalls in Halifax, Dartmouth and Halifax County" within 10 years was issued by the newly formed Nova Scotia Water Authority. No specific price tag was put on the cost of such treatment facilities "but one official thought it would cost millions."

Movies at Halifax area theatres included: The Naked and the Dead, starring Aldo Ray, Cliff Robertson and Raymond Massey; Sayonara, starring Marlon Brando; Summer Holiday, starring Cliff Richard, Laurie Peters and The Shadows; and a classic, The Great Chase, starring Buster Keaton, Douglas Fairbanks Sr., William S. Hart and Lillian Gish.

A "long, losing slump" came to an end for the Halifax Tartans as they "outhustled and outscored" Moncton Hawks, 8-4, to regain third place in the Nova Scotia Senior Hockey League.

Rinks from the Halifax Curling Club defeated rinks from the Dartmouth and Mayflower curling clubs to win the Bryant trophy for women's curling.

"Brilliant goaltending" by Serge Aubry led Windsor Maple Leafs to a 4-2 win over the New Glasgow Rangers.

Word from the Dartmouth Minor Hockey Association was that "rough stuff was definitely out" for the 42 teams playing that season. Association officials planned to stress the "art of hockey rather than the physical contact type of game accepted in the National Hockey League."

And, that was the week.

Lorna Inness is a former senior editor of The Chronicle-Herald and The Mail-Star.

HISTORY OF AFRICVILLE
(AS REVEALED BY THE MINUTES OF COUNCIL)

1. Staff report of July 23, 1962 on Africville recommending steps be taken to resolve the conditions found.
2. At the meeting of Council on September 12, 1963 the Halifax Advisory Committee on Human rights, chaired by HAJ (Gus) Wedderburn recommended the engagement of a qualified person to make an indepth study of the Africville problem and to recommend certain ways and means of solving the housing problem. The Committee recommended the appointment of Dr. Albert Rose.
3. In response to the Committee's recommendation Dr. Rose was to be invited to Halifax to make a preliminary survey of Africville and to report to Council on the terms and conditions under which such a study would be undertaken.
4. At the same meeting of September 12, 1963 a recommendation to provide funds for the acquisition of properties in Africville in the amount of \$60,000 was approved but the project put on hold until the Rose study was completed.
5. At its meeting of November 28th, 1963 Council approved the payment of \$750.00 to Dr. Rose for his services as well as for the services of an appraiser to value the Skinner property.
6. The Dr. Rose report on Africville dated December 6, 1963 was submitted to Council at its meeting of January 2, 1964 and the following conclusions considered
 1. Further studies of the Africville area would not assist in the solution to the problem;
 2. The City should declare that it will require and clear the properties in the Africville area over a period of about two years and nine months under a carefully phased programme;
 3. That persons with title to the property either through possession or by Deed should be compensated at full market value.
 4. That persons who were the apparent owners of structures but with no legal claim of land should be paid a minimum of \$500.00 with additional compensation to be based on family size and/or marital status.
 5. That all families displaced as a result of acquisition and clearance should be offered accommodation in regular public housing

projects constructed or to be constructed by the City. Dr. Rose recommended against a special public housing project for the residents of the area.

6. Because of the nature of the community, the problems of employment and accommodation, that extraordinary measures be taken on the matter of guidance and assistance during the gradual relocation process as set out in the report.

Council approved the recommendations in principle but deferred a decision since the Halifax Advisory Committee on Human rights, chaired by Gus Wedderburn had not had an opportunity to consider the report.

7. At its meeting of January 16, 1964, Council again considered the Rose report. In so doing, it considered a letter of January 16, 1964 from the Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights signed by both Gus Wedderburn as Chairman and Donald F. MacLean as secretary endorsing the recommendations of the Rose report. The only additional comments offered were

The Committee would invite attention to its comments about three matters dealt with in the Report:

(1) The Report reads, on page six, "It is believed that (certain) families will receive a sufficient amount of money as a result of the expropriation proceedings to enable them to meet the down payment requirements in the purchase of suitable older houses in the downtown area." The Committee submits that this sentence should have read, "...to enable them to meet the down payment requirements in the purchase of suitable houses." It is feared that the "suitable older houses in the downtown area" might well prove to be houses in areas slated for early redevelopment and necessitate a further relocation of families now resident in Africville. A concern that this necessity not arise is expressed, indeed, in a statement found elsewhere in the Rose Report: (P.8) "... that Africville families will not be forced, through discrimination in the housing market, to seek accommodation only in those areas slated for redevelopment in the next few years."

(2) The Committee understands that public housing tenants are not evicted for legitimate inability to pay rent. The Committee trusts that this policy will continue, with reference to families to be relocated from Africville, and that taken into account will be the concern expressed in the Rose Report (P.8) "...that the City of Halifax will guarantee the monthly rental, if necessary, for families admitted to public housing, during a period of readjustment which might be limited to six months."

(3) The Committee regards as particularly important the Rose Report's recommendation (p.9) concerning the "employment of a trained social worker or social scientist" whose services would assure that Africville families and individuals are given special attention in coping with problems that will arise during the period of transition.

The Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights would like to express, at this time, its willingness to co-operate with the City of Halifax (as recommended in the Rose Report, P.9), in working out "the design and staging of the clearance and relocation programme."

8. Gus Wedderburn at the January 16th meeting also in an oral presentation to Council asked

"That those who will be in the process of buying homes, shall be protected by the City a written guarantee in case of lapse of payments due to sickness, unemployment or minimum pension so that their position will not be jeopardized."

In response Mayor Vaughn, stated

"All we are doing tonight is establishing broad principles. We have done so in the matter of compensation and we are going to seek legislation to enable the City to pay compensation where there is clear title. Part of the motion of the Council instructs the Mayor to meet with Provincial and Federal authorities on this matter. I did have one meeting with the Minister of Welfare of the Province and he has requested that we meet regularly over this period. I met with the view of attempting to secure the assistance of the Province so that compensation may go

beyond that recommended by Council. All are prepared to overcome the neglect of many years; and I can assure you that we are prepared to do everything we can to make this move as painless as possible, and try to look after the people as best we can within our resources and beyond our resources.

