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Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia

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AFRICVILLE RELOCATION REPORT

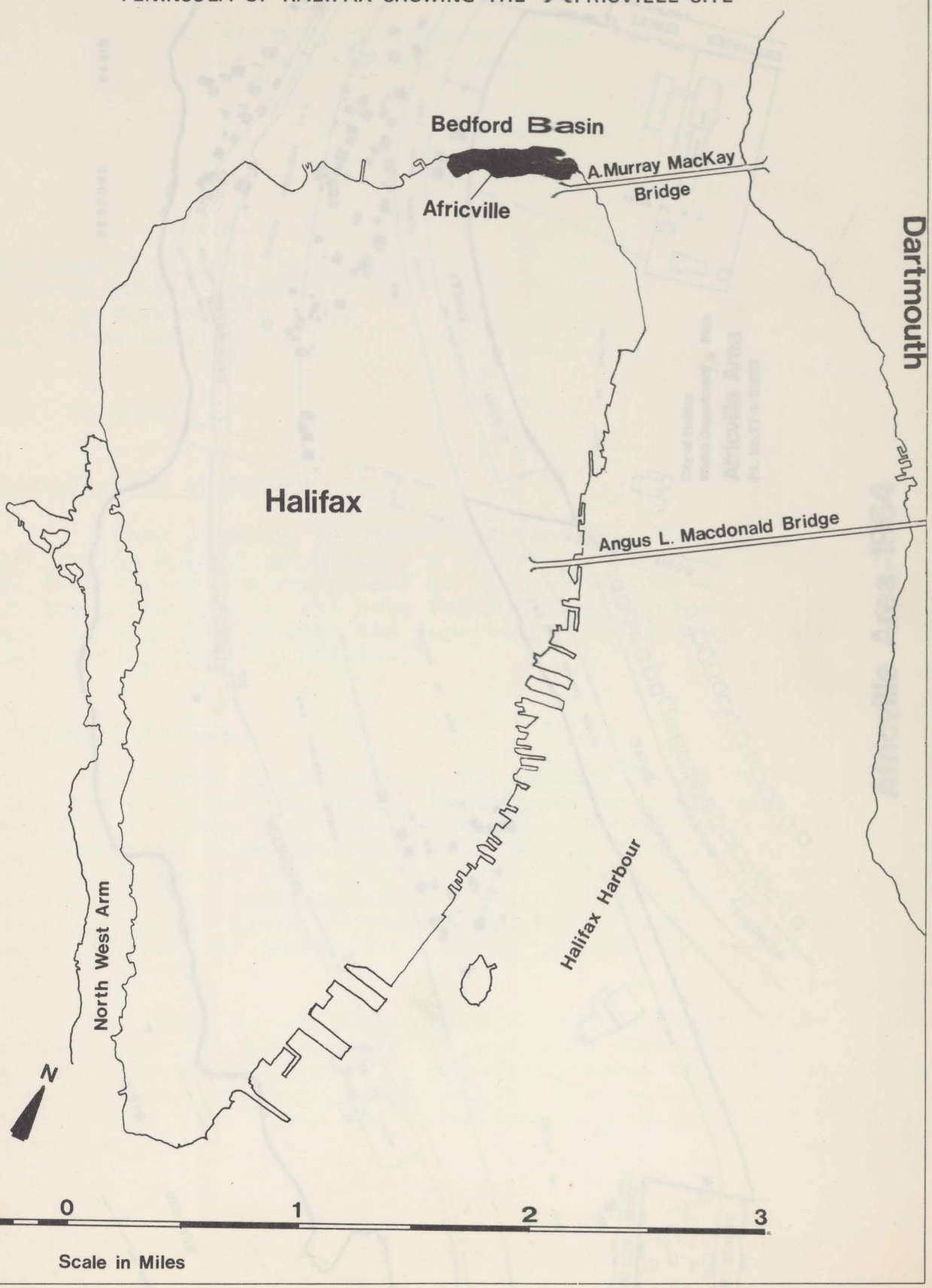
by

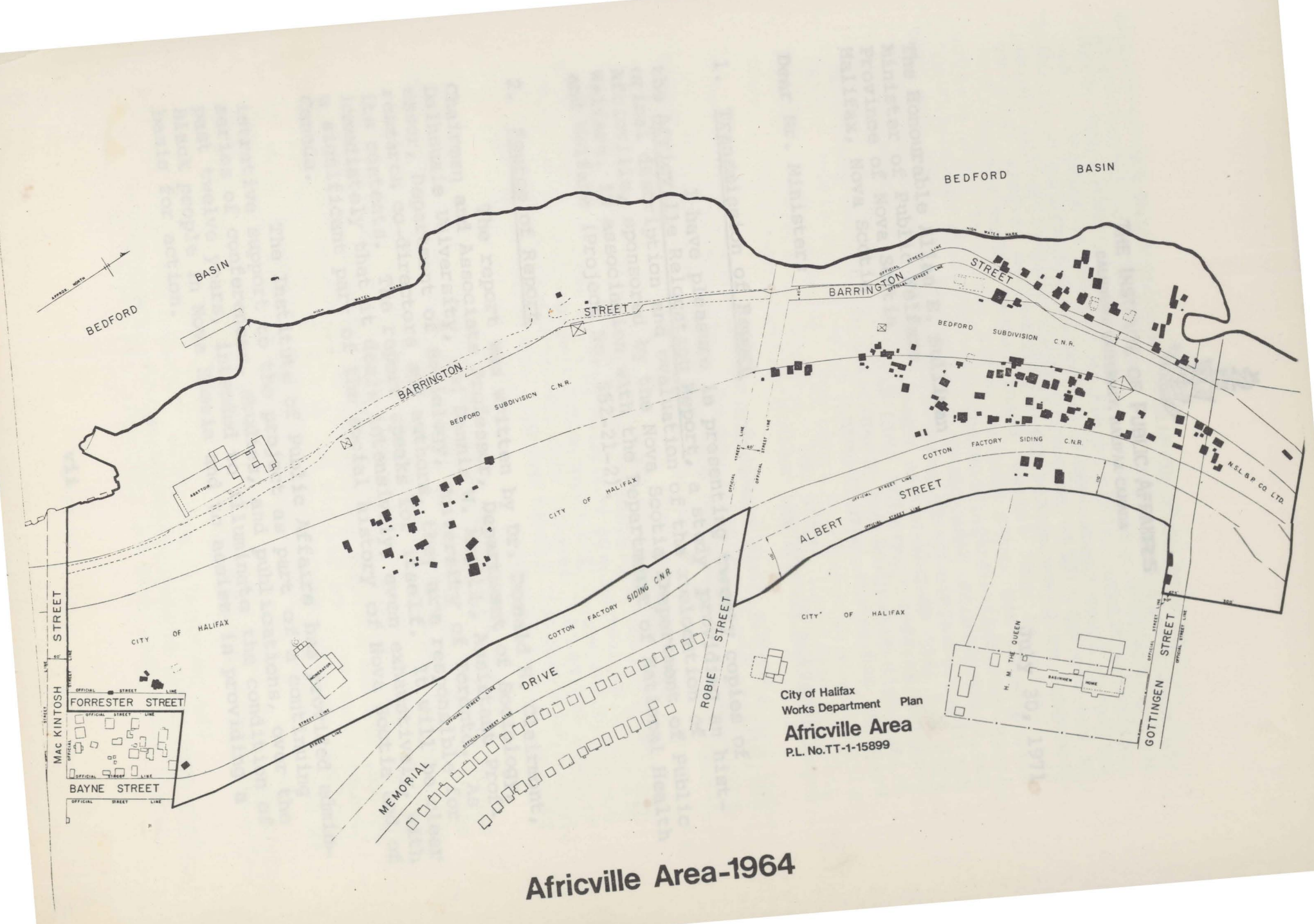
Donald H. Clairmont, Dalhousie University

Dennis W. Magill, University of Toronto

1971

PENINSULA OF HALIFAX SHOWING THE AFRICVILLE SITE





Africville Area-1964

THE INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY, HALIFAX CANADA

July 30, 1971

The Honourable Allan E. Sullivan
Minister of Public Welfare
Province of Nova Scotia
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Dear Mr. Minister:

1. Transmission of Report

I have pleasure in presenting twenty copies of the Africville Relocation Report, a study providing an historical description and evaluation of the relocation of Africville, sponsored by the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare, in association with the Department of National Health and Welfare (Project No. 552-21-2).

2. Source of Report

The report was written by Dr. Donald H. Clairmont, Chairman and Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Dalhousie University, and Dennis W. Magill, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto. As research co-directors and authors, they are responsible for its contents. The report speaks for itself. It will be clear immediately that it deals intensively, even exhaustively, with a significant part of the social history of Nova Scotia and of Canada.

The Institute of Public Affairs has provided administrative support to the project as part of a continuing series of conferences, studies, and publications, over the past twelve years, intended to illuminate the condition of Black people in Nova Scotia and to assist in providing a basis for action.

As a result of discussions initiated in May 1967 by the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare, the Institute engaged Donald H. Clairmont to develop a proposal for a comprehensive study. This he did in Halifax in mid-1967. He suggested later that Dennis W. Magill join him as co-director of the project. The proposal and the budget for its implementation were presented for consideration in late 1967, to the Provincial and Federal Departments. After necessary arrangements had been adopted in the spring of 1968, preliminary work only (e.g., tracing the addresses of relocatees) was undertaken in the summer of that year and plans were made for the co-directors to carry through their research in mid-1969 and then complete the report. The co-directors have required further time for completion in view of the complexities, both expected and unexpected, of the task and their teaching and other commitments.

3. Underlying Concerns

As the last households were being relocated from Africville, the provincial and civic officials directly responsible expressed two concerns to the Institute of Public Affairs.

One concern was about the relocation's success or failure, from the relocatees' point of view, for their new places of residence and condition of life were not known in a comprehensive way. The other concern arose from an administrative desire, in keeping with the best modern practice, to have a contemporary record and critical review of a major, planned, social change.

Other objectives would be achieved. The study should clarify, to public satisfaction, elements of doubt and confusion which continued to hang over the former condition of Africville itself (with respect to property titles and other matters), the justification, or lack of justification, for the City's action and for provincial support of that action, and the methods and results of relocation. Valuable lessons might well be learned for use in dealing with social problems involving relocation, whether or not complicated by an ethnic factor, in Nova Scotia and perhaps elsewhere.

4. Conditions of Research

The provincial and civic officials who initiated the study made clear that they recognized the risks inherent in a

critical descriptive review and evaluation of a social act so significant and controversial as the relocation of Africville. They offered fullest cooperation in making available detailed formal documentation and informal confidential information. It was established from the beginning as a condition of the research that all such information and field survey findings would be subject to factual chronicling, scrutiny, and assessment in the present report.

In return, the Institute of Public Affairs undertook to have the study conducted at an appropriate level of professional competence and maturity. The dangers of any tendency to defend or whitewash or, on the other hand, to attach blame and render moral judgments, were appreciated. The responsibility to conduct the study in both a scientific and humane spirit was accepted by the Institute and by the co-directors of the study. The risks in research about problems of living people are obvious. The prime requisite was that the report stand upon a well-organized and solid basis of fact.

The research task required the collection and interpretation of information about the origin and characteristics of Africville and its people, and Africville's relationships with the larger White community of which it was part, and yet set apart as a ghetto; about the diverse interests and motives shaping official City policy over several generations; about the behaviour of elected and appointed officials, and representatives of the community, in the policy decisions and administrative processes which led to the demolition of Africville and the relocation of its residents; and about related voluntary group, institutional, and individual action in the community at large.

5. Nature and Scope of Report

At the outset several special considerations entered into decisions that were made in consultations between representatives of the Department of Public Welfare, as a sponsor, and of the Institute of Public Affairs.

First of all, there was the need to know what had happened to the people of Africville during and since their relocation. Had the relocation been "completed" by their removal and the demolition of Africville? Were they experiencing on-going problems of readjustment; if so, of what kind and requiring what sort of action?

Secondly, Africville had acquired a symbolic importance, not only in Halifax City and Nova Scotia but beyond,

which placed an obligation upon government and the general community to record, interpret, and evaluate their action in expropriating property and forcing the removal of people. "The unique situation of Africville" is pointed up in these two sentences from a report (1962) to Halifax City Council by Dr. Albert Rose, a leading Canadian authority on welfare and public housing:

> "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."

The historical description and evaluation of the Africville relocation had, therefore, to be planned and executed at standards of comprehensiveness, thoroughness, and competence, adequate both to the task itself and to expectations of Black people, the community at large, the several levels of government, and those interested beyond the borders of both Nova Scotia and even Canada itself.

Thirdly, at the outset it quickly became clear that the theory and practice of relocation, as reflected in the literature, were not sufficiently advanced readily to provide criteria for evaluating the Africville relocation. A major effort was required to examine relocation experience, with particular reference to Canada and the United States, for the purpose of appraising methods or modes of relocation. In the broad view, a primary value of the present study comes from its examination of principles and practices of relocation, in the light of which the co-directors have undertaken a rational evaluation of the Africville experience.

It was anticipated at the beginning that, apart from providing criteria for evaluating the Africville relocation, an examination of relocation experience would be of direct interest and use to people, communities, and governments involved in other relocations taking place in present-day society. The findings are relevant not only to Black people in Nova Scotia who may be affected by relocation in future and who see Africville as a possible precedent. Numerous groups of White, Indian, and Eskimo people have been, and undoubtedly will continue to be, resettled forcibly by governmental action. The findings provide a new frame of reference certain to be stimulating and likely to be useful to officials, professional workers, and citizens concerned with relocation elsewhere in Canada, and it may well be, outside this country. Relocations

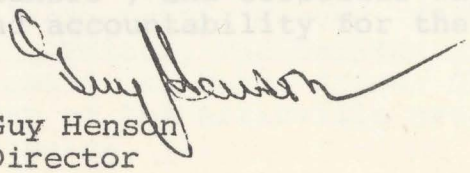
affecting many thousands of people, and costing many millions of dollars, have taken place and are presently being carried out or receiving consideration on an ad hoc basis, without adequate benefit from painstaking analysis of past experience and modern social knowledge. This fact is an interesting commentary on the need for social research.

Unexpectedly but inevitably, the research process itself became a dynamic factor in the continuing relocation process. Furthermore the researchers chose deliberately to combine the role of the independent observer seeking facts and the role of catalyst in the social change situation. While themselves avoiding the temptation to become activists, they deliberately chose to share the research findings, as their work progressed, with the relocatees and with interested officials and citizens. They felt it appropriate not to adopt the procedure of social scientists who gather data but stand apart from the problems of people in distress. At the same time, while providing information and insight to all involved as the research progressed, the researchers avoided the danger of their becoming special advocates for courses of action that, in the end, derive from human values and judgments. Unexpectedly, but ineluctably, therefore, from the evening of the first meeting of relocatees in October 1968, called for the purpose of explanation and discussion with respect to the study and with a view to eliciting their cooperation, the research team found field work interwoven with the efforts of the relocatees to cope with post-relocation problems.

Thus the research project became the means of bringing together the relocated people, bringing to light their on-going problems, and stimulating action by the relocatees and by public authorities. In this sense the study became a form of "action research". The extension of the study over time consequently has enabled the co-directors to add to the depth and value of their observations and findings.

We trust that the report now presented will prove valuable in practical ways to the relocatees themselves and to their sponsors. At the same time, we hope that the critique of the "welfare model" of planned social change will generate discussion and contribute to social policy.

Yours very sincerely,



Guy Henson
Director

PREFACE

We have endeavoured in this report to present a comprehensive picture of the Africville relocation process. The report cannot be considered "final", however, in the sense of having exhausted the data. In the first place, the relocation process is still taking place and it would be premature to describe and analyze the strategies followed by the City of Halifax and the relocatees and to sum up their respective perceptions of gains and losses as a consequence of the relocation exchange. Secondly, a more detailed analysis of the pre-relocation development of the Africville community would be useful in understanding (1) how communities become "ripe" for relocation, and (2) how residents' capacity to frame alternatives and to effect profitable relocation strategies becomes limited. These considerations will be treated in future writings by the present authors.

Relocation policies are drafted by experts, adopted by politicans, and implemented by agency bureaucrats. Relocatees usually do not fully comprehend the complexity of these processes. Their familiarity with the political-administrative framework of relocation is limited to the "understructure bureaucratic officials" with whom they daily interact. Public attention to a relocation program tends to focus upon the exchange relationships between relocatees and these officials; consequently, criticism of relocation programs is often criticism of "understructure bureaucratic officials." These officials are constrained by their mandate, the resources made available to them, and the nature of relationships among various agencies, and their behaviour should be analyzed in terms of roles within the larger political-administrative framework. In adopting this structuralist perspective in describing the decision-making and mechanics of the Africville relocation (Chapters Seven and Eight), we have striven to be independent and analytical. We trust that the reader will evaluate the relocation as being a result of mechanisms operating within a complex social system, and not single out for criticism any individual person or agency.

We have used fictitious names throughout the report, except for the original settlers of Africville, persons whom we have designated as "caretakers", and officials who have had public responsibility and accountability for the relo-

cation. It would have been pointless, and virtually impossible, to accord anonymity to persons whom the reader could identify readily by virtue of their office or special function.

Donald Hayden Clairmont
Dennis William Magill

Halifax, Nova Scotia
1971

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors express first their deep appreciation to the Africville relocatees; this report would have been impossible without their cooperation and assistance. In addition, the authors acknowledge the following persons who assisted during the 1969 field work: members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and of Halifax City Council's Africville Subcommittee; and the Relocation Social Worker, the Development Officer, the Welfare Director, and the Africville Special Project Officer, City of Halifax. Even when faced with a tape-recorder and controversial questions, their answers were frank and to the point. Also providing important interviews were A. Alan Borovoy, Marvin Burke, Harry Carter, Arthur ("Archie") Dixon, Lloyd Farrell, Dr. E. M. Fogo, George Grant, Jack Lloyd, Dr. F. R. MacKinnon, Mayor Allan O'Brien, Dr. W. P. Oliver, Dr. Albert Rose, Leon and Emma Steede, James Walker, and Eugene Williams.

Many persons and agencies contributed in various ways to the success of the project. Phyllis Blakeley, Assistant Archivist, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, directed attention to many relevant historical documents. Keith Clarridge supervised the art work completed by University Graphics, Dalhousie University. Ralph Stoddard, Halifax City Clerk, made available office space while data were being collected at City Hall. The Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare freed over a month of the Relocation Social Worker's time, so that he might be interviewed in depth. The Halifax Housing Authority was helpful in supplying data.

The research assistants, John E. De Roche, Bernard MacDougall, and Harry Wells, must be singled out for their work. Other persons assisted at different phases of the study: Kit Antoft, Peggy Beaton, Betty Care, Margaret Clairmont, Terrence J. Clark, Ken Craig, Nancy Edwards, John Gillis, Frank Hartigan, Paul Hartigan, Donald La Farqey, Ron Lavers, Alberta Magill, Richard Marchand, Dolores Rutledge, Harvey Smithers, and Jacques de Ver Tueil.

The authors acknowledge with thanks the following persons and organizations who gave permission to reprint written and photographic works. C. R. Brookbank; Bob Brooks; Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation; Dennis Harvey, Editor, *Star Weekly;* A. M. Savage, Managing Editor, The Halifax Herald Limited; David Lewis Stein; and C. A. Ward, former City Manager, City of Halifax. The 1964 map of the Africville area is reprinted by Mr. Ward's permission.

The unsung heroines are the secretarial staff of the Institute of Public Affairs. Deserving special acknowledgment are Angela Martin, the project secretary during the 1969 field work phase; Margaret Dingley who made many constructive criticisms in editing the manuscript; Jeanne Arsenault who supervised the printing of the art work; and Sandra Cashen and Linda Ede, who did the final typing.

Special acknowledgment is due to the Institute of Public Affairs for providing resources and administrative assistance for the writing of the report; its completion has depended upon Institute moral and financial support. Thanks are extended to Kell Antoft, Guy Henson, and Marjorey Walters.

The greatest debt is to Donald F. Maclean, Institute of Public Affairs, who read the entire manuscript and whose numerous criticisms prevented many errors of judgment and imperfections of style. This report reflects his careful, patient, and critical reading.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> "To seek social change, without due recognition of the manifest and latent functions performed by the social organization undergoing change, is to indulge in social ritual rather than social engineering."
> - Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949), p. 80.

Conception of the Study

Africville was a Negro "enclave" within the city of Halifax, inhabited by approximately four hundred people comprising eighty families, many of whom were descended from settlers who had moved there over a century ago. Tucked away in a corner of the city, relatively invisible, thought of as a "shack town", Africville was a depressed neighbourhood or "community" both in physical terms and in socio-economic indicators. Its dwellings were located beside the City dump, and railroad tracks cut across the one unpaved dirt road leading into the area. Sewerage, lighting, and other public services were conspicuously absent. The people had little education, very low income, and were much underemployed. Property claims were in chaos. Only a handful of families could establish legal title; others claimed squatter rights; and still others rented. Africville, long a black mark against society, had been designated for future industrial and harbour development. Many observers reported that despite these liabilities there was a strong sense of "community" and that some residents expressed satisfaction with living in Africville.

In 1964 the small Black ghetto of Africville began to be phased out of existence. By that time most Haligonians, Black and White, had come to think of Africville as "the slum by the dump". Most Haligonians, including some Africville residents, did not regard the community as viable and recognized a need for planned social change. The relocation plan announced by the City of Halifax, which purported to be more than simply a real estate operation, appeared to be a response to this need. The plan emphasized humanitarian concern, included employment and education programs, and referred to the creation of new opportunties for the people of Africville.

proposed
review by
city council

In public conception, the proposed relocation was a progressive step.

In addition to official pronouncements, there were other indications that the Africville program would be more humane and progressive than the typical North American urban relocation.[1] Halifax City Council had adopted recommendations contained in a report submitted by a noted Canadian welfare specialist experienced in urban renewal. There was much preliminary discussion of the relocation by City officials, among themselves and with Africville residents and a "caretaker" group of Black and White professionals associated with the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. Relocation plans were not *ad hoc* and haphazard. City officials were required to articulate their policies well and in detail; many implications and alternatives were considered.

In the relocation decision-making structure also there were indications that the Africville program might realize its official rhetoric. A social worker was appointed by the City to take front line responsibility for the varied aspects of the relocation and to act as liasion between the City administration and the relocatees. On loan from the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare, the social worker had a measure of automony vis-à-vis the City and an independent contingency fund to meet day-to-day emergencies and opportunities with a minimum of bureaucratic delay. In negotiating the real estate aspects of relocation, the social worker brought proposed agreements before a special advisory committee consisting of aldermen and several members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee.

In terms of its rationale, public rhetoric, and organizational structure, the Africville relocation seemed worthy of study. The orientation was *liberal* (i.e., end segregation and provide improved opportunites for the disadvantaged), *welfare* (i.e., coordinate employment, educational, and rehabilitative programs with the rehousing of people), and *expert* (i.e., provide planning, execution and advice by pro-

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[1]Relocation is a field where we can learn from European experience. Whether Europeans have been less inclined to accept mobility as an essential part of living or because of political factors, in most European nations the degree and kind of assistance relocatees receive far exceeds that in our own society. See *Commission Report on Relocation* (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1965),p. 8.

fessionals). This orientation suggested a probability of being able to see the "forest and not only the trees". An examination of the Africville relocation could be expected to yield greater fundamental insight into planned social change than would a study of typical relocation programs accomplished by administrative fiat and stressing primarily the physical removal of persons. It seemed important to study and evaluate the Africville relocation both in its particularity and against the background of general relocation issues.

There were additional reasons for studying the Africville relocation. Firstly, Africville is part of a growing trend towards relocation by governmental initiative and there was reason to expect that other tentative relocations in Nova Scotia and elsewhere would be patterned after the Africville experience.[1]

Secondly, Africville had attracted national and even international notice, and there was broad public interest in the relocation. Africville had become well-known as a Black ghetto, as an illustration of how Canada handled the "race problem". In Canada as in the United States, most relocatees - displaced primarily by urban renewal programs - have been either low in socio-economic status or members of a minority group, or both. Relocation has tended to benefit socially elite groups more than the relocatees; indeed, some writers have viewed contemporary relocation as a race or class struggle.[2] This kind of indictment made it important

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[1]Urban renewal and public housing projects have become part of ordinary city administration in both Canada and the United States. Relocation on a large scale has become prevalent in Canada since the Second World War. The most striking programs have been in the Arctic and in Newfoundland, but tentative projects of comparable magnitude have been scheduled in Nova Scotia and in New Brunswick. More and more these projects are guided by experts working with a welfare orientation and rooted in a liberal rhetoric.

[2]See for example James Q. Wilson, "Is Urban Renewal a Class Struggle", *Current*, 1964; and Scott Greer, *Urban Renewal and American Cities* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1964). See also Heather Robinson, *Reservations Are for Indians*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969); and John Matthiasson, "Forced Relocation: An Evaluative Case Study", a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, Winnipeg, 1970.

to study what happened to the Africville people and their land.

Thirdly, accounts of pre-relocation social conditions and attitudes were available. Two surveys had been conducted,[1] and other materials were available in City records. The available data made it possible, therefore, to do a before-and-after analysis of socio-economic conditions, and provided a base line for further study of a community with an unusual reputation in Nova Scotia. Especially in view of the paucity of information concerning Black settlement in Nova Scotia, an intensive study of Africville seemed worthwhile.

Finally, in 1968 the Africville relocation had already been acclaimed locally as a success and appeared deserving of study. One City alderman noted:

> "The social significance of the Africville program is already beginning to show positive results as far as individual families are concerned. The children are performing more satisfactorily in school and they seem to take more of an interest in their new surroundings. This report is not intended to indicate that the program has been 100 percent successful; however I believe it can be said that it has been at least 75 percent, judging by the comments of the relocated families".[2]

Private communication with City officials and relocation officals in the United States and Canada brought forth praise for the organization and rhetoric of the Africville relocation.

Was the Africville relocation a success? If so, from whose perspective? To what extent? What accounted for the success or lack of it? What were the alternatives to relocation? Does the Africville experience help to formulate or to consolitate a theory of relocation? It is hoped that answers to these and related questions will contribute to an appreciation of the Africville relocation and of relocation generally.

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[1] *The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1962); and G. Brand, *Interdepartmental Committee on Human Rights: Survey Reports* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Department of Welfare, Social Development Division, 1963).

[2] *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, Halifax, N. S., September 14, 1967.

Theoretical Background

The phenomenon of relocation has at its core the changing of residence. The changing of residence, or geographical mobility, appears to be part of economic and social development, although it can take place outside a development context. Rossi pointed to the great mobility in urban America when he noted that in 1950 seventy-five percent of the American population were living in places where they had not resided in 1940.[1] More recently, some experts report that one in every five American families moves annually. Comparable data from Canada and other highly industrialized societies also support the initial presumption.[2]

High mobility is an integral part of the "future shock" induced by modern mass industrial society.[3] Much of this does not involve long-distance movement, a fact which indicates that mobility is not due solely to vagaries of the labour market. It has been shown, moreover, that neither divorce nor mortality, when added to the factor of new-household formation, can account for more than a small part of the American mobility rate.[4] Frequent changing of residence is part of the normal living pattern for many people in our society. Relocation must be seen, therefore, in the context of a general mobility pattern, and certain distinctive features should be noted. The most important distinction is that relocation is part of planned social change carried out by public agency. The initiation of relocation or change of residence, as seen by the relocatees, is involuntary and an immediate function of political process.

In North American society, relocation programs range from those involving a few persons to those encompassing whole

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[1]Peter H. Rossi, *Why Families Move* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), p. 1. See also *Commission Report on Relocation*, p. 48.

[2]John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 145; also Dennis W. Wrong, *Population and Society* (Revised edition; New York: Random House, 1961), p. 95.

[3]Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Random House, 1970), Chapter 5. Toffler locates "future shock" primarily in the econometric, short-range, and undemocratic character of technocratic planning.

[4]Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

neighbourhoods or entire communities. Relocation may be a component of governmental programs varying considerably in policy and aim:. for instance, compare the urban renewal and public housing relocation projects with those initiated by departments of highways, roads and communications.[1] Our present concern is with relocation as it pertains to private residences, involves neighbourhoods or communities, and is a function of comprehensive programs of social change. This kind of relocation accounts for but a small measure of the mobility noted in Canada and the United States, but it is significant because it is distinctive and has greately accelerated in recent years.

Three aspects of relocation (housing, social-psychological, and political administrative) must be studied and evaluated in general, as well as in the particular relocation which is the focal point of this research.

1. *Housing*

Housing is usually the observable beginning and endpoint of the relocation process. Relocation, especially in urban areas, is frequently initiated as a reaction to inadequate housing in slum areas. Such programs of social change often depend on a theory of housing for their nourishment.[2] Questions concerning public and private housing, standard and substandard housing, and rented housing and home ownership provide the references for evaluation of a program's success as well as fuel for the polemics that often accompany governmental initiative.

2. *Social-psychological*

Social-psychological aspects of relocation are much more complex and fundamental than housing *per se*, for relocation is usually intended to have a therapeutic influence on social and psychological problems, as well as a gestalt of social problems related to poverty and including segregation, poor housing, educational and occupational opportunities, personal values, and attitudes towards life in general.

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[1]Martin Anderson, *The Federal Bulldozer; A Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal, 1949-1962.* (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1964); and *Commission Report on Relocation.*

[2]Urban renewal was rooted in slum clearance ideology. See J. B. Milner, "Introduction", *Urban Renewal* (Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1968 [Reprinted from *University of Toronto Law Journal*, XVIII, 3, 1968.]), p. 228.

3. *Political-Adminstrative*

Relocation involves planned social change carried out by public agencies and the political-administrative aspect is therefore crucial. This is true especially of the United States, where urban renewal has been more extensive than in Canada and where there has been greater political organization at the grassroots.[1] Relocation involves political processes whereby decisions are made, legal rights are specified, and styles of life are changed. It is related inevitably to exercise of power and conflict of interest; usually ideological considerations are implicit,[2] and the degree of aroused political consciousness varies. Political processes mesh with administrative processes and practices, but the mesh is not so fine that the two are inseparable. They must be regarded as components of a vector relative to a matrix of possibilities.

These three aspects establish the contour of the "relocation phenomenon". Each aspect might be examined on its own merits. For instance, one might investigate whether relocation results in housing improvements[3] or whether relocatees experience changes in attitude towards life,[4] or one might attempt to shed light on political-administrative features.[5] All three

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[1]This is due partly to the racial problem in the United States. It might also be noted that in the United States urban renewal is a program that moves directly from an agency of the federal government to the municipality.

[2]John D. Jackson, "Ideology and Social Technology", a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, York University, Toronto, June 5-7, 1969.

[3]Anderson, *op. cit.*, Chapter 13; Harry W. Reynolds Jr., "What Do We Know About Our Experiences With Relocation?" *Journal of Intergroup Relations*, II, Autumn 1961; and *Alexandra Park Relocation: Part I, After Relocation* (Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, April 1970).

[4]For example, see Kurt W. Back, *Slums, Projects and People* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1962); and Marc Fried, "Grieving For A Lost Home", *The Urban Condition: People and Policy in the Metropolis*, L. T. Duhl (ed.) (New York: Basic Books, 1963).

[5]See Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal* (New York: Free Press, 1963); and Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans* (New York: The Free Press, 1962).

are interrelated and constitute a hierarchy. A theory of housing underlies to some extent the therapy of relocation; housing improvement draws its vitality from its implication for social problems. Even assuming that relocation is directed at better housing and has therapeutic intent, the definition of a social problem and the techniques suggested for its remedy are political-administrative considerations. A comprehensive treatment of relocation, especially the types of relocation now general in our society, needs to be many-sided.

Theoretical Perspectives

There is no exclusive theory of relocation; rather, relocation is a context wherein specific theories or hypotheses may be examined. In practice, the literature tends to be highly descriptive, particularistic, and concentrated on urban renewal and related programs. A theory of relocation or research on relocation should have a much wider frame of reference. It may be suggested that the displacement and relocation of Indians during the period of North American colonization manifests certain parallels to the actions of some city administrations dealing with slum-dwellers. In any event, relocation research is not confined to the boundaries of metropolitan areas.

There have been several excellent case studies of relocation projects[1] and several good survey analyses and evaluations;[2] the latter have used mostly the available materials (secondary data analysis) and, of necessity, have been restricted to the housing and political-administrative aspects of relocation. In his review of the literature, Back noted that the research deals mainly with the administrative actions (i.e., how things are done in the community).[3] Back directed one of the few research efforts that concentrated on the social-psychological aspects, but his approach and methodology were inadequate to

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[1]Especially Gans, *op. cit.*; and William H. Key, *When People Are Forced to Move* (Topeka, Kansas: Menninger Foundation, 1967), mimeographed.

[2]In addition to Anderson, *op. cit.*; and Reynolds, *op. cit.*; see Greer, *op. cit.*; Robert P. Groberg, *Centralized Relocation* (Washington, D. C.: National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, 1969); and *Urban Renewal* (Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1968 [Reprinted from *University of Toronto Law Journal*, XVIII, 3, 1968.]).

[3]Back, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

the task. As in other areas of social science research, few longitudinal studies of relocation have been undertaken.[1] This has limited relocation studies' usefulness in evaluating therapeutic implications and the social-phychological aspects of relocation. Efforts have been made, unsuccessfully, to overcome this disadvantage by comparing groups and individuals situated at different stages in the process of relocation.

While most relocation studies have been descriptive, there are discernible perspectives, chiefly with reference to decision-making, cost-accounting, conflict, action research, and dramaturgy.

1. *The Decision-Making Approach*

The decision-making approach is the one most commonly followed in studies of relocation. It is readily related to the view of relocation as planned social change carried out under governmental auspices. Here one focuses on how decisions are reached, and what decisions are reached, by all who are a party to relocation. Most of the research pertains to decision-making at the higher levels; that is, at the governmental and community elite level.[2] This research tendency is explained in part by the following statement of an advocate of the approach:

> "When a community activity like an urban renewal project is one that may interfere with the balance of power, with taxation rates or with sources of income--or that will require large sums of money, either public or private--its success will be related to the amount of backing given it by decision-making leaders and, to a lesser extent, to the extent of popular support for it."[3]

Studies of relocation become studies of community power in the

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[1]For an example evaluation of a relocation program, five years after program completion, see Daniel Thursz, *Where Are They Now?* (Washington, D. C.: Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, 1966).

[2]See, for example, Edward C. Banfield and Martin Myerson, *Politics, Planning and the Public Interest* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955).

[3]Walter E. Boek, "Anthropology: Can It Contribute to Renewal?", *Journal of Housing*, XVIII, November 1961.

Dahl tradition[1] and, since relocatees do not often constitute a cohesive interest group, they receive little attention. Clearly this approach emphasizes the political-administrative aspects of relocation. The methodology is usually naturalistic (i.e., descriptive and chronological) and particularistic, and the possibility of generalizing from research findings is problematic. An advantage of this approach is that one is made aware of multiple aims of relocation and cautioned with respect to viewing improvements in housing and social problems therapy as the sole *raison d'être* of relocation. Disadvantages include ignoring the social-psychological implication for relocatees; paying slight heed to the decision-making of relocatees; and conceiving power in a fashion so Dahlian that racial and class issues are underplayed. With the development of a citizen-participation ideology in recent years, greater attention has been given to the input of potential relocatees, and several attempts have been made to analyze systematically the values and ideologies of decision-makers.[2]

2. *The Cost-Accounting Approach*

Another approach often taken in studies of relocation is the cost-accounting approach. It is more evaluative than explanatory, and focuses on the more readily identifiable factors; for instance, relocation settlement figures, project costs, changes in housing quality, land uses, taxes, housing availability, and prices.[3] Private and public initiatives in housing are compared and, sometimes, the therapeutic implications of relocation, as measured by rates of deviance, employment, and other factors, are assessed. Cost-accounting studies have typically emphasized the administrative aspects of relocation, the time taken for project completion, cost sharing by the various levels of government, and the placement of relocation authority in the governmental structure.[4]

The cost-accounting approach usually has implications for social policy but, since it tends to take political-admin-

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[1]Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs?* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961).

[2]Jackson, *op. cit.*

[3]See for example, Nathaniel Lichfield, "Cost Benefit Analysis in City Planning", *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, XXVI, 4 (November 1960), pp. 273-79.

[4]Groberg, *op. cit.*

istrative processes as given, it gives credence to the manifest aims and policies of the relocation. While not a necessary limitation, cost-accounting studies have paid little attention to attitudes and values - a misleading practice, in that researchers assume that there is a consensus among relocatees or that relocatees think and value as they themselves do.[1] Perhaps the greatest problem in the cost-accounting study approach, given the multiple aims of relocation and the levels that have to be considered, is that of calculating benefit.[2] Another drawback is the lack of an acceptably quantifiable set of social indicators.

An advantage of the cost-accounting approach is that it evaluates relocation across a given political-adminstrative context and works with objective indicators of housing and therapeutic aspects. It lends itself, also, to survey-type analysis and consequently to reliable generalization. There is no basic impediment to this approach handling "push-pull" factors from the relocatee's perspective; it would seem that such an analysis would be valuable not only in rendering a comprehensive evaluation of relocation but also in explaining relocatee adjustment and consequent change in values and attitudes. An extension of this kind makes research more complicated and generalization more difficult, but several studies have indicated its value and have developed appropriate research techniques.[3]

3. *The Conflict Approach*

Since it entails planned social change, relocation can be seen as an arena wherein different interest groups, in an attempt to protect or enhance their position, compete for scarce resources and wield differential power. Conflict among elite groups and especially among branches or departments of government is commonplace in relocation programs and usually

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[1]Herbert J. Gans, "The Effect of a Community Upon Its Residents," a paper presented to the American Sociological Association, St. Louis, Missouri, 1961.

[2]Beyond the compensation given to relocatees, there is the public advantage to be weighed against the public cost, the latter in urban renewal often being considered as the difference between total-project costs and the price realized on cleared land.

[3]See, for example Rossi, *op. cit.*

is noted in "naturalistic" decision-making studies.[1] More important is the orientation that locates conflict in social bases (e.g., class and race membership) and admits no harmony of interest between relocatees and the backer-directors of relocation. The rationale is that most relocatees are low in socio-economic status or members of a minority group, or both, and that often relocation benefits the elite members of society directly or indirectly (the latter, for example, by benefiting the "system" of which the elite members are the major "shareholders"). The conflict orientation may be rooted in a total theory, such as Marxism, or in a tough-minded but theoretically underdeveloped paradigm such as Alinsky's.[2] The extent to which the participants in a relocation program see themselves in conflict varies considerably. Despite the rhetoric of liberal and welfare social engineering, there has been an increasing level of militancy among relocatees; one writer reports that "the very right of government to force people to move was under attack. The attack began with individual assaults on bulldozers and demolition trucks and it was reinforced by legal suits in several cities."[3]

A central tenet of the conflict approach is that relocations are projects of elite decision-makers who, like other people, act from self-interest. The advantage of this approach is that it explores beneath the manifest level of aims and policies and emphasizes the differences in social attributes between the relocatees and the backers/directors of relocation. One's analysis proceeds from social basis to ideology, to strategy and tactics. The conflict approach focuses on political-administrative considerations; it explicitly conceives social problems (housing included) as political issues. Its disadvantages include a noticeable looseness in the handling of data; a too-quick disregard of the ostensible level of the project and of the therapeutic implications of relocation; and a too-simple characterization of self-interest and class or race consciousness.

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[1]See, Groberg, *op. cit.*; and Rossi and Dentler, *op. cit.*

[2]Alinsky's paradigm posits self-interest as the basic motive force in social interaction and emphasizes the need for organization among dispossessed interest groups. See Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946).

[3]Groberg, *op. cit.*, p. 178. There is no known case of such militancy in contemporary Canadian relocation programs.

4. *The Action Research Approach*

Action research, sometimes referred to as social animation study,[1] usually represents an express effort to bring relocation into the political arena by attempting to organize slum-dwellers and relocatees into a cohesive interest group. The action research approach has much value in making the researcher aware of the social-psychological aspects of relocation, especially from the relocatees' perspective; as well, it lays bare the political-administrative possibilities and conflicts.[2] Most action research shares a premise that the effectiveness of relocation therapy is contingent upon the active participation of relocatees. It is argued that without the action research active participation is minimal, with the result that relocation may be most sensitive to the interests of the elite and have only a superficial bearing on basic housing and social problems. Action research places considerable emphasis on consciousness and rejects any simple form of environmental determinism. Action research can also have much scientific value when it is considered from a sociology-of-intervention perspective.[3] Here one manipulates a "real", or "field" situation in order to see whether effects materialize as predicted. The situation is unlike that of laboratory experiment and considerable caution must be exercised in analyzing and interpreting data.

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[1]See the path-breaking work of Saul Alinsky referred to above. See, also, Action, Inc., *A Strategy for Improving Housing in Greater Cincinnati* (New York: 1960) mimeographed.

[2]An especially interesting action research approach is found in some Model City programs in the United States. The St. Louis, Missouri, Model City program was particularly innovative. There, individuals in areas tentatively scheduled for relocation or rehabilitation were not only made conscious of relocation possibilies and issues and organized into effective interest groups but, also, "played games" indicating how they would envisage a desirable change and how they would allocate a fixed amount of money among a myraid of alternatives. Besides encouraging involvement, such "games" provided a way to measure the values and attitudes of the potential relocatees and a sophisticated methodological basis from which to assess or predict the relationship between relocation and consequent changes in values and attitudes.

[3]Allan R. Holmberg, "The Changing Values and Institutions of Vicos in the Context of National Development," *The American Behavioral Scientist*, VIII, 7 (March 1965), pp. 3-8.