9. Leon Steed, of Africville, also addressed Council at the January 16th, 1964 meeting and stated that he had been approached by a number of the older residents of Africville who questioned their own ability to maintain payments on new properties and to pay the high rent plus service charges in Federal-Provincial housing projects because of their low incomes.

10. Mayor Vaughn replied by saying

"I think that if this is kept under continuous study, we can overcome the problem by extraordinary actions, and I think Council is prepared to take extraordinary action. We cannot discuss individual cases tonight but we are attempting to start to correct this housing problem; and I have faith in Council that they will support the recommendations from the Advisory Committee to help overcome the problems that arise in making the move.

11. At the Council meeting of January 16th, 1964 a motion was made that an Advisory Committee be appointed composed of members of Council, staff members and representatives of the Committee on Human Rights to consider the recommendations contained in the Rose report and to report to Council with recommendations as to the phasing in of the whole program. This motion was passed.

12. Following the passing of the above resolution, Council on January 16th passed the following resolution:

1. City Council approve, accept, and confirm the recommendations contained in the staff report of July 23, 1962 and Dr. Rose's report of December 6th, 1963.
2. That City Council instruct the City Solicitor to prepare permissive legislation for submission to the 1964 session of the Nova Scotia

Legislature which will permit the City to compensate in an equitable manner of the apparent owners of properties in the Africville area, such legislation to include but not to restrict the generality of the foregoing:

- (a) that the City may pay the market value to those apparent owners who hold unclear title to lands and buildings in the Africville area, so called; and
- (b) that the City may pay an amount of not less than \$500.00 dollars to the apparent owners of buildings in the Africville area, so called, but who have no title to the lands in which such buildings are located.

- 3. That the City Council authorize His Worship to approach the Provincial Government and the Federal Government to determine if either of both governments would be prepared to bear all or a portion of the costs of the City of undertaking the programme set forth in clauses 1 and 2 of this resolution.

13. City Council at its meeting of February 27th, 1964 Plan No. TT-15899 was approved as the official plan of Africville.

14. At the same meeting of Halifax City Council on February 27th, 1964 Aldermen Richard, Healy and LeBlanc were appointed to the Advisory Committee on Africville.

15. At its meeting of April 16th, 1964 Council approved a motion to hire Peter J. MacDonald as a social worker with the Welfare Department to be assigned to the Development Department for a period of 3 years. Mr. MacDonald was to be charged with responsibility of undertaking the task of documenting the social and economic situation and the requirements of each family and individual in Africville, to recommend the order and priority for relocation and to assist in the relocating of families and individuals in suitable, alternate accommodation. Half of his salary was to be paid by the Province of Nova Scotia.

16. As a result of a question respecting Africville posed by Alderman LeBlanc it is evident from the minutes of Council from its May 28th, 1964 meeting that Peter MacDonald was to assume his duties on June 1, 1964. As a consequence, the Advisory Committee

appointed by Council had not met as it was felt that no action could be undertaken by the Advisory Committee until Peter MacDonald was on staff.

17. At its meeting of July 16th, 1964 Council approved the first of the Africville property settlement. The settlement was in respect of structure no. 94. Mrs. Iona Dixon was to be paid \$500.00, \$100.00 immediately and \$400.00 in monthly payments of \$28.00 per month to commence immediately. Mrs. Dixon, it had been reported, had been relocated to the Mulgrave Park Housing Project. Mrs. Dixon was also relieved of the responsibility for repaying the Mary Augusta Dixon hospital account.

18. The second Africville settlement did not go to Council until September 17th, 1964. Before Council on that date was the purchase of buildings nos. 41, 42 and 43 from Daniel Izzard for a total sum of \$1,176.12 of which \$800.00 was to go to Mr. Izzard and \$376.12 to be applied against tax arrears and the V.G. Hospital Account. Mr. Hill, his housekeeper and child were to be offered rehousing assistance.

19. By the October 15, 1964 meeting of City Council, it is clear that the Africville acquisitions were well underway. At that time there were three different settlements before Council involving six different structures. Council agreed to purchase from Mrs. Florence Anderson buildings nos. 110 and 111 for a total of \$1,495.85, \$1,000.00 of which would be paid directly to Mrs. Anderson, the balance of \$495.85 being applied against her V.G. Hospital Account and her outstanding property taxes. In addition, \$1,000.00 was to be paid to Miss Annie Brown for her interest in the buildings and \$660.00 to Mrs. Knight for her interest in building no. 110, another \$1,000.00 was to be paid to Miss Hazel Cassidy for her interest in building no. 110 and another \$1,000.00 to Clarence Cassidy, Ms. Hazel Cassidy's son for his interest in building no. 111. Rental accommodation was to be offered to Hazel Cassidy or her son Gordon as well as her son Clarence and family.

20. Council on October 15, 1964 agreed to acquire building nos. 49, 50, 89 and 90 for a total of \$3,016.35 to be paid to Mrs. Mary Viola Crawford plus \$815.00 to be applied to her outstanding V.G. Hospital Account and \$168.65 against her tax arrears for a total of \$4,000.00. Another \$750.00 was to be paid to Charles Crouse for his interest in buildings 89 and 90. Accommodations were to be offered to Charles Crouse, his wife and one child as well as Mrs. Thomas Howe and her six children, occupants of the various buildings.

21. Again at Council on October 15, 1964 Council agreed to

acquire building no. 40 from Ethel Carvery and her three daughters for the total sum of \$825.26, \$500.00 of which was to be paid to Ethel Carvery, the balance to be paid against outstanding taxes and her hospital account.

22. At its meeting of November 12, 1964 Council approved the acquisition of buildings nos. 97 and 98 from Miss Etta Anderson for the sum of \$538.99, \$500.00 of which to be paid to Miss Etta Anderson, the balance to be applied towards taxes and her outstanding hospital account.

23. In its last meeting of 1964 Council approved the acquisition of 8 Africville buildings. Council approved the acquisition of building nos. 105, 106, 107 and 108 from Sarah Mantley for the sum of \$12,121.36, \$11,500.00 of which was be paid to Mrs. Mantley, the balance applied against outstanding taxes and her outstanding hospital account. Alternate accommodation was offered to Mrs. Mantley's tenants, those persons being Miss Myrtle Carvery and family, Mr. & Mrs. William Parker and family, Mr. & Mrs. Ernest Flint and family.

24. Council on December 17th, 1964 also approved the acquisition of building nos. 130 and 131 from Thomas Howe for the sum of \$5,060.05, \$5,000.00 to be paid to Mr. Howe, the balance to be applied against his outstanding tax account and outstanding hospital account. Alternate accommodations were to be offered to Thomas Howe, Miss Parris and their three children.

25. Council also approved on December 17th, 1964 the acquisition of building nos. 125 and 126 from Evelina Tolliver and her son John Tolliver for the sum of \$6,088.08, \$6,000.00 of which would be paid to Mrs. Tolliver, the balance applied against an eye glass account and a property tax account. Alternate accommodations were to be offered to a Robert Cassidy and family.

26. At the same Council meeting of December 17th, 1964, Council agreed to consider legal fees incurred by the residents of Africville in connection with their property settlements and the acquisition of alternate accommodation as part of the expenses of acquisition and were to form a part of the compensation paid in each case.

27. It is apparent from the minutes that Mr. Steed was interested in acquiring a home on Gottingen Street in exchange for his property in Africville. The Africville SubCommittee recommended that Mr. Steed be so provided which recommendation was not accepted and the result Council agreed to authorize City

staff to negotiate an extension on an option to purchase property at 2522 Gottingen Street on behalf of Mr. & Mrs. Leon Steed and that staff be instructed to continue negotiations with Mr. Steed.

28. Also at the December 17th, 1964 meeting apparently arising out of the negotiations with Mr. & Mrs. Leon Steed, Council directed a subcommittee of the Finance and Executive Committee to meet with the Africville Subcommittee in an endeavour to formulate a policy with respect to compensation for residents of Africville, such policy to include provision for exchanging a property in another area for one in Africville with adequate legal protection being provided to the City to prevent the exploitation by resale by capital gain, or otherwise of such exchange property.

29. Again at its meeting of December 17, 1964, Council approved the following resolution submitted by the Africville SubCommittee:

"That this Committee reaffirm the City's willingness to provide assistance in rehousing whether it be in the purchase of a home; becoming a tenant in public or privately owned housing."

30. Council also on December 17th, 1964 passed a resolution again submitted by the Africville SubCommittee

"That this Committee reaffirm that assistance in relocation and in the purchase of furniture to make the home livable, will be available on negotiation, on the basis of need, with Mr. Peter Macdonald of the Development Department."

31. For some reason the acquisition of building nos. 110 and 111 returned to Council on January 14th, 1965 at which time Council approved the settlement of the acquisition of these buildings for the sum of \$1,495.46, \$1,000.00 was to be paid to Mrs. Anderson for her interest in the property and the balance of \$495.46 was to be applied against her outstanding tax account. Council also agreed to pay Miss Hazel Cassidy \$1,616.30 for her interest in the property, \$1,000.00 of which to be paid to Miss Cassidy, the balance applied against her outstanding hospital account.

32. On January 14, 1965 City Council approved the acquisition of building nos. 64 and 65 from Mrs. Sara MacLean for building nos. 63 and 64 for the sum of \$506.14. \$500.00 was to be paid to Mrs. MacLean and the balance of \$6.14 applied against her tax arrears. City Council authorized offering a Mr. Dunsworth and his son alternative accommodation.

33. On January 14, 1965 Council also approved the acquisition of building no. 91 from Theresa Dixon for the sum of \$6,022.50,

\$6,000.00 of which was to be paid to Mrs. Dixon and the balance applied against her outstanding hospital account.

34. On January 14, 1965 the purchase of 2522 Gottingen Street by Mr. & Mrs. Leon Steede was back before Council. At that time Council agreed to pay Mr. & Mrs. Leon Steede \$10,000.00 for his Africville property which would be applied toward the acquisition of 2522 Gottingen Street and Mr. Steede was going to take out a first mortgage for the balance of the purchase price. Mr. Steede was to acquire a life interest for a term certain in the property with the City having a reversionary interest.

35. At its meeting of February 25th, 1965, the City agreed to the acquisition of building no. 58 from William Desmond for the sum of \$600.00.

36. Also at its meeting of February 25th, 1965, Council approved a motion adopting a policy whereby necessary household furnishings for needy Africville families will be provided by the City and the cost of providing such furniture will be claimed through the provisions of the Social Assistance Act.

37. Finally, at the meeting of Council on February 25th, 1965, Council agreed to a policy that "in order to assure Africville residents who are recipients of the blind persons' allowance, disabled persons' allowance, old age assistance or old age security that their living costs will not be seriously affected; that City Council agree to the recommended supplementation for Africville residents provided that each such case shall be recommended by the Africville Subcommittee to the Director of Welfare provided that in no case shall supplementary assistance extend beyond December 19th, 1966."

38. Council at its meeting of April 15th, 1965 agreed to the acquisition of building nos. 44, 45 and 46 from Christina Downey for the sum of \$1,508.88, \$1,500.00 of this to be paid to Mrs. Downey, the balance to be applied against her property tax account and her hospital account. Assistance regarding household effects was to be provided if required.

39. Again at Council on April 15, 1965, Council agreed to install the first of a series of 1,000 gallon water tanks to be installed in the central section of Africville and to be located in the dwelling vacated by Clarence Brown and that other tanks to a maximum of four be installed as demand increases.