5. *The Dramaturgical Approach*

Relocation can be seen as the process of social change in microcosm. Because it is often considered as discontinuous, as implying a practically irreversible extensive change as soon as a crucial point in the process has been reached, it has been compared with a drama. Back focused on the dramaturgical aspects of relocation, using the terminology of the drama and conceptualizing the action in terms of scene, agent, act, agency, and purpose.[1] This approach promised to shed greater light on sociological and psychological factors and on the presumed "non-rational" and creative forces in relocation. While it provides a healthy corrective to the usual mechanistic way in which man is viewed and the effects of relocation measured, the approach is vague, difficult to translate into adequate research procedures and, thus far, of limited value. The orientation is kindred to a wider perspective that sees relocation as crisis,[2] profoundly affecting the relocatee's disposition and drastically altering his social world. It is this latter theme that has attracted most sociologists and social-psychologists to the relocation phenomenon.

The number of possible approaches to relocation is limited only by human ingenuity. Those mentioned above are the most commonly employed. In addition, some studies have focused on particular aspects of relocation. Hawley, for instance, has advanced and tested the general proposition that the greater the concentration of power in a community, the more likely the community's adoption and implementation of urban renewal.[3] It is to be hoped that a number of empirical generalizations, similar in scope to Hawley's and covering the whole range of relocation phenomena, may be established and interrelated. At present we have a plethora of approaches emphasizing special aspects of relocation and overlooking others.

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[1]Back, *op. cit.*

[2]See for example, Thursz, *op. cit.*; and Fried, *op. cit.* Particularly interesting is the movement of whole communities from outlying areas of Newfoundland; see Noel Iverson, *Communities in Transition: An Examination of Planned Resettlement in Newfoundland* (St. John's,Nfld.: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1967).

[3]Amos H. Hawley, "Community Power and Urban Renewal Success", *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVIII, 4, January 1963.

In the present study of Africville, all three major aspects of relocation are examined; the perspective is that of exchange and power. Conceiving the relocation as a "contract" between government and relocatees, we focus attention on the negotiating strategies, resources, gains, and losses; each party's perception of the other's strategies, gains and losses; and each party's sense of "justice" in the relationship. Not all relocatees can be treated alike; subsequently, an important area of research concerns their sense of the relative distribution of "justice" among fellow relocatees. Our approach, which will be discussed below in detail, has some affinity with the decision-making and cost-accounting approaches while, unlike these two approaches and like the conflict and dramaturgical approaches, concentrating attention on social-psychological aspects of the relocatees.

Issues and Models

1. Housing

Among the many issues commanding the attention of contemporary relocation studies, housing is particularly stressed. Of special concern has been the relationship between adequate housing and social problems therapy. Stated in housing journals and expressly underlying much governmental initiative in relocation is the theory that by improving the housing conditions of relocatees one is doing something to change attitudes and values and thereby ameliorate social problems.[1] A complex causal chain is postulated, and the theory is hotly disputed.[2] A comprehensive review of literature bearing on this issue led Schorr to the following conclusion: "Housing does have an effect on general morale, though concerning aspirations the effect of housing is more difficult to assess. Housing does seem to influence family and social relationships."[3] Conant and others, while not denying that there may be some effect, have indicated that other factors (e.g., job opportunities) are much more

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[1]Martin Millspaugh and Gurney Breckenfeld, *The Human Side of Urban Renewal*, M. Colean (ed.) (Baltimore: Fight-Blight Inc., 1958).

[2]Unravelling the causal chain can be a complex task; see Travis Hirschi and Hanan C. Selvin, "False Criteria of Causality in Deliquency Research", *Social Problems*, XIII, 3, 1965.

[3]Alvin Schorr, *Slums and Social Security*, Research Report No. 1 (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1963).

important.[1] This complex problem entails many assumptions about the goals of relocation and the nature of relocation; in order to comprehend the issues and findings in relocation studies, the problem must be resolved into its component parts.

There is almost complete unanimity in North American society with respect to "ideal" housing; the choice is the single-family unit surrounded by a yard convenient for the supervision of children and offering a degree of privacy.[2] Opinion polls have consistently found that most people would purchase new and better homes if they were to receive a financial windfall. High value is placed on housing and one might expect that housing improvement, other things being equal, would uplift morale and be a positive step towards the redistribtution of society's resources. Porter has argued that the privacy and comfort implied in the conception of ideal housing is the key consumption indicator of middle-class status in our society.[3] The importance of housing is indicated in the following remarks by Iverson: "A poor family that has a house and has found an inexpensive way to heat it can survive by itself on minimum government support. Such families see housing as an indispensable form of protection against the buffetings of the economic as well as the physical environment."[4]

If relocation were solely a matter of housing, relocation would be relatively simple; the unanimity referred to above would facilitate development of objective indicators of housing improvement. Much relocation research has been directed at this simple level. Studies have dealt mainly with relocation within metropolitan areas and have shown that only rarely does relocation provide choice housing. Usually, relocatees do obtain improved housing;[5] but it is a matter of degree and, in

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[1]James B. Conant, *Slums and Suburbs* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961); also, John P. Dean, "The Myths of Housing Reform", *American Sociological Review*, XIV, 2, April 1949.

[2]See Greer, *op. cit.*

[3]Porter, *op. cit.*

[4]Iverson, *op. cit.*, p. 120. Iverson is referring to housing possessed by poor coastal fishermen in Newfoundland.

[5]See, *Alexandra Park Relocation;* and Paul L. Niebanck and M. Yessian, *Relocation in Urban Planning: From Obstacle to Opportunity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968).

some instances, relocation means simply that the relocatees move from substandard housing units into other substandard units.[1] The findings also indicate that more housing units are destroyed by relocation projects than are newly constructed; accordingly, relocatees often find that they have to pay more for comparable housing. By not altering anything other than housing, such relocation projects invariably result in accelerated deterioration of the places to which they move. Large, poor, minority-group families are the least likely to obtain improved housing. Relocation in contemporary society falls short of providing significant housing improvement and a significant redistribution of social wealth.

Sometimes relocatees owning their own homes receive improved housing, but in the process may become tenants; on the other hand, many relocatees who become homeowners cannot meet maintenance costs and eventually return to slum-tenant status.[2] A crucial consideration is the question of compensation for housing and relocation payment. The latter payment, while increasing over the last decade, remains inadequate.[3] Compensation for relocated homeowners is a contentious issue, with relocatees trying to establish the principle of "a home for a home" and extend the meaning of "comparable housing". Such issues strike at the roots of the *raison d'être* of relocation and raise the question whether, more often than not, the relatively disadvantaged are themselves subsidizing the broader community.[4]

2. Contextual Factors

Studies report that most relocatees find new housing more acceptable than their previous housing; however, few say they are happy that they had to move. Relocation usually means

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[1]Anderson, *op. cit.*; also, Nathaniel Lichfield, "Relocation: The Impact on Housing Welfare", *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, August 1961.

[2]This point underlines the fact that much contemporary relocation does not significantly alter the life opportunities of relocatees.

[3]See Niebanck and Yessian, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2. For a variety of reasons, many relocatees receive nothing.

[4]See *Alexandra Park Relocation*, pp. 28ff; George A. Armstrong, "Compensation for Property Expropriated", *Chitty's Law Journal*, December 1968; and Iverson, *op. cit.*

that factors other than housing do not remain constant, and because of this, evaluation is complicated. To go from slum dwelling to public housing or from one community to another entails more than simply a change in housing. In some instances, the express aim of relocation may be a change in total environment rather than housing improvement; from the relocatee's point of view, too, the former may be the more important consideration. The problem is to identify the salient features, other than housing *per se*, and to discover how they can be measured. One might expect significant, hopefully patterned, variation in what is considered important according to social class, ethnic group, and subculture. Yet little is known. Among the important aspects related to change in residence wrought by relocation, the literature has emphasized change in housing status, disruption of social networks, and rapport between public agencies and relocatees as factors in relocatee satisfaction.

Change in status, from the point of view of housing and relocation, refers to the move from homeowner to tenant or vice versa, and to whether relocatees are in private or public housing. It is established that homeownership is considered generally to be superior to renting; this is consistent with the ideology of pride in ownership and explains partly why homeowners usually offer greater resistance to relocation than do tenants.[1] One homeowner relocatee forced to move by an urban renewal project put it this way:

> "Newspapers referred to all people who live in A. P. as 'bums and drunks'. -They made fun of us; i.e., 'People with little fences around their houses', or 'men sitting on their porches half naked'. This hurt a lot of people. The city picks on the poor people, puts them out of their houses and leaves the rich alone."[2]

Relocatees in urban area, when asked to indicate how they would improve urban renewal programs, typically have urged governmental subsidy of privately owned houses. We can expect, then, that change in housing status will be related to the relocatee's comfortable adaptation to his new environment and change in values and attitudes. The private-public dimension with regard to tenancy appears equally important. Although studies have indi-

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[1]Back, *op. cit.*, Chapter 1.

[2]*Alexandra Park Relocation*, p. 31.

cated that people relocated in public housing fare better than those in private housing,[1] they have shown also that many relocatees accord low value to public housing. It is felt that public housing has a stigma and there is unwillingness to accept the many rules and regulations of publicly administered housing. Researchers have often assailed the "tyranny" of the public housing authority; relocatees usually complain of rules, sliding rental scales, and lack of privacy. Relocatees, if they enter public housing, sometimes are summarily evicted if they persist in their "old behaviours". Even if relocatees give high value to public housing, their security may depend on a radical restructuring of life-style.

A particularly controversial aspect of change in residence wrought by relocation is the possible disruption of social networks. Social scientists have assailed relocation projects for the uprooting of families and the sacrificing of community values.[2] The inference that for these reasons the cost of relocation is severe for the relocatees may be more the effect of a romantic image of "folk" than actual fact. Mobility is common in our society and probably many relocatees take relocation in their stride. Some studies have found that most relocatees maintain contact with former neighbours, many of whom settle nearby.[3] There has been a tendency to identify demolished urban renewal areas (and poverty areas) as cohesive and socially viable neighbourhoods or communities. In fact, the majority are not; rather, they are often areas of anonymity and alienation. One has to distinguish between areas where there are kinship ties and subcultural identification and areas where these are absent. Even length of residence is not a reliable indicator of strong social networks.[4] Relocation lit-

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[1]Several studies have shown that relocatees in public housing were more integrated, optimistic and informed than the relocatees in private housing and more satisfied with the relocation project. See *Alexandra Park Relocation;* and Thursz, *op. cit.*

[2]See James V. Cunningham, *The Resurgent Neighborhood,* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1965).

[3]See Thursz, *op. cit.*

[4]One study found that when several other variables are controlled, no relationship is found between length of residence and number of personal ties; see Theodore Caplow and Robert Forman "Neighbourhood Interaction in a Homogeneous Community", *American Sociological Review,* XV, 3, 1950, pp. 357-366.

erature discussion about disruption of social networks has been more polemical than objective. Some critics have assailed the "social uprooting" and have also observed critically that relocatees have merely removed to a vicinity where conditions are comparable to those in the community left.

Relocatees in a socially cohesive neighbourhood or community, one where residents have a high average kinship relationship with other households and where there is a high degree of ethnic homogeneity, may well bear heavy costs in relocation. Costs would be especially significant for the elderly[1] and less so for the upwardly mobile.[2] To determine whether relocation has resulted in deeper involvement or in a different kind of involvement, it is necessary to study the relocatee's new social environment. Some studies have found that satisfaction with new location is contingent upon the relocatee's ability to make new friends.[3] It might very well be that, since most relocatees move but a short distance and transportation and communication systems are highly developed, minor changes in social network would have little effect. Two factors appear likely to modify any finding; namely, the length of time that people have been relocated and the degree of mobility entailed by relocation.

Another important consideration in relocation research is the rapport established between public agencies and relocatees. If rapport has been achieved and if relocation is perceived as an attempt to improve housing, one might expect to find satisfaction and a positive orientation among relocatees, especially among those with young families.[4] The process and methodology of relocation, from start to finish, is itself a variable. Factors contributing to rapport include advance discussion with relocatees, consideration of the hidden costs of relocation, provision for counselling, continuity of services, and the "carrying of the ball" to the relocatees rather than requiring them to come to the agencies. If these factors are made an effective part of a relocation project, satisfaction among relocatees and positive change in attitude and morale are

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[1]The elderly are reported generally to experience the most stress as a result of relocation. See Paul L. Niebanck, *The Elderly in Older Urban Areas* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Institute for Environmental Studies, 1965).

[2]Greater satisfaction with relocation has been found among relocatees who are upwardly mobile.

[3]See Iverson, *op. cit.*

[4]Back, *op. cit.*

the more probable.[1]

A further consideration bearing on the three points mentioned above should be noted. Much relocation in our society involves minority groups, be they Black, Indian or Eskimo.[2] Relocation poses especially complex problems for this kind of relocatee: housing is more difficult to obtain, rapport is more difficult to establish, and the disruption of social networks appears to be more acute. Relocation is intended often to reduce segregation and sometimes to effect a desirable disruption of social networks; however, in the United States and parts of Canada existing segregation patterns often have been unchanged or intensified by relocation.[3] There is considerable debate concerning the value of relocation that disperses minority-group members and leaves them socially disadvantaged. The power of a minority group as a pressure group may decline and, in return for only a modest improvement in housing, the group may lose its special cultural features. When relocation involves minority-group members, as with Africville, all the issues increase in complexity.

3. The Broader Question and Political-Administrative Models

It has been noted that:

> "The relocation process often discloses the social and economic needs of displaced persons and thereby offers a unique opportunity for effective application of the techniques and services of local, state and federal programs dealing with less privileged social and economic groups. Such programs include housing, public assistance, education, employment and training."[4]

Thus far we have considered issues and findings bearing on housing

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[1] *Pennsylvanian Story: Relocation Progress Report* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvanian Institute, 1964).

[2] For the figures in the United States, see Anderson, *op. cit.*, Chapter 7. The percentage of minority-group members in urban renewal relocation has declined over the past decade.

[3] *Commission Report on Relocation*, p. 45.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

improvements and other matters related to relocatee satisfaction. Relocation must be viewed in a broader perspective; otherwise implications will be missed and relocation will fail to be seen as a *focus* for significant social change. Without concomitant programs bearing on fundamental economic and educational problems, relocation will not have the effects anticipated by its accompanying political rationalization. Many backers and directors of relocation projects, interested in altering life-styles and effecting a more equitable distribution of society's resources, are disappointed by change limited to brief improvement in relocatee morale and modest improvement in housing.

Although by definition relocation involves planned social change carried out under governmental auspices, it should not be taken for granted in any particular instance that it has anything to do directly with housing improvement or social problems therapy. One American critic has contended that "relocation has been only an ancillary component of the [urban] renewal process; were this not the case, the community would find totally unacceptable 'slum clearance' projects which leave as many as two-thirds of the displaced families still living in sub-standard conditions, or which actually increase the incidence of overcrowding".[1] Elsewhere it has been noted that "civic executives (primarily businessmen) mobilized entire communities, used federal and local funds, and improved the downtown areas to meet the needs of banks, department stores and office buildings, however, rather than those of the Black and White poor".[2] Desire for redevelopment of the central business district and the clearance of land for industrial purpose is often the underlying reason for relocation, or accounts for the choice of relocation site.[3] Relocation may indicate an unwillingness on the part of the government to undertake the social and economic programs necessary to maintain relocatees in their old habitat.[4] In some instances, the presumed social problems therapy of relocation may be either a convenient rationalization or an unfounded hope, the result of which can be the further oppression of the underprivileged. Welfare "spin-offs" and indirect benefits to the poor as a function of comprehensive pro-

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[1]See the Hartmann critique of urban renewal, *Commission Report on Relocation*, p. 35.

[2]Greer, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[3]Matthiasson, *op. cit.*

[4]See, for example, Iverson, *op. cit.*

grams of social change aimed at general economic and industrial development may be as illusory to the contemporary relocatee as "civilization" was to the North American Indian.[1]

A typology of relocation models is useful in order to conceptualize the comprehensive programs of social change that relocation entails. A recent article in the *Harvard Law Review* suggested that relocation projects be distinguished in terms of the group officially intended to receive the primary benefit (i.e., society as a whole or the relocatees).[2] The stated advantage of this distinction is that it provides a rationale for legal changes in relocation procedure. If, for instance relocation is primarly for the benefit of relocatees, might they not be given the right to veto relocation plans? This simple distinction, while relevant, does not take into account the diverse ideologies of change and development underlying relocation, nor does it explain in depth the political/administrative implications of veto power. The article provides, however, a host of legal and administrative suggestions. David A. Wallace, in a presentation to the Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, distinguished among five relocation strategies: simple replacement of worn-out parts; guiding urban growth through investment; filtration; boot-strap conserving and upgrading; and social planning.[3] In Wallace's typology, the strategies refer to the official goals of relocation projects; only the social planning strategy represents an attempt to focus on the special problems of relocatees. Wallace's classification does not refer to ideological premises nor to the

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[1]So-called "new economic policy" assumes that economic growth produces economic and social welfare and generates a "growth dividend" that solves social problems without necessitating changes in social and political institutions. For a critique of this assumption see Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, *Nova Scotian Blacks: An Historical and Structural Overview* (Halifax: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1970), pp. 63-79.

[2]Lawrence C. Christy and Peter W. Coogan, "Family Relocation in Urban Renewal", *Harvard Law Review*, LXXXII, 1969.

[3]David A. Wallace, "The Conceptualizing of Urban Renewal", *Urban Renewal* (Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1968), pp. 253-55. Wallace refers to filtration as a strategy to "move slum occupants up the ladder as they inherit the dwellings left by occupants of the new housing." He refers to the boot-strap strategy as *laissez-faire*, for it emphasized self-help and self-improvement.

administrative possibilities of relocation projects; essentially he is elaborating on the policies for change relative to a development model of relocation.

We would posit four basic models of relocation, taking the political-administrative perspective as the basis for delineation: the development; the welfare; the political; and the traditional. These differ in terms of underlying ideology, administrative procedure, social attributes of participants, and primacy of benefited group.

a. The development model

The development model has been the most prevalent political-administrative approach to relocation in North America. This type of relocation, usually justified in terms of supposed benefits for the system as a whole (the system could be society, or the city, etc.), has usually been initiated by order of political authorities and administered by experts; it is not anticipated that relocatees will benefit other than indirectly. The underlying ideology of the development model has been system-oriented and neocapitalist; an accurate statement of its premise in urban renewal has been offered by Wallace: "[it considers] renewal, as a public activity, to be intervention in a market and competitive system and to be justified by the need to make up for imperfections in the market mechanism that impede the adjustment process, to eliminate conditions which are economic or social liabilities".[1] In the context of contemporary urban renewal, the development model incorporates the usual city-design approach, focusing on questions of beautification, zoning, and structure,[2] and usually intended to increase the city tax base and achieve civic pride or attract industry.

The development model of relocation has been increasingly subject to attack. In particular its econocentric and "undemocratic" features have been criticized. The assumption that relocatees benefit indirectly from relocation has been challenged, as has the premise that the system as a whole somehow redistributes fairly the benefits accruing from forcing

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[1]Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

[2]An example of such a project is that reported by Thursz, in Southwest Washington, D. C. Little was done for the relocatees, but the relocation was widely acclaimed for its futuristic redevelopment design, see Thursz, *op. cit.* For a critique of this approach, see Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

Table 1

MODELS OF RELOCATION

Dimensions	Traditional Model	Development Model	Welfare Model	Political Model
Ideological premise	Society is a mosaic of groups, each of which can, within limits, structure its life conditions. Government facilitates these actions, although self-help (and self-organization) is most important.	Operating with a consensus model of society, this perspective is holistic and systems-oriented. Relocation programs represent interventions designed to correct imperfections in the social system and to achieve system development.	Society is based on a consensus of values, in terms of which social problems are defined. Some groups are the focal point of many social problems. These groups need special attention. Relocation is an intervention designed to deal with the peculiar problems of particular groups.	Structured conflict is endemic in society because of different interests associated with different classes, strata, and other groupings. Society is based on the management of such conflict. This management has negative (prevent war) and positive (ensure groups have real opportunity to express their interests) aspects. Relocations entail a clash of interests and/or an opportunity to develop political consciousness and participation.
Formulation of policy	Done primarily by indigenous group leadership within limits set by government policy.	By politicians and bureaucrats-technocrats. Community-oriented citizens are sometimes co-opted.	By politicians and bureaucrats primarily. Varying degree of consultation with relocatees. Community-oriented citizens sometimes are co-opted.	Cooperative effort between indigenous leaders (who draw on "resource" people) and politicians and bureaucrats.
Implementation of policy and control of administrative resources	Largely in the hands of the group being relocated.	Control by bureaucrats-technocrats.	By bureaucrats, although some resources may be distributed in the event that relocatees and community-oriented citizens are co-opted.	Cooperation and negotiation through "parallel structures" representing relocatees on the one hand and government on the other. Resources usually provided relocatees by government.
Intended beneficiary	The group being relocated.	The system as a whole, success being measured in terms of some indicator of system growth or development.	Relocatees primarily, although society benefits in that social problems become attenuated.	Reciprocal benefits: to relocatees the benefit of meaningful political participation as well as relocation advantages; to society the benefit of a more informed and active citizenry.
Central actors and organizational units	The indigenous leader; local organizations or community associations.	Technocrats and experts; government bureaucracy.	Bureaucrats, relocatee advocates and "caretakers"; government bureaucracy and citizen-groups.	Politicians, bureaucrats, indigenous leaders and resource people; government bureaucracy and relocatee organizations.
Key problems	Lack of resources among many groups; decline of opportunity in centralized planned technocratic society.	Exploitation of and inattention to low status relocatees; lack of participation by relocatees in the structuring of their life situation.	Lack of success in achieving manifest goals; failure to effectively incorporate relocatee interests; lack of participation of relocatees in the structuring of their life-conditions.	The extent to which the government can or will proceed in developing extra-parliamentary "parallel structures"; problems of representativeness, legitimacy, and organization among the potential relocatees.

people to move and facilitating the development of private industry. Some critics argue that if one includes social-psychological factors in one's conception of costs, the relocatees can be seen as subsidizing the rest of the system. The criticism has had some effect, and over the past decade the welfare model has become increasingly common.[1] One official explains: "In the fifteen years since [urban renewal's] inception, we have seen a progressive broadening of the concept and a strengthening of tools. We have seen, increasingly, both the need for, and realization of, rapprochement between physical and social planning, between renewal and social action. But the fully effective liaison of the two approaches has almost everywhere been frustrated by the absence of the tools to deal as effectively with the problems of human beings as with the problems of physical decay and blight."[2] Another writer has observed, "social welfare can no longer be treated as the responsibility of private and more or less bountiful ladies and gentlemen or as the less respected branch of the social welfare community and the city government. Tied as it is to the concerns as dear to the heart of the country as economic prosperity, it merits a place in the inner sanctum, particularly of planning commissions."[3]

b. The welfare model

The "rediscovery" of poverty,[4] the war on poverty, the increasing pressure "from below" upon the development model, and the broadening definition of urban renewal have led to the widespread emergence of the liberal welfare-oriented approach. The welfare model, like the development model, emphasizes expertise and technical knowledge in its operation and administration, and invariably is initiated by public authority; in both these

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[1]In recent years, some minor progressive modifications have been introduced with reference to the development model dealing with advance notice and public hearings, relocation compensation, and the availability of housing stock. See Groberg, *op. cit.*

[2]William L. Slayton, "Poverty and Urban Renewal", as quoted in Hans B. C. Spiegel, "Human Considerations in Urban Renewal", *Urban Renewal* (Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1968), p. 311.

[3]Elizabeth Wood, "Social Welfare Planning", as quoted in Spiegel, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

[4]For a discussion of this, see Kenneth Craig, "Sociologists and Motivating Strategies", M.S. thesis, University of Guelph, Department of Sociology, 1971.

respects, the welfare model affords greater relocation participation and flexibility in administration. The principal difference is that the welfare model purports to benefit the relocatees primarily and directly. Under this model, welfare officials often see themselves as "caretakers" for the relocatees; one relocation official has said, "the department of relocation is the tenants' advocate."[1] The welfare model of relocation is characterized by a host of social welfare programs supplemental to housing policies and intended to use relocation as an opportunity for a multifaceted attack on poverty and other problems.

Ideologically, the welfare model is much like the development model in that it tends to operate with a consensus model of society and posits a basic congruency between the interests of relocatees and those of society as a whole. It is "undemocratic" in the same sense as the development model; the low-status relocatees are accorded little attention, either as participants in the implicit political process or as contributors to specific policies or plans of action. There is an effort, however, to persuade rather than to ignore the relocatees. Criticism of the welfare model of relocation is related primarily to the ideological level. Some writers have noted that liberal welfarism has become part of the "establishment" of contemporary North American society.[2] Its proponents are presumed to be handmaidens of strong vested interests, reconciling the disadvantaged and patching up the symptoms of social malaise. Critics point out that the special programs associated with the welfare model of relocation tend to be short-term and unsucessful. The welfare rhetoric often diverts attention from the gains and benefits accruing to the middle income and elite groups in society. The critics attack the welfare model on the premise that the social problems to which it is ostensibly directed can be solved only through profound structural change effecting a redistribution of resources and by providing relocatees with the consciousness and resources to restructure their own lives.

c. The political model

The welfare model of relocation has been revised and developed both as a response to criticism at the ideological level and in reaction to its lack of operational success. There has been a growing interest in citizen participation in all phases of relocation; in the firmer acceptance, structurally and culturally, of the advocacy function of relocation officials;

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[1]Groberg, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

[2]See Alvin W. Gouldner, *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970), p. 500-502.

in the coordination of relocation services; and in the provision of resources. It is difficult to assess how far this interest has been translated into fact. There appears to be a shift, at least conceptually, to the political model of relocation, a frank recognition that relocation usually entails a conflict of interest (e.g., between the relocatees and the City). There is an attempt to structure the conflict by providing relocatees with resources to develop a parallel to the government's structure. Although society and the relocatee are considered to benefit equally, this political perspective assumes that relocatees benefit both directly and indirectly; directly in terms of, say, housing and other welfare services, and indirectly by participating in the basic decision-making and the determination of their life situation. The political model of relocation is based on the premise that social problems are political problems and emphasizes solution through political action; relocation is approached primarily as a context where problems are solved not by the application of expertise but by the resolution of conflicting interests.

Beyond the considerable costs (the dollar cost is less hidden than in the other relocation models) and administrative difficulties entailed in the political model, there are other grounds for criticism. There is a tendency to overemphasize the solidarity and common interests of relocatees, to exaggerate the multiplier effects of political participation in relocation,[1] and to raise serious questions about how far government can proceed or would proceed in fostering extraparliamentary political action. At the present time government has not gone far, and there are few examples of the political model.[2]

d. The traditional model

Finally, there is the traditional model of relocation

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[1]Relocation is a short-term consideration, for most services brought to bear on relocatee problems rarely extend beyond rehousing. A more general critique of the multiplier effect of citizens' involvement in relocation is given by S. M. Miller and Frank Reissman, *Social Class and Social Policy* (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1968).

[2]There are a few examples of related social animation projects in Canada. The public outcry against the community work of the Company of Young Canadians and the subsequent governmental intervention may be an indication of the present limits of this perspective.

in North American society. This is a limiting type of relocation carried out under governmental auspices, for it is a form of planned social change characterized by self-help and self-direction. Here it is the neighbourhood or community leaders, often indigenous minority-group leaders working through indigenous social organizations, who plan and carry out the relocation, generally with official support and some resource commitment by government agencies.[1] The traditional model entails a largely *laissez-faire* strategy, whereby the relocatees benefit directly and where technical expertise is applied to advising rather than to directing. Criticism of this approach contends that, without political action, neither the available resources nor the generation of initiative can be effective in the case of low-status groups.

It seems possible to distinguish in theory the different models of relocation discussed above. In practice, it may be more difficult to make distinctions. There is, however, a certain degree of overlapping. Welfare models wherein orientation is to groups rather than to individual relocatees tend to approximate the political model; the rhetoric of the development model and the inadequacy of most welfare approaches make it difficult sometimes to distinguish these perspectives. It would be useful to be able to identify relocation models, evaluate them in their own terms, and assess their costs and benefits. The crucial question is, of course, under what circumstances each model is, or should be, applied.

The Africville Study

In examining the Africville relocation we concentrated on the three dimensions of relocation outlined above and placed the relocation within the typology of relocation models discussed. We shall compare the Africville relocation with similar and other programs of planned social change in North America, an approach that enables us to evaluate the relocation against the general issues and findings in the literature. Our theoretical bias has been that of power and exchange,[2] and our methods have been naturalistic, phenomenal and, to a lesser extent, comparative.

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[1]An example is the relocation of Beechville, Nova Scotia, a Negro community similar to Africville. A community cooperative housing project was established and received financial assistance from Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

[2]For a discussion of this theoretical perspective see Peter M. Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life* (New York: Wiley, 1964), and George Casper Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961).

By the naturalistic method we studied the natural history of the Africville relocation; through examining available records and data, and by conducting interviews with relocatees, governmental officials and other knowledgeable persons, we were able to perceive the interrelationship between the development of Africville and the wider society's response to it. In this way we attempted to identify the sources of pressure for change; the influence of press coverage, publications, and social organizations; individual and collective attempts by Africville residents to change or improve their position (i.e., by migration, mutual assistance, and other means); residents' response to the relocation project; goals and administrative procedures of the relocation project; comprehensiveness of the program; means by which rapport between public officials and relocatees was achieved; and the extent of this rapport. Important non-retrospective sources of data were the minutes of the City Council of Halifax and the minutes of various Council Committees, the minutes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, newspapers, private correspondence, and the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. Retrospective data were obtained primarily through interviews with persons directly involved, supplemented by questionnaire data.[1]

By the phenomenal method we refer to a method that regards relocation alternately as the "cause" and "effect" of other variables. This model was used especially in considering the social-psychological aspects of relocation. We were interested in whether age, housing status, length of residence, kinship and kinship ties, and satisfaction with community differentially affected the relocatee's attitude to relocation and his negotiations or bargaining. We were interested also in how the response to relocation affected post-relocation satisfaction and adjustment. Many of the data were retrospective, obtained through questionnaries completed in the summer and fall of 1969. A partial check with these data was possible,for questionnaires that Africville residents had completed four years before the relocation were available. In probing the social-psychological aspects of relocation, several scales and indexes found useful in other relocation studies were incorporated into the questionnaire. In an effort to probe more deeply, two social workers marginally associated with the study were encouraged to prepare several case studies based upon the experience of relocatees. For these case studies a typology was formulated in terms of

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[1]The questionnaire schedule used for the relocatees is set forth in Appendix J, p. A97. Also set forth is the schedule concerning each relocated family, completed by the relocation social worker, and the interview guide used for the relocation "caretakers". In addition, there were numerous non-structered interviews and "bull sessions" with groups of relocatees.

whether relocatees were young or old, satisfied or dissatisfied with the relocation, and integrated or not integrated within the Africville community.

By using the comparative method, the relocation was placed in a broader societal context. We have discussed how a framework for comparison was established; similarly, in evaluating the relocation and in establishing scales and indexes, the available literature was examined. In the present study there is no specific control community; although an attempt was made to compare Africville with Beechville, a Black Nova Scotian community resembling Africville that has experienced a measure of relocation along the lines of the traditional model discussed, this was found to be impracticable. It was deemed more important to consider what took place in Africville and the symbolic importance of the relocation to the larger context of race relations in Nova Scotia. Attention was given to understanding how Black Nova Scotians viewed the Africville relocation. Black leaders in the Halifax area and in the several other Black communities faced with a prospect of relocation were interviewed.

Our underlying theoretical perspective is that of power and exchange, one aspect of which concerns the context of negotiations and the bargaining strategy developed by the parties involved. The questionnaire devotes considerable attention to probing the relocatees' knowledge, their strategies (i.e., use of lawyers, cooperation with fellow relocatees, development of special arguments in dealing with City officials), and their perceptions of the City's goals, strategies, and resources. The relocation social worker completed a questionnaire concerning each relocated family, a questionnaire that gave considerable attention to his negotiations with relocatees and his perception of their goals, strategies, and resources. Our perspective emphasized the concepts of rewards, costs, profits and distributive justice. It would appear, for instance, that relocatees would be satisfied with the relocation if rewards exceeded costs and if they believed that the City and other relocatees did not "get a better deal". Information concerning rewards, costs, sense of distributive justice, and satisfaction was obtained through the questionnaire, the interview, and the case study.

Despite problems in measuring the relocatee perception of the relative profit accruing to himself, other relocatees, and the City of Halifax and problems occasioned by differences between long-term and short-term effects,[1] this approach is significant for the relocation literature, which appears often to be

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[1]One of the greatest problems faced in obtaining measurements concerned internal validity. The relocation went through several phases, and the City and the relocatees were

aloof from the "blood and guts" of the relocation transaction. Precise measurement of the key variables has been impossible, but it has been possible to develop an ordered listing of rewards and costs, and to compare their importance in ascertaining relocatee satisfaction. Equally important, by placing the Africville relocation within the spectrum of relocation models it is possible to explore the domain consensus (that is, the basic terms of reference held in common) prerequisite to any human exchange, and especially how domain consensus develops and how it sets the limits and context of bargaining and reciprocity.

Uniqueness of Africville Study

The Africville relocation study, in addition to its value as an examination of relocation and planned social change and as a contribution to the sparse literature on Blacks in Nova Scotia, represents a fusion of research and action. The researchers did not begin the study until virtually all the Africville people had been relocated, but the research strategy resulted in the study's being more than an evaluation.[1] By obtaining collective as well as individual responses and by establishing a meaningful exchange with the relocatees, the study fostered collective action.[2]

The study began with a meeting of relocated Africville people in October 1968. This was the first time since reloca-

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"negotiating" long after the last Africville resident had been relocated; accordingly, there was a strong tendency for relocatees to understate their rewards and to emphasize the City's presumed profit.

[1]Some relocation studies have been carried out as part of the relocation decision-making (see Key, *op. cit.*), while others have been concurrent with the relocating of people (see Gans, *The Urban Villagers*). The present study is unique, in that it fostered collective action carried out after the relocation.

[2]It should be noted that some local government officials have objected to what they refer to as the researchers' "activist" bias. However, the researchers hold that exchanges have to be worked out with the "subjects" of research as well as with the funding agencies. The liberal ethic posits informed voluntary consent as fundamental to adult social interaction; informed voluntary consent in turn requires meaningful exchange among the participants.

tion that former residents of Africville had met collectively. Called by the researchers, this stormy meeting was a public airing of grievances and led to relocatee support of the proposed study. Subsequent talk of forming committees to press grievances with the City of Halifax was an important result of the meeting. The researchers encouraged this tendency, for the expressed grievances appeared legitimate and they deemed it possible and important to tap a collective or "group" dimension in relocation as well as to study the usual social-psychological considerations.

Later in the same week, at a meeting that the researchers had arranged with City officials, relocation "caretakers", and civic leaders, the researchers relayed the grievances of the relocatees and encouraged remedial action. In addition to obtaining general support for the proposed study at this second meeting, the pending reconsideration of relocation by the City's newly created Social Planning Department was crystallized.

During the winter and spring of 1969, as the present study was being planned in detail and as materials and people were being consulted, the action-stimulus of the researchers' early efforts was bearing fruit. Social Planning Department officials were meeting with the relocatees and planning, as it were, the second phase (not initially called for) of the Africville relocation. With provincial and municipal grants totalling seventy thousand dollars, a credit union was organized to assist relocatees in financial crises; in addition, plans were formulated to meet housing and employment needs,and special consideration was to be given to former Africville residents whose needs could be met within the existing welfare system. A relocatee was hired to manage the credit union and to assist with other anticipated programs.

During the main data-gathering period, the summer of 1969, and in line with a tactic to obtain collective as well as individual responses, the researchers met with informed groups of Africville relocatees to discuss current and future remedial action. One of the research assistants, formerly a Black Panther in the United States, met with young teen-agers and adults to discuss what they thought the relocation meant to them. The son of a relocatee assisted in interviewing.

It became apparent that the so-called second phase of the relocation would be inadequate to meet the people's needs. There was little identification with the credit union and it was floundering, for many relocatees who became members were either unable or unwilling to repay loans. Other anticipated programs, promised action by the City, were delayed

or forgotten due to bureaucratic entanglements and to lack of organization and pressure on the part of the relocatees.

The relocatees still had legitimate grievances related to unkept promises made at the time of relocation and later. With the formation of the Africville Action Committee, a third phase of the relocation began in the fall of 1969 and winter of 1970. The task of this new Committee, developed from group discussions held between the researchers and relocatees, was to effect governmental redress through organized pressure. Several position papers were developed by the Africville Action Committee and negotiations were reopened with the City of Halifax.

At the present writing (June 1971), the third phase continues. Although numerous meetings of relocatees were held during the first half of 1970, problems within the Africville Action Committee and the absence of resource people until the fall of 1970 hindered progress. With the Committee stumbling along, and the credit union and other City-sponsored projects either ineffectual or nonexistent, the relocation process appeared to have petered out. The Action Committee was reactivated by the return of one of the senior researchers in the fall of 1970 and the subsequent reinvolvement of groups of relocatees through reading and criticizing a draft of the present study and evaluating the relocation and the remedial action taken. Since the fall of 1970, the Africville Action Committee has been active. Widespread support for its claims has been obtained from community organization; subcommittees have been established to deal with questions of employment, housing, and finanacial compensation; and City Council has authorized the establishment of a City negotiating team to meet with representatives of the Action Committee.

The Africville relocation study has been a productive fusion of research and social action, for the research focused not only on individual responses but also on the collectivity or group. At each stage in the study (conception, data-gathering, data analysis, and preparation for publication) collective and individual inputs that gave the study an action potential were obtained from relocatees. The study became a stimulus to action because the normal researcher-subject exchanges could be worked out in concrete, actual terms;[1] because the social

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[1]Research takes place in a real social situation which is subject to the usual exchanges and reciprocities that characterize social interaction. Typically, in order to obtain cooperation, the researcher makes vague references to the possible benefit of the study to the subjects. Usually the researcher

climate favoured citizen participation and citizen organization; and because of the sense of community possessed by relocatees and the relatively clustered rehousing of the Africville population.

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does little more than make the vague promises; for a well-documented study of researcher-subject-funding agency relationships, see Craig, *op. cit.* This study, conducted by a student of one of the researchers, was suggested partly by the social policy implications of the Africville research.

CHAPTER TWO

BLACK SETTLEMENT IN NOVA SCOTIA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICVILLE

"There is no accurate historical memory in Canada of British North America's own experience with the Negro and even a clouded awareness of an earlier Negro presence is slight."
- Robin W. Winks, "The Canadian Negro", *Journal of Negro History*, LIII, 4 (October 1968), p. 290.

With few exceptions,[1] only in recent years have scholars interested themselves in the settlement and historical development of Blacks in Nova Scotia. Nova Scotian Blacks, as a result of their educational deprivation, scattered population, and lack of a rich subcultural tradition, have been neither particularly conscious of their own settlement and development nor able chroniclers. Much superficial material is available, but little is known and most of this is mythical or erroneous. For instance Africville has been referred to as a community of transients;[2] in fact, most Africville residents had ancestral roots reaching back almost a century and a half.

The history of Blacks in Nova Scotia has not been pleasant. Blacks have been poorer than the average White Nova Scotian who, in turn, over the past hundred years has been poorer than the average Canadian. Throughout their settlement in Nova Scotia, Blacks have had to carry a special burden, the burden of the White man's prejudice, discrimination, and oppression. The result is that Nova Scotian Blacks became marginal people in a relatively depressed region. Marginality denotes here a lack of influence in societal decision-making and a low degree of participation in the main-

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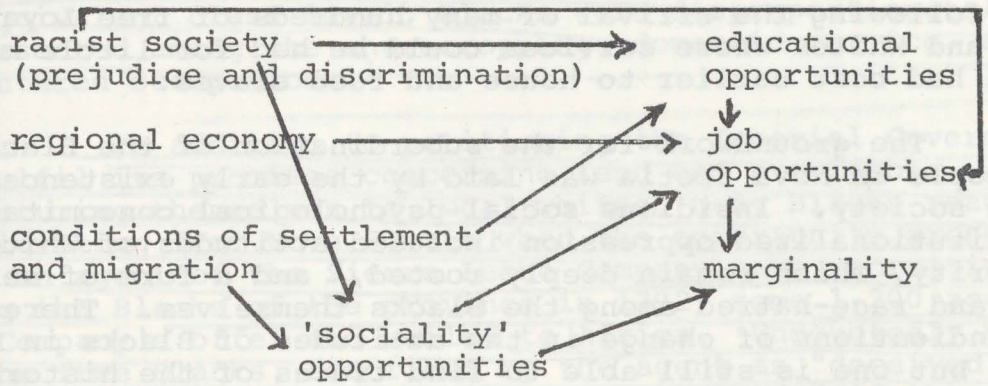
[1] The exceptions include publications emanating from the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, and from publications written by members of the Oliver family. For a bibliography, see Clairmont and Magill, *op. cit.*

[2] See, C. R. Brookbank, "Afro-Canadian Communities in Halifax County, Nova Scotia", unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1949.

stream of political or economic life. One of the best indicators of the marginal status of Blacks is the fact that throughout the years most have been clustered in isolated rural areas or on the fringe of White towns and cities; generally, their housing has been inferior and not serviced.

The marginality of Nova Scotian Blacks may be explained by the following factors, organized in terms of basic and intermediate variables:



It is impossible to understand either the contemporary socio-economic condition of Black Nova Scotians or the peculiar development of Africville without recognizing that Nova Scotia was at one time a "slave society" and appreciating the conditions of immigration and settlement of free Blacks in Nova Scotia. Slavery was never instituted by statute in Nova Scotia,[1] yet slavery was practised in Halifax a year after the city was founded and, over the next five decades, it was not uncommon in other parts of the province. Although lack of agricultural potential in the uneven and rocky terrain of Nova Scotia prevented slavery from developing on a plantation scale, the number of slaves in Nova Scotia continued to grow. At the outbreak of the American Revolution, there were approximately 500 slaves, many of whom had come with their New England masters in the late 1750's after the expulsion of the Acadians. Slaveholding Loyalist immigrants increased the number by approximately 1,000.[2]

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[1]J. F. Krauter, "Civil Liberties and the Canadian Minorities", Ph.D. disseration, University of Illinois, 1968.