40. Council agreed at its meeting of April 29, 1965 to the acquisition of building nos. 47 and 48 from Sarah Bayers and Artel Bayers for the sum of \$1,203.53, \$1,200.00 to be paid

jointly to Sarah and Artel Bayers, the balance applied against property taxes. Supplementation of their old age security if required was to be provided for the purposes of furniture.

41. It is clear from the minutes of Council of April 29th, 1965 there is an article on Africville appeared in the Halifax Mail Star suggesting that the then welfare administrator, H. Bond Jones was critical of the policies adopted by Council in respect of Africville. The matter was raised at the meeting of Council on the 29th day of April, 1965 and the welfare administrator raked over the coals. It is not clear precisely what the newspaper articles said. In reply Mr. Jones indicated that the interview had been about a Africville family that had been burnt out. Discussing this unfortunate situation, the comment apparently was made that had water sewage and adequate services previously been provided there may not have been any necessity for the clearance that was then taking place.

42. At its meeting of May 27, 1965, a question was asked of the City Manager in connection with the April, 1965 Mail Star article. At that time, the Manager advised that he was awaiting further information from the Mail Star staff before concluding his investigation. Later in the meeting there was a brief submitted from the Mainland Branch of the Nova Scotia Association of Social Workers with respect to the Halifax City Welfare Department. Council referred the report to the Public Health and Welfare Committee for consideration. This appears to be in some way connected with the investigation underway by the City Manager of the Mail Star article from April.

43. At its meeting of June 17, 1965 Halifax City Council agreed to purchase building no. 14 from Percy Howe for the sum of \$1,010.65, \$500.00 of which was to be paid to Mr. Howe, \$100.00 for the purchase of necessary furniture and the balance paid against Mr. Howe's hospital account. In addition, supplementation of Mr. Howe's social assistance payments in the amount of \$40.00 per month was approved to commence as soon as he was relocated to Mulgrave Park to assist with his rental payments.

44. Also at its meeting of June 17, 1965, Council agreed to the acquisition of property no. 20 from Reginald and Stella Carvery for the sum of \$1,176.20, \$1,000.00 of which was to be paid to Mr. & Mrs. Carvery, the balance to be applied against their outstanding property tax account. Alternate accommodations were to be offered to Gordon Anderson and, Miss Mansfield and their five children.

45. Also at the Council meeting of June 17, 1965, Council agreed

to the acquisition of building nos. 78, 87 and 88 for the sum of \$7,403.94, \$6,000.00 of which to be paid to Mr. & Mrs. James Paris, the balance to be applied against outstanding taxes and an outstanding hospital account. A resident of the properties Mrs. Dixon and her sons were to be offered public housing should they desire it. Mr. & Mrs. Paris and family were scheduled to be moving to a three bedroom home in Mulgrave Park temporarily with a view to an eventual move to Uniacke Square.

46. Also before Council on June 17, 1965, was the acquisition of building no. 104 from Mr. & Mrs. Leon Steed for the sum of \$6,000.00. The City agreed to pay Mr. & Mrs. Steed \$500.00 in addition for the acquisition of furniture and agreed to accommodate the Steed's in any suitable City owned property under the terms of the monthly lease that would have the City responsible for maintenance and heat and the rent would be charged on the same basis as would apply to a tenant in Mulgrave Park. The Steed's were to be responsible for electric power and water.

47. Also on the agenda of June 17, 1965, was a resolution to provide the sum of \$500.00 to Clarence Brown and his mother Hazel Cassidy for the purchase of necessary household items in accordance with the household furnishings policy for needy families in Africville.

48. At the meeting of Council on June 29, 1969, Alderman Doyle complained about a recent CBC programme on Africville and that he felt that it presented an extremely negative view of the Africville situation and totally ignored the efforts that the City of Halifax had been making to rectify the situation. The Mayor apparently sent a letter to the Chairman of the Board of the CBC, Mr. Ouimet, complaining about the programme.

49. At its meeting of July 29, 1965, Council agreed to acquire building nos. 93 and 102 from Dorothy Carvery for the sum of \$4,094.50, \$4,000.00 of which to be paid to Mrs. Carvery, the balance to be applied against outstanding hospital account and tax accounts. Assistance was to be provided to Mrs. Carvery in finding alternate accommodations within the City.

50. Also before Council on July 29, 1969 was the acquisition of building nos. 120 and 121 which the City agreed to acquire from Mr. & Mrs. Cecil Dixon for the sum of \$4,364.44, \$3,500.00 of which was to be paid to Mr. & Mrs. Dixon plus another \$500.00 for furnishings, the balance to be applied against outstanding taxes and their hospital account. Assistance was to be offered to Mr. & Mrs. Dixon in finding alternative accommodations.

51. Also before Council on July 29, 1965 was the acquisition of building nos. 97 and 98 from Miss Etta Anderson for the sum of \$638.99, \$600.00 of which was to be paid to Miss Etta Anderson and the balance to be applied against outstanding taxes and her hospital account.

52. Also before Council on July 29, 1965 was the recommendation to provide Clarence Brown with a further \$100.00 to complete the purchase of household furnishings for his new home on Lady Hammond Road.

53. At its meeting of September 30, 1965, Council approved the acquisition of building no. 92 from Arnold Howe and Miss Brenda Howe for the sum of \$4,133.37, \$4,000.00 of which was to be paid jointly to Arnold Howe and Miss Brenda Howe, the balance applied against an outstanding tax account and an outstanding hospital account.

54. Also approved on September 30, 1965 was the acquisition of building nos. 72 and 74 from Mr. & Mrs. Granville Newman for the sum of \$9,526.89, \$9,500.00 of which was to be paid to Mr. & Mrs. Newman, the balance to be applied against outstanding taxes.

55. Also approved on September 30, 1965 by Council was the acquisition of building nos. 65, 66, 67 and 68 from Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Dixon for the sum of \$5,082.43, \$4,500.00 of which was to be paid to Mr. & Mrs. Dixon, the balance to be applied against outstanding taxes and an outstanding hospital account and as well \$500.00 for the purchase of necessary household items. Assistance was to be provided to Mr. & Mrs. Dixon in finding alternate accommodations.

56. Also approved by Council on September 30, 1965 was the acquisition of buildings nos. 141, 142 and 143 for the sum of \$13,000.00, from Mr. & Mrs. Ralph (Priscilla) Jones.

57. Also approved at Council on September 30th, 1965 was a furniture allowance in the amount of \$1,000.00 maximum to cover the cost of furniture purchased for their new home by Mr. & Mrs. Leon Steede at 2522 Gottingen Street.

58. At its meeting of October 28th, 1965, Council approved the acquisition of building no. 127 for the sum of \$9,002.02 with the sum of \$1,666.60 each to be paid to Charles Dixon, Mrs. Florence David, Mrs. Evelyn Toliver and Mrs. Ralph Jones, the sum of \$388.89 to be paid each to Patrick Dixon, Edward Dixon, Rose

(Dixon) Harris, Marie Gabriel, Mrs. Bernadenne Carvery, and Daniel Izzard, Jr. the sum of \$611.11 to be paid for necessary household items to Mr. & Mrs. Daniel Izzard, Jr. and to Mrs. Bernadenne Carvery. The balance of which was to be applied against an outstanding V.G. Hospital Account and to tax arrears. Mr. & Mrs. Izzard, Jr. and family of six children were to be given priority in accommodations in Uniacke Square as soon as a suitable apartment was available.

59. Also approved at Council on October 28, 1965 was the acquisition of building no. 73 for the sum of \$517.65 from Annabelle Regis, \$500.00 of which was to be paid to Mrs. Regis and the balance to be applied against outstanding taxes.

60. Before Council on December 16, 1965 was the approval of an additional sum of \$350.00 payment to Mr. & Mrs. Stanley Dixon the former owners of building no. 65, 66, 67 and 68 for the purchase of household items which was approved.

61. Also before Council on December 16, 1965 was the approval of the purchase of building nos. 112 and 113 from Mr. & Mrs. Harry (Vera) Carter for the sum of \$8,807.52, \$8,000.00 of which was to be paid to Mr. Carter, \$500.00 for necessary household items, the balance of which was to be applied against outstanding hospital and tax accounts.

62. Also before Council on December 16, 1965 was the acquisition of building no. 116 from Mr. & Mrs. Winnson Byers for the sum of \$6,506.09, \$5,500.00 of which was to be paid to Mr. Byers, \$1,000.00 was to approved for the purpose of necessary household items and the balance of which was to be applied against an outstanding tax account. Assistance with the legal costs involved in the purchase of a property in Sackville was to be offered.

63. Also before Council on December 16, 1965 was the adjustment of Peter J. Macdonald's salary to bring it in line with recent adjustments to the Provincial salary scale. It was noted in the Council minutes that Mr. MacDonald was a social worker on staff with the Provincial Department of Welfare and simply on loan to the City in connection with the relocation of the families at Africville. This statement appears to be inconsistent with the earlier minutes of Council respecting the appointment of Peter J. Macdonald in 1964. See para. 15

64. Also before Council on December 16, 1965 was the appointment of Gus Wedderburn, the Reverend Charles L. Coleman and George W. Davis from the Human Rights Advisory Committee to the

Subcommittee on Africville.

65. At the last meeting of Council for 1965 held on December 30, Alderman Connolly referred to two newspaper articles on Africville, one in the Toronto Star Weekly and another in the Florida Times Union. Both articles appear to have been very negative and the members of Council quoted in each of the articles denied any negative comments in respect of Africville.

66. At its meeting of March 17, 1966, Council approved the acquisition of building nos. 80, 81, 82 and 83 from Mr. & Mrs. David Dixon for the sum of \$6,529.00, \$5,500.00 to be paid to Mr. & Mrs. Dixon for their property, \$1,000.00 for the purchase of necessary household items and the balance applied against an outstanding hospital account. Also at its meeting of March 17, 1966 Council approved the acquisition of building no. 117 from Romeo Byers for the sum of \$7,913.95, \$5,000.00 of which to be paid to Mr. Byers for his property, \$1,000.00 to be applied toward the cost of necessary household items and the balance applied against an outstanding hospital account. Assistance was to be provided in the purchase or rental of alternate accommodations.

67. Also at its meeting of March 17, 1966, Council approved the acquisition of building nos. 75 and 76 from Mr. & Mrs. Clement Marsman for the sum of \$5,979.07, \$4,500.00 which was to be paid to Mr. & Mrs. Marsman for their property, \$1,000.00 applied towards the purchase of necessary household furnishings, and the balance to be applied against tax arrears and an outstanding hospital account. The City was also to assume the cost of any deed transfer tax in the amount of \$175.00. The services of the Legal Department were to be made available and assistance provided with the movement of furniture if required.

68. Also at its meeting of March 17, 1966, Council approved the acquisition of buildings nos. 71 from Mr. & Mrs. William Clayton for the sum of \$4,642.41, \$3,500.00 of which was to be paid to Mr. & Mrs. Clayton, \$1,000.00 applied toward the purchase of furniture and the balance applied against outstanding taxes and hospital account. Assistance with moving was to be provided and deed transfer tax in the amount of \$95.00 was to be assumed by the City of Halifax and the City's legal services provided with the acquisition presumably of another property within the City.

69. Also at Council on March 17, 1966 was a motion to assume the cost of plumbing and plastering repairs on behalf of Mr. & Mrs. Stanley Dixon to 3188 Albert Street. Obviously, property acquired by Mr. & Mrs. Stanley Dixon following a move from Africville.

70. Also before Council on March 17, 1966 was a motion to assist Mr. & Mrs. H. Carter and Mr. & Mrs. W. Byers with the cost of moving expenses in the amount of \$45.00 payable to Mills Transfer. It appears from the minutes that these people were moving from the City.