[2]T. Watson Smith, *The Slave in Canada*, Vol. X of *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* (Halifax, N. S.: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1899), p. 32. Black slaves were brought to Nova Scotia by many Whites. Smith (p. 24) observed that "the names of proprietors owning but one or two 'servants' are too many for repetition."

Many observers have pointed out that slavery cannot exist without a slave society; that is, without a society whose values at least tolerate slavery. Although popular opinion and the benevolence of the courts were responsible for eliminating slavery at a relatively early date in Nova Scotia (after 1800 it became rapidly more and more difficult to retain slaves), slavery survived for over half a century. The major undermining influence was not so much a public outcry against slavery; rather, it was the obsolescence of slave labour following the arrival of many hundreds of free Loyalist Blacks and Whites whose services could be had for little more than it had cost earlier to house and feed slaves.

The groundwork for the subordination of the Blacks as a people in Nova Scotia was laid by the early existence of a slave society. Insidious social-psychological concomitants of institutionalized oppression included attitudes of White superiority, which remain deeply rooted,[1] and a form of self-hatred and race-hatred among the Blacks themselves. There are clear indications of change in the attitudes of Blacks in Nova Scotia, but one is still able to find traces of the historical style of identification with subordination; we found, for instance, a number of Blacks arguing that Africville was not a slum because "Whites lived there too."[2]

Most of the Blacks migrating to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution were free, for the most part having been freed by the British as an inducement encouraging them to leave their revolutionary masters. Free Blacks were promised equal treatment with their White peers, but promises were not fulfilled. The minority of Black Loyalists who did obtain land grants found themselves settled on small and usually barren lots on the periphery of White Loyalist townships or in the more remote sections of the province.[3] Moreover,

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[1]For reference see Clairmont and Magill, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[2]Upon reading a draft of this statement, several relocated Africville teen-agers challenged this inference, submitting that respondents had confused the terms *slum* and *ghetto*. We consider that their challenge reflects more a new militancy and subcultural-identity-drive among Nova Scotian Blacks than it does a misunderstanding or misinterpretation on the part of respondents.

[3]The Tracadie-Sunnyville area of Guysborough County is an example of a remote Black Loyalist settlement which still exists.

very few Blacks received the provisions that the British government promised to the Loyalists. Loyalist immigrants outnumbered the resident population of Nova Scotia, and the problems of settling and supplying so many people were so great that many White settlers, also, experienced wretched deprivation. Predictably, deprivation among Blacks was more intensive and more extensive. In order to survive, a number of Blacks were forced to sell themselves or their children into slavery or long-term indenture. In contrast with Whites of equivalent class level, Blacks were disproportionately represented among the sharecropping, domestic service, and indentured occupations.[1]

In addition to petitioning the Imperial Government to fulfil its promises concerning land and provisions, and indenturing themselves to local whites, many Blacks reacted by migrating from Nova Scotia when the opportunity arose. When an agent of the Sierra Leone Company came recruiting among the Blacks of the province in 1792, some 1,200 accepted his Company's offer and sailed to Africa. Undoubtedly more of the free Blacks, described by the agent as "deceived and ill-treated through life", would have responded if the emigration offer had been adequately communicated.[2] Nevertheless, as Winks observed, "When the 1792 migration of free Negroes to Sierra Leone took place, this left more Negro slaves than free Negroes in Nova Scotia."[3] Additional migrations took place, in 1800 to Sierra Leone and in 1821 to Trinidad.

When the War of 1812 broke out, the British followed the strategy that they had used in the American Revolutionary War and offered freedom to every American-owned slave who would run away from his master and join the British. Thus, by 1815, another 2,000 free Blacks arrived in Nova Scotia in anticipation of freedom, land, and wages. These refugees appear to have received better official reception and more food, clothing, and medicine than had their Loyalist predecessors, although the land received was similarly rocky and barren. Nearly all the refugee Blacks were settled within a short distance of Halifax,

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[1]Thomas C. Haliburton, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, II (Halifax, N. S.: Joseph Howe, 1829), p. 280; and C. B. Wadstrom, *An Essay on Colonization*, II (London: Darton and Harvey, 1794), p. 220-224.

[2]For references concerning the Sierra Leone migration, see Clairmont and Magill, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-13.

[3]Robin W. Winks, "The Negro in Canada: An Historical Sketch", p. 42, draft for *The Blacks in Canada* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).

principally at Preston (which was depopulated due to the emigration of Black Loyalists to Sierra Leone),[1] and at Hammonds Plains. They were settled on small lots of rocky soil and scrubby forest, ranging from eight to ten acres in size.

Willson aptly characterized the subsequent situation of the refugee Blacks as privileged "to enjoy the comforts of political freedom and physical starvation under the British flag in Nova Scotia."[2] In the first year after settlement, province-wide crop failures made 1815 the "year without summer". Crops failed repeatedly, woodlots were exhausted quickly and during most years, wage labour in Halifax was scarce in summer and non-existent in winter. The government experimented with phasing out its assistance to the refugees but, for well over thirty years, was forced by their starvation to issue numerous welfare grants.[3] The government's initial hope, that the refugee settlers would supply the Halifax market with vegetables, appears absurd in retrospect. Lacking a resource base, it required the Black settlers' most vigorous efforts merely to survive. To build for the future was impossible, for there was no surplus to accumulate.

Refugee Blacks had an additional problem concerning their grants of land. Presumably to protect the refugees against unscrupulous White landgrabbers,[4] the government had given them

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[1]Between the departure of Loyalists to Sierra Leone and the arrival of refugees in Nova Scotia, an interesting group of Blacks settled temporarily on the lands vacated by the Black Loyalists in the Preston area. In 1796 some 550 Maroons deported from Jamaica were settled on the lands vacated by the Black Loyalists at Preston. The Maroons, with their different customs, were well-treated officially, but encountered some local prejudice and discrimination. In 1800, virtually all the Maroons (at most, a handful may have been assimilated into the Black Nova Scotian population) were shipped to Sierra Leone where, ironically enough, they helped to suppress a rebellion by the former Black Loyalists. See Haliburton, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-292.

[2]Beckles Willson, *Nova Scotia: A Province That Has Been Passed By* (London: Constable & Co., 1911), p. 53.

[3]For documentation, see Clairmont and Magill, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[4]Black Loyalist settlers at Birchtown had had problems of this kind with Whites. See Ida Greaves, *The Negro in Canada, National Problems of Canada*, McGill University Economic Studies, No. 16 (Montreal: McGill University, Department of Economics and Political Science, n.d.), p. 22.

only "licences of occupation", rather than full grants; the licences allowed all the rights of property save those of sale or conveyance. It had promised that full grants would be issued after three years to those who had developed their holdings, and most Black settlers fulfilled this stipulation; however, for twenty-five years the grants were not forthcoming. The delay rendered the Blacks immobile, for they could not move elsewhere without abandoning their investment, and contributed also to the perception of Blacks as second-class citizens.

As the situation continued grim and no agreeable migration plan was developed,[1] the refugee Blacks further petitioned the government for full grants, more land, better land, and welfare assistance. In 1839 heavy relief costs finally convinced a reluctant British government to empower the local government to give Blacks portions of unoccupied Crown lands in the province. The refugees disliked the government's plan of dispersing them by giving land to a few families in each of several counties in the province and preferred to resettle in large community groups.[2] Moreover, the proposal provided for licences of occupation rather than full grants. The plan was never implemented. In 1842 the government finally issued an order of true grants to the refugee Blacks at Preston; while these Blacks remained on essentially the same barren land obtained twenty-five years earlier, now they could know that the land was unquestionably theirs.

With the permanent establishment of the refugee Blacks, the basic settlement pattern of Blacks in Nova Scotia was drawn. Aside from the immigration of West Indian Blacks in groups around the turn of the twentieth century and during the 1920's to work in the coal-steel complex of Cape Breton, emigration and immigration were henceforth on an individual or family basis.[3] The establishment of churches and schools in the segregated Black commun-

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[1]Numerous migration plans, which Blacks did not trust, were suggested by officials. Some of the plans, such as returning the Blacks to their former masters if pardons could be obtained, were callous.

[2]Local government officials appeared to believe that Blacks, if scattered, might be useful as "labourers"; moreover, it was believed that they might be more industrious if they were settled farther from the town of Halifax. See Clairmont and Magill, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[3]Winks, (*The Blacks in Canada*, p. 300) mentions also the migration of several carloads of Blacks from Alabama, around the turn of the century, to work in the burgeoning industrial area of Cape Breton.

ities laid the basis for possible growth of a genuine Black subculture in Nova Scotia. The basis was laid, also, for years of deprivation and hardship, after release from a slave subculture, as the refugee Blacks joined the remnants of Loyalist Blacks and former slaves in a continuing state of subsistence poverty.

The condition of subsistence poverty and marginality of Nova Scotian Blacks in the 1840's has continued into the present day. Since the early 1960's and especially after the Africville relocation change has accelerated, particularly at the level of group consciousness and identification, but newspaper articles have presented intermittently over the past two decades accounts of scandalous socio-economic conditions among Blacks.[1] To account for the continuing oppression and deprivation and for the belated realization of a "distinctive" subculture, it is necessary to refer to racism, the sluggish regional economy,[2] and the "migrate or accommodate" response of Blacks.[3]

First Settlers[4]

The Halifax lands that eventually became known as Africville comprised the first three of the sixteen five-acre

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[1]See A. Westell's account ("Shocking Poverty in Nova Scotia", *Detroit Free Press*, June 1969) of a visit by the Minister of National Health and Welfare to one of the Black communities in Nova Scotia, June 1969. See also Edna Staebler, "Would You Change the Lives of These People?" *Maclean's Magazine*, May 12, 1956 p. 30. For more substantive treatments of Black poverty and oppression see *The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia*; and Donald H. Clairmont in collaboration with K. Scott Wood, George Rawlyk, and Guy Henson, *A Socio-Economic Study and Recommendations: Sunnyville, Lincolnville and Upper Big Tracadie, Guysborough County, Nova Scotia* (Halifax, N. S.: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965).

[2]The regional economy did not generate much economic opportunity for Blacks. Even in the "Golden Age" of Nova Scotia, circa mid-nineteenth century, Blacks did not benefit significantly from economic prosperity.

[3]For a detailed discussion of these factors, see Clairmont and Magill, *op. cit.*

[4]For much of this section we are indebted to the work of John de Roche, Research Assistant.

lots in Division "Letter K" of the original land-grant survey of the Halifax peninsula.[1] All lots of Division "Letter K" were owned initially by Whites, although it appears that Whites did not occupy the lots.[2] These owners were, for the most part, "merchants and gentlemen",[3] at least several of whom possessed slaves and two of whom dealt in slavery.[4] The first Africville settlers were refugee Blacks who came to Nova Scotia after the War of 1812 and re-moved, not earlier than 1835 and probably during the 1840's, from the outlying communities of Preston and Hammonds Plains. The earliest Africville deeds indicate that in 1848 William Brown and William Arnold purchased separate parts of lots 1 through 3 of Division "Letter K".[5] There is evidence, however, that Brown and Arnold and other Blacks may have been living in the Africville area prior to their purchase of land there.

From early Africville deeds and a list of the first church officers,[6] it is possible to identify eight original

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[1]Haliburton, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[2]Registry of Deeds, County of Halifax, Nova Scotia. See Allotment Book, p. 172; Crown Land Records, Book 10 and Book 11. The Jacobs were particularly large landholders in this area of Halifax. By 1793 Richard Jacobs, by purchase and Crown assignment, possessed lots 1, 3, and 9-16 of Division "Letter K". In the eighteenth century, Richard Jacobs' holdings in the area totalled some two hundred acres. Godfrey Jacobs owned lots 1-3 of Division "Letter K" (plus other land in the area) in the early nineteenth century; he also acquired lots 4 through 8.

[3]These designations are given in the property deeds referred to below.

[4]Several of the White men owning land in the area in the eighteenth century, such as Joseph Gerrish, Joseph Fairbanks and Joshua Mauger, owned slaves. (T. W. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 13, 15, 84). Mauger, a promiment merchant who imported and sold slaves, had large land dealings with Richard Jacobs.

[5]William Arnold purchased his part (about six acres) from the estate of James Fullerton, as did William Brown. The purchases were made on January 3, 1848 (Registry of Deeds, Book 90, p. 323, and Book 92, p. 255). Fullerton had purchased the three lots from Godfrey Jacobs in 1818 (Registry of Deeds, Book 44, p. 339).

[6]A church was organized at Africville in 1849. This suggests that Blacks may have been living there prior to 1848, when the first purchases by Blacks were recorded.

families: Brown, Carvery, Dixon, Arnold, Hill, Fletcher, Bailey, and Grant. The first three names designate major Africville families over the following century; the other names disappeared from the community at a relatively early date, presumably through marriage, migration, or death. Origins of these eight families can be traced to Hammonds Plains and Preston, with the possible exception of Dixon, whose former place of residence is not certain.

William Brown, Sr., is regarded in Africville lore as the founder of the community. His original purchase, and that of William Arnold (about six acres of land each) marked the establishment of the settlement. For years the Browns were the principal owners of land and were among the community's elite. Although various myths surround William Brown, the facts are clear. His father, Perry Brown, one of the Blacks brought from Chesapeake Bay during the War of 1812, settled at Hammonds Plains. He was active in church affairs and protested against the dire economic straits of refugee Blacks in the area.[1] A census of households at Hammonds Plains in 1835[2] indicated that a William Brown occupied a lot owned by another Black, but the name of William Brown is not among those householders who received food allowances in 1837 nor among householders recorded in the census of 1838.[3] The 1838 census shows Perry Brown and W. Brown, both "men of colour", in Halifax. Unfortunately, the latter census makes no explicit reference to place of residence. The Africville site was within the town limits, and it is possible that Brown had already settled there but had not yet purchased land.

Isaac Grant and Henry Bailey occupied neighbouring lots at Hammonds Plains. Numerous citings of their names appear in documents and they and their families are listed in the 1838 census.[4] The next documentary evidence of their whereabouts is mention of them, in 1849, as church officers at Africville. Both the Grant and Bailey families disappeared from Africville before 1900. The 1861 census lists Isaac Grant as living alone, a very old man. According to interviewees, the Baileys were

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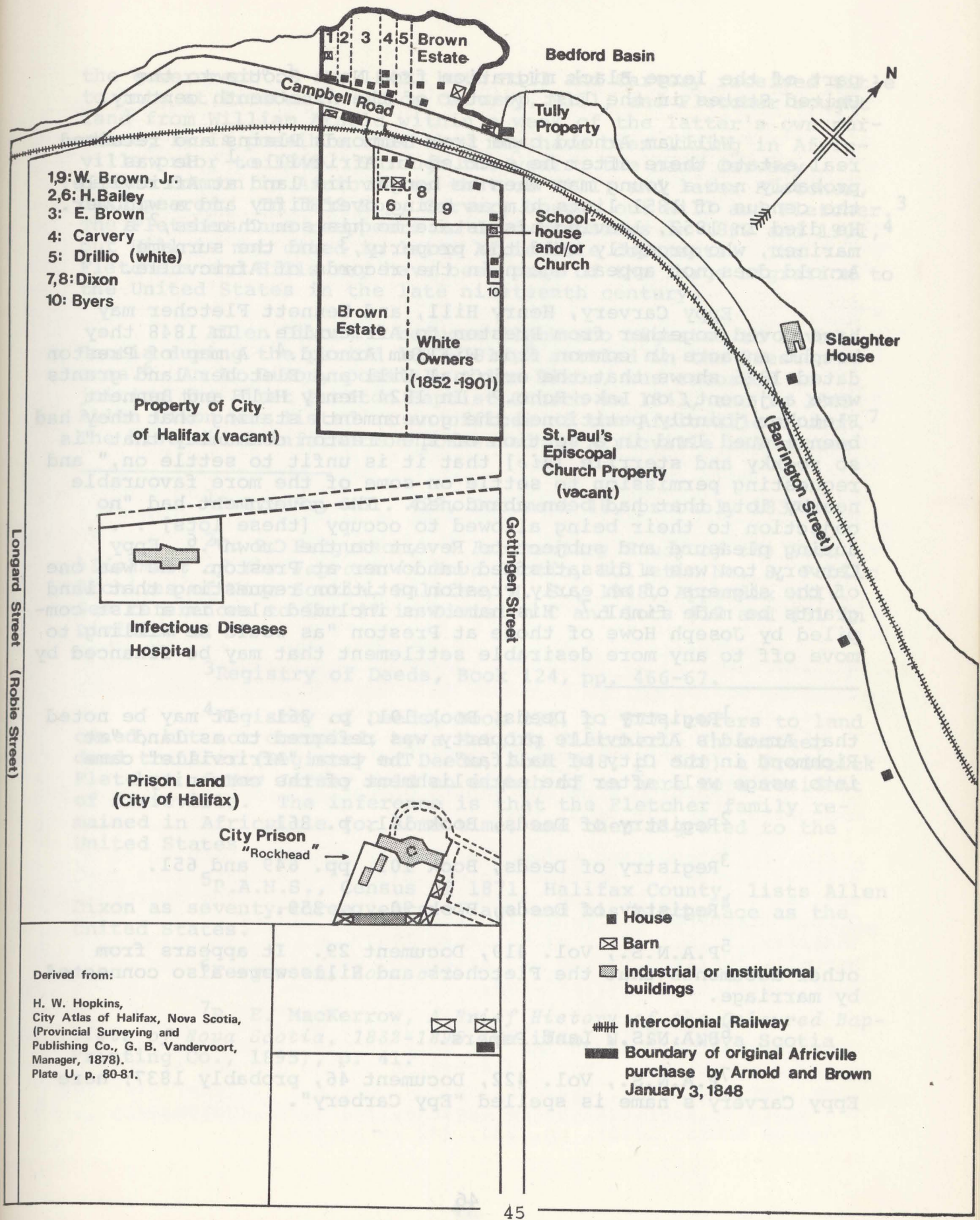
[1]Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, N. S. (P.A.N.S.), Vol. 419, Document 119; and P.A.N.S., Vol. 422, Documents 19 and 33.

[2]P.A.N.S., Document 185, lot #71, Halifax County Land Grants 1787-1835.

[3]P.A.N.S., Vol. 422, Document 45; and P.A.N.S., R.G. 1, Vol. 448, Census for the County of Halifax, 1838.

[4]Both Bailey and Grant petitioned for economic assistance while at Hammonds Plains.

AFRICVILLE 1878



Derived from:

H. W. Hopkins,
City Atlas of Halifax, Nova Scotia,
(Provincial Surveying and
Publishing Co., G. B. Vandervoort,
Manager, 1878).
Plate U, p. 80-81.

part of the large Black migration from Nova Scotia to the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

William Arnold came from Hammonds Plains and retained real estate there after he settled in Africville.[1] He was probably not a young man when he bought his land at Africville; the census of 1851 lists him as being over fifty and a widower. He died in 1852, leaving his estate to his son Charles,[2] a mariner, who promptly sold the property,[3] and the surname Arnold does not appear again in the records of Africville.

Eppy Carvery, Henry Hill, and Bennett Fletcher may have moved together from Preston to Africville. In 1848 they bought an acre in common from William Arnold.[4] A map of Preston dated 1816 shows that the original Hill and Fletcher land grants were adjacent, on Lake Echo.[5] In 1824 Henry Hill and Bennett Fletcher jointly petitioned the government, stating that they had been issued land in a section of the Preston community that "is so rockky and sterrile [*sic*] that it is unfit to settle on," and requesting permission to settle on some of the more favourable nearby lots that had been abandoned. The government had "no objection to their being allowed to occupy [these lots] . . . during pleasure and subject to Revert to the Crown".[6] Eppy Carvery too was a dissatisfied landowner at Preston. He was one of the signers of an early Preston petition requesting that land grants be made final.[7] His name was included also in a list compiled by Joseph Howe of those at Preston "as would be willing to move off to any more desirable settlement that may be financed by

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[1]Registry of Deeds, Book 101, p. 361. It may be noted that Arnold's Africville property was referred to as land "at Richmond in the City of Halifax". The term "Africville" came into usage well after the establishment of the community.

[2]Registry of Deeds, Book 101, p. 361.

[3]Registry of Deeds, Book 101, pp. 649 and 651.

[4]Registry of Deeds, Book 90, p. 350.

[5]P.A.N.S., Vol. 419, Document 29. It appears from other documents that the Fletchers and Hills were also connected by marriage.

[6]P.A.N.S., Land Papers.

[7]P.A.N.S., Vol. 422, Document 46, probably 1837; here Eppy Carvery's name is spelled "Epy Carbery".

the government".[1] In 1842, both Hill and Carvery received title to lots at Preston.[2] Since Carvery, Hill, and Fletcher bought land from William Arnold within a week of the latter's own purchase, it is possible that they may have been living in Africville prior to 1848. Through the years, the name Carvery became common in Africville; that of Hill, and later Fletcher, disappeared. In 1858 Eppy Carvery bought out Hill and Fletcher.[3] The Fletcher name reappears in deed transfers in 1882 and 1901,[4] but Hill is not cited in later Africville documents. The Fletchers and Hills may have been part of the large migration to the United States in the late nineteenth century.

Allen Dixon, a refugee Black who migrated to Nova Scotia during the period 1813-1816,[5] settled in the Preston area.[6] An A. Dixon, possibly Allen Dixon, was recorded as joining the First Preston Baptist Church in 1843, and in 1849 Allen Dixon was listed as an officer of the Africville church.[7] The historical information possessed by Africville relocatees

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[1]P.A.N.S., Vol. 422, Document 48, probably 1837.

[2]C. B. Fergusson, *A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia*, Bulletin No. 8, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, N. S., 1948, Appendix XXIV. See references to lot #7 in Division C and lots #17 and #31 in Division D.

[3]Registry of Deeds, Book 124, pp. 466-67.

[4]Registry of Deeds, Book 238, p. 577, refers to land owned, but not occupied, by a Matilda Fletcher. In another deed transfer (Registry of Deeds, Book 348, p. 520) a Frederick Fletcher of New Jersey sold an eighth of an acre to a resident of Africville. The inference is that the Fletcher family remained in Africville for some time, and then migrated to the United States.

[5]P.A.N.S., Census of 1871, Halifax County, lists Allen Dixon as seventy-three years of age and his birthplace as the United States.

[6]Fergusson, *loc. cit.*

[7]P. E. MacKerrow, *A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1832-1895* (Halifax, N. S.: Nova Scotia Printing Co., 1895), p. 41.

was not always accurate. Several residents stated that the Dixon family (a common surname in latter-day Africville) moved to the Halifax area from western Nova Scotia; on the other hand, Allen Dixon's great-grandson asserts that the Dixons came direct to Halifax, via Boston, from American slavery.[1]

The original Africville settlers were, then, former residents of the refugee settlements at Preston and Hammonds Plains who moved to Africville in order to escape economic hardships encountered on rocky and barren land. In the 1840's, the Africville site offered several advantages. It was not significantly more arable but, located on Bedford Basin, it was convenient for fishing and, most important, it was convenient for wage labour in the Halifax area.[2] (Local tradition offers no account of the motivation that led to migration from Hammonds Plains and Preston; almost every interviewed resident of Africville believed that Africville had been founded under the auspices of royalty by former slaves from the United States.) Around 1839, with the establishment of a steamship line for mail service, Halifax received a long-awaited economic boom.[3] The following decade was characterized by economic expansion, a flourishing wholesale trade, development of new docking facilities, and increased shipbuilding. It required only the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 with the United States to consolidate the favourable economic status of Halifax by setting off a boom in the trade with New England.[4]

Apart from the fact of general economic growth in the Halifax area, it is difficult to identify a particular factor accounting for the migration to Africville. It has been sug-

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[1]Interviews, September 1969.

[2]Removed from the centre of Halifax, the land was less expensive than the usual town lot.

[3]Stephenson noted that Samuel Cunard's winning of a British government contract to establish a steamship line for mail service "marked the beginning of the climb from depression". Gordon Stephenson, *A Redevelopment Study of Halifax, Nova Scotia* (Halifax, N. S.: City of Halifax, 1957), p. 2. See also J. S. Martell, "Halifax During and After the War of 1812", *The Dalhousie Review*, XXIII, 1943-44.

[4]This period of economic growth ushered in what has been termed the "Golden Age" of Nova Scotia. The boom was centred in Halifax. For a discussion of the economy at this time, see Stanley B. Ryerson, *Unequal Union: Confederation and the Roots of Conflict in the Canadas, 1815-1873* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1968), pp. 237, 242 *et passim*.

gested that some of the settlers may have been employed in the construction of Campbell Road, which was built in 1836 around the northeastern end of the peninsula as an alternative to the main thoroughfare between the town of Halifax and the outlying communities. There is no evidence to support this suggestion, although the Africville settlement was formed around the Campbell Road area of Bedford Basin and for many years the community itself was known as Campbell Road. It has also been suggested that Blacks settled at Africville while laying track for the Intercolonial Railroad which was to run through the community;[1] however, the railroad was begun in 1854, several years after the Africville community was established.[2] There is a further suggestion that the Black settlers may have been attracted by the Bedford Basin shoreline, which provided a fine setting for mass baptisms. MacKerrow, familiar with the history of the Nova Scotia African Baptist Association, mentioned "the placid waters of Bedford Basin, beneath whose surface Brothers Burton, Preston [etc.] . . . have buried in the likeness of Christ many willing converts in the ordinance of Baptism."[3] Since the Rev. Mr. Burton died in 1838, this reference is either erroneous or indicates that there were baptisms at the Africville site before 1838. If the latter, it could have been this exposure that drew Black settlers to the Africville area.[4]

The key pull factor in the migration to the Africville area was economic opportunity, and there may have been additional incentives affecting the precise location of the first homes. The push factor simply reflects the hardships of life in Preston and Hammonds Plains. Numerous examples of the plight of refugee settlers in the Preston area have been cited. Although true grants were made final in 1842, significant improvement did not take place in living conditions. Extensive potato-crop failures occurred in 1847 and again in 1848. Legislative Assembly proceedings indicate that throughout this period grants had to be

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[1]This suggestion is recorded in P.A.N.S., Africville File.

[2]A report of the exploration survey of routes between Halifax and Quebec was presented to the Legislature in 1848 (Nova Scotia Legislative Assembly, *Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1848*, Appendix 64); actual construction did not get under way at Halifax until 1854.

[3]MacKerrow, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[4]Given the absence of any other reference linking Burton to Campbell Road, we believe that MacKerrow may have erred.

given in order to prevent starvation. In February 1851, a petition of the "Teacher at the African School at Hammond's Plain on behalf of the people of color at that place, was presented . . ., setting forth the great destitution prevailing in a number of families in that Settlement, and praying relief."[1] When land grants were made final in 1842, Blacks could at least sell their properties and try to carve out a better life elsewhere.

Myths of Settlement

Many Africville relocatees believed that their community was among the original refugee Black settlements established by Crown grant, but evidence does not support this belief. It is clear that the first Black settlers purchased their lands from White Haligonians; moreover, the lands in the area beyond lots 1 through 3 of Division "Letter K" also were initially owned by White merchants and gentlemen.[2] The principal reason for the myth is that, between the 1840's and the time of relocation, the original Africville acreage was subject to a series of complicated and often unrecorded purchases and sales. It is impossible to trace all the conveyances of land and thereby eliminate the possibility that Crown grants were made to specific individuals in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, a period in which licences of occupation were occasionally granted.

Of the first Africville settlers, it has not been possible to determine if or how land was acquired by the Baileys, Grants, and Dixons. William Arnold's heir sold his property to

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[1] N.S.L.A., *Journal and Proceedings, 1851*, p. 681.

[2] In 1863, Godfrey Jacobs' widow conveyed the property west of the Brown-Arnold purchase to the City of Halifax. It was on this property belonging to the City that the Africville school was built in 1883. A fairly large strip of property east of the Brown-Arnold purchase (east of Gottingen Street) was owned by one George Wooten, presumably a White person, who sold it in 1863 to a member of the Brown family (Registry of Deeds, Book 161, p. 318). Brown's widow and other heirs sold it, five years later, to a White Halifax merchant named Tully (Registry of Deeds, Book 164, p. 85). The City bought Tully's property in 1907, when it was considering expropriation of the whole area for industrial development (Minutes of the Halifax City Council, January 11, 1907). Land south of the original Africville settlement was owned by Richard Jacobs in the eighteenth century. Much of this property also was eventually conveyed to the City.

a White Halifax merchant in 1852; the Basinside portion of the lot was sold a year later to two White brothers named Drillio. In 1854 land on the south side of Campbell Road was expropriated for railway construction and a few houses were removed; in compensation for the land expropriated and in order to relocate the houses, the railway trustees purchased a section of the Drillio lot.[1] The residents whose homes were relocated and who received title to parts of the lot in 1861, were William Brown's sons and Henry Bailey.[2] It is unclear whether Bailey owned the land on which his house had been located or, if so, how he acquired the land. He is recorded in the 1851 census as occupying property, which he may have leased from William Brown. In 1862 Bailey added to his property by purchasing an additional one-quarter acre from William Brown.[3] The Baileys later moved to the United States without selling the land, and taxes fell into arrears. The City possessed the property and auctioned it on a tax deed some time after 1900.[4]

The properties of Dixon and Grant also are difficult to identify. A deed dated 1862 mentioned a lot belonging to Allan Dickson [*sic*], but there appears to be no record of purchase.[5] In 1870 Allan Dixon purchased from William Brown's son

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[1]In this way the compensatory property was kept within the boundaries of the 1848 purchase. At the same time, that portion of the original acreage was regained by Blacks owners. In 1866 some of the remaining Drillio land was sold to a member of the Brown family (Registry of Deeds, Book 156, p. 132).

[2]Registry of Deeds, Book 139, p. 337; Book 161, p. 321; and Book 256, p. 12.

[3]Registry of Deeds, Book 256, p. 13. Dated May 1, 1862, the deed was not registered until January 14, 1886.

[4]One portion was obtained by a White Halifax doctor who did not occupy it. In 1912, he conveyed it to the grandson of Eppy Carvery (Registry of Deeds, Book 389, p. 549; and Book 375, p. 396). This property remained in the Carvery family. The other portion of the Bailey property was obtained in 1911 by the Howe family and Mrs. Jessie MacDonald, a prominent Africville landowner in the twentieth century. (Registry of Deeds, Book 409, p, 177; and Book 467, p. 49). A map of Africville dated 1878 shows the Bailey property obtained by the doctor south of the railway, and that obtained by Howe and MacDonald north of the railway.

[5]Registry of Deeds, Book 256, p. 13.

land contiguous with Dixon's own property.[1] The only recorded purchase of land by a Dixon in Africville prior to this took place some twenty years earlier, when a John Dickson [*sic*] bought a small lot from William Arnold; this property was resold, then purchased in 1853, along with other Arnold land, by a White Halifax merchant.[2] It was possible that Allen Dixon purchased land in the 1840's from William Brown. No record was found of a purchase or sale in which Isaac Grant was involved, although he was listed in the 1851 census of Halifax as occupying land in Africville.

In addition to difficulties encountered in tracing the initial land purchases of some Africville settlers, there are numerous problems in determining land conveyance over the years. Many landowners died intestate; often land was conveyed informally, especially to children and in-laws. This created a situation where eventually only a fraction of Africville families held true title to land that they occupied, although many others believed that their possession was established through their family's longstanding possession and occupancy of the land. The Carvery family's transactions are a case in point. Soon after Eppy Carvery bought Hill's and Fletcher's shares in their common acre, he sold it to a son of William Brown.[3] This apparently left the Carvery family, which was to become the largest family in Africville, without land. It appears that Eppy Carvery resettled on that portion of the Drillio property not sold to the railroad trustees; a deed of 1882 indicated a lot in that area occupied by Eppy Carvery's widow and children, but not owned by them.[4] That same area of Africville was occupied by several

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[1]Registry of Deeds, Book 187, p. 293.

[2]Registry of Deeds, Book 106, p. 46. It is probable that John Dickson was a member of the same Dixon family as Allan. John Dickson sold his property to an Edward Taylor, of Hammonds Plains, who in turn sold it to a White merchant in 1852.

[3]Registry of Deeds, Book 124, p. 468.

[4]This part of the former Drillio property was indicated as owned by Fletcher. Presumably the land was purchased from Drillio by Fletcher, the Fletcher family moved to the United States, and Eppy Carvery then occupied the land. Heirs of Fletcher insisted on their claim to the property (Registry of Deeds, Book 238, p. 577). Some land in this area was purchased by a Carvery from a Fletcher heir in 1901 (Registry of Deeds, Book 348, p. 520). There had been a dispute between the Carverys and the Fletcher heirs over ownership of the land.

Carvery families at the beginning of relocation in 1964. A relocatee observed that a Carvery had married a member of the family that had legal title and thereby had obtained a claim to the land. Another portion of Africville land was conveyed in 1912 to a grandson of Eppy Carvery from a White doctor who had bought it at a tax auction around the turn of the century; this land also remained in the Carvery family until Africville residents were relocated in 1964-1969. In 1918, another grandson of Eppy Carvery purchased property to the west of the original Brown-Arnold purchase.[1] The land purchased in 1918 had been owned since 1906 by the Byers, a large Africville family.[2] Prior to that and since the time of the original grant, the property had been in possession of White Haligonians. Several Carvery homes were established on the land obtained in 1918. Railroad expansion around 1940 resulted in the expropriation of this Carvery property, in compensation for which the Railway allotted Carvery $5,500 to purchase land immediately above his former property and assisted in relocating to it the Carvery homes.[3] Finally, a third grandson of Eppy Carvery obtained land in Africville, in the second quarter of the twentieth century, through inheritance from an in-law who in turn had purchased it from an heir of William Brown's heirs.[4]

At the time of relocation, Carverys claimed Africville lands that had belonged at one time or another to William Brown, William Arnold, the Fletchers, the Byers, several White Haligonians, and the Crown. Not all of the lands claimed were within the boundaries of the orignial Brown-Arnold purchase. The Carvery family acquired its land in a variety of ways; by purchase, inheritance, gift, and marriage. In none of the family's land transactions was there record of, or reference to, a

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[1]Registry of Deeds, Book 483, p. 317.

[2]Registry of Deeds, Book 378, p. 33. Early in the twentieth century, two Byers brothers bought property in Africville, west of the Brown-Arnold purchase, from Levi Hart, a White Halifax merchant. Hart possessed land in the area in the late nineteenth century and, around the turn of the century, purchased additonal land to the west of Africville (Registry of Deeds, Book 329, p. 514).

[3]In 1941, the Railway built the so-called Basin Yard for storage of cars and this required expropriation. Carvery obtained his new property by purchase from a White man (Registry of Deeds, Book 820, pp. 732-34).

[4]Registry of Deeds, Book 684, p. 917.

Crown grant to Africville settlers and not all of the family's claims were supportable by legal title. The situation was obscured further by the usually informal division of property among the many family members. Approximately fifteen Carvery families were relocated in 1964-69, and it is not surprising that there was considerable confusion related to individual claims of ownership.

The Browns were the largest property owners in Africville in the nineteenth century, and many immigrants to Africville during that period obtained land from the orignial Brown estate. The Brown family had few male heirs; accordingly, at the time of relocation most of the Brown property had passed into other hands either by marriage or by purchase. Except for his sale to Bailey in 1862 and possibly to Allan Dixon and others in the 1840's, William Brown apparently kept much of his original six acres intact until his death, and specified in his will how the property was to be divided among his children.[1] The heirs had the land surveyed and the boundaries defined. Six heirs received lots. It is possible to trace much of this land to the time of relocation,[2] when most of it was owned by the

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[1]Some of his land was expropriated for railway construction in 1854.

[2]The property inherited by *Thomas Brown* was sold in part to two migrants who married into the community (one section was later sold to the City) and the remainder of Thomas's inheritance passed through his wife's niece to an immigrant from Hammonds Plains who also married into the community. Prior to the latter transfer, the niece sold a portion of her inheritance (Registry of Deeds, Book 362, p. 182; Book 797, p. 93; and Book 1620, p. 464). The property inherited from William Brown by his son *John Brown* also was eventually sold to migrants who married into the community (Registry of Deeds, Book 588, p. 1055). In 1959, a portion was sold to a Carvery. Property inherited by *Georgina Brown*, who married a Mantley migrating from Hammonds Plains, was inherited subsequently by a daughter who married a migrant from Amherst, Nova Scotia. Property inherited by *James Brown* and by *Nancy Brown* eventually passed into the hands of Mrs. Jessie MacDonald, who was the only child and sole heir of Nancy Brown. In 1912, Mrs. MacDonald purchased the property of James Brown which had been inherited by his step-children (Registry of Deeds, Book 415, p. 695). Mrs. MacDonald, in turn, sold two portions of her property to migrants in the period between the two World Wars. It has been more difficult to trace the inheritance of *William Brown, Jr.* Part of his property was inherited by a daughter who had married a migrant from Preston; subsequently, the daughter's children obtained portions of the

Byers, Dixons, and Mantleys, three large Africville families, and by other Blacks who migrated to Africville after the First World War.

During a period of roughly one hundred and twenty-five years, the Africville land underwent various changes. Three systems of railway tracks were built through the community, necessitating expropriation of land and relocation of homes, and expansion of railway facilities resulted in a further shuffle of property. In addition to the occasional seizure of land for non-payment of tax arrears, the City of Halifax purchased several Africville properties as potential sites for municipal institutions and in anticipation of waterfront redevelopment.[1] Other institutional purchasers of Africville lands included the Nova Scotia Light and Power Company, which obtained land for construction of a tower.[2] The shoreline itself changed, for some properties were diminished by soil erosion and others were extended by fill. To these changes in land and land use was added a new factor, the absentee landlord. The City, the Railway, and other institutions occasionally leased land to Africville residents, usually at a nominal rental. The City owned the land on which the Africville school was built and leased land for the site of the Africville church.[3] In the 1950's both the railway and the City leased property to residents who were displaced and

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property. The property purchased by William Brown, Jr. from Eppy Carvery in 1858, was sold in part to the Byers family who migrated from Prince Edward Island; the remaining section was inherited by William's grandson, although there may have been additional heirs.

[1]Part of the original Arnold property was owned subsequently by two White persons, then sold in 1901 to a West Indian who settled in Africville and married a granddaughter of William Brown (Registry of Deeds, Book 324, p. 494). When this family moved to Boston, the entire lot (perhaps three acres) may have been sold to the City; the site was occupied until recently (Spring 1971) by the City-operated Basinview Home for the aged.

[2]The lot purchased by the Nova Scotia Light and Power Company was owned originally by Allan Dixon and passed subsequently to his heirs (Registry of Deeds, Book 1041, p. 274 and Book 1654, p. 135).

[3]After the school was closed in the early 1950's the school building itself was leased by the City as a community hall for Africville residents; the rental was one dollar per annum. The church property was leased by the City, beginning in 1916.

homeless.[1] In some instances, Africville residents squatted on government-owned land. This was not much opposed before the end of the Second World War,[2] for the number of squatters was relatively small and the land was not being used by its owners.

The Africville population increased almost tenfold between 1850 and 1964. By 1964 there were approximately eighty families living in an area not larger than that originally purchased by Brown and Arnold. For the most part, the families were living within the original boundaries. It was common for offspring to establish their own households on parental land, and property in Africville usually was divided equally among the immediate heirs.[3] There was, consequently, a substantial decline in the size of individual land-holdings over the years, land shortage developed, and disputes concerning land ownership were not uncommon among close relatives.[4] As a result of far-reaching kinship ties among most Africville residents, there were multiple claims on many pieces of property.

Because of these factors of population pressure on land, informal conveyance of property, inclusive patterns of inheritance, extensive kinship ties, profound changes in land use, unrecorded original purchases, and occasional squatting, it was difficult to unravel property claims in Africville and to discount speculation concerning Crown grants. These difficulties

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[1]The City leased a property in 1951 to an Africville resident who had been squatting on "Dominion Government" property and had been forced to vacate. The rental was set at an amount equal to the annual tax payable on the property (Minutes of the Committee on Works, City of Halifax, May 3, 1951). It appears that, in 1956, the Railway leased a small lot to an employee who was also a resident of Africville.

[2]Around the turn of the century there were a few complaints voiced at meetings of the Halifax City Council concerning squatters in the Africville area.

[3]Usually the land was not conveyed by formal instrument. Typical was the transfer of a Byers estate, where the offspring established separate households on their father's property and by common acceptance established possessory right.

[4]In several instances land was transferred to trustees charged with the task of processing and validating the multiple claims (Registry of Deeds, Book 238, p. 577; Book 338, p. 24; and Book 1153, p. 61).

were the more pronounced, given the sense of historical continuity possessed by residents and the absence of diaries and other written materials dealing with the community.[1] Nevertheless, enough data are available to demolish most of the myths associated with the settlement and development of Africville. Certainly the public image of Africville as a community of transients and squatters can be rejected.[2] There was very little squatting in the sense of random occupation of land by rootless in-migrants. Blacks obtained land in the Africville area of Halifax by purchase and inheritance; only a handful ever occupied land as squatters. To equate the absence of legal title with squatting would be misleading in the Africville context.

The myth of direct refugee settlement of Africville has been discussed above. Although the principal myth of settlement held by Africville residents was that their forefathers had escaped from slavery in the United States and were granted Africville land by the Queen,[3] there were other myths. Some residents held that Black slaves escaping from the United States settled inland to avoid recapture; that Africville was settled first and, subsequently, other nearby Black communities. The fact is that Black refugees were told by government officials where they could settle. A more prevalent myth held that Afric-

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[1]The researchers spent considerable time and effort vainly pursuing suggestions concerning the existence of diaries and other reports dealing with the history of Africville.

[2]It is important to distinguish between those persons who squatted on land owned by government and other institutions and those persons whom residents permitted to construct homes on their property. When Africville residents referred to "squatters" in the community, generally they were thinking of the latter group of persons, many of whom they held in low repute.

[3]Perhaps an explanation for this myth arises from the fact that true grants issued to refugee settlers in the Preston area always began with the conventional greeting: *"Victoria* by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen defender of the Faith and of the United church of England and Ireland on earth the Supreme Head. To all to whom these Presents shall come *Greeting"* (The Preston grant, 1842, Fergusson, *loc. cit.*). An association between land grants and the Queen was easy to elaborate; an extrapolation from the Black community of Preston to the Black community of Africville was all that was needed to root the myth.

ville families were descended from the fierce fighting Maroons deported to Halifax from Jamaica in 1796. One version of this myth centred on Prince Edward, father of Queen Victoria, who, during his tenure as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, resided at an estate on the shore of Beford Basin. Purportedly, Prince Edward had a Black servant named William Brown; pleased with his service, the Prince saw to it, upon his recall to England, that Brown and others were granted land at Bedford Basin. In fact, however, the Prince left Nova Scotia prior to the War of 1812 and there is little likelihood that the name of William Brown can rightly be linked with his. As for being descended from Maroons, records indicated that while some did live near Bedford Basin for a short period, virtually all the Maroons sailed to Sierra Leone in 1800[1] and the original Africville settlers came from refugee settlements elsewhere in Halifax County.

The myths held by Africville residents concerning the settlement of their community are significant, nonetheless, and merit attention. In essence, they served to reinforce claims to land, an important consideration in the face of frequent absence of deeds and other legal title. In the myths, land is granted in common; accordingly, every individual who could establish hereditary right through descent or marriage would have a claim on the land. In the myths, too, land is granted by royal personages, authorities more powerful and significant than City and other governmental officials. The myths, by holding forth a special association with royalty, not only established a common bond among residents but underlined the real marginality felt by Africville people vis-à-vis other Haligonians and perhaps provided a cultural weapon against oppressors.

Although the myths of settlement existed apart from the relocation experience, it is useful to consider them in relation to the relocation negotiations. Many White Haligonians also believed the myth of a Queen-given grant to Blacks at Africville. The relocation social worker, charged with the task of negotiating the real estate aspects of relocation, did not discount the possibility of such a grant. He was, however, scarcely in a position to undertake more than a casual examination of historical materials.[2] The Director of Welfare suggested that the Development Department had sent a representative to

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[1]Another myth linking Africville to the Maroons posits that the land was obtained by Blacks in exchange for their work on the construction of the Halifax Citadel. The Maroons did participate in the construction, but there is, of course, no evidence of a link between the Maroons and the Africville residents.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, June 1969.

England to determine whether the myth was valid. One of the research directors interviewed the Director of Development about this possibility:

> "I asked him [the Development Officer] if they had ever investigated whether the Africville land had been granted by Queen Victoria. He stated that they had not discovered any factual information to support this, but they did not really do intensive historical research. They did just enough to convince themselves that the deeds where in chaotic order. When I told him that the Director of Welfare reported that he, the Director of Development, had sent people to England to see if Africville land was a grant from the Queen, he laughed and said: 'That is the most absurd thing I ever heard'."[1]

It appears that, despite some second thoughts, City officials did not investigate thoroughly the possibility of a Crown grant to Africville settlers. Information was presumably sought by the City from the Provincial Archivist, who in 1962 requested information from the Director of Crown lands, Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests. The Director replied, "We do not find that William Brown was a grantee in the district. Neither do we know of any records of any unusual circumstances in regards the granting of land in Africville."[2] The Provincial Archivist surmised: "I suppose that the Negroes either purchased land from previous owners or squatted on it".[3] What difference would it have made if the myth of a Crown grant could have been substantiated? It would not have added *legal* weight to the claims of Africville residents beyond that of ownership through purchase or inheritance, for all land derives ultimately from a Crown grant. The legal aspects of relocation negotiations might have been quite different, however, if the land had been granted *in common* to Africville residents. Certainly a grant in common, direct from the Crown, would have been considered to lend a more powerful *moral* thrust to relocatees' claims.

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[1]Research diary, July 1969. There was clearly a failure of communication between the directors of the welfare and development departments. During the relocation, all welfare dealings with the Africville population were handled by the Development Department. The Director of Welfare publicly criticized the relocation program; see "Says City Falling Down on Africville Project: Welfare Director Says Relocation not Necessary," *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., April 26, 1965.

[2]P.A.N.S., Africville File.

[3]*Ibid.*

The Name "Africville"

The Black settlement of Africville was named first after the road around which it grew: Campbell Road. This name remained until around the turn of the century, when "Africville" became current. During interviews, only the very oldest residents intimated that they had in their youth commonly referred to the community as "Campbell Road", although most respondents, regardless of age, were acquainted with the earlier appelation. The relocatees speculated about the origin of "Africville", and indicated mixed feelings about the term. There was a consensus that it had been imposed by White Haligonians, "since our forefathers came from Africa". One elderly relocatee, 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 want to believe it. It was part of Richmond,[1] just the part where the coloured people lived."[2] Another lady of advanced years was favourably disposed to the name "Africville" and hostile towards those "meddlers" who would have it otherwise. The Baptist church, when it was established at Africville in 1849, was referred to as the Campbell Road congregation. "Campbell Road" Church was changed to "Africville" in 1885, but in 1893 church members requested of the African Baptist Association a reversion to the original name.[3]

The earliest documentary use of "Africville" is found in a petition from William Brown, dated March 21, 1860, stating "That your Petitioner is the owner of a lot of land situate at Africville in the City of Halifax. . . ."[4] Yet in a petition for aid to establish a school, dated one day earlier, residents referred to themselves as "Nine Families of Colour residing on Campbell Road, West of the Rail Road Terminus."[5] Early deed transfers referred to the Africville site as "Richmond" or "Campbell Town in the north suburbs of the City of

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[1]Richmond was the name given to the northerly part of Halifax in the nineteenth century.

[2]Interview, September 1969.

[3]Pearleen Oliver, *A Brief History of the Colored Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1782-1953* (Halifax, N. S.: 1953), p. 33. The name of the church was changed later to Seaview African United Baptist Church.

[4]P.A.N.S., Africville File, Document One.

[5]P.A.N.S., Africville File, Assembly Petitions (Education, 1860).

Halifax".[1] The first land deed to use the form "Africville" is dated 1866.[2]

In the early nineteenth century, both "African" and "Men of Colour" were common descriptive terms. "African village" was perhaps the equivalent of the contemporary "black community". In their report of 1858 the Railway Commissioners listed an expenditure "for material and labor in removing and fixing up buildings at African village."[3] A railway compensation deed of 1861 also called the community "African Village".[4] Railway officialdom may have been responsible for making common the name "Africville"; on the other hand, "Africville" may have been a popular designation used in Halifax, descriptively at first, and later as a proper name. City Council Minutes refer to the community as "Campbell Town", in 1852; the "Black Settlement", in 1854; and "Africville", in 1867.[5]

By the twentieth century, the name "Africville" was firmly established. In the years ahead, mail would be sent to persons in "Africville"; local athletic teams would bear the name, as would the small segregated school. At the time of relocation the appelation had not only a common geographical reference, but a widely shared connotation as a deviant slum community.

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[1]Registry of Deeds, Book 101, p. 361; and Book 256, p. 13.

[2]Registry of Deeds, Book 156, p. 132.

[3]N.S.L.A., *Journal and Proceedings, 1858*, Appendix 35, p. 305.

[4]Registry of Deeds, Book 161, p. 321.

[5]*Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, October 27, 1852, p. 283; January 11, 1854; and late 1867.

CHAPTER THREE

AFRICVILLE SOCIAL STRUCTURE: AN OVERVIEW

"Africville was a place where many coloured people lived together trying to do the best they could."
- Interview, Africville relocatee, 1969.

A most significant facet of Africville is its long history. One social scientist has described Africville as follows: "There are no roots here; it is almost a community in suspension, a stepping-stone in the pattern of a population movement from the rural settlements to the larger cities of Montreal and Boston."[1] On the contrary, compared with many urban areas that are being redeveloped in Canada and the United States, the historical character of the community and its people stands out. We have noted already that Africville was established before 1850 and that at the time of relocation most of the inhabitants were descendants of a small group of founders, refugee Blacks who first fled slavery in the United States and later, starvation and dire poverty at Preston and Hammonds Plains. Migrants to Africville who had taken up residence there as long as thirty years prior to the relocation remained acutely conscious of their migrant status. One of our research assistants noted in his field report:

> "Mrs. _____ was not born in Africville. She was born in New Glasgow. To start off with, she said that even though she lived in Africville for over twenty years, she still had a stigma of being an outsider and although she has some feelings towards the place, her feelings could never match up to the people who were born there."[2]

Such historicity is unusual, for in most urban areas of Canada and the United States the pattern of invasion and succession has meant that continuous waves of immigrants and rural poor have replaced earlier arrivals as the latter have climbed the

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[1]Brookbank, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2]Interview, July 1969.

ladder of social success.[1] Thus the redevelopment areas in cities such as Topeka, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Toronto, and Winnipeg usually have had populations with an average residence of less than ten years.[2] Africville inhabitants, however, in addition to being among the poorest of the poor, were

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[1]A clear example of this process can be seen in the settlement of the Alexandra Park area, in Toronto. Albert Rose ("The Individual, the Family and the Community in the Process of Urban Renewal", *Urban Renewal* [Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1968], p. 324) describes it as "an area of 'first settlement' for newcomers to the city from abroad." The pre-First-World-War British and Jewish immigrants were succeeded eventually by Eastern European and Portuguese immigrants. In both Canada and the United States, the traditional "ports of entry", from the point of view of housing, have been the oldest and least desirable sections of the cities; i.e., in and around the central business districts.

[2]See, for example, William Morrison, *A Study on Some of the Social Aspects of Urban Renewal* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Community Welfare Planning Council, 1967). A majority of the family adults in the redevelopment areas were not born in Winnipeg and the modal number of years of residence in the city was 5-14 years for family heads. For the four samples into which the population was divided, the average length of stay in the old slum core area was 5.9, 7.6, 5.1, and 5.4 years. Moreover, respondents in all four groups indicated a considerable movement, typical of contemporary North American urban dwellers. For a report of the urban movement generally, see Rossi, *op. cit.*

In the Alexandra Park area, only forty-three per cent of the residents (1961) were born in Canada and thirty-six per cent were immigrants to Canada during the years 1946-61 (Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 325). For large American cities, see Niebanck, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

In Topeka, Kansas, the urban renewal relocatees had lived in their homes for an average of 11.7 years, although the group with the most apparent subculture, the Mexicans, accounted for much of this high average residence (Key, *op. cit.*). Because of racism and lack of economic opportunity, some predominantly Black areas in American cities have also tended to exhibit high residential stability; for example, in redeveloped Southwest Washington, D. C., some sixty-five per cent of the relocatees interviewed had lived in the neighbourhood for more than ten years prior to relocation (Thursz, *op. cit.*).

Black; accordingly, other poor and immigrants did not replace them but, rather, "jumped over" them. These others had enough trouble overcoming their own marginality and obtaining a full and equal share of the social wealth without becoming mixed with Blacks in a society where racist attitudes lingered from slavery days.[1]

An important factor in Africville's historicity was the condition of being ecologically isolated from Halifax proper. As the map of Halifax shown on page 65 illustrates, Africville was set apart from the rest of the city, situated on Bedford Basin and flanked by the railway. Although linked to Halifax proper by a railway and an unpaved road almost since its first settlement, traditionally Africville was more an isolated rural community than an urban neighbourhood. Africville used to be separated from the rest of the city by bush and rock; one elderly relocatee recalled that, prior to the First World War, "all the rest around [Africville] there was a lot of bush, nothing but bush."[2] Long-time residents mentioned the many farm animals (e.g., chickens, horses, goats)[3] in Africville around the turn of the century, and a local observer, referring to the same period, has written that the community boasted some of the largest piggeries in the Halifax area.[4] Africville residents never possessed adequate soil or sufficient land to engage in substantial farming, but relative isolation and the general ecology of the community did allow them to maintain a meaningful rural image until the First World War.

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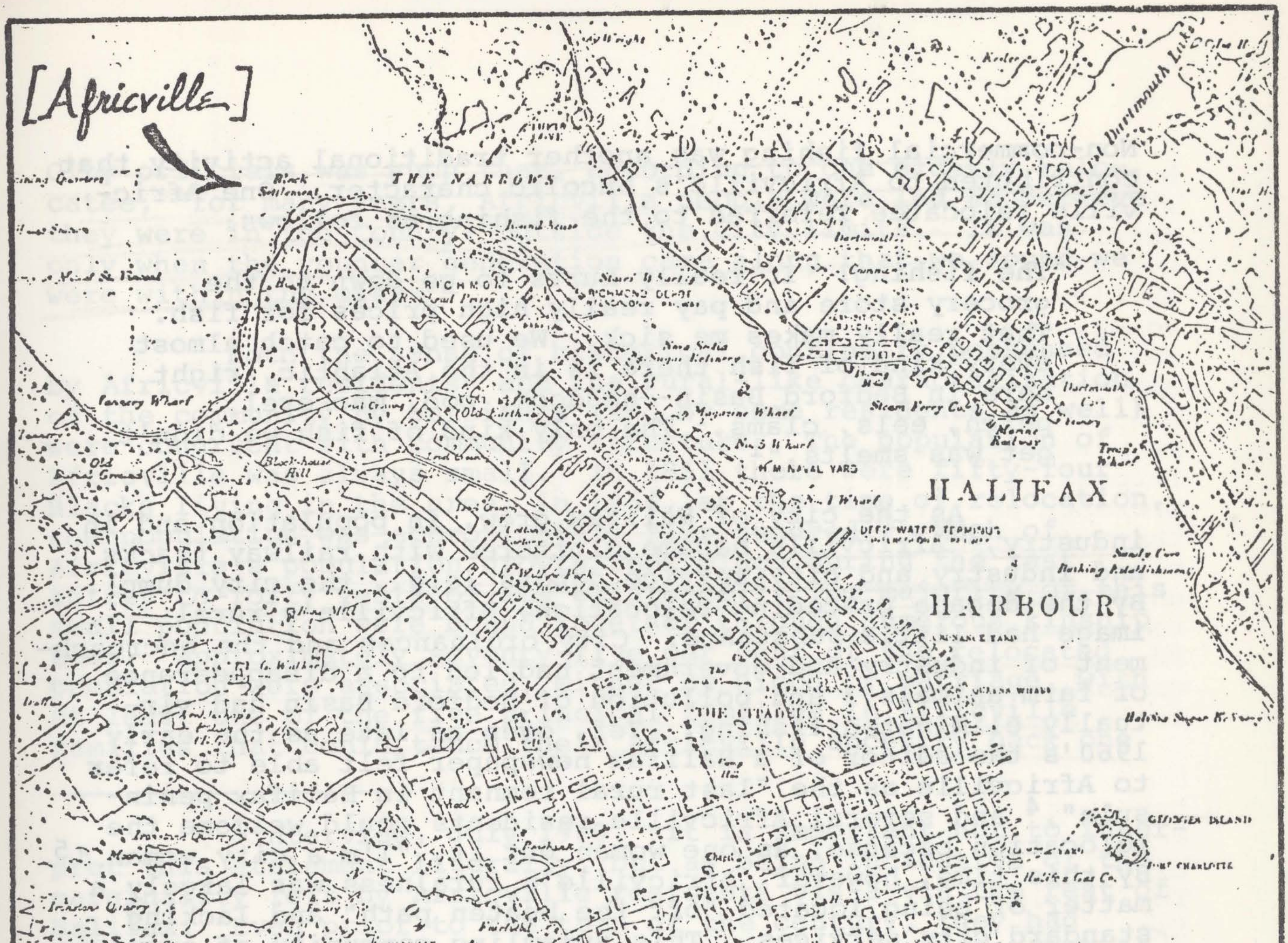
[1]In general, the pattern of invasion and succession does not operate independently of the racial traits of the groups involved. In North America, historically, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese have succeeded poor and immigrant Whites, but the reverse has not occurred so frequently. With the extensive restructuring of cities through urban renewal programs, impoverished minority groups are more likely to be succeeded, nowadays, by an upper middle class dwelling in luxury apartments. (See Thursz, *op. cit.*; Charles Silberman, *Crisis in Black and White* [New York: Vintage, 1964]; and *Commission Report on Relocation.*)

[2]Tape-recorded interview, October 1969.

[3]There was considerable discrepancy in long-time residents' recollection of the number of farm animals in Africville prior to the First World War.

[4]Frank Doyle, "Dwellings at Dump Not Very Historic", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 18, 1963.



Halifax Peninsula: 1886

This 1886 map of the Halifax peninsula referred to Africville as the 'Black Settlement'. The community was located at the northern end of the peninsula.

- Public Archives of Nova Scotia Map Collection: Surveyed and drawn by E. Hopkins, Sergeant R.E., Halifax, 1866 . . . . Published by the Intelligence Division, War Office, No. 764.

Non-commercial fishing was another traditional activity that contributed to Africville's bucolic character. One Africville relocatee referred to the fishing as follows:

> "The fishing! It really hurts to go down to the grocery store and pay really high prices for fish. That really makes me sick. We used to catch almost every kind of fish there is in the Atlantic, right here in Bedford Basin--haddock, cod, mackerel, perch, eels, clams. The only kind of fish we didn't get was smelts."[1]

As the city of Halifax grew, in population and in industry,[2] Africville became cluttered with railway tracks and industry and city service depots (e.g., the city dump). By the decade preceding relocation, Africville's rural image had little substance. City ordinances and the encroachment of industry and government had led to a disappearance of farm animals,[3] and pollution of Bedford Basin had virtually eliminated fishing. Yet, even as late as the early 1960's the editor of a Halifax newspaper felt able to refer to Africville as the "last rural remnant in Halifax peninsula",[4] and several Africville residents could welcome the relocation because, as one woman put it, "I'm a city woman."[5] By this time, however, Africville's ruralness was largely a matter of being located "off the beaten path" and lacking standard city services. This sprawling community of approximately thirteen acres, with its dwellings, sheds, and outdoor privies haphazardly positioned and built, possessed few urban facilities. Residents had to do without paved roads (or even dust deterrent), convenient public transportation, sewerage, water, or garbage collection. The neglect of Africville by

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[1]Interview, July 1969.

[2]The population of Halifax increased from 20,749 (1851 Census) to 46,619 in 1911 and 92,511 in 1961. The Halifax city limits were unchanged between 1851 and 1961.

[3]Since 1915, it has been illegal to keep swine within city limits. *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, 1915.

[4]Frank Doyle, "Africville's Shackdom Shows Lack of Action", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., February 10, 1965.

[5]Interview, June 1969.

City officials was such that, according to one elderly relocatee, "for many years, Africville people were led to believe they were in the County--outside the City limits. It was only when the younger generation came along that we found we were within the city."[1]

Both the sense of historical continuity possessed by Africville residents[2] and the rural-like characterization of the community by outsiders (and by some residents as well) were congruent with community structure. The population of Africville was always small. In 1851 there were fifty-four Blacks living in the area; in 1964, at the time of relocation, the population was approximately four hundred.[3] Much of Africville's population growth took place during the last thirty to forty years of its existence.[4] The majority of this small population were bound together through numerous kinship ties. Approximately seventy-five per cent of the relocated population were associated, either by blood or marriage, with at least one of the five principal families in Africville, families that could trace their Africville ancestry back one

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[1]Interview, July 1969. It is important not to interpret this statement literally, but as being indicative of the marginality felt by Africville residents vis-à-vis the rest of Halifax. Even prior to the turn of the century, they had petitioned City officials for needed services. Their lack of success, and consequent sense of powerlessness and isolation, created a profound feeling of estrangement. Additional factors, of course, such as racial origin, affected their relationship with other Haligonians.

[2]As we have already noted in discussion of *myths of settlement*, a sense of historical continuity does not necessarily reflect an accurate knowledge of historical fact.

[3]See P.A.N.S., R.G. 1, Vol. 451, *Census, City of Halifax*, 1851; and *The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia*. Erich Fromm has suggested that about four hundred is the optimum population of a community geared to meeting individual needs and capable of providing healthy social relationships; see his *The Sane Society* (New York: Rinehart, 1955).

[4]The population doubled during this period. See also, Frank Doyle, "Dwellings at Dump Not Very Historic", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 18, 1963.

hundred years.[1] It is not surprising, under these circumstances, that the social structure of Africville can be characterized as "fluid"[2]--in the sense that kinship and family systems were adaptable and there was a certain interchangeability of personnel. There were numerous instances of adoption and fosterage, and of step- and half-kin relationships. The use of intimate kinship terms, such as "ma", "pa", and "aunt", to refer to more distant relatives, and even to non-relatives, was common. This structural fludity and intimacy was compounded, in the several decades preceding the relocation, by an increasing degree of cohabitation and the presence of illegitimate offspring, and was accentuated by the widespread use of nicknames. Haligonians who knew Africville well often could identify its residents by nicknames only; even some of the indigenous leaders were hard-pressed to identify the proper names of some Africville residents.[3] To the outsider (especially to many White Haligonians, welfare workers, City officials, and relocation caretakers) the Africville population appeared to be "jumbled".[4]

An important component of Africville's social structure was the church and the roles and organizations that it engendered. The church was as old as the community itself and embodied much of Africville's sense of historical continuity. The Seaview African United Baptist Church contained within itself the principal formal organizations in the community and, through religious services, youth and auxiliary organizations, and a missionary society, provided residents with a collective identity and fostered sentiments of solidarity. As one Afric-

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[1]See Genealogical Charts, p. 69. The names used in these charts are pseudonyms.

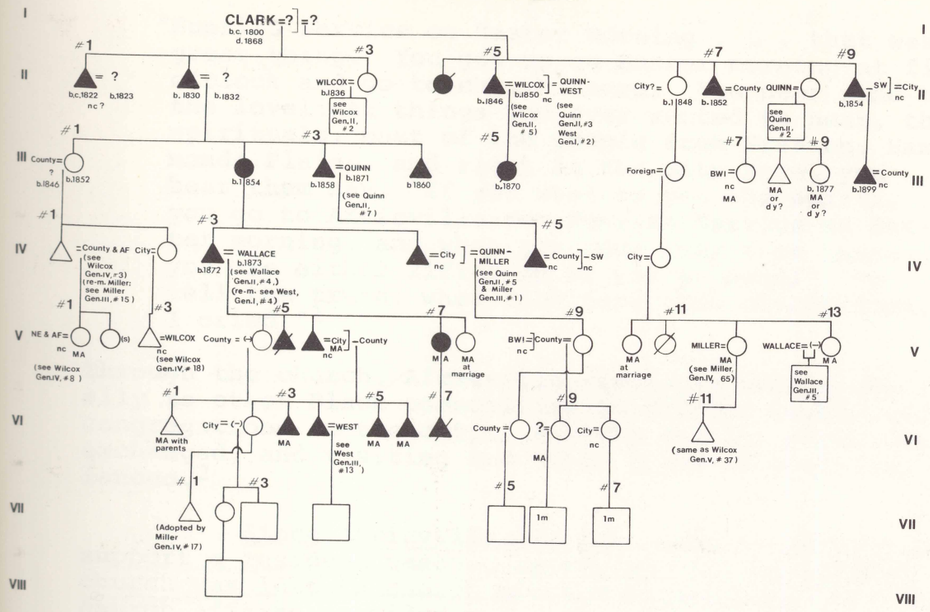
[2]For this concept of fluid social structure, we are indebted to Frank G. Vallee, *Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin* (Ottawa: Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1962), pp. 61-98.

[3]This fact posed difficulties for the researchers trying to discern the basis of social differentiation in Africville and draw appropriate inferences from anecdotes.

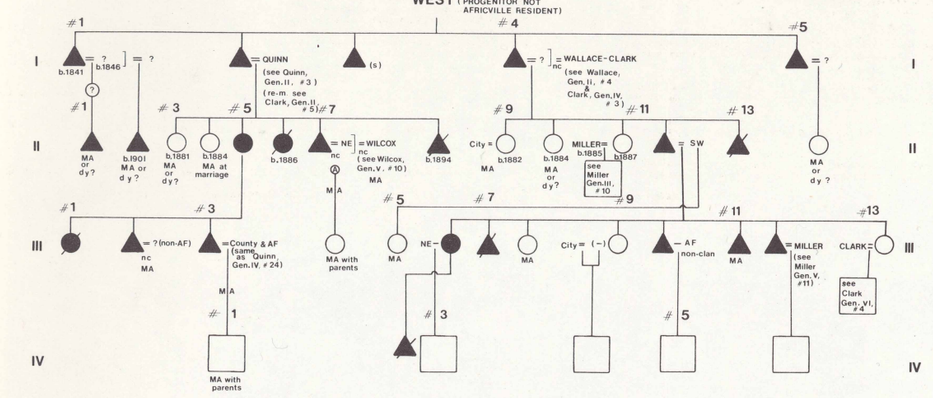
[4]This statement is based on interviews with "outsiders" during the summer and fall of 1969, and on the minutes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and the minutes of City Council's Africville Subcommittee.

Genealogical Charts

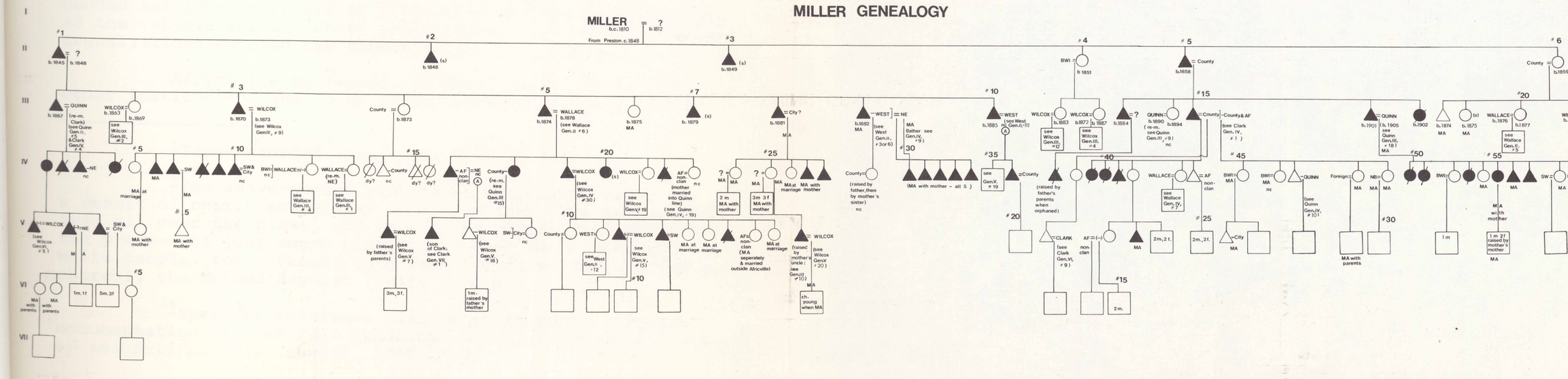
CLARK GENEALOGY



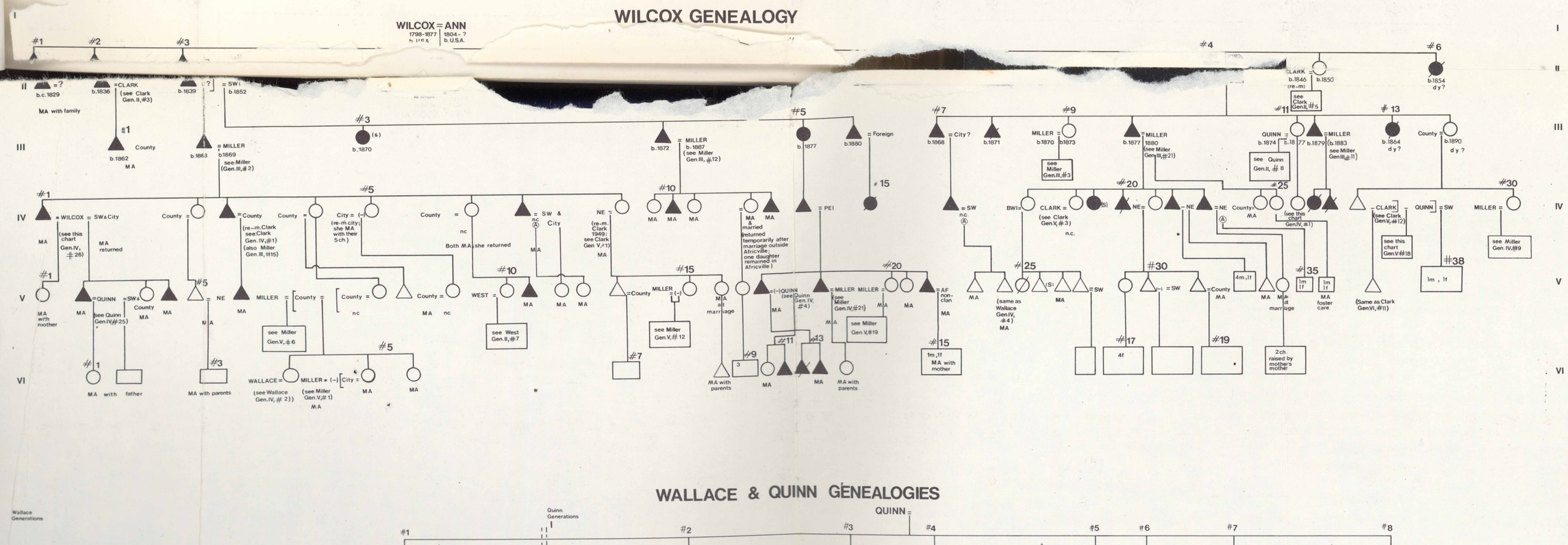
WEST GENEALOGY



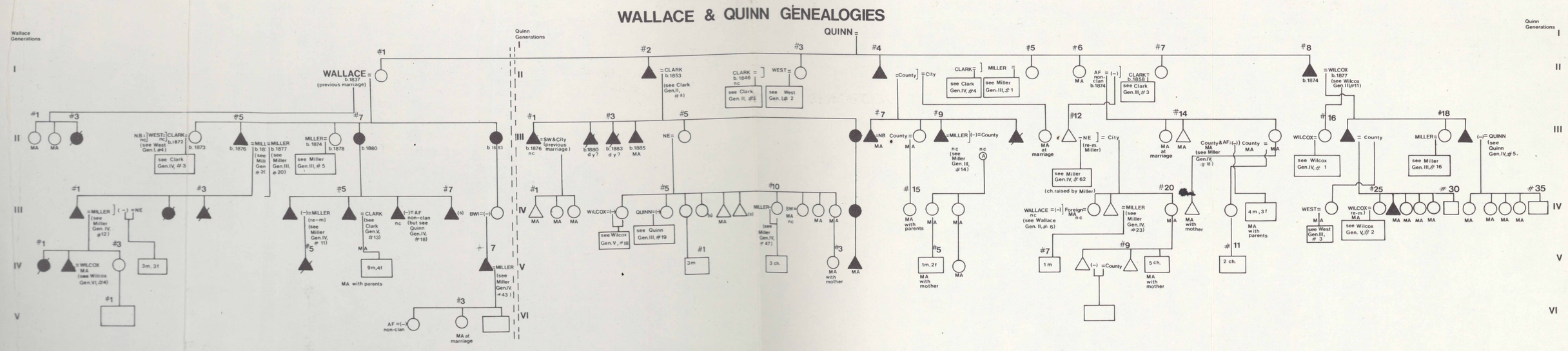
MILLER GENEALOGY



WILCOX GENEALOGY



WALLACE & QUINN GENEALOGIES



Legend

(A) **Code Names:**

CLARK, WILCOX, MILLER, WALLACE, QUINN, WEST — CODE NAMES of the six major Africville families

(B) **Symbols for Individuals:**

△ MALE member of family

○ FEMALE member of family

▲ or ● Person who bore for lifetime the ORIGINAL FAMILY SURNAME

⧄ or ● etc. DIED YOUNG

(C) **Marriage Union Symbols:**

= Formalized union (licensed)

— Non-formalized union (common law or cohabitational)

(—)= Union, subsequently formalized by marriage

▲ CODE NAME = CODE NAME — *Male married twice — first wife is indicated to the left*

CODE NAME = [CODE NAME = ○ — *Female married twice — first husband is indicated to the right*

△ CODE NAME ------ PARENTS

---------- LINE OF DESCENT

------ OFFSPRING (children are listed from left to right in order of birth)

(s) (Single) No known union

re-m. Remarried

(D) **Origin of Partners:**

CLARK, WILCOX, MILLER, WALLACE, QUINN, WEST — Partner was a member of one of the six major families

AF non-clan — Partner grew up in Africville, but not a member of one of the six major families

City — Partner married into Africville from elsewhere in Halifax or from Dartmouth

County — Partner married into Africville from elsewhere in Halifax County

SW — Partner married into Africville from southwestern Nova Scotia

NE — Partner married into Africville from northeastern Nova Scotia

Abbreviated name of Canadian province — Partner married into Africville from the Canadian province indicated

BWI — Partner married into Africville from the British West Indies

Foreign — Partner married into Africville from outside Canada or the British West Indies (i.e. U.S.A., Europe)

(E) **Miscellaneous Symbols:**

MA — Moved away from Africville

nc — No children

dy? or MA? — Died young or moved away (uncertain)

Ⓐ — Adopted

b. — Year of birth

2m, 2f — A line of descent terminating in such a box means the offspring so indicated had not reached age 21 at the time of the relocation of Africville, and were living in the parents' (or guardians') home at that time. *For example, two males and two females were under 21 and were living with their parents at the time of relocation.*

1 — *For example, one child under 21 was living with parents at the time of relocation. The sex of the child was not known by community kinship informants.*

For example, in this case the number and sex of children living with parents at the time of relocation was not known by community kinship informants.

(F) **Cross-References:**

Each of the genealogy charts is numbered from top to bottom by generations. For purposes of cross-reference, the family members of each generation are numbered at intervals from left to right.

The cross-referencing for links between genealogical charts is illustrated by the following examples:

(see: Miller Gen. IV, #5) — *This reads: "Refer to MILLER chart, Generation IV, family member #5" (reading from the left of the chart).*

A boxed cross-reference at the end of a line of descent means that the offspring, their descendants, and their paternal kinsmen will be found in the genealogy chart indicated within the box.

WALLACE = ○ / See: WALLACE, Gen. II, #5 — *This reads: "A female from the chart being read married a male member of the WALLACE family. The offspring (as indicated by the presence of the box) are found within the WALLACE genealogy". Refer to WALLACE chart, Generation II, family member #5 (reading from the left of the chart).*

ville resident put it:

> "Sunrise Service on Easter morning . . . that was a great thing. You get up on Easter morning at five o'clock and go to church there. You hear some of the loveliest things you ever wanted to hear, the spirituals; most of the people from Preston, Hammonds Plains, and right in the city here, you hear them say, "If you want to get the spirit, you go to Africville for Sunrise Service on Easter morning, and when you come away from there, you are either lifted up or you're dead!" To tell the truth, when they tore that church down, I cried."[1]

Through the church, Africville residents were linked traditionally to other Black communities in Halifax County and to White congregations in the city. Pastors and lay preachers were exchanged, and visiting and other forms of sociality were experienced.[2]

Since Africville was not large or wealthy enough to support a resident pastor, leadership and management of the church was left to church members themselves. Involvement in church affairs provided one with status in the community, and the church "elders"--the deacons, trustees, and leading "sisters"--constituted, as it were, the official representatives, receiving communiqués from City officials, petitioning for needed services on behalf of Africville residents, and acting as the vehicle through which philanthropic and other voluntary organizations entered the community.[3]

Africville possessed, in addition to the church, other institutions and roles characteristic of small rural-

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, October 1969.

[2]The above-quoted respondent noted also that, as a result of church activities in Africville, "You get people from all over the place, and when I say people from all over the place--not just Negro people, not just Black people; White people, too. People came from the First Baptist [White church], the Second Baptist [White church]. . . ."

[3]Specific reference will be given below. General documentation of this role behaviour can be found in *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, 1860-1960.

like communities. It had a school, post office, neighbourhood store, midwives, and political party agents. As early as 1860,[1] Africville residents had petitioned the provincial government for financial aid to support a qualified teacher. Older respondents reported that, prior to 1883, a community resident had taught Africville children in the old Africville church.[2] In 1883 a school was established under the jurisdiction of the City government,[3] and this school continued to function until 1953, when it was closed by the City and the children were transferred to larger, racially integrated schools elsewhere in Halifax. Over the years most of the schoolteachers were Blacks who resided elsewhere in Halifax. Since 1936, Africville had its own sub post office; the two postmistresses (one served from October 3, 1936, to March 31, 1944; the other, from 1944 to October 31, 1967) were Africville residents. The small neighbourhood store was a feature of this relatively isolated community since at least early in this century. These stores were owned and operated by community residents, who derived from them a modest supplement to family income.[4] At the time of relocation in 1964, two very small stores were operating in Africville. Several Africville women, a few of whom were licensed, performed traditionally the roles of midwife and general "therapist" in the community. Women performing these roles enjoyed considerable status and usually were proud of their record and their special remedies and techniques.[5] As Africville became less remote from the rest of the city in the decades preceding relocation (and as city health services expanded and local expectations rose), such traditional roles diminished in importance. Like other small communities in Nova Scotia,

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[1]P.A.N.S., Africville File, Assembly Petitions (Education, 1860).

[2]Interviews, August and September 1969.

[3]*Report of the Halifax School Commissioners*, City of Halifax, 1883, p. 11.

[4]In most instances, the store was simply part, or an extension, of a residence, and the sales volume was such that one can only conclude that the store contributed marginally to family income.

[5]One midwife and "therapist" recalled proudly that a doctor had offered her a licence as a first-aid attendant. Her usual remedy, she reported, was "one-half aspirin, hot bath, and castor oil." Interview, September 1969.

Africville had its political party agents, residents who had established ties with the provinical political parties and who were especially active at election time.[1] Both male and female residents acted as political captains responsible for "getting out the vote".

That Africville was a Black community is important in explaining how part of a city could develop with the particular characteristics of Africville and in understanding the changes in social structure that took place during the last thirty to forty years of its existence. Although Africville was always physically part of Halifax, socially it was but an appendage. In this respect it was similar to most of the other Black settlements in Nova Scotian towns and cities, and as we have indicated elsewhere, this general pattern reflects the underlying racism that has characterized Nova Scotian society since the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century.[2] In consequence of the separatist expectations (among Blacks and non-Blacks) and the neglect that accompanied racism, Africville was obliged to develop structures parallel to those found elsewhere in the city. Africville was, traditionally, not merely a rural-like community but a segregated Black settlement. There was a parallel between governmental policy towards Africville, reinforced by everyday expectations, and its relative geographical isolation.

Especially during the last thrity to forty years of its existence, Africville underwent profound change. From what was described in 1895 as "a community of intelligent young people, much is expected of them",[3] it became identified increasingly as "a national blot on the city of Halifax."[4] Sociologists characterizing communities and forms of social

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[1]A knowledgeable local politican who had examined the voting record of Africville pointed out that, typically, the vote was heavily in favour of one party, although not the same party in every election. He ascribed this "bandwagon" effect to a common practice, not exclusive to Africville, of buying votes.

[2]Clairmont and Magill, *op. cit.*

[3]MacKerrow, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[4]Interview with City official, December 1969.

life have often used the term *gemeinschaft*,[1] to denote a system of social relationships that can be described as communal, familistic, informal, primary, isolated, and sacred.[2] *Gemeinschaft* can be applied to the traditional Africville social structure that we have described. In the several decades preceding relocation, the social structure began to assume a different character. New forms of social differentiation emerged, a mobile heterogeneous population was grafted on the indigenous group, the encompassing character of the kinship system was attenuated, and there was significant decline in the leadership role of the church "elders" and in the status of the church as a focal point for community solidarity. There appear to have been three important causes of this transformation; namely, the poverty of Africville, the racism of Nova Scotian society, and the economic and population growth of Halifax.[3]

In discussing the plight of the poor in American society, one sociologist has observed that "they learn that in their communities they can expect only poor and inferior service and protection from such institutions as the police, the courts, the schools, the sanitation department, the landlords, and the merchants."[4] Africville residents were always poor. The historical pattern was that the males worked as labourers (on the docks or in small industries and businesses near Africville), and the females worked in low-paying service jobs (as domestics in homes or in nearby institutions). Africville residents had been petitioning the City for services available to other residents of Halifax since the middle of the nineteenth century, but successes were few. Although many community delegations met with City officials concerning water

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[1]The term was applied first by Ferdinand Tönnie, *Community and Society* (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft), translated and edited by Charles P. Loomis (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

[2]For these components and others, see Charles P. Loomis and Zona K. Loomis *Modern Social Theories* (Princeton, N. J.: Van Nostrand, 1961), pp. 69, 269, and 484.

[3]The poverty of Africville residents and the presence of racism were clearly related, for racism meant that occupationally, educationally, and socially, Blacks had much less opportunity than Whites.