71. Also before Council on March 17, 1966 was a borrowing resolution in the amount of \$100,000.00 with additional borrowing for the relocation programme at Africville.

72. Also before Council on March 17, 1966 was approval to prepare a submission for presentation to the Provincial and Federal Governments seeking financial assistance with the Africville relocation programme which motion was passed.

73. Again before Council on March 17, 1966 was approval of the payment of financial assistance to Clarence Brown on a weekly basis to assist him with his mortgage, groceries, fuel and electricity for a total weekly sum of \$71.00. This payment was being made on compassionate grounds for a period not to exceed three months at which time the matter was to be reviewed.

74. At its meeting of May 12, 1966 Council approved the acquisition of building no. 69 from Mr. & Mrs. Lloyd Farrell for the sum of \$4,853.98, \$4,000.00 of which was to be paid to Mr. & Mrs. Farrell for the property, \$500.00 for necessary household items and the balance to be applied against outstanding taxes and an outstanding V.G. account and deed transfer tax of \$74.50. The services of the City Solicitor's Office were offered if required as well as assistance with the moving of furniture to their new accommodations.

75. At its meeting of June 30, 1966, Council approved the acquisition of the interest of Mrs. Phyllis Oulton for the sum of \$400.00. The location and number of the property was not referenced in the Council minutes.

76. At its meeting of June 30th, 1966, Council approved the payment of furniture allowance in the amount of \$750.00 to Lawrence Brown, Jr. and further that assistance be provided to Mr. & Mrs. Brown in moving their personal effects from no. 110 Africville to their new accommodations on Lynch Street.

77. At its meeting of June 30th, 1966, Council approved the acquisition of building no. 55 from Mrs. Loretta Black for the sum of \$4,242.53, \$4,000.00 of which was to be paid to Mrs. Loretta Black, the balance to be applied against her outstanding

tax account and hospital account.

78. At its meeting of June 30, 1966 Council approved the acquisition of building no. 58 from Mrs. Elsie Desmond for the sum of \$6,533.62 for her property, \$5,000.00 of which to be paid to Mrs. Elsie Desmond for her property, \$1,000.00 to be paid for necessary household items and the balance to be applied against her outstanding tax account and hospital account. Mrs. Desmond was to be offered assistance in acquiring alternative accommodation.

79. At its meeting of June 30, 1966, Council approved the acquisition of building no. 70 from Mrs. Beatrice Gordon for the sum of \$4,763.26, \$4,500.00 of which was to be paid to Mrs. Beatrice Gordon for her property, the balance to be applied against her outstanding tax and hospital accounts.

80. At its meeting of June 30th, 1966 Council approved the acquisition of property no. 118 from Mrs. Effie Flint for the sum of \$9,175.11, \$7,000.00 of which was to be paid to Mrs. Effie Flint for her property, \$1,000.00 for necessary household furnishings, another \$1,000 for necessary household furnishings for Mr. Morton Flint and the balance in payment of the outstanding hospital and tax accounts. Assistance was to be provided to Mrs. Effie Flint in finding suitable alternate accommodations. Assistance was to be made available to Mr. Morton Flint in moving from Africville to his new residence and the services of the Legal Department were to be made available to him if required.

81. Also at its meeting of June 30, 1966 Council approved the acquisition of property nos. 123 and 124 from Mr. Walter Nichols for the sum of \$7,541.13, \$6,500.00 of which was to be paid to Mr. Nichols for his property, \$1,000.00 for necessary household items and the balance to be applied against his outstanding tax and hospital accounts. Assistance was to be provided to Mr. Nichols with moving to his new address as well as acquiring new accommodations.

82. Also at its meeting of June 30, 1966, Council accepted an information report respecting the Africville relocation from the City Manager; and staff were directed to prepare a press release based upon the progress report.

83. At its meeting of September 15, 1966, Council considered a staff progress report on the Africville relocation program which advised that at the beginning of the Africville relocation programme it was estimated that there were approximately 75

families in the community. As of the date of the report 37 families had been relocated. Nine families were prepared to move as soon as suitable accommodations were available. Staff were still negotiating with another 20 families. The balance remaining at that point of three properties involving nine families had not yet then commenced.

84. At its meeting of September 15, 1966, Council approved the acquisition of building no. 119 from Ms. Francis Flint for the sum of \$6,023.18, \$5,000.00 of which was to be paid to Miss Flint for her interest in her property, \$1,000.00 for necessary household items and the balance to be applied against her outstanding hospital accounts. Assistance from the Legal Department was to be provided for the purchase of any suitable property.

85. Also at its meeting of September 15, 1966 Council approved the acquisition of building no. 135 from Clarence Carvery for the sum of \$1,000.00. Assistance was to be offered to Mr. Carvery's stepdaughter, Miss Thompson in acquiring alternate accommodations for herself and her family.

86. Also approved at the September 15th, 1966 Council meeting was the acquisition of property no. 57A from Robert Cassidy, Jr. for the sum of \$4,000.00 which included a \$1,000.00 furniture allowance. Assistance with moving was to be provided to Mr. & Mrs. Cassidy should they decide to relocate within the City.

87. Also before Council on September 15th, 1966 was the appointment of the Reverend W. Bryant to the Africville Subcommittee replacing Reverend Coleman as the representative of the Human Rights Advisory Committee. This motion was passed.

88. At its meeting of October 13, 1966, Council approved the acquisition of property nos. 132 and 133 from Charles Mantley for the sum of \$15,030.73, \$13,500.00 to be paid to Mr. & Mrs. Mantley for their interest in the property, \$70.00 in payment of deed transfer tax, and the balance applied against the outstanding tax and hospital accounts. Assistance was to be available from the City Solicitor's office to Mr. & Mrs. Mantley with their negotiations in the purchase of a Dartmouth property.

89. At its meeting of December 1, 1966 Council approved the acquisition of property no. 57 from the heirs of Samuel Brown for the sum of \$5,000.00 to be divided equally among Mrs. Marjorie Emmerson, Robert Cassidy, Albert Cassidy, John Turney and Paul Downey.