[4]Lee Rainwater, "Poverty and Deprivation in the Crisis of the American City", Occasional Paper No. 9, mimeographed (St. Louis, Missouri: Washington University, 1966).

and sewerage, Africville was never linked to the City mains. Residents had to do with makeshift wells that ran dry in the summer months and were a constant threat to health. As one report from the City Manager indicated:

> "The water supply [in Africvlle] 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."[1]

As a result of the lack of facilities, the relative isolation, and the poor housing, fires wreaked particular havoc in Africville. The lack of adequate fire protection is highlighted in the following newspaper accounts:

> "Fire Thursday night destroyed 'one of the best homes in Africville' while firemen looked for water in the north Halifax community without a water main and hydrants.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "Firemen drew water from a hydrant more than one-half mile from the community. They also pumped water from Bedford Basin in a futile effort to save the structure."[2]
>
> "[The deputy fire chief said] 'we did everything possible to save the house. But you have to remember the location. It is inaccessible and the lack of hydrants added to our difficulties.'
>
> "[The homeowner said] 'we have all tried up here to get a proper water supply. Two houses have burned down in the last five years. But it's hopeless; they just won't do anything for us.' The home was not insured."[3]

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[1] *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, September 17, 1954, p. 760.

[2] "Family Left Homeless: Lacked Water to Fight Blaze", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., May 3, 1963.

[3] "Africville Family Homeless", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., May 3, 1963.

The executive editor of the same newspaper commented a few weeks later:

> "A few weeks ago a building [in Africville] was gutted; no one was injured. A few years ago, three children perished when their 'home' was consumed. Some time back of that, much of the district was levelled when the wind was right and the weather was dry."[1]

Lack of facilities and of standard public services extended beyond matters of water, sewerage, and fire protection. For instance, Africville lacked recreational facilities, although the Halifax Recreation and Playgrounds Commission did provide facilities to other areas of the city. Discrimination by neglect grew increasingly serious as land in and around Africville was gradually utilitized by government and industry. An editorial in the local newspaper noted that Africville residents "can but contrast public tennis courts in Halifax South, and swimming pools in Halifax Centre with the complete lack of facilities for recreation and play in their own section of the city."[2] Inadequate police protection also was a matter of long-term complaint by Africville residents.[3] In discussing welfare and other services, most of the inhabitants indicated that their claims were neglected. Local officials and middle-class professionals reiterated their conviction that, at least in the years immediately preceding relocation, a number of Africville people who should have received welfare assistance were not given it.[4] An outside expert in social welfare summed up the situation in asserting that "the delivery system of social service was obviously punitive."[5]

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[1]Frank Doyle, "Procrastination on Africville Should be Ended", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., May 31, 1963.

[2]"Africville, Too, Needs a Playground", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., July 15, 1961. In pre-Second World War days there were many good ball teams and hockey teams composed of Africville players competing regularly against other teams in the Halifax area.

[3]Africville residents were petitioning for police services as long ago as 1919. See *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, 1919.

[4]Interviews, summer and fall, 1969.

[5]Tape-recorded interview, February 1970.

Being poor means not only less likelihood of obtaining necessary facilities and services; it also involves the strong likelihood of receiving negative consideration. For Africville, this meant that the City was less than rigorous in enforcing housing standards and, by declining to issue building permits,[1] in encouraging the orderly residential development of the area. The ultimate negative consideration in Africville's case occurred during the 1950's when the City moved its open dump from within walking distance of Africville to the very doorstep of the community. This action was a "finishing touch" that established Africville clearly as "the slum by the dump". Africville became known as a place to visit if one were interested in observing slum conditions. A prominent City official noted that, when she was a teen-ager:

> "A sort of high-school prank was to drive out to Africville on the weekends and turn out your lights and sit on the main road for a few minutes and turn them on and watch the rats run."[2]

Africville residents were oppressed by poverty and neglect, but their plight was not unnoticed. The minutes of the Halifax City Council show that since the turn of the century Council repeatedly received petitions and considered taking action about conditions in Africville. In 1945, for example, the Halifax Civic Planning Commission reported that "the residents [of Africville] must, as soon as reasonably possible, be provided with decent minimum standard housing elsewhere".[3] In this, as in other instances, the matter was shelved and nothing was done. One local Black leader complained that Africville people were "objects of pity, not justice".[4] The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia was reported in 1966 as describing Africville as a social problem "created by whites, because time after time, year after year, municipal councils had ignored the problem."[5] A City official, familiar

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[1]It was an expression of this policy that caused Africville residents to organize a ratepayers association in 1961.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

[3]*The Master Plan for the City of Halifax as Prepared by the Civic Planning Commission*, Ira P. MacNab, Chairman, Halifax, N. S., November 16, 1945.

[4]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[5]*The Free Press*, Dartmouth, N. S., December 8, 1966.

with the Africville situation since 1945, observed:

> "I believe that given a little incentive the people of Africville would have had lovely homes and would have made a real effort to come up to a level but, being neglected, forgotten, no sewerage, no water, they did become, they did take on, the attitude of not caring: 'What's the use, the City will do nothing!' I think the people of Africville could have risen very highly."[1]

In accounting for the fact that little was done about the acknowledged plight of Africville, most of its residents and many other concerned Haligonians emphasized that racism, as well as poverty, was responsible. One prominent White businessman described the relationship between Africville and City officials as follows:

> "I think perhaps the first thing, [Africville] wasn't regarded as part of the city of Halifax . . . and [the City] didn't regard, I suppose, the people as people, certainly not as citizens; and apathy, prejudice, fear, discrimination [existed]."[2]

An Africville woman put the matter more explicitly:

> "The City didn't do anything to improve Africville. All the City did was to try and get it, and they did, in the end. They just did it, too, because we were coloured. If they had been White people down there, the City would have been in there assisting them to build new homes, putting in water and sewers and building the place up. . . . There were places around Halifax worse than Africville was, and the City didn't do to them what they did to Africville."[3]

Such judgements are consistent with the general pattern of race relations that has existed in Nova Scotia for the past one hundred and fifty years. Blacks were not, in general, so much subject to direct economic exploitation as to a definition-of-the-situation wherein they were regarded as marginals and outsiders

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, October 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[3]Interview, August 1969.

and their deprivation was seen as the ordinary, although perhaps unfortunate, state of affairs.[1]

Associated generally with poverty and racism is a certain "functional autonomy". Rainwater observes:

> "Lower-class groups have a relatively high degree of functional autonomy vis-à-vis the total social system because that system does little to meet their needs. In general the fewer rewards a society offers members of a particular group in the society, the more autonomous will that group prove to be with reference to the norms of the society. Only by constructing an elaborate repressive machinery, as in concentration camps, can the effect be otherwise."[2]

In the case of Africville, functional autonomy meant that the inhabitants had certain "freedoms" unavailable elsewhere in the city. Building codes could be ignored. People could loiter and make excessive noise. A deviance service centre could be established in this off-the-beaten-path and poorly policed area; Africville became identified increasingly, in the thirty to forty years before relocation, as a place to go for bootleg booze and fun.[3] One social scientist observed, in 1948:

> "Africville has also been the setting for some low level associations; due to its proximity to Halifax they are probably quite frequent. But as one man expressed it, 'whenever Whites want to go on a bat they come to Africville.'"[4]

Important social structural changes developed in Africville as a consequence of the poverty and racism that its residents experienced. During the several decades preceding relocation, residents became apathetic, lost confidence in the

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[1]See, for example, references in Clairmont and Magill, *Nova Scotian Blacks*.

[2]Lee Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower-Class Family", *Daedalus*, XCV, 1, 1966, pp. 172-217.

[3]Prostitution was not a salient feature of social deviance in Africville.

[4]Brookbank, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

capacity of indigenous leaders to effect desirable change, and lost hope in the viability of the community itself. Pursuit of redress through standard and legitimate avenues had yielded little fruit, and militant collective action by Africville residents would have been hampered by the prevailing political consciousness. The church "elders" were unable to translate their ties with City officials and outside voluntary groups into substantial gains for the community, and their status in the community declined. Concomitant with this trend was the diminishing role of the church as a focal point of community consciousness and as a generator of solidarity sentiments. By the time that relocation became imminent, the church was a divisive as well as an intergrative presence in Africville.[1]

During the last thirty to forty years of its existence, Africville lost much of its close-knit and *gemeinschaft* quality. A mobile, heterogeneous population of Blacks and Whites began drifting into Africville, primarily because of the housing shortage elsewhere in Halifax and the exploitative freedom possible in Africville by virtue of City policy and practice towards the community and the attendant decline in morale among its inhabitants. A Halifax alderman, who had grown up near Africville and knew many Africville residents, described the situation as follows:

> "As a boy, I knew Africville as a very nice community. It was in the days of the old railway station in the North End, and all the homes in Africville were well-kept, whitewashed or painted white; they had gardens, flowers. I remember ducks, chickens, this sort of thing, up there, and I think the life then was more or less of a country community and this continued into the thirties. . . .
>
> "I think from the end of the War on, and during the past War, there seemed to be a general deterioration of the whole area and the people of Africville in many cases seemed to change . . . the class that settled after the War, who got in there, sort of ruined the whole area . . . they could put up a building quite cheap, where they couldn't get accommodations anywhere else. They weren't people who probably had steady incomes and they couldn't rent in the city of Halifax as such, so they went

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[1]See Chapter IV, "The Major Institution: The Seaview African United Baptist Church".

out there and built their own little huts or shacks.[1]

A fifth-generation Africville resident observed:

> "The people who were born there and lived there were all related and used to help one another fix their houses, shingle, build. It was those squatters and tramps, building those shacks, fighting and drinking and getting into trouble with the law, who gave Africville a bad name; and radio and T.V. made it worse by picking the worst shacks to write about. You get people like _____, who didn't even belong there; he was a tramp; he goes shooting off his mouth to make a few dollars."[2]

The immigration of this new population complicated and "loosened" Africville's social structure. Africville became differentiated socially in a manner characteristic of slums elsewhere in North America, accommodating temporary and permanent dwellers as well as opportunists.[3] For the most part, the new migrants were not absorbed into the community through kinship ties or church affiliation; rather, new roles and patterns of interaction were grafted on the crumbling traditional social structure. Important distinctions developed concerning the area in Africville where one lived (there were, in this period, three areas socially differentiated by many Africville residents), one's housing status (whether one had a deed, or rented, or was a squatter), and whether one was involved in church life (through either worship services or church organizations).

Emigration from Africville also appears to have had important social structural implications. Many of the Africville residents who were relatively high achievers, especially the young single adults and those possessing special work skills, began to move out of Africville in the several decades before relocation. The young adults, like their Black and White peers throughout the Maritimes, moved to large urban centres such as Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg in search of a new and better life. Another group of Africville residents, who had long ancestral ties in the community, moved away in the decade before relocation. These young married men, who had regular employment

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[2]Interview, August 1969.

[3]See John R. Seeley, "The Slum: Its Nature, Use, and Users", *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, XXV, 1959, pp. 7-14.

and whose wives were socially active, acquired Halifax properties just beyond the Africville settlement. They moved primarily to obtain the benefit of urban facilities and to escape the stigma of living in Africville. One of these migrants observed:

> "No sense building a nice home in Africville when you have no service--had to get out of the area to get that."[1]

The son of one of these migrants accounted for his father's leaving the community in 1946 as follows:

> "Well, some of the men from Africville used to go into the city to work. My dad, _____, _____, _____, were among them. They used to talk to the men they worked with, who told them how easy it was to own a home in the city. These men were homeowners in the same wage bracket. Still, the men waited until _____ set the example. _____ bought a piece of land which was in the city but not too far from Africville. They didn't dare move too far into the city, yet they wanted homes with modern facilities. When _____ was all set up, I remember dad got us all together and told us what he was going to do. He told us he was going to build a home next to _____ on _____ Street. 'This is going to be your home and I want you to respect it - something for you when you grow up. You will have a place to come back to, so that you can say I left you something.' And I'm back here now.[2]

This emigration sapped the morale of the remaining Africville residents. Potential leaders were lost, and the community as a collectivity was transformed and began to drift. Their successors were, as we have noted, people with different social ties and patterns of behaviour. The very existence of a small group of former Africville residents living beyond the community, employed steadily and enjoying standard City services, cast an unfavourable reflection upon Africville itself. It tended to create an oversimplified impression that the plight of Africville derived from the personality of its residents rather than from the social context in which they had had to function. The migrants were often seen by the people

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[1]Interview, July 1969.

[2]Interview, July 1969.

remaining in Africville as a "better" class of people, the so-called "four hundreds",[1] better off financially and deemed respectable by the White-dominated society.

When Africville relocation began in 1964, residents were economically hard-pressed and poorly organized. The social structure was complex, diffuse and dynamic. It was as if two radically different structures had been placed in a melting pot, but without a recipe for guiding or forecasting the outcome. The schizoid character of the social structure (a deviance service centre co-existed with the major community institution, the church, and the sixth-generation residents rubbed shoulders with White transients) makes problematic the use of terms like "community" and "social structure" that seem to imply greater system, stability, and homogeneity than Africville possessed. Africville was characterized by many anomalies; by diverse patterns of behavioural expectations among residents and of interactions not tightly interlocked, and by radically different social types and role models. Africville was still predominantly a small Black community, most of whose population were interrelated through kinship ties and possessed an exceptional sense of historical continuity. Africville was, however, much more than this. Through poverty and racism, its people had virtually been fated to eventual relocation. There were still a number of vigorous and proud people living in Africville, but since the community lacked structural unity, all-encompassing sentiments of solidarity, and other resources it was hard to organize residents and it was hard for outsiders, Black and White alike, to see Africville as viable and its continued existence as desirable.

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[1] Throughout the Black community in Nova Scotia, the term "four hundreds" is used to designate high-status persons. For discussion of this term, see Clairmont and Magill, *op. cit.*, p. 120, footnote 2. Within Africville itself, several persons were considered by the majority of residents to be "four hundreds".

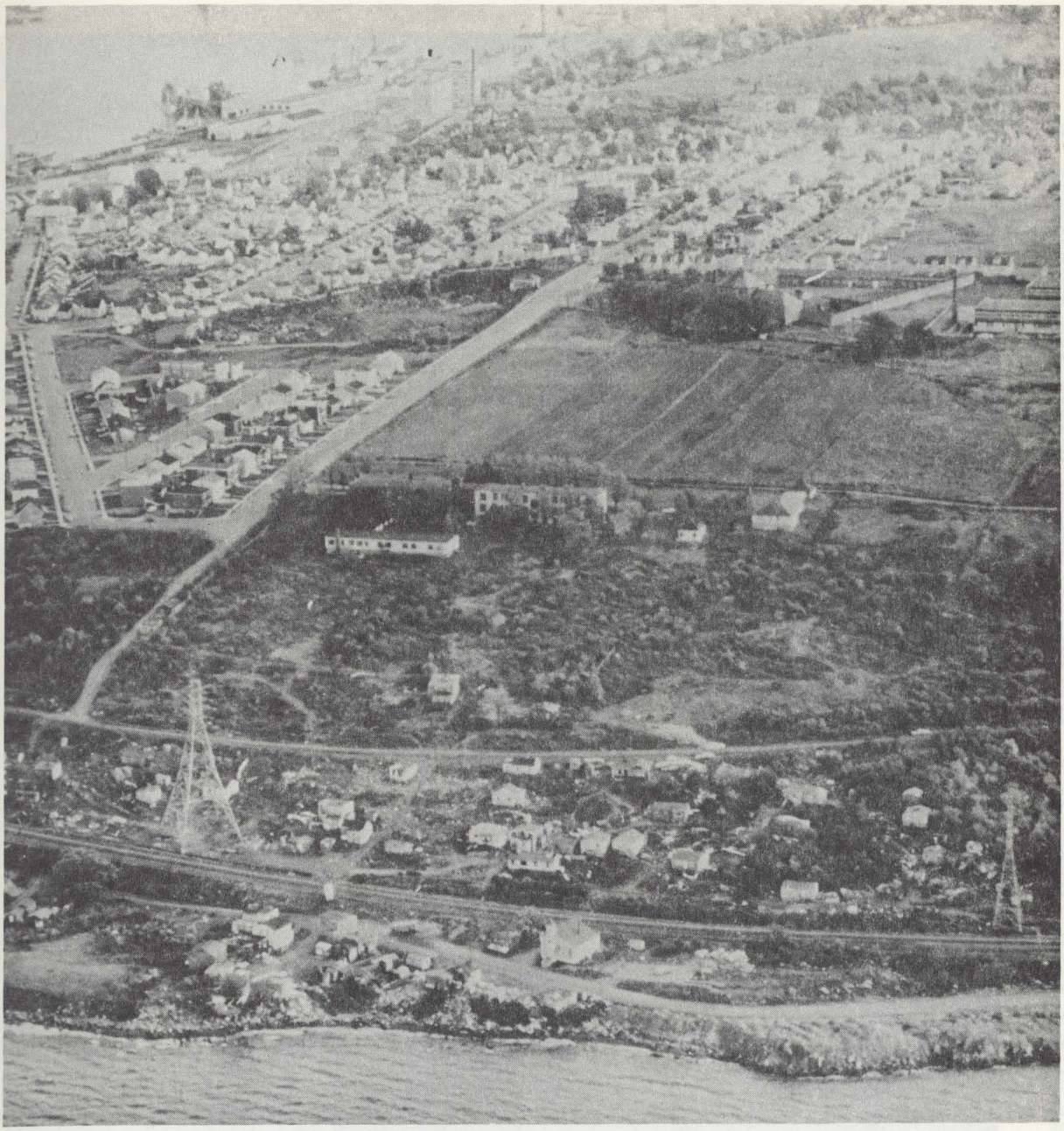

Plate 1. 'IN' BUT NOT 'OF' THE CITY. Africville (along the shoreline), as shown in this picture, was relatively isolated from the rest of the City of Halifax.

--Bob Brooks Photo

Plate 2. "ALMOST LIKE A RURAL COMMUNITY." Africville, though within the boundaries of the City of Halifax, had many rural features. The house, the goat, and the isolation paint a rural image. The picture was taken over twenty years ago (1948).
--Photo courtesy C.R. Brookbank

Plate 3. IMPROMPTU RECREATION. This picture, taken about 1948, shows Africville men playing baseball.

--Photo courtesy C. R. Brookbank

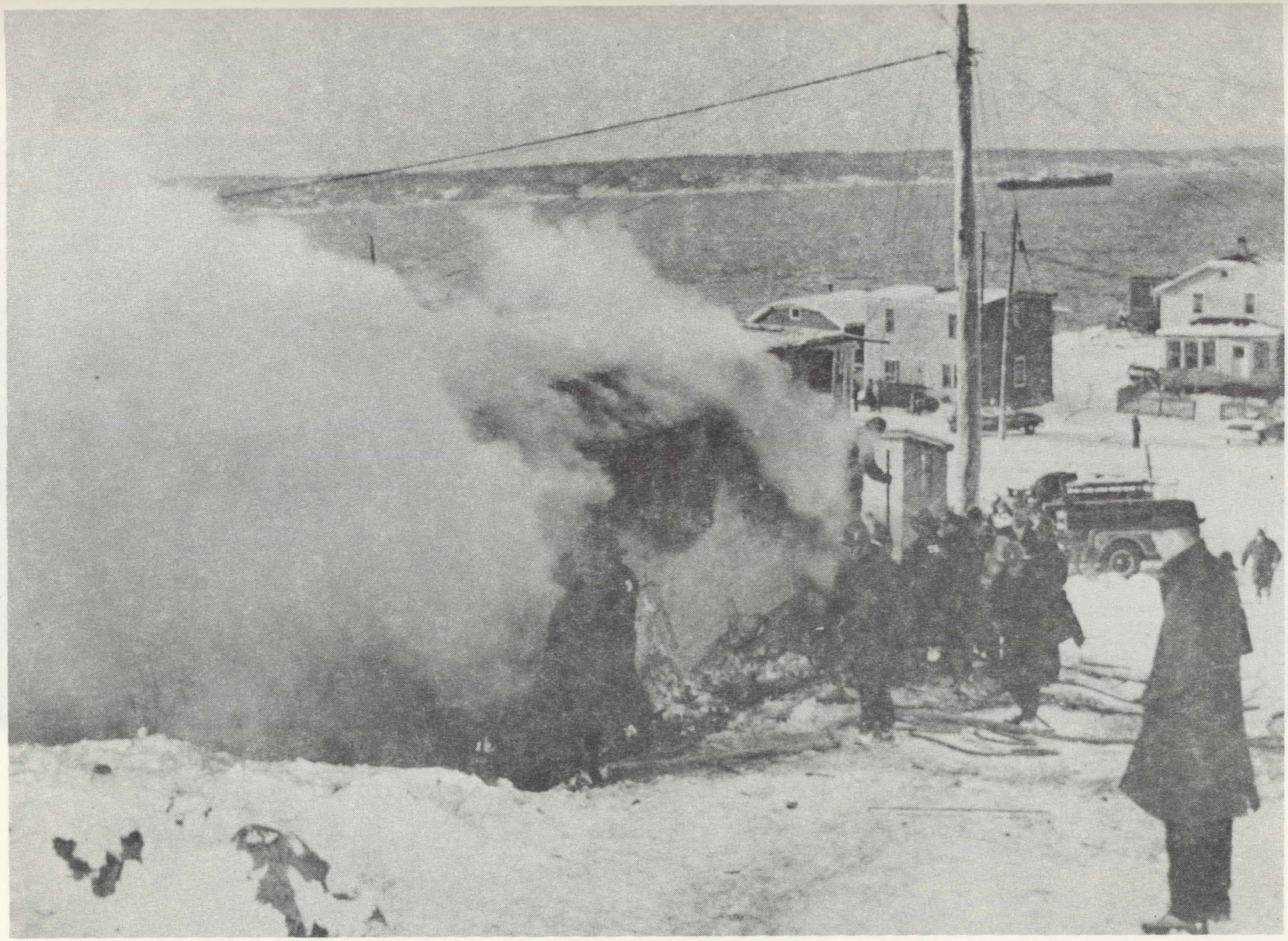

Plate 4. FIRE IN AFRICVILLE. "Fire protection adequate? By the time a fire took place out there, by the time the firemen get out there, it was no good; they just watch the place. . . . No, when a fire started in Africville you just say, give up your home, it's gone, try to get what you can out of it and forget the rest." (Tape-recorded interview completed with an elderly relocatee on October 3, 1969.)

--Photo courtesy of The Mail-Star, Halifax

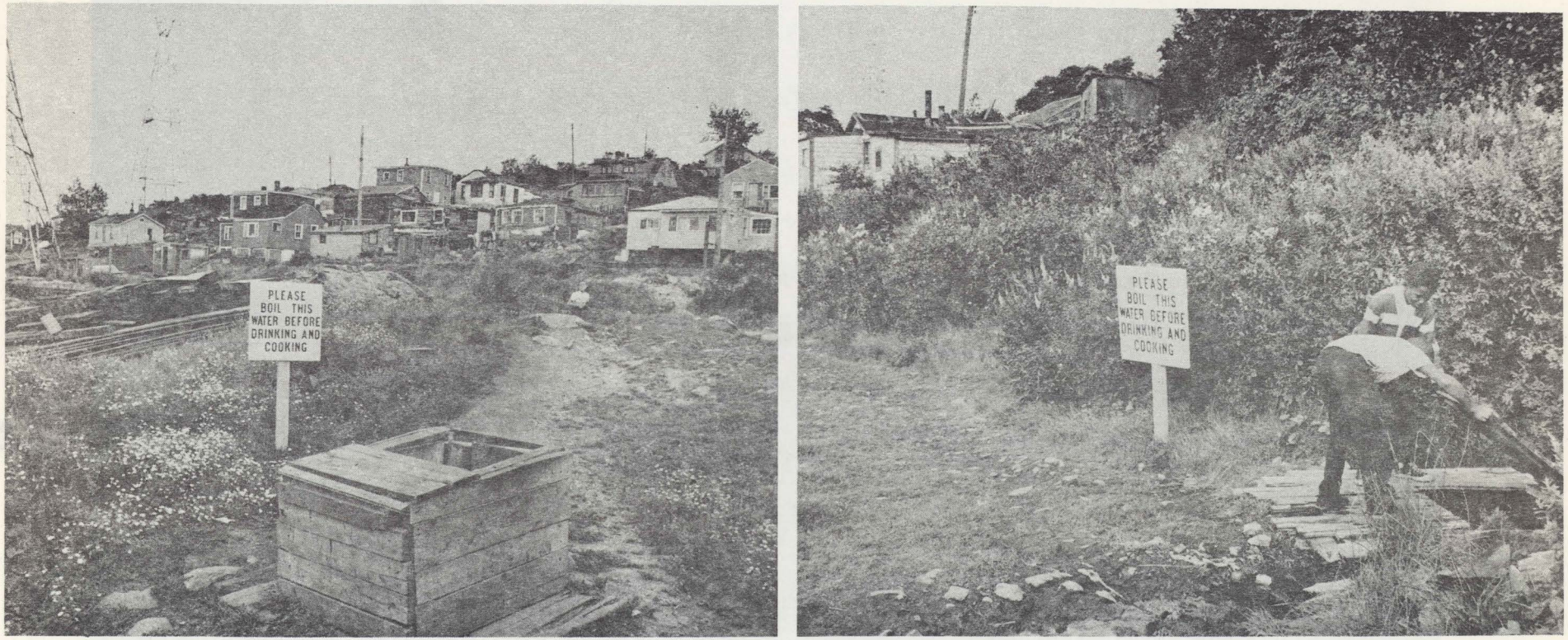

Plate 5. THE WELLS. Africville residents were not provided with water and sewage facilities by the City of Halifax. They improvised with an assortment of wells.
--Bob Brooks Photo

Plate 5: THE VELS, Ashcroft-realdyne vans not provided with water and sewage facilities by the City of Hafter. They improved with an assortment of vehicles.
—Dr. Brooke Bond

Plate 6. AFRICVILLE: A PROBLEM SITUATION. Printing this picture in 1962, The Mail-Star, Halifax, reported: "Sewage ran through this back yard in Africville when a line broke. Home owner still uses water from an artesian well in the garden. The pond in back, where many area children play, is polluted with waste."
--Photo courtesy of The Mail-Star, Halifax

Plate 7. AFRICVILLE HOMES. Africville homes differed in quality and state of repair.
--Bob Brooks Photo

Fig. 7. Mercury Atlantic 1962. Atlantic press gallery at dusk with ships and people.
—Jay Brooks Photo

Plate 8. THE DUMP. The characterization of Africville as a slum became quite common once the Halifax City dump was moved, in the 1950's to the above site, only a short distance from houses and the Seaview African Baptist Church.
--Bob Brooks Photo

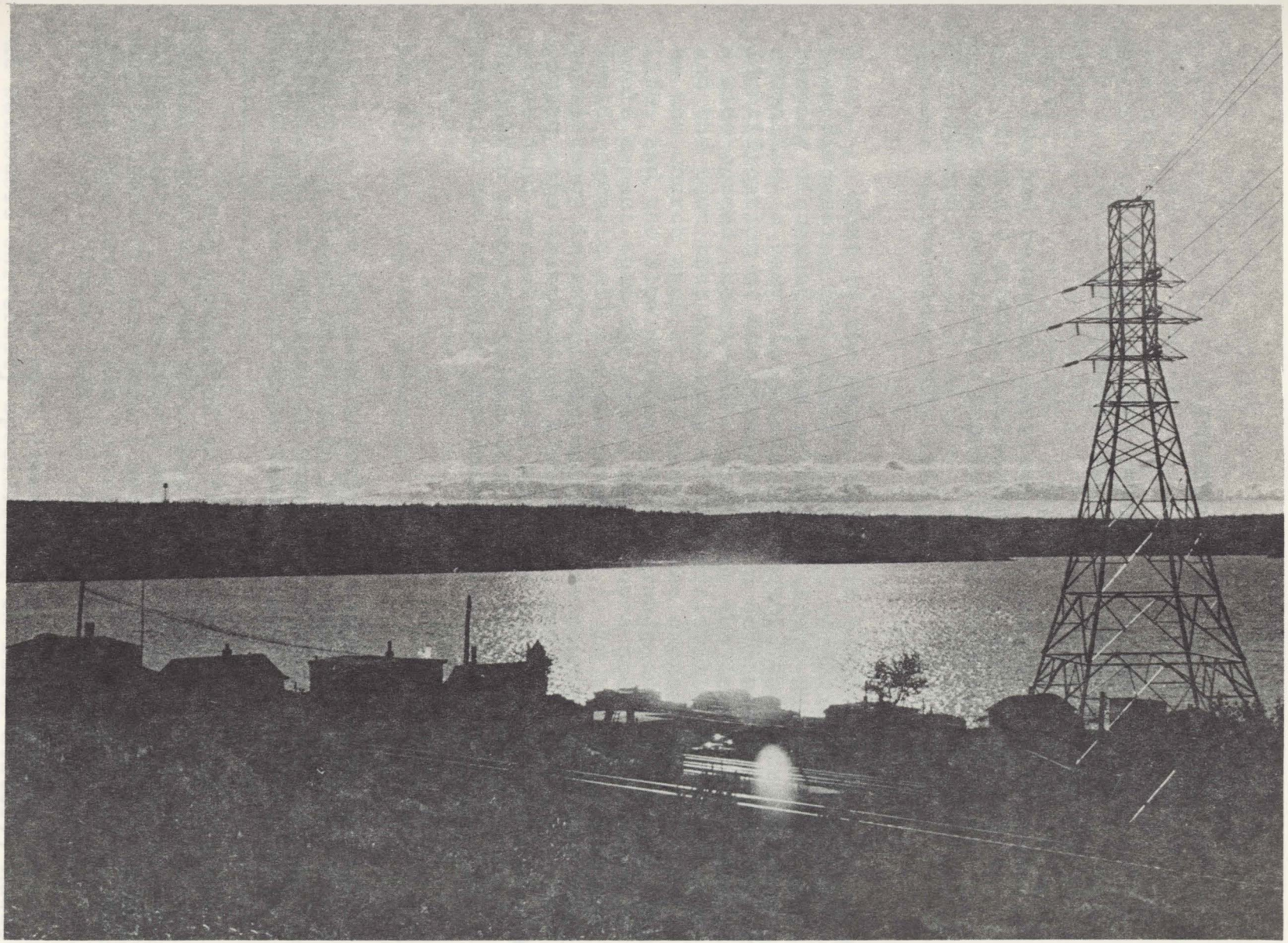

Plate 9. THE VIEW FROM AFRICVILLE. ". . . I never felt about any other place as I did about Africville. If you know art, or could feel anything about art, and could see the sunset over the Basin on a summer evening--it would strike you right in the heart." (Interview with an elderly relocatee, July 30, 1969)

--Bob Brooks Photo

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MAJOR INSTITUTION: THE SEAVIEW AFRICAN UNITED BAPTIST CHURCH

> "We had beautiful services, and people used to come from all around - coloured people and white people - to our services. People called it a spiritual church."
> - Interview, July 1969.

Most of the major themes in terms of which we have been discussing the social structure of Africville can be readily discerned in its religious life. Here we find the anomalies (a very rigid code of conduct, and a progressive identification of the community as a deviance service centre; a wide-spread, heart-felt grief over the loss of the church, and the fact that not many of the Africville residents went to the church when it did exist), the expressive style of life, and the slow erosion of leadership and structure. One would expect that the ethos typifying a social structure would permeate all its institutions.[1] In this instance the consistency is especially marked; the church signalled the coming into existence of Africville, and it is through the trust fund established with monies obtained from the selling of church property to the City that Africville continues to exist in any official and formal sense.

The African Baptist Movement

Like the vast majority of Blacks in Nova Scotia, Africville Blacks were, with few exceptions, Baptist. The Loyalist Black settlers in Nova Scotia apparently had not been church-affiliated prior to their immigration.[2] Their mass

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[1]The concept of an "ethos" and its being mirrored in social structure was developed philosophically by the German historicists. In sociology and anthropology the two best-known applications of the concept were made by G. Sumner, *Selected Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924), and R. Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (London: Mentor Books, 1934).

[2]Interview with James A. Walker, a doctoral candidate at Dalhousie University specializing in Black history, August 2, 1969.

conversion to the Baptist faith was partly the work of an escaped Virginian slave, David George, who reached the province during the Loyalist exodus from the rebellious American colonies. George's evangelism was part of the "Great Awakening", centred largely in the Baptist and Methodist churches, that swept the North American colonies during the latter part of the eighteenth century.[1] A substantial effort was made, among Blacks and Whites, to win converts. Few Blacks became affiliated with the Church of England or with the Roman Catholic church, a circumstance due as much to discrimination and unfriendliness on the part of these churches as it was to the attractiveness of the evangelists' appeals.[2] Some of these early congregations were racially mixed and, in fact, a number of Whites joined George's church. The seeds for segregated churches were sown, however, by the pattern of establishing separate congregations.

After initial efforts at Shelburne, George preached among the Blacks of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for a decade before accompanying his people to Sierra Leone in 1792. Mobilization for emigration was in terms of congregational or community units, and a large number of the Baptists participated.[3] The depleted ranks of Black Baptists were replenished twenty years later through the conversion of most of the 2,000 Black refugees, by the English evangelist John Burton. Initially Burton's church was racially mixed. But as his evangelism met with great enthusiasm among Halifax-area Blacks, "in time his church was made up mostly of Negroes and was much despised."[4] As soon as another minister had arrived from the United States, the Whites established their own Baptist congregation. Burton continued his work among the Blacks. During the influx of refugees, from 1813 to 1816, he became the principal liaison in the government's efforts to settle the refugees. Soon afterwards, he began organizing other Black Baptist congregations in the Halifax area.

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[1]Walker, interview cited.

[2]The hostility with which Blacks were greeted by both Protestants and Catholics in Guysborough County is described in Clairmont, *et al.*, *op. cit.*

[3]Pearleen Oliver, *op. cit.* See also MacKerrow, *op. cit.*

[4]Pearleen Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 21. Burton became a Baptist during a year's stay in the United States. When he returned to Nova Scotia in 1794, he won converts among dissenters from St. Paul's Anglican congregation, Halifax.

Burton and his hand-picked successor, Richard Preston, a former Virginian slave, were primarily responsible for the actual organization of the African Baptist movement.[1] With Richard Preston elected as pastor (April 14, 1832), the African Baptist Church was organized in Halifax, and branches were established at Dartmouth, Preston, Hammonds Plains, and Beech Hill (now Beechville). During the 1840's the local mission churches were formally organized as autonomous congregations.[2] Preston supervised the establishment of the Baptist church in Africville (known then as Campbell Road) in 1849, and became its visiting pastor, as he was for the other congregations in the Halifax area. In 1854 representatives of all the Black Baptist churches, meeting in convention, formed the African Baptist Association of Nova Scotia.

When Richard Preston died a total of thirteen churches had been organized into the African Baptist Association. By 1905 the number of affiliated Black churches had reached twenty.[3] In the 1880's a movement developed to merge the African Baptist Association with its predominantly White counterpart, the Maritime Baptist Convention. The Black organization was in financial need, for at this time its relatively impoverished constituency was being depleted by heavy emigration to the United States. Within the Association, however, a strong opposition succeeded in retaining the independence of the Black Baptist movement.[4]

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and until the Second World War, a chronic shortage of ministers

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[1]Several legends have developed around Richard Preston. Burton trained Preston as a successor, and sent him to England for study and ordination in 1831-32.

[2]The church at Preston was so reorganized in 1842, Dartmouth and Beech Hill in 1844, and Hammonds Plains in 1845.

[3]The Association faced a brief crisis after the death of Preston in 1861. Preston had designated as his successor James Thomas, a White Welsh immigrant married to a Black woman at Preston. Thomas became Moderator of the Association and pastor of the mother church in Halifax, as well as minister for neighbouring member congregations such as the Africville congregation. As a consequence of Thomas' leadership, a schism developed and a number of congregations withdrew from the Association.

[4]It would be interesting to determine the source of the opposition. It may be that the opposition was strongest

was compounded by the great poverty of the Black communities. This situation resulted in the fact that three of the nine successive pastors of the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, Halifax (the Mother Church) were brought from the United States; by this means, Nova Scotian Blacks were linked with American developments. Despite many problems, the African Baptist Association continued to grow and, by 1953, in its one-hundredth year, the Association encompassed twenty-two congregations, plus its "preaching stations", and some ten thousand members and adherents.[1]

The churches provided, throughout the history of Black settlements in Nova Scotia, the basis for whatever genuine Black subculture developed. Black leaders and spokesmen vis-à-vis the wider society were usually the religious leaders,[2] and the Association was the base for unity and contact among the isolated Black communities. Within the Black communities, the church provided a variety of services and organizations, and social status was closely associated with participation in church activities. The Association was active on a number of fronts. For instance, around the turn of the century the temperance movement found enthusiastic promoters among the African Baptist Association. In Mrs. Oliver's opinion:

> "It was an intemperate age and liquor flowed freely. To an illiterate, poverty stricken people, . . . over-indulgence in this evil would have proved disastrous. Had not this Association taken such a fierce stand on this question our people might have sunk to the

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among the Black leaders whose interests would be threatened. Alternatively, it might have stemmed from the "grass roots" as well, and have signified the need and desire to maintain cultural autonomy--of which the African Baptist Association was the only institutionalized expression and safeguard. John de Roche, research assistant to the present study, must be credited with this suggestion.

[1]These facts have been taken, for the most part, from Pearleen Oliver, *op. cit.*

[2]See W. P. Oliver, *The Advancement of Negroes in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Department of Education, 1949). Oliver also notes (p. 9) that "eighty per cent of the teachers who have taken advantage of Normal School training were children of ministers of the African Baptist churches." It is apparent that the link between school and church in the Black community was substantial.

lowest levels."[1]

Since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Association has been active in education, seeking to maintain adequate conditions in the rural schools and often struggling merely to keep the schools open. With government assistance, in 1921 the Association founded the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children. The social-work function of the Association was restricted considerably, however, by lack of funds. Even to fund the travelling pastors or circuit preachers was difficult. The economic depression which began its fifteen-year course in Nova Scotia in 1923 virtually paralyzed the Association's cultural and economic efforts. After the Second World War, the Association continued to provide the structures for leadership. Church leaders organized the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NSAACP) in 1945 and, in 1949, the Association formed an Urban and Rural Life Committee to stimulate cooperative efforts at the community level.

The Africville Church

We have noted that almost as soon as the original Black settlers had reached what was to become Africville, Richard Preston called them together and, at their request, organized a church. The offices of elder, deacon, and licentiate were instituted and Preston himself became the non-resident pastor. All the families but one were recorded as Baptist in the 1851 census. At the organizational meeting of the African Baptist Association in 1854, the Campbell Road congregation reported thirteen (adult baptized) members.[2] In these early years, Africville was neither sufficiently large nor wealthy enough to have its own resident minister, and the chronic shortage of pastors throughout the Association often prevented the Halifax ministers from allocating time to the tiny church at Campbell Road.[3] As in recent years, however, the Campbell Road church functioned by utilizing the offices of licentiate and deacon, supplemented by occasional pastoral

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[1]Pearleen Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 26.

[3]Campbell Road itself produced an ordained minister, the Reverend E. Dixon (1848-1908). After 1886 Dixon gave most of his time to the larger congregations at Hammonds Plains and Preston and drove his horse and wagon around the district as a travelling preacher.

assistance. By 1895, the small church appears to have achieved a favourable reputation:

> "This little Zion of late has been the subject of much comment, being in such close proximity to the city, with a fine day school in which nearly all the children of schoolable age takes advantage of [*sic*]. A community of intelligent young people, much is expected of them. In former years the pastor of the Halifax church divided his time with them, but in the lapse of time things change, and so has that. The District Committee [which included persons from the White congregations] has now taken them under their care, so they are zealously looked after. A brother from each church in the city, of which there are five Baptist, goes out consecutively on Sundays, and exhorts to the brethren, and a very precious time is often realised. . . .
>
> Deacon Brown can always be found with the keys in his hand to open or close the church, hence I think the right man is in the right place. A few hundred yards from the church is the placid waters of Bedford Basin, beneath whose surface Fathers Burton, Preston, Thomas, Bailey, Carvery, Dixon and Boone has buried in the likeness of Christ many willing converts in the ordinance of baptism, whose pilgrimage here was of short duration, and by their lives and actions are to-day shouting with the redeemed in glory, whose sins have been forgiven, whose robes have been washed in the Blood of the Lamb."[1]

The fact that Africville was set away from the city proper on a slope by the harbour gave it a scenic beauty and made it, in the pre-war era and prior to the City's establishment of the disposal dump on its border, an especially attractive gathering place. Bedford Basin was an ideal baptismal font and, throughout the years, numerous believers were led into the waters at Africville. The first baptism was conducted in 1849, by Reverend Richard Preston; the last took place in 1963, shortly before the relocation. In 1874, the Reverend James Thomas conducted at Africville 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 per-

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[1]MacKerrow, *op. cit.*, p. 65. In 1895, the church at Africville reported twenty-one adult baptized members.

sons from the city".[1] Africville catered frequently to picnic festivities of the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, Halifax, and the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children. Many long-time residents of Africville remember still, with pleasure and pride, the occasion when Africville hosted the quadrennial provincial convention of the African Baptist Association.

We have noted earlier that until the First World War Africville was *in* the city but not *of* the city. It was relatively isolated, both physically and socially. With the coming of the war, Halifax reassumed its historic role as a strategic wartime port. Facilities were expanded and railway connections to the port were further developed. The "little brown church" at Africville was a casualty of this development. When the CNR put in a double line on the east side of the cotton factory track quite close to the old church, the building deteriorated and had to be torn down. Later, the Africville congregation requested and received permission from City officials to build a new church on City-owned property in the Africville area.[2] This church stood for some fifty years, until it was levelled during the relocation period. Soon after the construction of the new church, the name was changed from Africville African United Baptist Church to Seaview African United Baptist Church. Apparently some members of the church congregation disliked the word "Africville". Not everyone, however, shared their objection. One elderly Africville resident reported: "Some people came in, in recent years, who weren't satisfied with the name Africville and changed it to *Seaview*. Meddlers, I call them."[3]

The Expressive Style

Over the years, the Seaview church participated in an exchange network that encompassed most of the Black Baptist congregations in the area and occasionally the West End Baptist Church. Members of these congregations circulated frequently among the communities in order to attend the variety of church services, shared visiting preachers as well as their own

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[2] *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, April 27, 1916.