90. Council approved at its meeting of December 1, 1966 the acquisition of property no. 91 from Mrs. Theresa Dixon for the sum of \$11,923.02, \$10,000.00 of which was to be paid to Mrs. Theresa Dixon for her interest in the property which included a \$1,000.00 furniture allowance and a \$605.00 relocation allowance. \$1,605.00 was to be paid to Mrs. Dixon's daughter, Mrs. Bertha O'Brien for her interest in the property, and the balance was to be paid on her outstanding tax and hospital accounts.

91. Also at its meeting of December 1, 1966 Council approved the acquisition of an unnumbered property in Africville from Mrs. Francis Cain for the sum of \$5,330.22, \$5,000.00 of which was to be paid to Mrs. Cain for her interest in the property which amount included a \$1,000.00 for necessary household furniture, and the balance was to be paid against her outstanding hospital account. Assistance was to be given to Mrs. Cain in relocating her family in public housing as well as assistance with moving her furnishings.

92. Council also on December 1, 1966 approved the acquisition of property numbers 16, 19, 21, 21A, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37 and 38 from the heirs of William Carvery for the sum of \$30,000.00, \$6,000.00 each was to be payable to Edward Carvery, Lucy Carvery, Jean Cassidy, Amy Dickson, and Erin Carvery. With the exception of Amy Dickson \$1,000.00 of the amount paid was identified as a furniture allowance. Assistance was to be offered in acquiring suitable accommodations to each family.

93. At its meeting of December 15, 1966, Council approved the acquisition of property nos. 95, 96 and 99 from Mr. & Mrs. Albert (Muriel) Sparks for the sum \$10,139.85 which amount included \$1,000.00 for necessary household items. Assistance was to be granted to Mr. & Mrs. Sparks in the movement of their household effects.

94. Also at the meeting of December 15, 1966 Council approved the purchase of property no. 109 from Mr. & Mrs. Howard Byers for the sum of \$15,011.25 which sum included \$1,000.00 for necessary household furniture. Assistance was to be provided to Mr. & Mrs. Byers in acquiring suitable accommodations.

95. Council on December 15, 1966 also approved the payment of a furniture allowance to Robert Cassidy, a former resident of Africville, then a tenant in Mulgrave Park.

96. Also at its meeting of December 15, 1966 Council approved a motion authorizing staff to order from a reputable furniture

store the necessary household items for residents in Africville in cases where the condition of the person's furniture is such that the furniture is generally not usable, such expenditure not to exceed a \$1,000.00.

To: Halifax City Council
From: Director of Social Planning
Date: 28 October 1994
Subject: Africville Genealogy Society

4.13

Origin:

Halifax City Council referred the submission of Mr. Irvine Carvery of the Africville Genealogy Society concerning the Africville relocation program 1962-1969 to staff for a report.

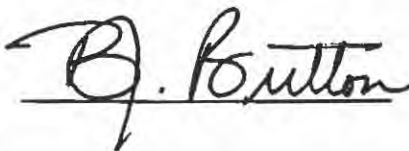
Recommendation:

It is recommended that Council agree in principle to:

- (1) Support the rebuilding of the Seaview Baptist Church in the former Africville site primarily as a memorial, to the community that was, to the community that will exist in the hearts of the people, to the broad community that needs to say to all citizens that people must be treated with human dignity and respect. This support will be in the form of a land contribution of 2.5 acres at the site subject to appropriate zoning amendments which will require proper notice and public hearing.
- (2) Establish a scholarship fund specifically for the descendants of Africville residents. The scholarship fund is to be used to promote excellence in education. A foundation is to be set up to assist in the provision of the funds that will consist of an initial capital of \$100,000 with interest to be used for the scholarships.

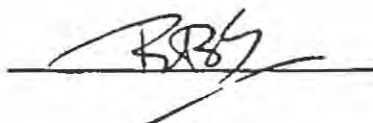
Recommended by:

Director, Social Planning



City Manager's Concurrence:

City Manager



Circulation and Concurrence:

M. E. Donovan, Legal Department
C. Isaacs, Alderman's Office
R. Ridgley, Finance Department

Discussion:

On July 23, 1962 an unsigned report to City Council stated that in reference to Africville, "a casual inspection indicates however, that the great majority of the buildings could be considered for demolition under the provisions of the City Charter. Only the occasional structure would not be considered dangerous or dilapidated."

This same report identified approximately 80 families with a total population of 370 people. The report continues that some of the families had been living in Africville for at least 40 years, but that most of the families had been living there for at least 10 years. (The implication being that the majority were relatively short term residents of Africville.) The report states "there does however appear to be a constant movement of persons in and out of the area and within the area".

The report presented three options to deal with Africville:

- a. do nothing
- b. simply use expropriation legislation
- c. "The City can use its statutory powers to remove the blight and at the same time, temper justice with compassion in matters of compensation to families affected."

This report recommended that the Africville families should be offered alternative accommodation in subsidized housing even to the extent of exempting people from the normal income limitations; that the Africville people should be integrated into existing/planned projects; where clear title to land and buildings rests with the City because of "recent expropriations" that there be a gratuitous payment of \$500.00 for a quit claim deed; where clear title does not exist expropriation will be carried out through the courts or negotiation and that owners who could not provide title would be given \$500.00; and that if these were agreeable to Council that negotiations in conjunction with church and welfare organizations proceed with the Africville residents. The estimated cost to the City to proceed to completion of the relocation were \$40,000 to \$70,000.

Council subsequently recruited Professor Rose to study the situation and make recommendations to resolve what Council perceived as deplorable housing and an embarrassment to the City.

Rose's recommendation essentially followed the recommendations in the July 1962 report. Rose's recommendation was for a kinder, gentler expropriation with provisions

for alternate housing, education, training, rehabilitation for those dislocated by the City's plan.