[3] Interview, August 1969. The title, Seaview African United Baptist Church, applied until the 1940's; subsequently, the title was Seaview United Baptist Church.

pastors, and exchanged local lay preachers. The Africville congregation was a particular favourite in this network because it was considered to be the most "spiritual"--an expression which connotes, among other things, heightened emotional involvement and congregational participation. As Brookbank discovered in his study of Afro-Canadian communities in Halifax County in 1948-49, "the most emotional services are held in Africville and the least emotional at Cornwallis Street, with the rural settlements falling in between."[1]

It has been suggested by Brookbank and others that the deep emotional participation which characterized the Africville Baptist congregation, at least during the last thirty years of its existence, points to Africville as being a "main area of social unrest and disorganization."[2] This interpretation is fallacious as it fails to take adequate account of the historical development of the community and its traditional style of expression. The service certainly was not conducted in a sedate middle-class fashion. A former deacon of the Seaview church recalled that, "at the old church in Africville people would get together and sing and clap and have a great time and when the church would really get emotional the whole congregation would get up and lock hands together and dance around."[3] Another church member observed that "the people of Africville used to have so much spirit that [they] would get on the floor and shake."[4] Several elderly church members have spoken of the mysterious cures which resulted occasionally from intense "spirituality". It appears from the testimony of long-time Africville residents that intense congregational participation had always characterized the church and was unrelated either to the changes occurring in the community population after 1930 or to the more recent labelling of Africville as a slum or "deviant" area. At church meetings in Africville the members rose and "testified", specifically citing difficult times they may have had that week. In the emotional testimony, the member referred to the spiritual fulfillment experienced through prayer. Other members of the congregation joined in and gave support to the speaker's enthusiasm with shouts of "Amen", "Praise to God", and so on. The profound meaning of such services would probably escape the uninitiated. One Black who took up residence in Africville in the early 1930's described his reaction in these words: "I'm supposed to be a Baptist, but the hootin' and hollerin' they did in that church, that's not for me."[5] Thus it appears

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[1]Brookbank, *op. cit.*, p. 92. [2]*Ibid.*

[3]Tape-recorded interview, June 1969.

[4]Interview, July 1969. [5]Interview, August 1969.

that, as far back as 1930, Africville had an atypical mode of church service.

It is easy to understand how this kind of tradition could be maintained in a "close community", with its deep and strong kinship ties. The Seaview church resembled, in its style of worship, a popular image of the American Black Baptist church. One minister who served Africville, as well as other Black churches in the Halifax area, for over thirty years, made the following observation:

> "There certainly was a big difference between worshipping in Cornwallis [Street Baptist Church] and in Africville. [The Africville people] were a free people. The only way I could describe their worship would be to . . . if you know anything about soul music today . . . they had it in Africville. I often tell some of them: When the sophisticated people in town were laughing at you and your prayer services--clapping your hands and singing and enjoying yourself--they didn't realize that Sammy Davis, Jr., and other celebrities would come along and make millions for the same thing that you had right here and they didn't recognize it. . . . 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."[1]

The application of the term "soul", with its contemporary connotations of genuine Black culture, to the religious style of the Africville church, appears apt. Not only did the religious services exhibit a deep expressive style but, also, the church was a means of community and communion among the Black people in Africville. When the Africville relocatees were questioned concerning the importance of the church in community life, they emphasized particularly two functions; namely, "bearing one another's burden" and "visiting after church". With respect to the former, one respondent observed: "On Sunday morning, we all came together; if someone had a problem we would all listen."[2] Another respondent noted: "You could get up in church and stand and talk. You felt free to do this, but now people have lost their freedom to move. They can't get up in the churches and

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[2]Interview, July 1969.

talk."[1] The church provided a focal point for intense interaction, and the buoyancy fostered by the style of service made the visiting after church especially conducive to a sense of group consciousness.[2] As one respondent put it: "After church was over, that was when people would have a strong community spirit. Their homes would be opened up and people would go from one house to another, visiting and talking with each other."[3] Given the social patterns that constituted church behaviour and the concomitant emotional intensity, the implications related to group cohesiveness are obvious. It becomes possible to understand equally well the remarks of a White transient who knew Africville people for most of his life and came eventually to live in Africville for several years prior to the relocation: "Seaview was essentially a coloured church. There was no place for a White man in that church. Of course, anyone was welcome to attend, but only the coloured really belonged."[4]

Church Structure

Throughout the approximately 120 years of Africville's existence (although much less so in the years immediately preceding the relocation), the church elders were in effect the governing body of the community. A detailed examination of the minutes of the Halifax City Council shows that it was church members, usually deacons, who dealt with the White power struc-

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[1]Interview, January 1969.

[2]The relationship among ritual, intense emotional experience, social interaction, and group consciousness and solidarity was analyzed brilliantly by E. Durkheim in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Collier Books Edition, (Galt, Ontario: Collier-Macmillan, 1961).

[3]Interview, July 1969.

[4]Interview, July 1969. An Africville relocatee to whom this chapter was shown took exception to this comment of the White transient. The Black relocatee noted: "This is not wholly true. Some years ago--in the '30s--a Dr. Fader [White] and his group of White people were regular visitors and participants in Africville church activities and were totally welcomed in the community. The White person who lived in Africville and made this remark had to be a 'sinner', a person of no Christian character. To be considered a 'sinner' in Africville meant ostracism and rejection by the Christian communtiy." The relocatee has missed the point; the point is not that Whites were unwelcome, but that the church was an embodiment of community.

ture and who petitioned the City for various kinds of services.[1] They were, so to speak, the "official" representatives of Africville. One local Black authority on life in Black communities in the Halifax area observed: "You could say the church leaders were the community leaders. The people looked to the deacons particularly, the indigenous workers of the church."[2] Most of the religious activities were conducted by the deacons, who were elected by the church members. Respectability and popularity were as important as religious involvement in determining who was elected.[3] Thus the leaders of the church tended to be regularly employed, relatively puritanical in behaviour, and to have stable families. The strict Baptist code apparently was seriously utilized to differentiate between members and non-members and among various status ranks within the membership. The internalization of such expectations is indicated in the following remarks of one church "elder". "I was a trustee of the Seaview church for years. They wanted me to be a deacon, but I refused. You had to be an uprighteous person; I used to be, but my wife died and I got 'nature'--you know--I didn't want to put myself in that responsible a position as a deacon."[4]

Membership in the Africville church was never large. The theological position of the Baptist church made baptism a condition of membership, and only adults (persons at least twelve years of age) were eligible for baptism. One church elder explained, "You have to be old enough to know, before you can become a Christian, belong to God. Don't you think so?"[5] More important than age was the criterion of having a "vision"

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[1]See petitions for wells(1909), police protection (1919), and sewerage in *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*. Numerous delegations of Africville people, mostly male and female church members, visited City Hall over the past hundred years.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[3]One man was not elected deacon because he smoked regularly and occasionally drank heavily. Another was not elected because his religious fervour was deemed excessive and created social embarrassment; reportedly, he was a favourite among the so-called least "respectable" people in Africville.

[4]Interview, July 1969.

[5]Interview, September 1969.

whereby one deemed oneself to have been "saved".[1] Some Africville residents participated regularly in church activities, but failed to experience an "adequate" vision; consequently, they never became members of the church. The above-mentioned requirements of the Africville church characterized, also, the other Black Baptist churches in the Halifax area. Church membership in the Black communities at Hammonds Plains, Lucasville, and North Preston, as well as at the "mother" church in Halifax proper, was quite small in relation to the respective Black Baptist populations.[2] Moreover, in Africville as well as in the other communites, there was a pattern of small attendance at regular church services. Ministers serving the Africville church reported that, even prior to 1950, an attendance of thirty at the regular Sunday service would have been considered good.[3]

Although church membership in Africville was restricted, and regular attendance was small, traditionally the church was the fundamental community organization. Not only did church elders represent the community to the external world, but community meetings were held in the church. The first school in Africville was held in the old church, and church-sponsored special activities traditionally brought together both the churchgoing and the non-churchgoing members of the community. The baptismal ceremonies held on the shores of the Basin attracted most community residents, and entailed much pomp, singing, and the wearing of impressive white robes by candidates. The Sunrise Service held on Easter Sunday was another colourful religious occasion that signalled community festivities and, like the baptismal ceremonies, helped to lessen social and physical isolation. One church member described the Sunrise 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 until three p.m. When the people came, they would just flop with the spirit. People,

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[1]Most church members who were interviewed about "visions" indicated that they had had their own particular vision while sleeping. It is not surprising, in view of the Bedford Basin location of Africville, that the reported visions usually had a "sea" context.

[2]See, for example, Brookbank, *op. cit.*

[3]Tape-recorded interviews, September 1969, and December 1969.

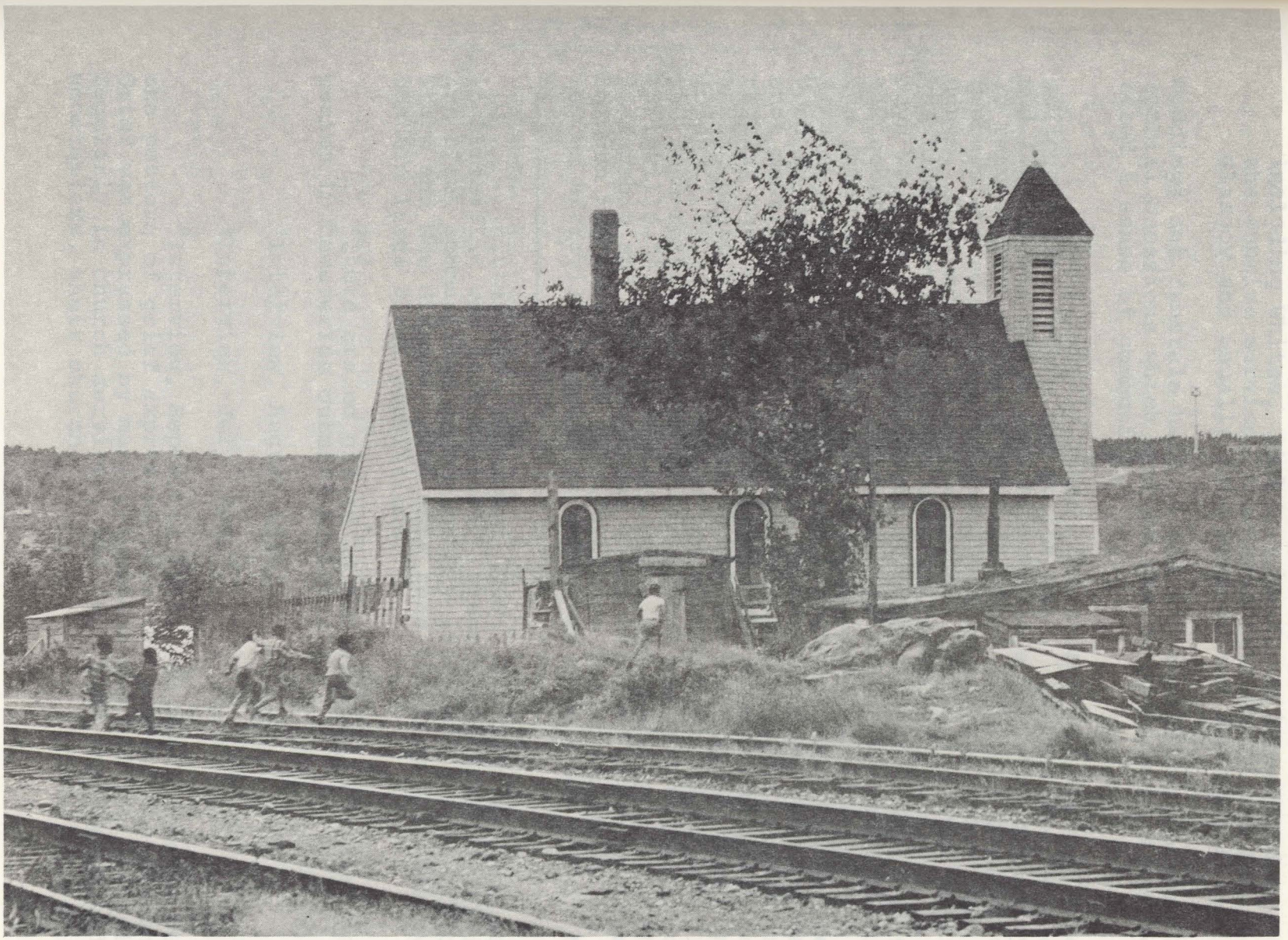

Plate 10. THE SEAVIEW AFRICAN BAPTIST CHURCH. This church was to some extent a focal point of community activities; its loss was considered a major psychological cost of relocation by many older residents.

--Bob Brooks Photo

including Whites, used to come for miles around to the sunrise service, sometimes from Truro and New Glasgow and usually from Preston and Hammonds Plains."[1]

Weddings and funerals held in the Africville church were also special occasions which brought the people together and fostered a sense of community.[2]

Traditionally, then, the church was, to use a modern colloquialism, "where the action was". It provided ceremonies and festivities which gave Africville a sense of community. It reached beyond the relatively small number of regular church members and adherents, developing a solidarity among most residents. One church "elder" recalled: "We had revival meetings all the time. Everybody would come to renew their souls. In olden days we used to go from house to house to gain souls, just like all country places."[3] Moreover, the church was supported by the community at large. One deacon, after discussing the pattern of small church attendance, observed that "the people were good to support their church. We never had any trouble making ends meet."[4] Another resident, who did not participate in regular church services, mentioned the widespread practice of making contributions to the church in "the little brown envelopes". He recalled that he had always sent his children to the fund-raising dinners because "that was the thing to do in Africville."[5] Traditionally, too , the church provided the leadership and the structures which effected relationships between the people and outside groups and communities. A survey of Africville households conducted five years before the

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[1]Interview, September 1969. The last sunrise service in Africville was held in 1966. Preston and Hammonds Plains are Black communities approximately 10-15 miles from Africville. Truro and New Glasgow, each more than 60 miles from Africville, contain large Black populations.

[2]There are no graves in Africville. The dead were buried in cemeteries outside Africville.

[3]Interview, August 1969.

[4]Interview, July 1969.

[5]Interview, September 1969. We shall discuss below the pattern of grief expressed over the loss of the church. Grief was expressed by many relocatees who had not participated regularly in church services, but felt that the church had been, nonetheless, their church.

relocation, in 1959, indicated that personal involvement in organizations was limited almost exclusively to church organizations.[1] Through such church groups as the women's auxiliary, youth groups, and the missionary society, the few community services that existed were provided and there was structured interaction with the broader society.

Erosion of Leadership and Structure

Starting with the First World War, Halifax underwent a major expansion which resulted in a decline of Africville's "ruralism" and its social and physical isolation. Africville as a community underwent profound change, and the place of the church in the community was altered. By the time that residents faced relocation as an imminent actuality, the church had ceased to be the focus of the community, and church "elders" were no longer the effective community leaders. The population increased during this period, as Africville came to house some of the people, Black and White, suffering from the lack of adequate housing for the poor in Halifax proper. The new migrants had neither kinship ties with Africville families nor did they participate in church affairs. The 1959 survey cited above indicated that, in the twenty-three households where the household head or spouse reported participation in church groups or clubs, either the household head or the spouse was a native of Africville.[2]

As Africville became socially and physically encompassed in Halifax's accelerating urban growth, and as expectations concerning facilities and life-style generally began to rise among the younger people in Africville, there appears to have been a concomitant decline in the status of church "elders". One thirty-five-year-old Africville resident who was not a participant in church activities observed:

> "The Baptist Church began to die out in the last generation because the young people were not accepted

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[1]The survey was conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. Only a handful of respondents indicated other kinds of organizational involvement, usually in labour unions. The survey included every Africville household and focused on the household heads.

[2]*Ibid.* The survey was not published in its entirety. We have reanalyzed, from the original questionnaires, the data collected in 1959.

by and did not accept the ways of the older people. There was no compromise. The older people demanded respect due to their age and the younger ones saw no reason to respect them--thought they were old fools."[1]

A complex set of factors, on both the societal and local levels, appears to account for the change. Very few baptisms took place during the last thirty years of Africville's existence.[2] The practice of seeking visions and the Baptist code of conduct came to seem incongruent with improved education and greater urbanization. Moreover, the functional importance of the church for individual persons and for the community as a whole diminished. The presence of the City's refuse dump on the border of the community and the unsavoury implications of Africville's being labelled a slum led to outside Black church groups finding Africville less attractive as a locale for church-related festivities. In the religious exchange network referred to earlier, Africville people apparently visited more often than they were visited.[3] The church's function of providing opportunities for structured interaction with the outside world became less important. This tendency was accelerated by the increasing incorporation of Africville residents into the social life of Halifax proper and the development of Africville as a deviance service centre, a place to go for fun, parties, and bootleg booze.

The loss of status by church members and officials appears to have been related, also, to an increasing awareness among community residents that the former's power to effect change and to obtain an acceptable life-style was very limited. This new and different perspective of the church and the "elders" was deepened by the decline, both physically and socially, of the "closed community". The many delegations to Halifax City Hall, for fire, police, water, electric and snow-removal services, had yielded little fruit. A local Black authority on Africville observed:

"There seemed to be in the community the feeling that nothing could happen anyway, sort of a 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.

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[1]Interview, August 1969.

[2]Interview, August 1969.

[3]Interview, September 1969.

> They tried for the ordinary services . . . and they had failed. The threat of relocation had been over their heads for years. There were always rumours that the land was valuable industrial land, and they would eventually be allowed to stay there only until the powers-that-be wanted to remove them; so by this time, you see, the community had reached a stage where it became a sort of a haven, a refuge for people who couldn't keep their heads above the water in the city, not the stable and solid families that settled the community initially. This brought about a change in the community and in the community spirit."[1]

Added to this discovery of their "political" vulnerability was a general disparagement of the "respectable elders" because of their poverty and their Blackness.[2] Given the lack of regard shown Africville residents by the larger Black community[3] and the Whites of Halifax, and given the loosening of the "close community" (such that these views of Africville were perceived by elders and youths alike), it became difficult for the "elders" to provide leadership or to retain status within the community. In other words, a climate was being established wherein status and leadership could not effectively augment each other. Moreover, the general poverty of Africville limited the possibility of a ramifying community exchange system which could provide cohesion and organization among Africville residents. Their poverty precluded having sufficient resources with which to invest such an exchange system.[4]

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969. The authority quoted spent approximately twenty-five years endeavouring to develop community organizations among the Africville residents, as well as among other Black communities in the area.

[2]See discussion of this theme in Chapter Three. Rainwater's remarks, made with reference to the American experience, are applicable to Africville in the period that we are discussing: "To those living in the heart of a ghetto, black comes to mean not just 'stay back', but also membership in a community of persons who think poorly of each other, who attack and manipulate each other, who give each other small comfort in a desperate world." (Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity", p. 205).

[3]This assertion is based on numerous interviews with Africville residents and with Blacks in Halifax proper.

[4]Clark has suggested that three factors limit the range and complexity of exchange systems. One of these factors is the

By the decade preceding the relocation, the 1950's, these patterns had effected such a change in Africville that it appeared to be a Black ghetto in the typical American sense. The decline in community significance of the church and the "elders" was apparent. One transient who moved into Africville several years prior to relocation observed that "there wasn't very many used to go to church, mostly a few older ones because the older ones didn't have any place else to go."[1] A minister who occasionally served Africville during this decade noted that "the church was the only organization [the Africville residents] had and, then, the church only had a few poeple who were interested."[2] A White resident of Africville, who had lived there since shortly after the Second World War, contended that "most people did not belong to the church. Most would not miss it. It was not a focal point of the community, only for elderly people."[3] A relocation worker with three years experience in Africville noted that, in the years immediately preceding relocation, "the church was not the centre for social activities. It would be locked, except for the time it was opened for church services. The deacons had access to it, and these were for particular services during the weekdays and, of course, during Sundays."[4] One church deacon at Africville noted the decline in the number of church services offered: "Services used to be 10:00 a.m., 3:00 p.m., and 7:00 p.m. a few years ago, but at the end of [Africville], only once each Sunday. . . . youth didn't attend. Most people didn't attend."[5]

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absolute quantity of resources present in the system. He remarks that the poor "cannot become involved because they do not have the necessary quantity of resources either to maintain themselves over a certain minimal period of time before they are reimbursed or to support the infra-structure devoted to the mechanics of organizing and coordinating exchange." (Terry N. Clark, *Community Structure and Decision-Making: Comparative Analyses*, Chandler Publications in Anthropology and Sociology [San Francisco: Chandler, 1968], p. 53.)

[1]Interview, August 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, August 1969.

[3]Interview, July 1969.

[4]Tape-recorded interview, July 1969.

[5]Interview, June 1969. The service, consisting of prayer, singing, sermon and testimonial, remained essentially

By the time of relocation, then, the church had become an inadequate base for community action, and the church "elders" were not accepted leaders. To a large extent, the "church people" became a small clique, unable either to perpetuate itself (only a handful of the approximately forty baptized Africville residents were under forty years of age)[1] or to exercise much direct influence on the rest of the community. One deacon, pointing out that he had not had much to do with others at the time of relocation, observed: "I am a deacon and I don't visit people that much. You see, I don't approve of drinking and the other people drink. I must observe a high standard of virtue in my life; therefore, I keep pretty much to myself."[2] Discussing community organization at the time of relocation, another resident noted that "the people who belonged to the church were a big-feeling bunch of hypocrites who stuck pretty much together."[3] One non-churchgoing resident described as follows the relationship between his circle of friends and the church group:

> "Yes, there was a bit of a gap. They were a little bit uppity about us, and frowned on us when we did certain things. But there was no proselytizing, much less conflict. The only thing was the time the church people had the community hall [dance hall] demolished because of the behaviour of the young people. I guess it wouldn't have mattered so much, if it hadn't been right next to the church.[4]

For the most part, the relationship between those who went to church regularly and those who did not attend at all (this polarization with respect to church participation developed in the years preceding relocation) became one of tolerance and avoidance. Since the bulk of the Africville population was related by kinship ties to the church clique, there was little manifest derision or conflict. There was, however, open strain between the church group and the group of people who had migrated

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unchanged. Deacons held the service, while the "sisters" sang. There were no female deacons, but every Tuesday evening there was a "sisters' meeting", a prayer meeting held by women.

[1]These data were obtained, in part, from a survey of Africville relocatees conducted in the fall of 1969.

[2]Interview, February 1969. [3]Interview, June 1969.

[4]Interview, August 1969.

to Africville (especially during the thirties and after the Second World War) and who were involved mainly in the deviance service centre aspect of Africville. The invective exchanged between these two "groups", and the bandying of terms such as "hypocrite" and "bad people", arose as much from the fact that one group had roots in Africville and the other did not as from differences in belief and practice concerning morals. Despite the tensions, by the time of relocation the churchgoing residents had come to accept this "other Africville" and their own limited sphere of influence. This accommodation is illustrated in the following statement from an interview with a church member:

> "Somehow Mrs. X got on the subject of Whites who came down to Africville. In almost so many words, she said they came for women and alcohol. They were always all over the place, often falling asleep, drunk, on the railway tracks--which caused Mrs. X great worry. Very frequently, strangers arrived at her door, drunk or wandering. She treated them to tea and sober conversation. They got to know her after awhile. As she was walking by, they would call out:
>
> 'Are you going to church, Mrs. X?'
>
> 'Yes, to church.'
>
> 'Pray for me.'
>
> 'I will, but you have to pray for yourself, too!'"[1]

Despite the reduced influence of the church and its members, until and during the relocation they continued to have a preferred status in relation to the "official" societal power structure and to voluntary organizations representative of the "official" morality. It was through them that do-gooders entered the community[2] and that the Sunday School, recreational programs, and the like were established for the "poor Africville residents". Official City communiqués were

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[1]Interview, August 1969.

[2]For example, Whites directed a summer Bible School in Africville in the years preceding relocation. See Alexa Shaw, "Two-Week Project A Big Success at Africville Church," *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., July 18, 1963.

usually transmitted through the church leaders.[1] But by the time that relocation had begun it was apparent to everyone in Africville, churchgoers and non-churchgoers alike, that this "external status" was insufficient to make the broader society adequately responsive to the needs and aspirations of Africvilles' residents. Similarly, it was apparent to Haligonians seeking booze in Africville, and to politicians seeking votes there,[2] that the church "elders" no longer constituted the community's "governing body".

Since the relocation, the church has become an entity around which considerable "relocation grief" has crystallized. The church was the only formal organization in Africville and, consequently, it represents a concreteness to which people can refer readily when asked about the "costs" of relocation. Common sense or folk knowledge holds that in relocation programs the persons most aggrieved are the elderly.[3] They are said to be the group for whom relocation would most likely constitute a personal crisis. Whatever the validity of this assumption, such a "definition of the situation" applies to the Africville context. The elderly have indicated often that what they miss most is the church life in Africville. Others, unable to articulate their reasons for grief, have emphasized the supposed crisis of the elderly; given the relationship between the elderly and the church, and given the concreteness of the church, it follows that the loss of church has come to symbolize the loss of community. The post-relocation survey and the initial interviewing of Africville residents reveal an exaggerated assessment of the focal relevance of the church for the community and of the degree of church attendance. For instance, some thirty per cent of the respondents[4] indicated that, while in Afric-

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[1]See, for instance, Chapter VI, which deals with the decision to relocate Africville.

[2]Politicians selected as captains for their respective parties in Africville people who could deliver the vote. The captains in the years preceding relocation were not usually regular church attendants. In the last provincial election prior to Africville's relocation, the captains were comparatively young and fairly recent arrivals in Africville.

[3]See, for example, W. F. Smith, *Preparing the Elderly for Relocation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1966).

[4]Respondents included every Africville resident who was given any kind of relocation compensation. Thirty per

ville, they regularly attended church services; this figure is too high, and is not congruent with other data. First interviews often brought forth strong positive remarks about the community significance of the church, but further interviewing and increased rapport yielded more reliable statements.

The phenomenon of idealization with respect to the church has been encouraged by the symbolic relevance that the Africville relocation has assumed in the impact of the emerging Black consciousness on Nova Scotia. Africville is mentioned often as an example of how Black people can be uprooted unless strong community-based organizations are developed. Uprooting would not be undesirable if there were nothing intrinsically valuable about the community.[1] Seen as being valuable in this context are Africville's inherent possibilities as a genuine Black subculture. The indicators of the latter include Africville's long history and its church life (note the attribution of "soul" to the style of church services). As a symbol, the Seaview African United Baptist Church may be more important now, as a focal point for Africville residents' dissatisfaction with the relocation and as a stimulus in the development of a Black consciousness in Nova Scotia, than it was during the years immediately preceding the relocation.

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cent indicated that they were regular church participants, fifty per cent indicated that they occasionally attended services, and fifteen per cent said that they rarely participated.

[1]It would still be important, of course, to organize for the protection of individual interests in property and related matters.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRELUDE TO RELOCATION: 1855-1962*

"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 see in the paper is where they are going to root Africville out, bulldoze Africville out.

"I heard about that for years, for years, as long as I can remember. Every spring the same thing would come up, to move Africville, to put bulldozers in Africville, to move the people out of Africville. I heard that for years and years."
- Tape-recorded interview with a 70-year-old Africville relocatee, October 3, 1969.

Introduction

In December 1969, a bitter winter wind from Bedford Basin blew over the land where residents of Africville had lived, played, worshipped, and died. A few foundations were evident amid piles of scattered concrete and rock. The land lay ripped and torn by bulldozers, and massive machinery building the nearby A. Murray MacKay Bridge filled the air with the noise of construction. Defiantly, the sole remaining Africville resident, a 72-year-old man, stared at the construction. His property had been expropriated, but he resisted relocation. Earlier that month officials at Halifax City Hall had attempted to persuade him to leave Africville, by showing him a case containing $14,000 in cash. Interviewed by a reporter from *The Mail-Star*, he explained his reaction:

"They sent for me and when I got there I was taken into someone's office. There was five or six persons in the room plus a suitcase full of money all tied up neatly in bundles. . . .

"The suitcase was open and stuck under my nose

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*The authors wish to acknowledge the considerable contribution to this chapter of John de Roche, Research Assistant.

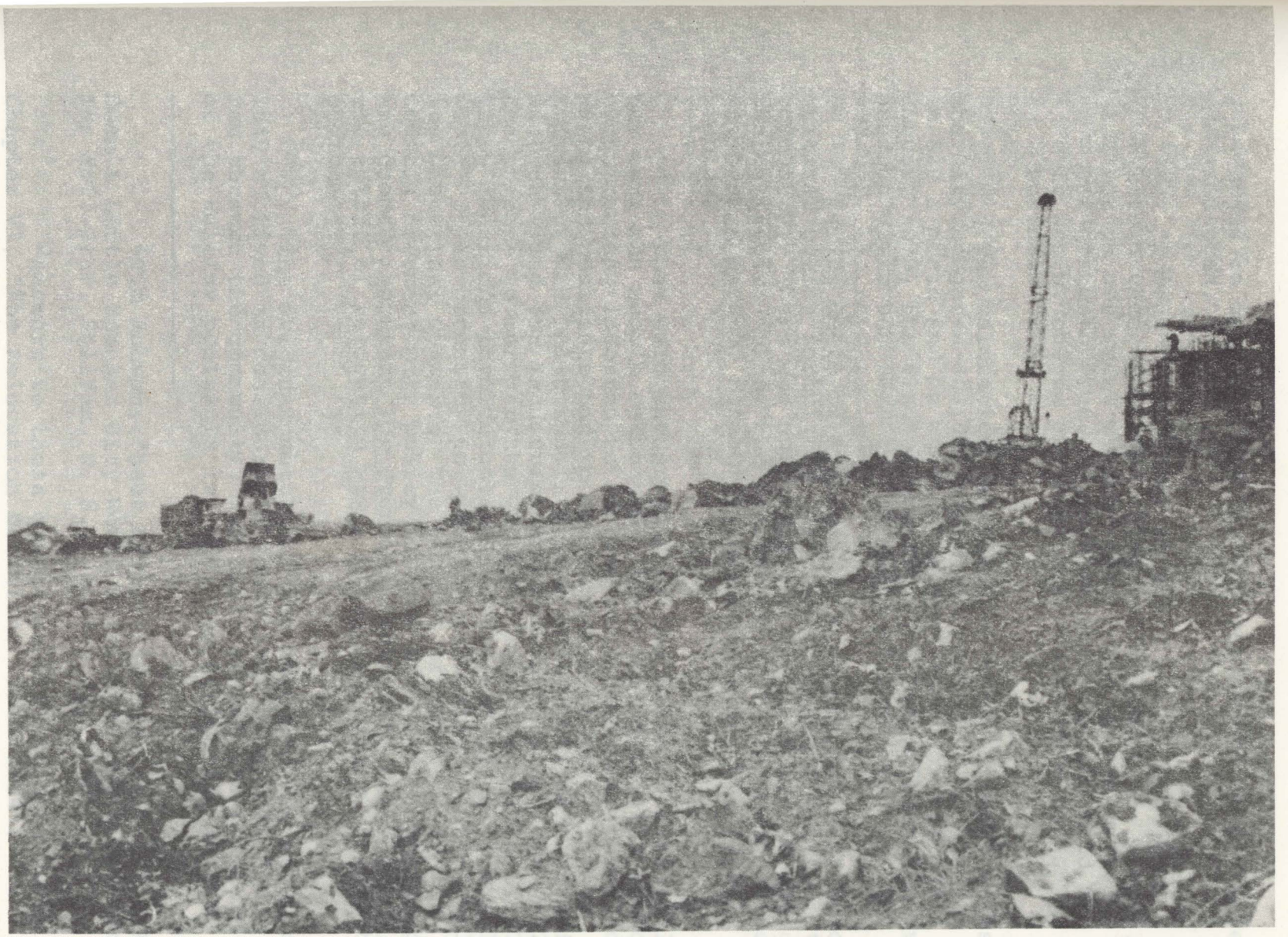
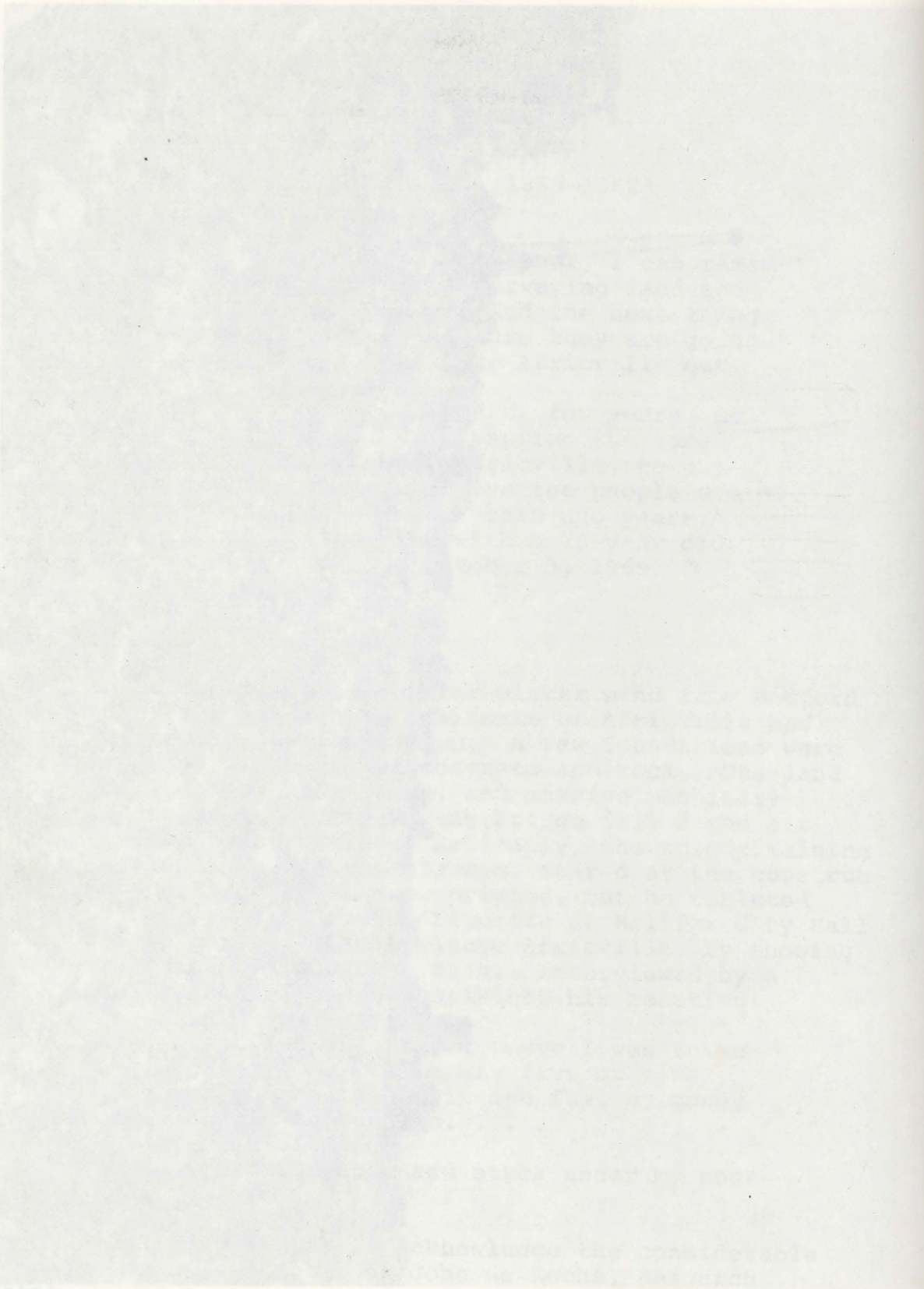


Plate 11. NEW LAND USAGE. In 1969, Africville was bulldozed to rocks and rubble. This picture shows the land being cleared for future development.
--Photo by Donald Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill



so as to tempt me and try and pay me off right there and then. . . .

"I didn't like that 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. . . . When they finally paid me it was by cheque and they came to my home to do business."[1]

The relocation was complete when, several weeks later, the City bought a $13,000 house and rented it to him for life at $20 a month and he accepted a settlement of $14,387. By January 1970, the Black community that had existed for over a hundred years was left to the pages of history.

The death of Africville, slow and painful, involved critical policy formulation by decision-makers external to the community. There was suffering and conflict within the community itself. Since the relocation, life for many relocatees has been a maze of financial, psychological, and social problems.

What were the origins of the death of Africville? Why were the people relocated? Were the underlying reasons humanitarian, intended to improve socio-economic conditions among the residents and to end racial segregation; or, primarily, did Halifax politicians and development officials want the land for industrial and residential development? Was the purpose to further the economic interests of Halifax? These questions involve untangling the strands of a complex web.[2] It is necessary to view the relocation of Africville in its historical context. The minutes of the Halifax City Council document City policy towards Africville; the land was deemed important for eventual industrial development, and the threat of relocation was a perennial danger facing the community.

The original settlers, who moved to the area in the 1840's, lived in considerable isolation. Campbell Road, which ran through the community, was built around the northern slope of the Halifax peninsula in 1836; the Africville section of

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[1]Jim Robson, "Last Africville Resident: If I Had Been a Little Younger City Would Never Have Gotten My Land," *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 12, 1970.

[2]Answers to these questions will be considered in Chapter VI, "The Relocation Decision: 1962-1964".

the road was a secondary route used relatively infrequently.[1] In 1855 the railway linked the community more with the "outside world". It was the construction of the railway that led to the first relocation of dwellings and other buildings. Later other railway tracks were built through the community. With railway development, and because of closeness to Bedford Basin for port development, the land became increasingly important for use as an industrial site. A Halifax City official with an association of over twenty years with Africville explained:

> "The City moved Africville for the land. It was one of the best sites for a dock--twenty feet out from shore there is a very deep drop in the sea bed. You could bring destroyers right up to the shoreline. Industry could have both docks and railways. . . .
>
> "All Africville needed was water and sewerage, and it would be a self-sufficient community. But they never got either. Some day the City planned to take over the area."[2]

Africville and Railways

The Nova Scotia Railway links Africville to the "outside world"

The first relocation of Africville residents was linked to political events within the province. It was the dream of Nova Scotia's distinguished Provincial Secretary, Joseph Howe, to have an intercolonial railway join the British North American colonies. Failing to win support from Britain, in 1852 he embarked on a policy of supporting the construction of local lines to be built and operated by the Nova Scotia Government.

In 1853 the Nova Scotia Railway Company was incorporated and on March 4, 1854, legislation was introduced for government construction, operation, and ownership of provincial railway lines.[3] The railway commissioners were

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[1]For a representation of Campbell Road, see map, "Railway Tracks Through Africville: 1912", p. 133.

[2]Interview, August 1969.

[3]G. R. Stevens, *Canadian National Railways, I: Sixty Years of Trial and Error (1836-1896)* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1960) pp. 75, 158, 159.

authorized to expropriate for the track a right-of-way between four and six rods wide.[1]

Bids were invited for the construction of the Nova Scotia Railway along Bedford Basin. The first sod was turned on June 13, 1854.[2] Early in 1855 the first locomotive arrived from Massachusetts and was tested on four miles of completed track. In June 1855, seven miles of track between Richmond, in the North End of Halifax, and Bedford were open for traffic.[3] An elderly Africville relocatee reported that, according to stories told her as a child, Africville men worked on the construction of this railway.[4]

The Bedford Basin track paralleled Campbell Road, which passed through Africville, and railway construction required the acquisition of Africville land and the movement of buildings. In 1855, the Board of Railway Commissioners reported:

> "Difficulties have arisen during the past year, in adjusting the damages due to parties whose land has been taken by the Commissioners. . . . None of the parties have been paid. . . . cases of hardship have already occurred. . . ."[5]

Some of these difficulties involved a number of Africville claimants who were not compensated immediately for their property. A section of Africville land along Bedford Basin, bought in 1856 by a Railway trustee to compensate Africville residents, was not signed over to claimants (three Africville families) until five years later.[6] A report to the Legislative Assembly in 1858 stated:

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[1] *The Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1854*, cap. 1.

[2] Oscar D. Skelton, *The Railway Builders: A Chronicle of Overland Highways* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1921), p. 67.

[3] Stevens, *op. cit.* I, 160.

[4] Interview, August 1969.

[5] N.S.L.A., *Journal of Proceedings, 1854-1855*, Appendix 17, p. 143.

[6] Registry of Deeds, Book 114, p. 97; Book 139, p. 337; and Book 161, p. 321.

"The act authorizing the construction of the road . . . provides that the monies payable for land and damages shall form a county charge. [These charges] have not been included in the payments made by the board of railway commissioners except in the following instances:

. . . . . .

for land at African village, on which to place buildings interfered with by the railway (conveyance to J. Morrow), £175/0/0
for interest 1 year and 9 months on the above, 18/7/6
for recording deed, 0/8/9
for material and labor in removing and fixing up buildings at African village 210/7/9"[1]

One of the original Africville Black settlers found it necessary to petition for compensation. Five years after the completion of the Bedford Basin track, he wrote as follows to the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia:

"To the Honorable the House of Assembly now in General Session convened.

"The petition of William Brown most humbly shows That your Petitioner is the owner of a lot of land situate at Africville in the City of Halifax a portion of which lot had been taken by order of the Railway Commissioners in the Year 1854--for Railway purposes and for the continuance of the main post road from Halifax to Bedford as per plan and survey hereunto annexed--That all other persons whose lands had been required for Railway purposes in this settlement have been paid with the exception of your Petitioner--That he made his claim on the Board of Commissioners at the time his land was taken, and although he was repeatedly told by them that it should be arranged, he has never yet received any compensation and on application to the present Commissioner, he was told by that Honorable Gentleman that he must petition your Honorable House for relief.

"Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays your Honorable House for relief and that such compensation may be

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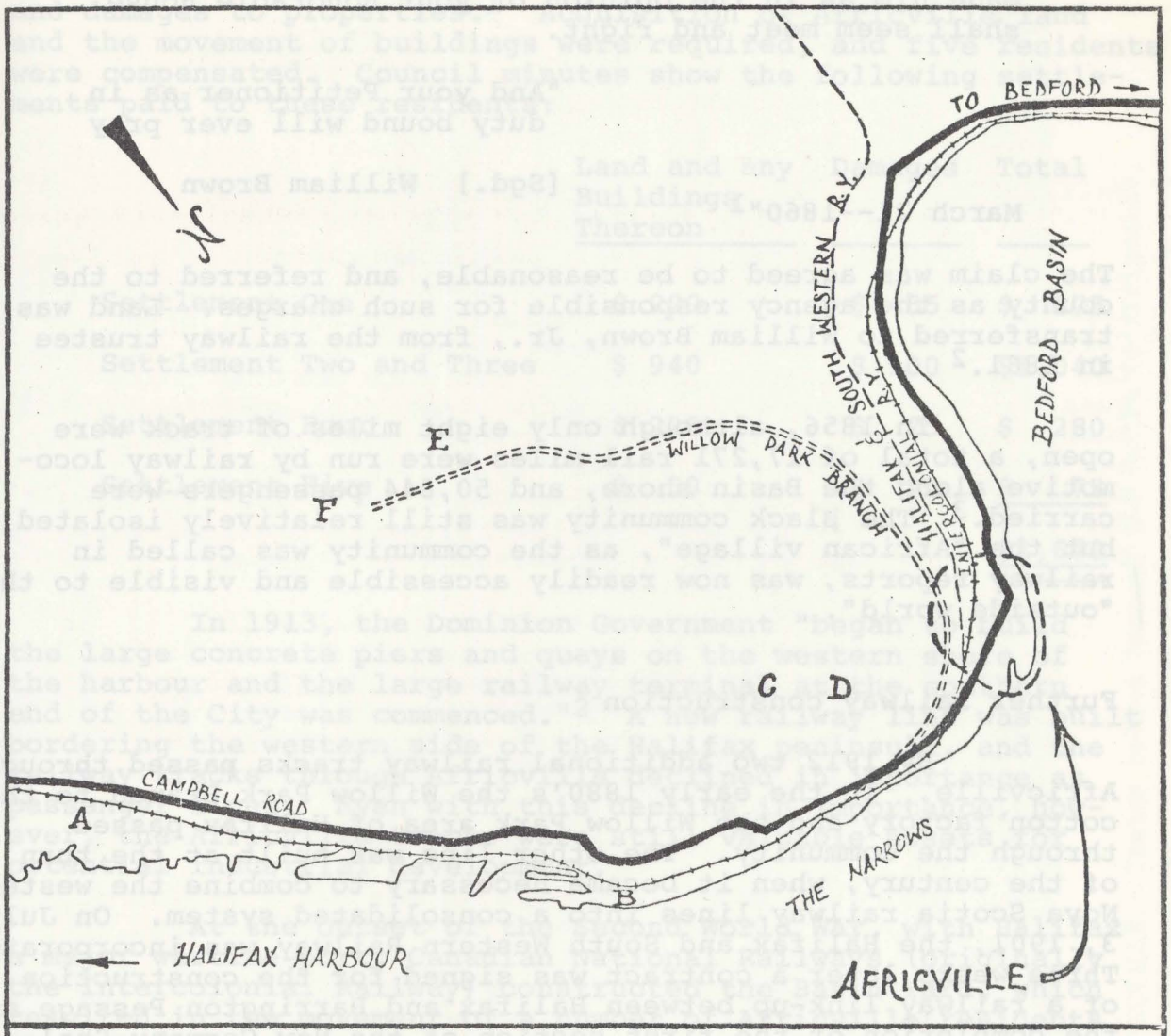
[1]N.S.L.A., *Journal and Proceedings, 1858*, Appendix 35, p. 305.



A - Passenger Station
B - Richmond Yard
C - City Prison
D - Infectious Hospital
E - Intercolonial RY Shops
F - Cotton Factory

Railway Tracks Through Africville: 1912

- Drawn from sources supplied by Public Archives of Nova Scotia

made him as in the opinion of your Honorable House shall seem meet and right.

"And your Petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray

[Sgd.] William Brown

March 21--1860"[1]

The claim was agreed to be reasonable, and referred to the county as the agency responsible for such charges. Land was transferred to William Brown, Jr., from the railway trustee in 1861.[2]

In 1856, although only eight miles of track were open, a total of 17,271 rail miles were run by railway locomotive along the Basin shore, and 50,844 passengers were carried.[3] The Black community was still relatively isolated, but the "African village", as the community was called in railway reports, was now readily accessible and visible to the "outside world".

Further railway construction

By 1912 two additional railway tracks passed through Africville. In the early 1880's the Willow Park Branch to the cotton factory and the Willow Park area of Halifax passed through the community. The other line was built at the turn of the century, when it became necessary to combine the western Nova Scotia railway lines into a consolidated system. On July 3, 1901, the Halifax and South Western Railway was incorporated. Three weeks later a contract was signed for the construction of a railway link-up between Halifax and Barrington Passage and the completion of the first section of the New Germany-Shelburne line.[4] For the city section of the railway, the Halifax City Council approved payment of $48,546 for land, buildings,

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[1]P.A.N.S., Africville File, Document One.

[2]Registry of Deeds, Book 139, p. 337.

[3]N.S.L.A., *Journal and Proceedings, 1858*, Appendix 35, p. 310.

[4]G. R. Stevens, *Canadian National Railways, II: Towards the Inevitable (1896-1922)* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1962), p. 303.

and damages to properties.[1] Acquisition of Africville land and the movement of buildings were required, and five residents were compensated. Council minutes show the following settlements paid to these residents:

	Land and any Buildings Thereon	Damages	Total
Settlement One	$ 220	$ 55	$ 275
Settlement Two and Three	$ 940	$ 100	$1,040
Settlement Four	$ 225	$ 25	$ 280
Settlement Five	$ 50	$ 25	$ 75
			$1,670

In 1913, the Dominion Government "began to build the large concrete piers and quays on the western shore of the harbour and the large railway terminal at the southern end of the City was commenced."[2] A new railway line was built bordering the western side of the Halifax peninsula, and the railway tracks through Africville declined in importance as passenger lines. Even with this decline in importance, however, the Africville tracks were still valuable assets for potential industrial development.

At the outset of the Second World War, with Halifax a major wartime port, Canadian National Railways (originally the Intercolonial Railway) constructed the Basin Yard, which resulted in the movement of a number of Africville residents in 1941.[3] In recent years, railway traffic through Africville has been primarily freight. A freight department spokesman of Canadian National Railways was quoted as stating during an interview in 1961:

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[1]*Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, April 6, 1903, January 21, 1904, and June 9, 1904.

[2]Stephenson, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[3]Registry of Deeds, Book 820, pp. 732-34. The property used by Canadian National Railways had belonged to Africville residents since 1906. For a record of its 1906 purchase, see Registry of Deeds, Book 378, p. 33.

"It's all transfer stuff that goes through Africville There's no train schedule. We move freight from the main station, Rockingham, and shuttle it to Willow Park, Deepwater and Richmond Yards."[1]

Halifax City Council Policy and the Africville Land

There is little doubt that the presence of railway tracks in close proximity to waterfront property increased the importance of the Africville land as an industrial site. Certainly the railway development through Africville affected the community's aesthetic image. The more obvious consequences--noise from passing trains, layers of soot (before the change to diesel engines in the 1950's), and the inconvenience and danger of traversing railway tracks in order to visit a neighbour or to attend school--do not require special comment. The long-range consequences of the railway's presence were reported by a Civic Planning Commission as follows:

"The Canadian National Railways, originally the Intercolonial Railway, have on two occasions carried out construction programs in Halifax producing blight and decay spreading over large areas, thereby resulting in serious reduction of residential values.

. . . . . .

"The first development was in the north end of the city, with passenger terminals at North Street. Previous to the construction of these terminals, the northeast slope of the city [near, but not including Africville] constituted a major high-class residential district. After this development many residents found it desirable to change their location to the south end of the city and along the shores of the North West Arm. The area in question steadily deteriorated as a residential district, the southern and western parts of the city becoming the most valuable residential section."[2]

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[1]Barbara Hinds, "Africville Children Risking Lives Daily at Rail Crossings," *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., September 9, 1961.

[2]*The Master Plan for the City of Halifax*, pp. 33-34.

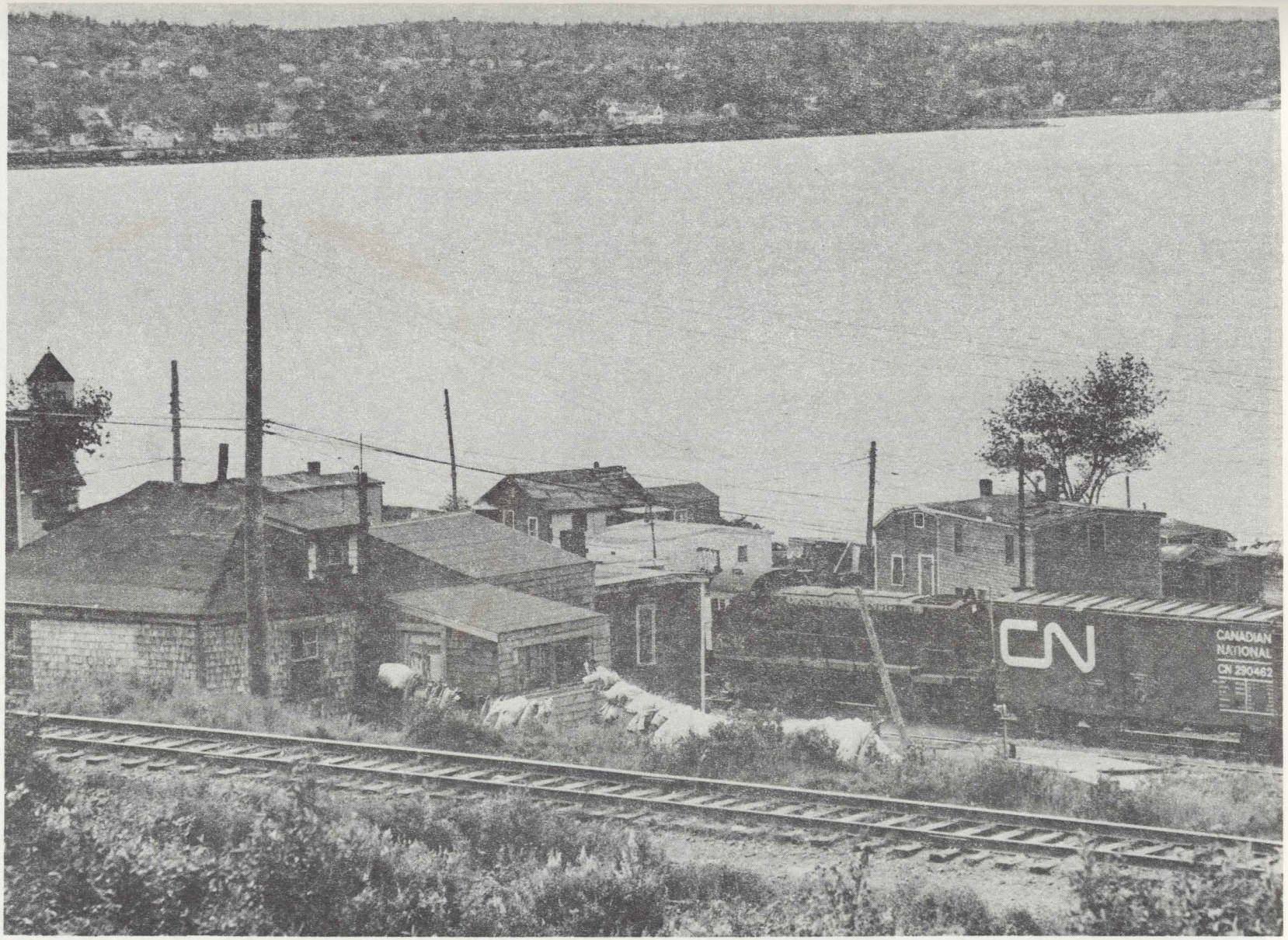

Plate 12. TRAINS AND AFRICVILLE. Trains rolled through the centre of Africville, cutting the community in half and causing numerous problems: layers of soot, noise, and the inconvenience and danger of crossing the track to visit a neighbour or attend school. In an interview completed in 1969, one elderly relocatee reported that at least two adults had been killed by locomotives at Africville.

--Bob Brooks Photo

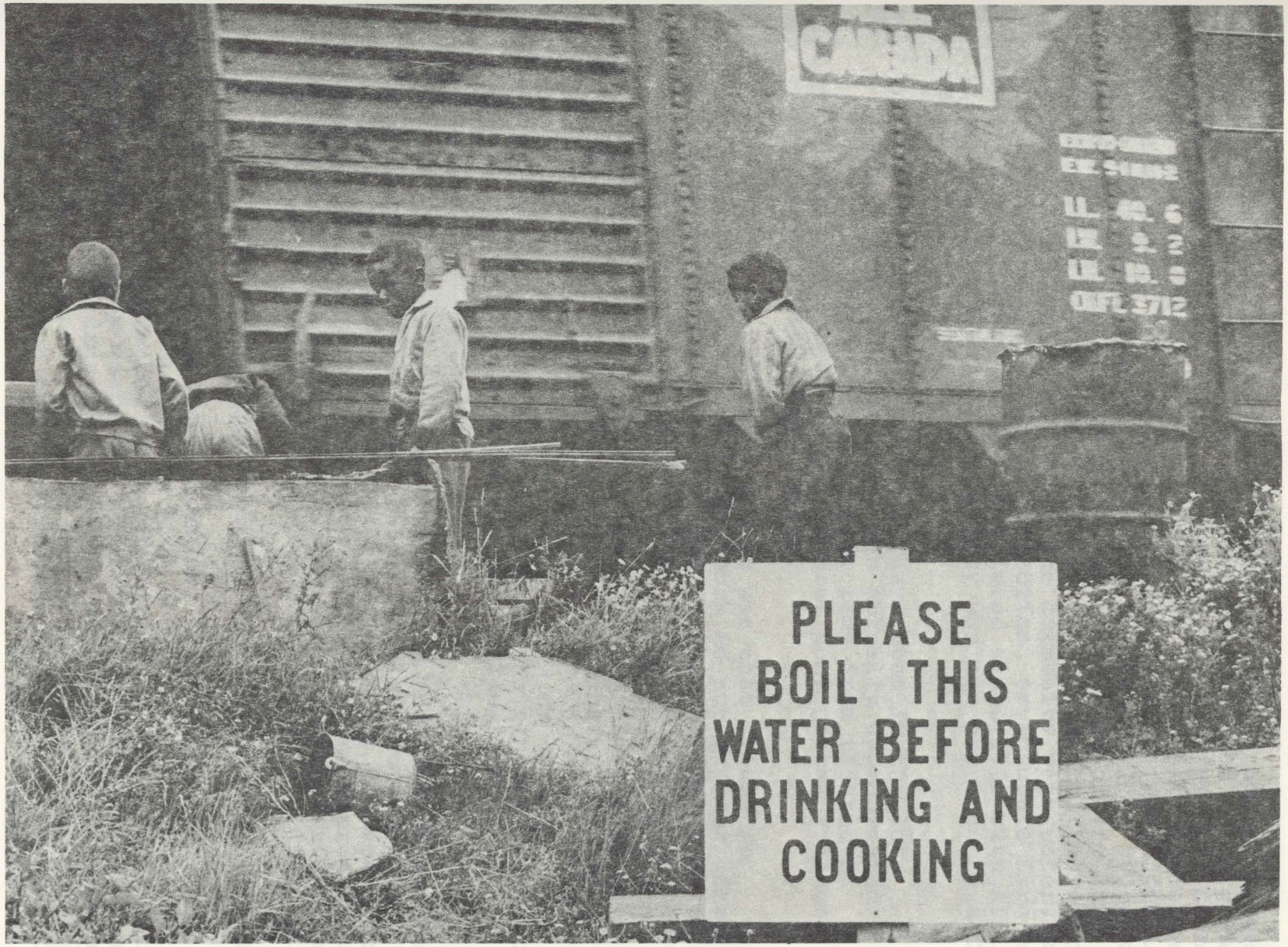

Plate 13. AFRICVILLE CHILDREN AND TRAINS. Although trains caused many inconveniences and hazards to the residents of Africville, they attracted the interest of the children.

--Bob Brooks Photo

SOUKUP
DUNKIN' AND
WATER BOIL' AND
BLEAT

The City of Halifax owned sizable property close to the community[1] and was in a favourable position to bargain with industries seeking land. Minutes of the Halifax City Council show that the eventual industrial use of the Africville land was a matter of long-standing implicit intent. This "policy" was a reason for Council's neglect of Africville residents.[2] The expropriation and eventual industrial use of the land would require relocation of Africville residents; therefore, it was not necessary to supply the community with water, sewerage, paved roads, garbage collection, or adequate fire protection. A City official, associated since 1942 with Africville, explained why the community was not serviced by a City water line:

> "On one occasion, this must have been in the late war years, I think money was actually appropriated for the extension of a water line from the end of Gottingen Street to the central part of the village, to give a City water source.
>
> "But the argument always was that it was so expensive to blast through rock to put a water line down there and that the days of the settlement were numbered. It was always felt that the people should be relocated somewhere, and it wasn't worth the cost of putting in water for the time that they were to be there. This seemed to be the thinking all the time that I knew Africville."[3]

The following summary from City Council's minutes documents Council's intent concerning the Africville land.[4]

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[1]To the south, the City owned the land where the City Prison was built (ca. 1855). West of the community, the City had purchased property in 1863 (Registry of Deeds, Book 148, p. 51). In 1907, the City bought the Tully property, adjacent to Africville on the east and along the shoreline (*Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, January 11, 1907, p. 252).

[2]For additional reasons, see Chapter III, pp. 74-79.

[3]Tape-recorded interview, August 1969.

[4]The minutes of the Halifax City Council, 1852-1962, were read year by year, and all references to Africville and the land surrounding the community were recorded on tape and transcribed. Appreciation is extended to the City Clerk, Mr. Ralph Stoddard, for providing access to the minutes and office space.

1907: The City of Halifax purchased land to the east of Africville

At a meeting of City Council on January 11, 1907, a decision was made to acquire property at the northern tip of the Halifax peninsula. Council resolved that the City purchase the Tully property, situated "between the slaughter house and the Colored Settlement."[1] At the same meeting Council resolved to expropriate property within the community of Africville.[2] An appraiser was appointed to appraise Africville properties. His report to Council, as shown below, listed seventeen properties with a total value of $8,895 owned by fifteen Africville residents.[3] The report did not list the number of "renters" or "squatters" that may have lived in Africville, although previously members of City Council had complained of squatters on contiguous City-owned property.[4]

Value of Land and Dwellings

Resident	Value	Resident	Value
1.	$1,100	9.	$ 350
2. (two properties)	1,150	10.	450
3.	770	11.	475
4.	850	12.	600
5.	200	13.	500
6.	350	14.	400
7. (two properties)	950	15.	400
8.	350	Total	$8,895

Although City Council passed a resolution to expropriate the Africville land, it was not purchased by the City. The Tully property, along the shoreline east of the community, was bought for $2,000. Thus, by 1907, the City of Halifax owned property to the south, east, and west of the Black community. Complete acquisition of the Africville land would give the City a section of waterfront property extending far back from the shoreline, an attractive industrial resource.

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[1] *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, January 11, 1907, p. 252.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, July 4, 1907, p. 67. Names are omitted in the present report.

[4] *Ibid.*, October 11, 1906.

1915: Intended industrial use of the Africville land confirmed

In 1915, a Halifax City official confirmed that the Africville land was intended for eventual industrial purposes. In response to a request from the Nova Scotia Fertilizer Company to build an overhead conveyor across Campbell Road, the City Engineer recommended:

> "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* [italics added] that is not prejudicial to the interests of the public; in fact, we may be obliged in the future to consider the interest of the industry first."[1]

1915: The Imperial Oil Company bids for Africville land

The value of Africville as an industrial site is revealed in a 1915 bid by the Imperial Oil Company for ten to twelve acres of land:

> "Bounded on the Northeast by Gottingen Street, on the Southeast and Southwest by the property of the City, and on the Northwest by Bedford Basin, excepting therefrom so much thereof as is occupied by Campbell Road, the Intercolonial Railway and the Halifax and South Western Railway."[2]

The company wrote the Halifax Board of Trade Industries Commission and explained the advantages of its proposal.[3] One advantage was stated as follows:

> "The acceptance of our proposal would level up and change the present part of the City known as Africville and establish in its place an Industry."[4]

The Board of Control wrote City Council as follows:

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[1] *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, September 9, 1915, p. 211.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 218

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 220ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

"Realizing that the carrying through of the proposal under consideration would have certain advantages for the City, we would recommend that if it were found necessary we exercise the legislation which we now have for the expropriation of part or the whole of the property known as Africville. . . ."[1]

Following considerable negotiation, the Imperial Oil Company decided to locate elsewhere "owing to the difficulties in connection with the Africville site for Oil Refinery purposes."[2] But in the same letter that expressed rejection of the Africville site, the company wrote: "The opinion is expressed, however, that in the future it may be found desirable to construct a refinery in this locality."[3] There is no mention during the correspondence between the City of Halifax and the Imperial Oil Company of what might have happened to the Africville residents, had the land that they occupied been expropriated and sold to the company.

1916: Africville land for industrial use

In April 1916, Halifax City Council received a letter from its Board of Control which stated that the pastor of the Africville church had requested the use of City-owned property near the Intercolonial Railway in order to relocate the church building. The City Engineer recommended to Council:

"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* [italics added].

"I see no objection, however, to leasing a piece of property large enough to accommodate the church at a nominal figure so long as the members of the church are located at Africville, the lease to be drawn on such condition as may be considered necessary to enable the City to cancel it and have the building removed promptly."[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

[2] *Ibid.*, December 9, 1915, p. 309.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 310.

[4] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1916, p. 569.

1938: The industrial-use proposal remains unchanged

In 1938, City Council received a request from a Halifax citizen wanting to buy 41,200 square feet of land extending along the east side of Barrington Street at Africville. The City Engineer reported to Council:

> "I beg to report on a letter . . . asking if the City would sell a piece of property owned by it situated at Africville, that the property referred to is a portion of the property known as the Tully property and purchased from the Eastern Trust Company on the 31st of January, 1907 together with a water lot which was granted to the City on the 23rd of December, 1898. . . .
>
> "The total price paid for the two Tully lots was $2,000.00.
>
> "The lot applied for is one of the few locations at Africville not built upon, where there is any considerable area lying between the road and the shore line. In my opinion *it should be retained by the City as a possible site for a small manufactory or in the alternative, as a part of a plan for building an esplanade around the shore of this part of the basin and the possible future demolition of the small buildings now standing on the Africville property*."[1] (Italics added.)

1945: Africville land for residential use

A Civic Planning Commission report, submitted to City Council in 1945, considered Africville as one of the blighted areas of Halifax, and recommended the "widening of the northern section of Barrington Street along with the removal of the Africville Settlement."[2] In its recommendation to develop the Halifax Northern Slope as a residential, park, and shopping-centre complex, the Commission wrote: "There is also a small area in the City known as Africville. The residents of this district must, as soon as reasonably possible, be provided with decent minimum standard housing elsewhere."[3] The Commis-

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[1] *Ibid.*, July 14, 1938, p. 193.

[2] *The Master Plan for the City of Halifax*, p. 19.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

sion stated that, given the removal of the City Prison, the abattoir, and Africville, the cleared area could become "a most desirable residential section."[1]

1947: Africville land zoned as industrial

In 1947, Halifax was rezoned.[2] It was recommended to Council in May that the Africville area be designated as industrial land, and by August the recommendation was approved by Council. No immediate action was taken to develop an industrial complex on the Africville land; fifteen years later, however, a similar proposal approved by Halifax City Council became one of a number of factors which initiated events responsible for the elimination of Africville.

1948: Africville residents say "No" to relocation

During its meeting on January 15, 1948, City Council debated a proposal for the extension of a water line from Gottingen Street to Africville:

> "*Alderman X*: Would it be better to have a Committee appointed to interview the citizens living out there and find out if that money could be spent in rehabilitating those people somewhere else? *That property could be cleared in case some industry might want to go there* [italics added]. I am not suggesting that those people be moved against their wishes. Perhaps it would be better to rehabilitate those who were burned out, as a start.
>
> "*Alderman Y*: We could start with a view of acquiring those land areas. If they were willing to let their land go the City would compensate them.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "*His Worship the Mayor*: Would you like me to appoint a Committee for the rehabilitation of these people?

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[2] *Minutes of the Halifax City Council, passim*, 1947. The May and August zoning plans are included in the 1947 Council Minutes.

"*Alderman Z*: I don't think we should go another summer without having the water. I am in favour of having them shifted."[1]

Decision on a proposal to borrow money for water service was deferred for one month, and the Mayor appointed a Special Committee of three aldermen to investigate "the Africville problem." Notice was put in the local press to inform Africville residents of a forthcoming public meeting in February. After the meeting, the Special Committe reported to Council:

"A Public Hearing was held in the Council Chamber, City Hall on Wednesday, February 4, 1948, at which a large representation of residents from Africville and others were present. A free discussion took place; *all residents expressed a desire to remain in Africville* [italics added] and pledged their cooperation to any move made by the City to improve conditions there and also agreed to appoint a Committee of not more than five persons to meet with a Committee from the City Council for the purpose of working out a definite program."[2]

Council authorized the borrowing of $20,000 for the extension of a water line into Africville,[3] but the plan was never implemented. Africville residents continued to improvise with community and private wells,[4] and the danger of fire remained a constant threat to Africville homes.

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[1]*Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, January 15, 1948, p. 10.

[2]*Ibid.*, February 12, 1948, p. 107.

[3]*Ibid.*, pp. 110ff.

[4]After an outbreak of three cases of Paratyphoid "B" in 1962, the City's Commissioner of Health and Welfare wrote: "We have found that practically all the wells in the Africville area are contaminated and posted signs have been placed on them advising the people that the water should be boiled or it should be chlorinated by the use of Javex or some other liquid chlorine preparation and we have instructed individuals in how this procedure can be done." Letter from Dr. Allan R. Morton to the Mayor of Halifax and Members of the City's Health Committee, August 9, 1962. The letter is in the *Africville File*, Social Planning Office, City Hall, Halifax, N. S.

1951: Africville land still zoned industrial

In 1951, the City of Halifax received a request from a Halifax Black family to lease a portion of City-owned Africville land for residential purposes. The Commissioner of Works wrote the Committee on Works:

> "*This area is zoned for Industrial development, but at this time it is difficult to say just when Industrial development will take place along this area* [italics added].
>
> "In view of this it is suggested that this land could be leased on a year to year basis at such sum as the Committee wishes to determine."[1]

The Committee on Works recommended to Council that the land be leased and "that the rental should be whatever the taxes would be on the value of the property."[2] A motion to this effect was adopted by Council. The City of Halifax thereby became an "Africville landlord", renting to Blacks a portion of City-owned Africville land that was serviced neither by sewerage, water, garbage collection, paved roads, nor adequate fire protection.

1954: Halifax City Council approves a proposal to obtain a fifteen-acre industrial site by shifting Africville

To solve the "Africville problem" the City Manager submitted to City Council a report that recommended the shifting of Africville residents to City-owned property southwest of the existing community site.[3] The underlying intention was the acquisition of land for industrial purposes:

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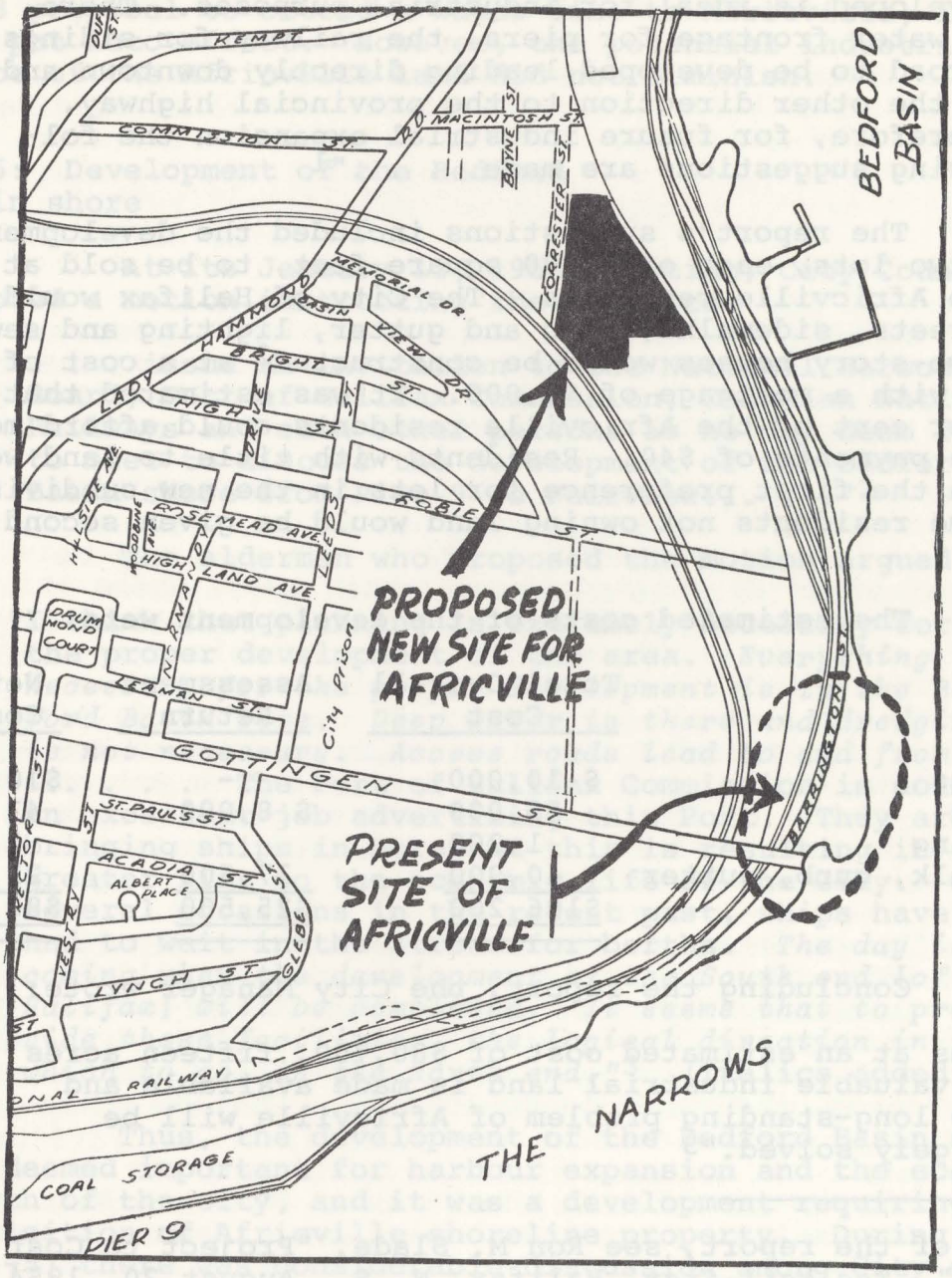
[1] *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, May 17, 1951, p. 418.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 417.

[3] The report described Africville as "a section of land about fifteen acres in extent on the shores of Bedford Basin lying roughly between Gottingen and Robie Streets. There are about ninety buildings used as dwellings by 125 adults and 200 children under the age of 16." City of Halifax, *Report by the City Manager to the Mayor and City Council*, August 19, 1954 (see drawing, "Proposal to Shift Africville", p. 149). For a



Proposal to Shift Africville

To obtain fifteen acres of land for industrial use, Halifax City Council approved a proposal in 1954 that recommended shifting Africville residents to City-owned property southwest of the existing site. This map shows the original community and the proposed new site.

- Courtesy of *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S.

"The area is not suited for residences but properly developed is ideal for industrial purposes. There is water frontage for piers, the railway for sidings, a road to be developed leading directly downtown and in the other direction to the provincial highway. Therefore, for future industrial expansion the following suggestions are made. . . ."[1]

The report's suggestions included the development of thirty-two lots, each of 5,000 square feet, to be sold at a low price to Africville residents. The City of Halifax would provide streets, sidewalks, curb and gutter, lighting and sewerage. Two-story houses would be constructed[2] at a cost of $7,000, with a mortgage of $6,000. It was estimated that over sixty per cent of the Africville residents could afford monthly mortgage payments of $40. Residents with title to land would be given the first preference for lots in the new subdivision; long-time residents not owning land would be given second choice.

The estimated costs of the development were:

	Total Overall Cost	Assessment Return	Net Cost
Streets	$ 10,000	-	$10,000
Sewers	55,000	$ 8,000	47,000
Lighting	1,200	-	1,200
Sidewalk, curb, gutter	40,000	17,500	22,500
	$106,200	$25,500	$80,700

Concluding the report, the City Manager wrote:

"Thus at an estimated cost of $80,700, fifteen acres of valuable industrial land is made available and the long-standing problem of Africville will be largely solved."[3]

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summary of the report, see Ron M. Slade, "Project to Cost $106,200", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., August 20, 1954.

[1]*Report by the City Manager*, p. 1.

[2]The report contained blueprints for these two-story houses. *Ibid.*, Plates 5 and 6.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 3.

The report was approved by Council,[1] but, like the 1948 proposal to extend a water line to Africville, it was not put into effect. However, the potential industrial importance of the Africville land did not diminish.

1955: Development of the Bedford Basin shore

At its January 13, 1955, meeting, City Council adopted a motion instructing the Mayor to:

> ". . . issue an invitation to the National Harbours Board, Port of Halifax Commission, Canadian National Railways and such other persons as he may deem fit to meet to discuss the development of the Bedford Basin shore from Pier 9 to Fairview. . . ."[2]

The alderman who proposed the motion argued:

> "I think that planning is extremely necessary for the proper development of the area. *Everything necessary for the proper development is in the Bedford Basin site. Deep water is there and dredging is not necessary. Access roads lead to and from it.* . . . The Port of Halifax Commission is doing an excellent job advertising this Port. They are bringing ships in here and this is resulting in a greater lift to the economic life of the City. On several occasions in the recent past, ships have had to wait in the stream for berths. *The day is coming when the development of the South end [of Halifax] will be completed. It seems that to provide these facilities, the logical direction in which to go, is the North end."*[3] (Italics added.)

Thus, the development of the Bedford Basin shoreline was deemed important for harbour expansion and the economic growth of the city, and it was a development requiring City acquisition of Africville shoreline property. During the period 1954-57 there was considerable discussion among City officials and members of the Port Commission and National Harbours Board

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[1] *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, September 17, 1954.

[2] *Ibid.*, January 13, 1955, pp. 4-5.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

concerning the use of Bedford Basin properties for port expansion.[1] The handwriting was already on the wall, as later events have made clear, and the relocation of Africville was imminent. Five years later, the North Shore Development Plan, which included a proposal for extension of the shoreline into Bedford Basin, initiated the chain-reaction that led to the death of the community.

1957: The "Industrial Mile" proposal

In 1956 City Council engaged Gordon Stephenson, then Professor of Town and Regional Planning, University of Toronto, to investigate housing conditions in the city of Halifax.[2] Dr. Stephenson's report (1957) described 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 about seventy negro families. They are descendants of 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 squatter's 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 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

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[1]We are grateful to the National Harbours Board, Halifax, for permission to examine their files. Newspaper reports of these discussions emphasized that it would be necessary to relocate Africville residents and that the redevelopment of the Basin area would be of advantage to Halifax's industrial growth. See, for instance, "Metropolitan Area Growth Demands Unified Action", *The Mail-Star*, July 17, 1954.

[2]The decision of City Council to engage Professor Stephenson reflected a growing concern with housing problems and slum clearance, a concern spearheaded by the local branch of the Community Planning Association of Canada.

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.*"[1] (Italics added.)

The Stephenson Report identified the Africville land for industrial and harbour development.[2] A similar proposal for industrial expansion was contained in the City's 1957 expropriation of part of the Africville land, which included a large tract of property belonging to John Miller.[3] At a City

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[1]Stephenson, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 56. It should be added that Professor Stephenson recommended urban renewal schemes in several areas of Halifax.

[3]John Miller is a pseudonym, as are all the names of Africville residents used in this and following chapters. The Miller property was 300' x 70' and contained seven dwellings and eleven sheds. In 1961 the City ordered two appraisals, which valued the property at $3,200 and $2,850 respectively. One of the appraisal reports described the buildings on the property as follows: "At the same time the property was inspected [1961] there was a number of extremely dilapidated, jerry-built structures used as dwellings and a number of small sheds and outbuildings. These dwellings are merely 'shacks' built of second-hand materials, with no foundations and no sanitary facilities. They are considered completely worthless. This appraiser has no certain knowledge of their condition in June, 1957 but considering the type of occupancy, and the condition of the surroundings, it is reasonable to assume that these structures were very little better three years prior to the inspection. In any case they would have been well below the standards of Ordinance No. 50 and would have had no value to a buyer. For this reason, the improvements will be ignored and the property will be considered as vacant land. This type of building, and the ease with which they would be demolished, obviates the necessity of a demolition allowance." *Appraisal Report, June 12, 1961*, in *Industrial Mile File*, Development Department, City Hall, Halifax, N. S. In the expropriated area, nine Africville adults lived on the John Miller property and seven adults lived outside the property.

Council meeting held on May 16, 1957, aldermen debated whether to expropriate land in northern Halifax for the development of an Industrial Mile.

"*Alderman D*: I would like to bring before Council the request of the Industrial Commission. We have been studying the possibility of land assembly on the Basin Shores. To fully develop the land it would be impossible for any individual or firm to do so. The Commission has studied this matter and has had conferences with the [Canadian National Railways], [National Harbours] Board and the Halifax Relief Commission to secure their co-operation. I urge that the Council authorize the expropriation to secure the properties in the Basin Area. . . . We are assured there is a great urgency in securing title to these lands. The C.N.R. looks upon it most favorably. Mr. _____ of the Relief Commission is most co-operative. Any increase in value in that area is the direct result of the growth of the City of Halifax.

. . . . . .

"*Alderman E*: I think that this would certainly be a forward step for Halifax. It is the only way to tidy up the area and make any progress. The Council should get the machinery under way to get this land at the best possible price being fair to all parties concerned.

. . . . . .

"*Alderman F*: *This has taken a long time to get to the point where we are now going to get the land for industrial purposes* [italics added]. The City will benefit by it. I am for it myself, and I think it is a move in the right direction.

. . . . . .

"*Alderman J*: Have you any idea of the cost involved?

. . . . . .

"*Alderman E*: *We are looking to get industry on it in the future* [italics added]. Whatever way it goes it is a long term proposition. With the scarcity of land in the City I can't see any possibility that it can't be anything but a success.

"*Alderman J*: You have to have something to offer if you hope to attract industry. I do think you must have some round figure on what you are getting into. Is it $100,000, $200,000, or $300,000?

"*His Worship the Mayor*: I am sorry I can't give you a figure. If the figures are out of the way then we will forget it.

"*Alderman J*: We don't have to go through with it if the price is too high?

"*City Solicitor*: That is right."[1]

Two months later, on July 11, 1957, Council adopted a motion that all the land for the Industrial Mile be expropriated with the exception of the Canadian National Railways property, which was to be acquired by negotiation.[2]

1962: North Shore Development Plan

By February 1962, the Industrial Mile proposal had been incorporated into the North Shore Development Plan.[3] On February 17, 1962, City Council's Planning Board approved engineering and cost studies for the development of the North

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[1]*Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, May 16, 1957, pp. 338-339.