These events need to be put into a context of some significant values of the day. The first was clearly the preference that people should not be segregated because of colour (the integrationist movement in the southern United States was generally considered as heroic) and the social engineers believe that if society provided a better environment, i.e. housing, then people would automatically improve in all aspects of socio-economic and psycho-social functioning.

The 'bulldozer' approach to urban redevelopment was the accepted approach into the late 1960's, early 1970's. Halifax had this approach with Greenbank and the site of the present Scotia Square. (By 1969 with annexation of the mainland portions of the then County, the bulldozer approach was over encouraged by federal dollars available through the Neighbourhood Improvement Programs).

The relocation/bulldozer philosophies were used by the Newfoundland and Nova Scotia governments in dealing with communities which could not be economically served (education, health care, etc). This approach to "urban blight" and "rural isolation" dominated the late 1950's, early 1960's when the key decisions about Africville were being made.

The City did deal with an Africville resident's committee. This committee was a genuine attempt to involve the community in discussions on relocation and compensation. Twenty-five years later allegations that the committee was or was not representative cannot be proven.

The City also acquired the services of Peter MacDonald, a social worker from Cape Breton, recommended by the Deputy Minister of Social Services, to do most of the actual negotiation with the Africville residents, again seemingly to achieve the compassion and unbiased approach that Council sought.

The fact that the cost of acquiring 149 properties from 83 families (some families having an interest in more than one property, usually by virtue of an interest in the property of a deceased member) was \$633,749 (data on nine properties is missing), by 1969, seven years after it was projected to cost \$70,000, is an indication that the rigid legalistic expropriation process was not used and that a reasonable effort was made to be compassionate.

The following chart gives a breakdown of these payments:

<u>NUMBER OF FAMILIES</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
5 families	up to \$500
9 "	\$501 to \$1000
11 "	\$1,001 to \$3,000
15 "	\$3,001 to \$5,000
13 "	\$5,001 to \$7,000
12 "	\$7,001 to \$10,000
8 "	\$10,001 to \$15,000
11 "	over \$15,000

When the compensation was paid to the Africville families for their properties, the payments related to the price of homes sold on the private market in north end Halifax and in some cases exceeded the price of homes on Leeds, Vestry, St. Paul and Albert Streets.

All the evidence indicates that the money paid for the Africville properties was at least very fair and perhaps generous.

It seems that over time, myths grew about Africville as an idyllic community a self reliant and mutually supportive community. The claim is that more people found themselves on Welfare after the relocation than before. Yet at the mid-point of the relocation, Canada and Nova Scotia saw major Welfare reform with the Canada Assistance Plan, that increased Welfare recipients by virtue of changes in eligibility requirements.

Some confusion arises as to whether or not there was an agreement by the City to initiate an appraisal of the Africville lands, if a proposal came forward to develop those lands.

The motion of December 21, 1967 at the Finance and Executive Committee was "after discussion it was moved by Alderman Connolly and seconded by Alderman Moir that the appraisal of the Africville lands be deferred until development of the lands is proposed; and that pending receipt of development proposals, the matter be reviewed every six months". This motion was never approved by Council. It appeared on the agenda for a number of meetings and was eventually removed.

In early 1989 the City received a proposal to acquire nine acres of land between Seaview Park and the Fairview Cove container terminal. It appears the proposed site did not include former Africville lands.

But if it did and if the motion of December 21, 1967 were to take effect, the issue of whether the lands had appreciated to a greater extent than was paid needed to be considered.

Aside from that, there is no indication that the lands appreciated in value above what

the Africville residents were paid. On a per acre basis the Africville residents received \$50,000 in 1969 dollars which equals \$228,500 in 1994 dollars.

On compensation the City did the right thing.

With regard to the provision of alternate housing, concerns have been expressed about:

- a. temporary relocation to City-owned housing;
- b. the direction of residents into public housing, and
- c. discouragement of some relocatees from home ownership.

With regard to meeting the education commitment, it appears that this was primarily addressed by giving the former Africville residents easy access to the regular Halifax school system and the establishment of the education fund with the proceeds of the Seaview Baptist Church (\$20,000).

With regard to rehabilitation services the two prongs of the Home Aid program to assist some relocatees acquiring the skills to meet the household standards required of Public Housing applicants and the establishment of the Seaview Credit Union with \$70,000 of City and Provincial money to provide loans to help in the adjustment of the relocatees were considered adequate responses.

There is a prevailing belief among the Africville relocatees that the City wanted the Africville lands for the "Industrial Mile" and that the City agreed to re-evaluate the payments made to the Africville property owners to adjust for any increase in the value of the land up to 1985.

There is no evidence that Council made such a decision, there was never a plan put forward to have industrial development on the Africville lands, and the payment for the lands in 1962-1969 exceeded their value relative to the 1993-94 value.

A report submitted to Council in December 1970 states "the single greatest problem experienced by Social Planning staff in attempting to carry out the commitment to the follow-up program has been the inability to establish meaningful dialogue with a representative group of Africville relocatees".

Many will acknowledge that if Africville presented itself to the City in 1994 the approaches to solving the problems would have been radically different than in 1962 and the outcomes also different than the outcomes of 1969. Although the approach would probably have been more sensitive, it is uncertain whether it would have an improved financial benefit to the residents.

The City of Halifax does need to recognize the reality of Africville in its history, celebrate the contributions the Africville people made to the City, and continue to seek and help in their full participation in the life of the City.

Budget Implications:

A sum of money equal to \$100,000 be set aside to be managed by an independent foundation comprised of representatives of the City of Halifax and the descendants of former Africville residents with the interest derived from these funds to be used to provide scholarships.

It is recommended that the capital fund be set at \$100,000. The funds would be derived from a General Government allocation in the 1995/96 fiscal year.

Alternatives:

1. An alternative is to do nothing which will likely contribute to festering animosity between the descendants of the people of Africville and the City of Halifax. The City would also be left open to considerable negative publicity.
2. Vary the options presented by the exclusion of any one.
3. Defer the matter back to staff for an alternative proposal.

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