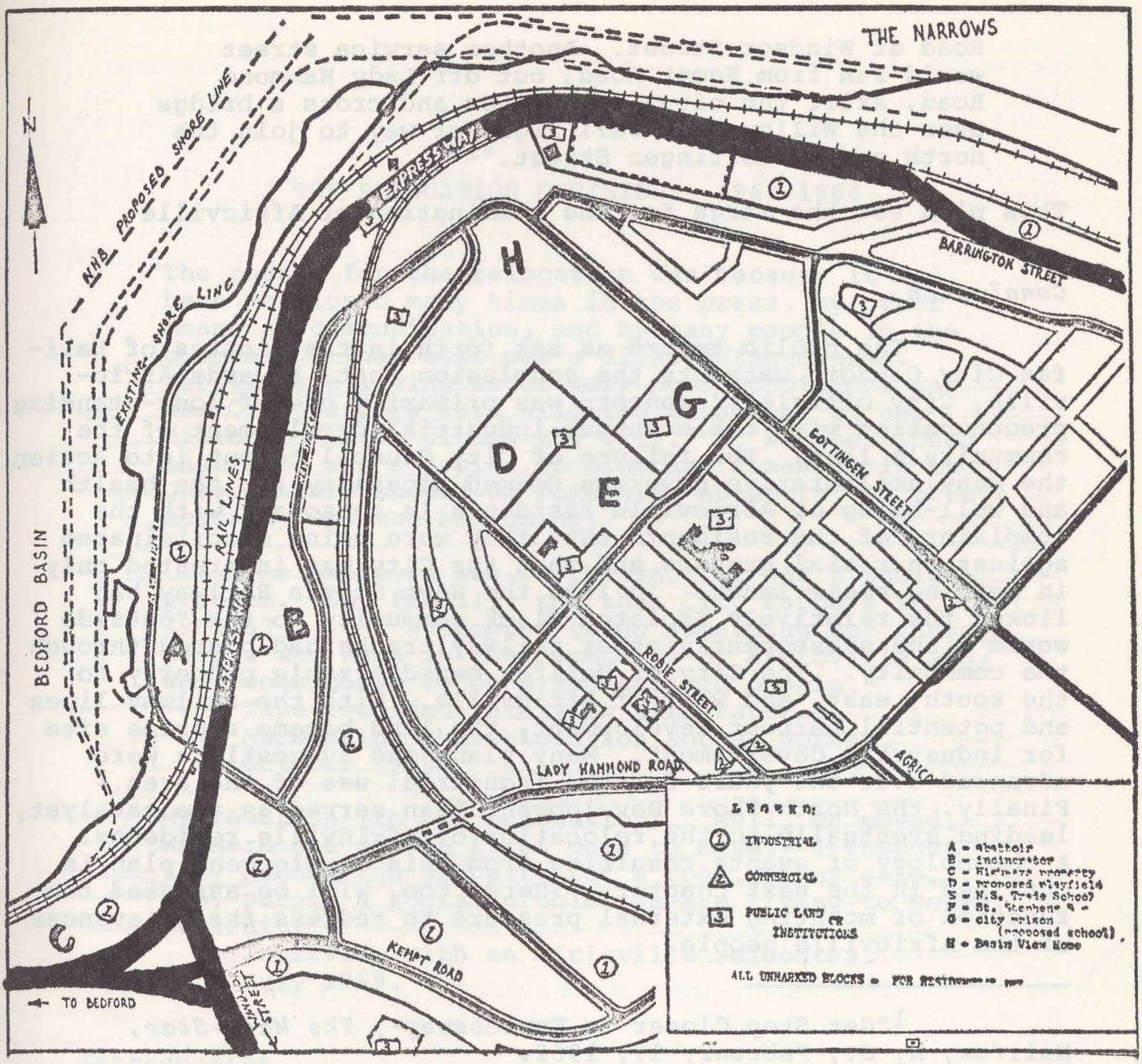
[2]*Ibid.*, July 11, 1957, p. 523.

[3]One year prior to the North Shore Development Plan the "Africville problem" was considered by City Council's Housing Policy Review Committee, which recommended "clearance of existing housing in Africville district and the construction of approximately 500 F.P. housing units on the City Prison and Africville sites." City of Halifax, *Report of the Housing Policy Review Committee*, Alderman Abbie Lane, Chairman, August 8, 1961, p. 2.

Africville was discussed at the Committee's meeting on May 19, 1961. The Managing Editor of *The Mail-Star*, who attended this meeting, stated that "he felt the [Africville] problem was economic in part but he contended that if the City Dump was eliminated or policed more efficiently, part of the desire of some of the people living at Africville to stay there would be eliminated as a number of them make their living by scavenging on the dump." Minutes of the Housing Policy Review Committee, May 19, 1961, p. 4.

Shore. Included in the plan were a limited-access expressway of about one-and-three-quarter miles, the development of industrial sites, and the expansion of the shoreline into Bedford Basin (see "North Shore Development Plan", p. 157). The *Mail-Star* described the proposal:

> "Seven acres of vacant land is made immediately available for industrial development by the plan. . . .
>
> "Large areas are laid down for housing, including high density apartment projects designed to take advantage of inclines for light, air and parking.
>
> "*The expressway is to be two lanes at first and four lanes later. As it is laid down it will go right through the Africville district which is scheduled for removal starting in the spring . . .* [italics added].
>
> "Ribbons and small areas of open public lands are laid out. The major residential area will be the City Prison farm lands. When the City Prison itself is replaced by a Halifax, Dartmouth and County prison, the Rockhead Prison building will be the site of a primary school to serve the new housing. The amount of residential and industrial area can be varied according to demand.
>
> "An extensive recreation area is laid out adjacent to the new Nova Scotia Trades School site.
>
> "Industrial land now made available is adjacent to the City Incinerator and the Nova Scotia Co-operative Abattoir. . . .
>
> "The National Harbours Board own the water rights along this section of Bedford Basin and have tentative plans for extending the shoreline outward by the use of fill. Possible service roads and railway spur for future ocean shipping terminals are laid down.
>
> "The expressway or portway to downtown can be built almost entirely at grade and along the upper side of the CNR's right-of-way to Pier Nine and HMC Dockyard, joining Barrington Street as it now exists just above Pier Nine. A service road will follow close to the old line of Barrington Street along the harbour Narrows and Bedford Basin. The expressway or portway will join the Bedford Highway and Kempt



North Shore Development Plan

The 1962 North Shore Development Plan recommended industrial sites, expansion of the shoreline into Bedford Basin, and a limited access expressway of about 1 3/4 miles. The expressway was to pass through the community of Africville.

- Courtesy of *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S.

Road at Windsor Street. Another service street would run from Kempt Road, cut off Lady Hammond Road, skirt the city incinerator and cross a bridge over the Willow Park rail right-of-way to join the north end of Gottingen Street."[1]

This plan set the stage for the elimination of Africville.

Conclusion

The public record as set forth in the minutes of Halifax City Council warrants the conclusion that, towards Africville, City officials' concern was primarily one of long-standing preoccupation with the eventual industrial development of the community's land. The failure of City Council to put into action the many ameliorative programs deemed necessary for the health and well-being of Africville residents is consonant with the complaints of the residents that they were being discriminated against on racial grounds and that the City was interested only in getting their lands. In 1854 the Nova Scotia Railway had linked the relatively isolated Black community to the "outside world", and subsequently other railway tracks had passed through the community. The City of Halifax owned sizable property to the south, east, and west of Africville. With the railway lines and potential harbour development, the land became a prime site for industrial development. Many plans and suggestions were advanced over the years for the industrial use of the area.[2] Finally, the North Shore Development Plan served as the catalyst, leading eventually to the relocation of Africville residents. A chronology of events resulting from this development plan is outlined in the next chapter. There, too, will be assessed the function of mounting external pressure to redress the grievances of the Africville people.

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[1]"Get Step Closer to Expressway", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., February 17, 1962.

[2]A former mayor of Halifax reported that the "official" thinking on Africville during the period preceding relocation was "unless there were very strong, clear advantages to the community as a whole by going on the side, shall we say, of the industrial developers, you would be very cautious about removing these people unless they themselves wanted to go." (Tape-recorded interview, November 1971.) Since most of the industrial and port plans advanced in the pre-relocation period were vague and long-term, and since Africville residents wanted improvements but were on the whole opposed to relocation, despite the plethora of plans no concrete relocation discussion emerged until 1963.

CHAPTER SIX

THE RELOCATION DECISION: 1962-1964

"The reason for the relocation was because it had been mentioned many times in the press, by other means of communication, and by many people in the community, that this was a disadvantaged area. People were living under very poor conditions and the City Fathers were allowing this kind of condition to exist within the city. It was mentioned that this was a social problem and somebody in the City Fathers should do something about it, so this actually was the beginning.

"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."
- Tape-recorded interview with Peter J. MacDonald, the relocation social worker, October 1969.

"My reaction [to the relocation]. Well, we moved. We were one of the first ones to move. I thought they needed the property for a road. They said, 'No, purely a social problem we are trying to solve.' Bullshit!"
- Interview with an Africville relocatee, July 1969.

Introduction

The events surrounding the decision to relocate Africville span the period from July 1962 to January 1964. It is impossible now to construct an exact day-to-day chronology of the decision-making process. An overview of the major highlights can be developed, however, through examination of City Hall documents, correspondence, tape-recorded interviews, and newspapers and magazines.

A statement about the City Development Department's recommendation to relocate Africville residents appeared in *The Mail-Star* on August 1, 1962. Although Africville resi-

dents initially rejected the recommendation, by mid-October many had accepted the fact that relocation was imminent. In August 1962, the National Committee on Human Rights, Canadian Labour Congress, sent its Ontario Human Rights Director, lawyer A. Alan Borovoy, to Halifax for the purpose of meeting Africville residents and other concerned Halifax citizens. With Borovoy's encouragement, the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee was formed. The emergence of this body forestalled immediate relocation. For sixteen months the Committee explored alternatives to relocation. In December 1963 a report written by Dr. Albert Rose, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, recommended that Africville be expropriated and cleared. After an existence of over one hundred years, the community of Africville "officially died" on January 16, 1964, with the acceptance of the Rose Report by Halifax City Council.

July 23, 1962: The Development Department Report

As explained in the preceding chapter, the area expropriated in 1957 for the Industrial Mile had been incorporated in the North Shore Development Plan. In a 1962 memorandum, the Assistant City Planner described Africville as the greatest problem in the development of the Northern Slope:

> "Africville stands out as the greatest problem in this study area, and a lengthy legal and administrative problem is likely to stem from establishing ownerships, etc., and forestall an early redevelopment of the 'shanty town'. City Council must also clarify its position and policy in relation to the rehousing of the Africville population."[1]

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[1]Memorandum from D. A. Baker, Assistant Planner, to K. M. Munnich, Director of Planning, City of Halifax, January 2, 1962, p. 2. This memorandum is in the Industrial Mile File, Development Department, City Hall, Halifax, N. S.

Shortly before the memorandum was written, City Hall officials had discussed the relocation of Africville. *The Mail-Star* reported in November 1961:

"Blighted housing in Africville is scheduled to be on the way out by next spring.

"City manager Peter Byars told Halifax council's redevelopment committee yesterday that he was hopeful a reasonable course of action can be found by that time.

"The manager assured the committee that the city staff would have a workable plan for the rehousing of residents and demolition of blighted buildings in Africville.

"'City staff has not yet been able to reach any defin-

Two months later, the City Manager wrote to the Mayor and the Town Planning Board explaining that, if the principles of the North Shore Development Plan were accepted, City Staff must "*examine and recommend a solution to the Africville problem.*"[1] (Italics added.) Thus the North Shore Development Plan set the stage for the relocation of the Black Community. City Hall staff proceeded to assemble information about Africville, and the City's Planning Department prepared a map identifying Africville buildings and residents.[2]

The City's Development Officer, Robert Grant, played a central role in the relocation decision-making. A former senior employee of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Grant was appointed as Development Officer in 1961.[3] Inter-

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ite conclusions on the best approach to take to eliminate the unsatisfactory housing conditions in this area,' said Mr. Byars in a report requested by the committee's last meeting. He said preliminary discussions with an interested group had taken place with the aim of obtaining the basic social information which it was felt must be in hand before any decisions were made.

"Mayor Lloyd welcomed the private participation advanced to aid the city staff work but he warned that it was the city's responsibility to follow up progress very closely to see that work was going ahead. 'In any event we must be ready to move by the spring, I would think. The initiative should not be lost by the city council,' the mayor said." ("Africville Cleanup Set for Spring", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., November 22, 1961.)

[1]Memorandum from the City Manager to the Mayor and Members of the Town Planning Board, February 20, 1962. This memorandum is in the Industrial Mile File, Development Department, City Hall, Halifax, N. S.

[2]*Industrial Mile--Africville Area: Land Ownership and Buildings*, Map P500/46, July 26, 1962, Planning Office, City Hall, Halifax, N. S.

[3]The establishment of the City's Development Department was recommended to Halifax City Council in *Report of the Housing Policy Review Committee*, p. 3. The Department was established officially on October 1, 1961, and Robert Grant was appointed as the Development Director. The Development Department "is responsible for co-ordinating all phases of the development and redevelopment of the City, including urban renewal and blight eradication. It administers the day-to-day and long range planning functions of the City, in accordance

viewed in 1969, he explained how he had become involved with the Africville relocation:

> "My basic function was to start an urban renewal and redevelopment program in the City of Halifax.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "[There were] three fundamental priorities and that was the Central Redevelopment Area, Uniacke Square clearance program, and Africville. They were taken really in that order because the Central Redevelopment Area had become a problem because everybody was getting mad at seeing vacant land in the centre of the City. Uniacke Square was brought in because we had to have some way of getting a steady flow of housing, public housing, and it was only within that context that I personally felt that we could deal with Africville."[1]

In July 1962, Grant wrote a report which recommended the relocation of Africville residents. He considered three alternatives:

> "I had three alternatives available. Number one, I could go in and do another survey of Africville, which I discarded because I didn't think that was really going to achieve anything more than was already known, and, in fact, would probably create more hostility and difficulties than the benefits that would be gained from it. The second alternative, I suppose, was to write the report without knowing anything about Africville. And the third thing I could do was to attempt to find out about Africville in an indirect way, without getting down to the real individual problems in the area, but to define generally what the situation was in some more meaningful way than by rumour.

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with Council policy decisions. The Department is responsible for acquisition of property required for development and redevelopment purposes and the necessary clearance of land for new uses. It manages all City-owned properties other than those used in the operation of the City's business." Curriculum vitae of Robert Grant, a communication from Mr. Grant's office, April 1970.

[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

"The physical standards were obvious, and the physical problems, as far as buildings were concerned, were obvious. The question of the people, whether they were all welfare, all scavenging, this was another matter. I looked at this carefully and I really decided on the third course of action.

. . . . . .

"Having looked around for quite a while, I arranged to meet and have several discussions with a young gentleman who had been a resident of Africville as a youngster and pretty well knew what, who was there, and what their circumstances were, not necessarily up to date, but generally the situation. I decided I would meet with him and talk things over before I came to any conclusions."[1]

Relocation was considered the only solution to the Africville problem:

"It was considered, certainly by us at the staff, that this was the only possibility. We examined the possibility of cooperative housing. We had looked at the possibility of sewer and water, installing sewer and water, which was a virtual impossibility. We had looked at the question of rehabilitating their homes, which again was a complete impossibility.

"And I personally took the view that I wasn't going to be party to rebuilding a coloured ghetto on the same land. Maybe my reasons were pretty primitive, if you wish. But I had seen the operation in a different context in St. John's, Newfoundland, and I didn't want to be party to it. I could see no way it could go but fail in the long run."[2]

After his investigation, Grant wrote the Development Department Report entitled *Africville* (see Appendix A), dated July 23, 1962. It described the Africville area (its people, ownership of land), outlined alternative courses of action, and noted the reluctance of Africville residents to relocate:

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

"*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. . . . *Despite the wishes of many of the residents*, it would seem desirable on social grounds to offer alternate housing in other locations within the City."[1] (Italics added.)

The report recommended removal of the blighted housing and dilapidated structures in Africville, and Grant estimated that the cost of acquisition and clearance of Africville would range from $40,000 to $70,000.[2] Alternative housing accommodations would be offered in unsegregated, subsidized rental projects. Residents without legal title would receive a gratuitous payment of $500 for a quitclaim deed and vacant possession of their property.[3] Residents with proof of legal title could claim compensation through the courts or in negotiation with the City.

August 8, 1962: Africville residents reject the Development Department Report

The Development Department Report appeared in *The Mail-Star* on August 1, 1962.[4] The next day, J. E. Ahern, a former Mayor of Halifax and the then Halifax North member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, announced to the press that he had called a public meeting in Africville to discuss the report.[5] On the evening of August 8, nearly one hundred

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[1]Appendix A, p. A6. [2]*Ibid.*, p. A9.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. A8.

[4]"Africville District Takeover Being Viewed as Necessary: Halifax Planning Board Considers Report Tuesday", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., August 1, 1962.

[5]"Africville: Ahern Makes Move", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., August 2, 1962. This article contained the following statement by Mr. Ahern:

"The principle of expropriation is one that must be handled very carefully. Unless the planners have a worthwhile plan for Africville they should leave it alone. I favour improved housing for those without them. Many of the residents in Africville cannot pay high rents. Regarding the statement of the planners as to the proof of ownership, this could be

Black people crowded into the Seaview African Baptist Church.[1] The meeting was attended by J. E. Ahern, Deputy Mayor James Connolly, and Ward Six Alderman H. R. Wyman. *The Mail-Star* reported that the desire to remain in Africville was unanimous.[2] "'I wouldn't want to leave here and move into the city,' said [one resident, and] the audience clapped its approval. 'We want to be able to buy land out here and build on it according to city specifications.'"[3]

During this meeting:

> "Men and women rose one after the other to speak against any move, and also to blast city hall officials for their reluctance to give out building permits for the area."[4]

Alderman Wyman and Mr. Ahern addressed the meeting, and a deacon expressed a common view:

> "'The city pays the market price when appropriating property,' Mr. Wyman said. 'But this is still unfair in many cases.'
>
> "'It is not giving a man proper compensation if we take a home he owns, and give him a home someone else owns--even at a cheap rent,' he said.
>
> "'What the city considers a fair price is not what you or I consider a fair price,' Mr. Ahern added.

. . . . . .

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provided by an act of the Nova Scotia Legislature. Africville could be developed into one of the finest residential districts in Halifax at a very low cost.

"*Many residents of Africville recently told me that they don't like living in apartments and that they would like to have a chance to hold onto properties passed to them by their parents* [italics added].

"There are many persons living in two-room houses which is all that they can afford when work is not available. They would be unable to pay rent, and as long as the places are clean they are happy."

[1]The details of this meeting were reported in: "Residents Want to Keep Homes in Africville", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., August 9, 1962.

[2]*Idem.* [3]*Idem.* [4]*Idem.*

"'Together we stand: divided we fall,' [a church deacon] said. And his words were echoed round the hall."[1]

August 22-23, 1962: The emergence of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee

In 1961 an Africville resident, John Anderson, visited the Montreal office of Sid Blum, Associate Secretary, National Committee on Human Rights, Canadian Labour Congress. Anderson wanted to build a ranch-style bungalow on his Africville land. He complained to Blum that City officials had told him that, because he lived in an area intended for redevelopment, he must wait six months for a building permit and, even then, he might not be given one.[2] Upon his return to Africville, Anderson told Mrs. Nancy Edwards of his meeting with Blum. Mrs. Edwards, a church "leader" and a prominent member of an old-line Africville family, wrote to Blum, outlining many of the problems faced by Africville residents.[3] In reply, Blum reviewed these problems[4] and advised as follows:

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[1]*Idem.*

[2]The details of the meeting between Blum and Anderson are outlined in Blum's correspondence. Letter from Sid Blum, National Committee on Human Rights, Canadian Labour Congress, to F. C. Brodie, Human Rights Committee, Halifax-Dartmouth District Labour Council, October 17, 1961.

[3]Mrs. Edwards permitted the research staff to Xerox her letters from Mr. Blum. Appreciation is extended to her for permission to quote from this correspondence.

[4]Blum listed the problems outlined by Mrs. Edwards, a number of which reflect the existing pattern of discrimination against Africville residents:

"(1) The men of Africville are not able to get employment in the City, either because of racial discrimination or because they come from Africville. (2) The residents of Africville do not have sewage or running water although there are such facilities available in the districts around Africville. (3) Africville is exposed to the City dump, which is on one side of the district, sewage water from the old Immigration Hospital runs through the district's water supply, the wells are contaminated, and a nearby fish oil plant pollutes the air of the district."

- Letter from Sid Blum to Mrs. Edwards, September 6, 1961, p. 1.

"Many of the problems you mention are economic or political problems that require leadership from among the residents of Africville and a constant agitation, and delegations to the City Council to have your problems recognized and acted upon. In this matter, our committee can't be of much help. You must organize the people of Africville into a group whose voice is recognized by the City Council, and continue to press your case until the City takes remedial action."[1]

Following receipt of Blum's advice, a small number of Africville residents banded together to form a Ratepayers Association,[2] in order to communicate with City Hall for the purpose of demanding an adequate water supply, sewerage, and other basic community requirements.

The correspondence with Blum continued and, in March 1962, John Anderson again visited Blum's Montreal office. Blum told Anderson that he would try to visit Halifax in late April or early May, to meet with the residents of Africville.[3] In mid-April, Blum wrote Mrs. Edwards stating that either he or his colleague, A. Alan Borovoy, would visit Halifax.[4] Four months later, he wrote again to Mrs. Edwards expressing his concern about the impact of redevelopment and urban renewal projects on Black communities. He informed Mrs. Edwards:

"I am sending our best man in this field to Halifax. He is A. Alan Borovoy, a lawyer and our Ontario Human Rights Director. He has done a tremendous job in Ontario in breaking down discrimination and obtaining anti-discrimination legislation in the housing field.

"I hope that you, with the cooperation of the other leaders of the Negro community can arrange a

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[2] An Africville relocatee who had been a member of this organization reported that the core members of the Ratepayers Association were Mr. and Mrs. Edwards; two deacons of the Seaview African Baptist Church, Deacon Parsons and Deacon Quinn; and three other Africville residents, Mrs. Quinn, John Anderson, and Frank MacPherson. Interview, September 1969.

[3] Blum repeated his promise in a letter to Mrs. Edwards. Letter from Sid Blum to Mrs. Edwards, April 19, 1962.

[4] *Idem.*

meeting (perhaps under the sponsorship of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People) so that my colleague, Brother Borovoy, can meet with the people and discuss these matters with them and get the most up-to-date information on it. Brother Borovoy is also a distinguished orator and a leading expert in the fight for human rights in Canada."[1]

Borovoy visited Halifax in August. On his first morning, he and David Lewis Stein, a Toronto free-lance reporter, visited Africville. Stein had accompanied Borovoy for the purpose of writing an article for *Maclean's Magazine*. The details of Borovoy's visit are set forth in Stein's published article.[2]

"On Borovoy's first morning in Halifax, we went out to Africville. The taxi took us up Barrington Street, the city's main street. Past the business section, we skirted a barren hill and crossed two sets of railway tracks; where the pavement ends, Africville begins. Africville is a hillside overlooking Bedford Basin.

"For more than a hundred years, Negroes have lived on that hill in what amounts to a country village inside the city limits. The hill is covered with winding paths that lead to the houses--some of them rude shacks but others solid and substantial.

"In a horseshoe surrounding Africville are white subdivisions properly supplied with sewerage and water. The people of Africville use only outside privies and polluted surface wells. They have, within smelling distance, a municipal garbage dump.

"As we left the cab a short, heavy Negro woman met us and introduced herself as Mrs. [Edwards]. She led us up the hill to her house. Mrs. [Edwards] is one of the leaders of Africville. For many years she was the only midwife in the village, and the

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[1]Letter from Sid Blum to Mrs. Edwards, August 9, 1962.

[2]David Lewis Stein, "The Counterattack on Diehard Racism", *Maclean's Magazine*, October 20, 1962, *passim*. Bob Brooks, a free-lance photographer, Yarmouth, N. S., took the photographs that accompanied Stein's article.

first child she brought into the world is now a woman of thirty-two living only a few houses away. Mrs. [Edwards'] husband [Peter] was born in Barbados and still speaks with the musical lilt of a West Indian. When he talks of Africville, he speaks with a harsh eloquence. 'Our living conditions are abominable. We're third class citizens. All we want is what our white neighbours have. We don't want their money, we just want the essential things of life. We ain't living now. We're just existing.'

"Seated at the [Edwards'] dining-room table, Borovoy listened to them and four other people from Africville explain their troubles. The city is planning to take over their land and put them in apartment houses. Only a few people in Africville have clear deeds to their property. The rest are squatters, but their nine-tenths of the law is enough to make them feel like landlords. The city is in the midst of a massive redevelopment program and has already torn down the homes of scores of people--both white and colored--in downtown Halifax. Many of these people have been placed in a city-run block of apartments called Mulgrave Park. Mulgrave Park, or anything like it, terrifies the people of Africville. For one thing, it means paying rent for the first time in their lives. For another, it means giving up their community church and their community social life.

"A year ago, the [Edwards] and a half dozen other families formed an Africville Association to fight the city. They wrote to Sid Blum and in August, they got Borovoy, whom they regard as their lawyer."[1]

Stein reported further that:

"The Africville people complained bitterly that except for the First Baptist Church no one from the city ever bothered with them. The city people explained they were never invited. And, they said, it just wouldn't be right for city people to *force* themselves on the people from Africville."[2]

Borovoy's first task was to bring together Africville residents and other Halifax citizens; on the evening

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

of August 22, a meeting was held in the Nova Scotian Hotel, where Borovoy was staying (see Plate 14, "Crucial Meeting: August 22, 1962").

> "Seated in the centre of a horseshoe of white and black faces, Borovoy, wearing slacks and an open shirt, held forth on the mechanics of doing good.
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> "The first thing he suggested was that they consider themselves an advisory council. They would come to this council as individuals rather than as delegates from organizations. That way they could decide to do something and act quickly on their decisions. Then they could go back to whatever organizations they belonged to and try to enlist support. The second thing Borovoy suggested was that they immediately collect enough support to make up a delegation to ask the labour minister to spend more money publicizing the fair-employment and fair-accommodation legislation.
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> . . . . . .
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> "'Some people say we're trouble-makers,' Borovoy said. 'I say we're trouble-finders. They say we should take our time and try to educate people to accept these things slowly. My answer to these people is "Nuts"! If we wait for people to love each other, we can wait for an eternity.'"[1]

The next evening, at the Seaview African Baptist Church, Borovoy spoke to a meeting of Africville residents (see Plate 15, "Meeting At The Seaview African Baptist Church").

> "'I have no magic answers,' he explained, 'but last night there was a meeting at the Nova Scotian Hotel. Some representatives of yours were there and so were a lot of other people, both white and Negro. We talked just not about the problems of Africville but of all the Halifax Negroes. At least this much has happened--you're not alone any more. . . . It's up to you. I can't come back here every week or every month. But if I have at least introduced a few people from Halifax to one another, I can go back to Toronto happy.'
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> . . . . . .

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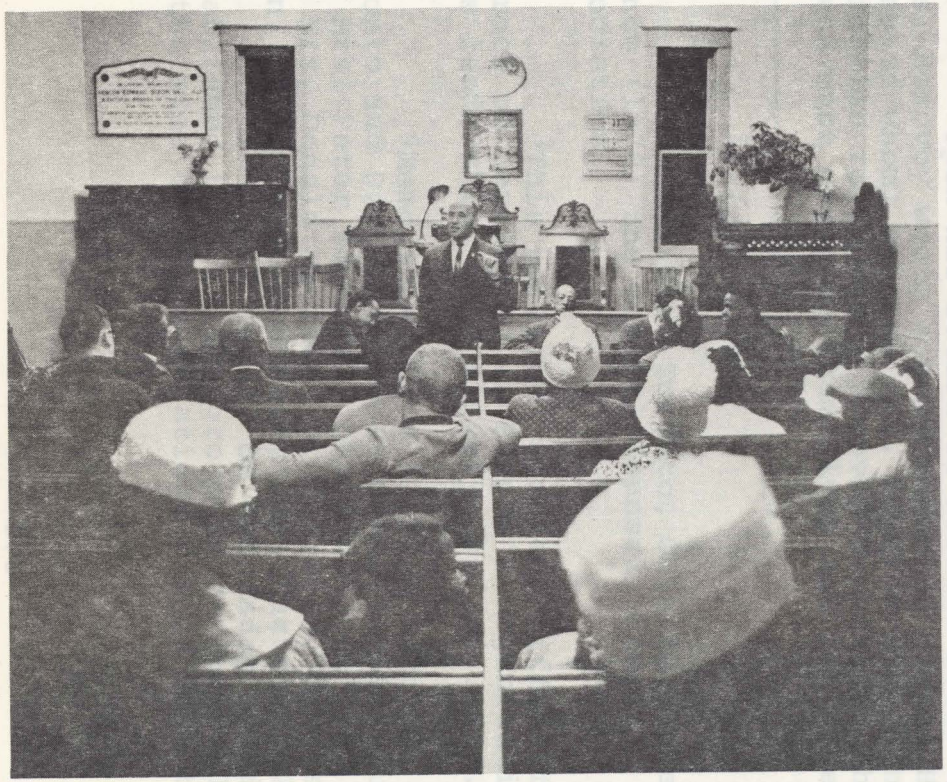
[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

Plate 14. CRUCIAL MEETING: AUGUST 22, 1962. Mobilized by Africville residents' request for assistance, Halifax Blacks and Whites meet with lawyer A. Alan Borovoy (seated at right, lighting a pipe) and develop a new human rights organization.
--Bob Brooks Photo



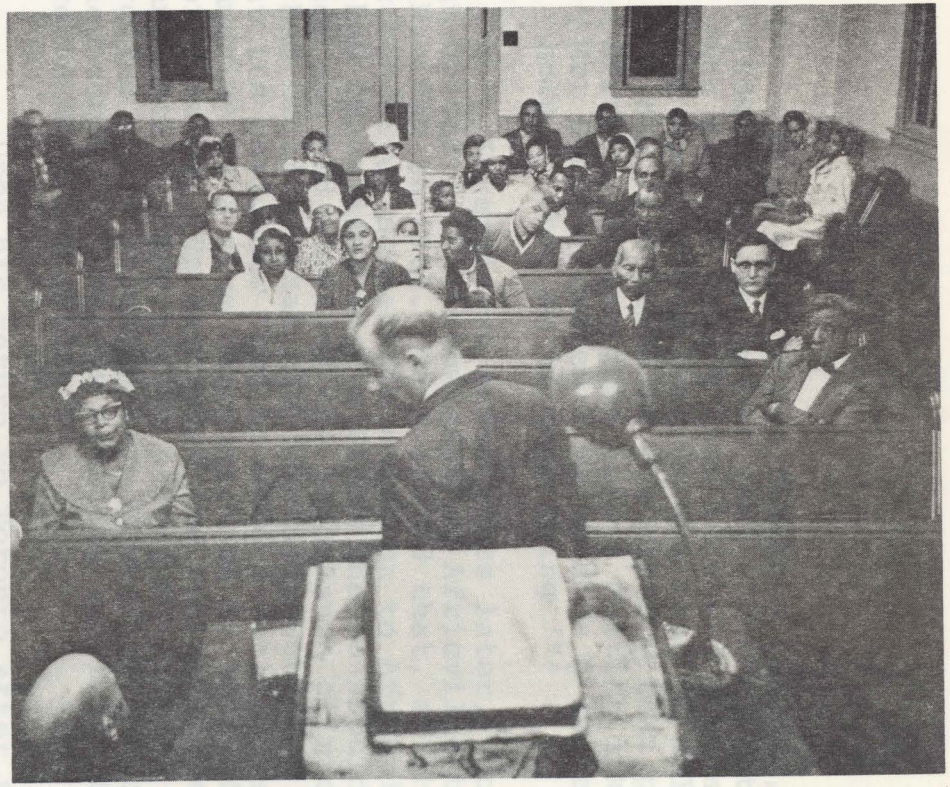


Plate 15. MEETING AT THE SEAVIEW AFRICAN BAPTIST CHURCH, AUGUST 23, 1962. Lawyer A. Alan Borovoy suggests to Africville residents the importance of creating ties with other individuals and organizations concerned with human rights.
--Bob Brooks Photo

"When Borovoy had finished talking, Mrs. [Edwards] rose in her pew. 'When I got into this,' she said,'I didn't know it would mean so much work. But now we have friends who want to help us. This is the first time in our history that people from Africville have gone into a meeting like the one Mr. Borovoy called. We've done a lot and with the help of God, we'll keep going.'"[1]

Interviewed seven years later,[2] Borovoy explained that he had little knowledge of Africville before his visit to Halifax in 1962. He recalled that, at the time, he had not conceived a specific solution to Africville problems. He had emphasized that a Black ghetto should not be subsidized and had stressed the importance of racial integration. He had realized that the community would be relocated and that its residents "had to make a deal". He perceived the community as a slum characterized by lack of facilities and poor housing. He described the residents as "squatters and transients". They had no strong power base from which to bargain; their strength lay, therefore, in organizing with other concerned Halifax citizens and in putting moral pressure on City officials.[3]

Upon his return to Toronto after the two 1962 meetings, Borovoy wrote a memorandum to eleven Halifax citizens, three of whom, Mr. and Mrs. Edwards and John Anderson, were Africville residents. Borovoy emphasized that the group of eleven must organize themselves and continue to meet.[4] Fol-

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[1]*Ibid.*, p. 93.

[2]Interview, Toronto, Ontario, November 1969. Borovoy is now (1970) the General Counsel, Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

[3]This political strategy differs from Saul Alinsky's approch of developing a "People's Organization" using indigenous leadership. See Alinsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-98.

[4]Memorandum from A. Alan Borovoy, Executive Secretary, Toronto and District Labour Committee for Human Rights, to Mr. and Mrs. Peter Edwards, John Anderson, Rev. W. P. Oliver, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Maclean, Fred Brodie, George Davis, Gus Wedderburn, Lloyd Shaw, and Buddy Day, August 1962. Borovoy wrote: "You will recall on Wednesday evening, August 22nd, we established this little group as an informal advisory committee in the area of human relations. Thus far, the people enumer-

lowing his advice, four Africville residents and five other Halifax residents met on September 21, 1962, and organized the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, the seeds of which had been planted by Borovoy's Halifax visit in August 1962.[1] Perhaps it would be useful, before continuing the chronology of the relocation decision-making, to provide a sketch of the membership of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee.

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ated above constitute the membership. It is an informal alliance; the members participate as individuals rather than as representatives of organizations. This allows for maximum flexibility. However, when delegates or programmes are planned and the need for further support arises, other organizations can be requested to join in. The organizational contacts of these people will be very helpful in increasing community support for our programme.

. . . . . .

"We tentatively agreed that the group would meet somewhere during the second week of September. Mrs. Maclean was to contact Mrs. [Edwards] and the others to set it up. *Thus far, Mrs. Maclean has undertaken a very great amount of the responsibility for this group. I would ask that all help be given to her to lighten the load.*" (Italics in original.)

[1]The emergence of this Committee was to have implications for subsequent developments in Nova Scotia; in later years it was to become partly responsible for the establishment of other human rights citizen and governmental organizations. The Chairman of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, H. A. J. Wedderburn, explained:

"[The meeting with Borovoy] was the first time that these people came together, both our people, our Black people, people from Africville, and people from the community as a whole, White people. That [was] the first time we ever came together and the nucleus of the thing was set up at that initial meeting, and we took it from there.

. . . . . .

"That [meeting was] the origin of what later became the Human Rights Federation, and which [has become] the Nova Scotia Civil Liberties and Human Rights Association.

"And it is also from that meeting [with Borovoy] that pressures were beginning to build up, and some sort of an organization or movement formed to bring pressure on the government to set up the Human Rights Commission, as it now stands. And to get a full-time coordinator, and to change the Human Rights Act to make it more meaningful."

-Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

THE HALIFAX HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Over a six year period (1962-1967), the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee met forty times[1] and held, in addition, approximately seven meeting with Africville residents in the Seaview African Baptist Church. A total of seventy-one Halifax citizens attended one or more meetings, but attendance at most meetings was low. The "core membership" consisted of ten members, four Whites and six Blacks, three of whom, Mr. and Mrs. Peter Edwards and Frank MacPherson, were Africville residents.[2]

The seven non-Africville members of the Committee played what Herbert Gans has called "caretaker" roles.[3] They perceived themselves as protecting the interests of Africville residents and, as shown later in this chapter, collected tech-

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[1]Donald F. Maclean, Secretary, Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, permitted research staff to Xerox the minutes of the Committee's meetings. The first minuted meeting was held on September 21, 1962, at Maclean's home. The Committee's last meeting was held on January 23, 1967.

[2]The criteria for defining "core membership" were: attendance at ten or more of the Committee's meetings, and personal involvement with the efforts of the Committee. Personal involvement was evaluated subjectively by the research directors after a review of the Committee's minutes.

[3]Gans' definition of this concept is: "The term 'caretaker' can thus be applied broadly to anyone who provides services to people. . . . Caretakers thus include those people and agencies who offer medical and psychiatric treatment, case work, occupational, social and psychological counselling, economic assistance, *technical aid or information, advice in general*, and educational and quasi-educational programs intended to benefit their users." (Gans, *The Urban Villagers*, p. 142 [italics added].)

In light of this definition, the non-Africville members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee can be defined more specifically as "advisory caretakers". Prior to Halifax City Council's January 1964 decision to relocate Africville, the Committee collected technical information and examined alternatives to relocation. Also, they advised Africville residents on a number of crucial questions. For an example of this advisory function, see the section of this chapter entitled, "January 9, 1964: Thirty-seven Africville residents approve the Rose Report".

nical information and provided crucial advice. Interviewed individually at length,[1] six of the caretakers explained that they had become members of the Committee through concern for human rights; they were against racial segregation and believed in integration. In general, they possessed what Edward Banfield and James Wilson call a "community- or public-regarding" political ethos.[2] The characteristics of this ethos are a sense of obligation towards the community, a high sense of personal efficacy, a long-sighted perspective, a general familiarity with and confidence in city-wide institutions, a cosmopolitan orientation towards life, and organizational skills and resources.[3] As Wilson has observed:

> "It is just these attributes, of course, which make such people most likely to participate effectively in organizations whose function--whatever their ostensible purpose--is to create a sense of community and of community confidence and to win consent for community-wide plans. They are, in short, precisely those attributes which are likely to produce 'citizen participation in urban renewal' that planners and community organizers will consider 'positive and constructive'--that is, participation which will influence some of the general goals of renewal and modify a few of its details, but allow renewal to proceed."[4]

The seven caretakers had relatively little knowledge

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[1]For the questions used in the tape-recorded interviews with the caretakers, see Appendix K. These interviews were completed approximately seven years after the inception of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and two and one-half years after its termination. It was, therefore, difficult for the caretakers to recall precisely some of the events during the relocation decision-making. One of the Black caretakers had moved from Halifax and could not be interviewed.

[2]Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, *City Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), Chapter 16.

[3]These characteristics are outlined by James Q. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal", *Citizen Participation in Urban Development: I: Concepts and Issues*, Hans B. C. Spiegel, editor (Washington, D. C.: Center for Community Studies, National Institute for Applied Behavioural Science, 1968), pp. 49-50.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 50.

of the origin or history of Africville. They did not know precisely when or why the original settlers had come to Africville. When asked about the City's proposals from 1945 to 1962 for use of the Africville land, they tended generally either not to have known or not to have remembered the details or that such proposals existed. Prior to Halifax City Council's decision (January 1964) to relocate Africville, the caretakers examined alternatives to relocation. In September 1963, they recommended to Halifax City Council that a "specialist" should examine the Africville situation. In addition, the Black caretakers became representatives on a City Council subcommittee that recommended specific financial settlements for Africville relocatees.[1] In essence, then, this small core membership of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee had a key role in decision-making to relocate Africville. A thumbnail sketch of the caretakers indicates their perception of the Black community, and some of the reasons for their involvement with the relocation.

The White caretakers

The White caretakers expressed concern about physical conditions in Africville. They had little or no knowledge of Africville's social structure; for instance, they knew the names of only one or two of the resident families with long-standing historical roots in Africville at the time of the relocation.

Donald F. Maclean, Secretary, Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee Born in Halifax, Donald Maclean is a graduate of Acadia and Dalhousie Universities. He is employed as Head of the Conference and Course Section, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, and has belonged to numerous public service organizations. His work in design, development, and presentation of educational programs has brought him into contact with public and private organizations at the municipal, provincial, and national levels. He has been program contributor to both the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in Halifax, first Secretary of the Nova Scotia Arts Council, first Director of the Nova Scotia Junior School of Community Arts, and board member of the Nova Scotia Federation of Home and School Associations and of the Canadian Association for Adult Education. He was Secretary of the Nova Scotia Human Rights Federation and is Secretary of its successor, the Nova Scotia Civil Liberties and Human Rights Association.

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[1]The purpose and function of this City Hall subcommittee is discussed in the next chapter.

The extent of these many associations is impressive for even the most active civic-oriented man. Through the years, Mr. Maclean has been involved, in various capacities, with approximately forty educational, labour, management, and other organizations and agencies.[1]

When asked why he served on the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, Mr. Maclean explained.

> "It goes back, before I became a member of the staff of the Nova Scotia Adult Education Division, Department of Education. I had spent a summer in a Quaker workshop in Washington, D. C., [in a] Negro section of Washington. So I had become involved in things related to the Negro at that time. When I joined the Adult Education Division, they had an adult education program serving Negro communities in the province.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "I had been a member of a small group called the Halifax Interracial Council . . . in the late fifties . . . [where] there were various discussions about interracial problems. And then when interest developed in Africville, this council melded into a new entity called the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee."[2]

Maclean had limited personal contact with Africville:

> "The people I knew were principally the Africville members of the Human Rights Advisory Committee. And the community, I have been in half a dozen times in my life, usually at night, so I never really saw anything.
>
> "My impression the first time I went was that reports of the adverse conditions in Africville had been exaggerated because I had had some experience in slums in Washington, D. C. . . . I felt that, as bad as it was, Africville wasn't as bad as I had expected it to be."[3]

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[1]Curriculm vitae of Donald F. Maclean, personal communication, March 1970.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

[3]*Ibid.*

Mrs. Donald F. Maclean Born in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Mrs. Maclean is a graduate of the University of Manitoba. She has lived in Halifax for fifteen years, and is a former member of the Voice of Women. During her association, in 1962, with that organization, she and several other women ". . . interested themselves in conducting an employment survey and employment placement program and, also, a tutorial program . . . for Negroes in the Halifax-Dartmouth area."[1] Following the one-year duration of her membership in the Voice of Women, Mrs. Maclean continued her involvement in these projects. These interests led eventually to her becoming a member, and taking up the cause, of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee.[2]

Mrs. Maclean described Africville as follows:

"I thought there were some good things in the community. Primarily, what I admired was how they valued and supported one another. I felt that this was a real bond that they had, and when people were in trouble they could count on each other, rely on each other. Even children who didn't have a home, they were never left wanting. And I also understand that very few Africville children ever went to the orphanages or the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children. That was the positive side of it.

". . . I think there was a lot of escape there, through heavy drinking and this kind of thing. I had heard reports about policemen who were unwilling to go into Africville unless there were two or three of them. There are all kinds or rumours around it and therefore I really can't describe the community, except for the few facts which I did learn through the members of this [Halifax Human Rights] Advisory Committee.

. . . . . .

"Physical violence, I understand, took place. Bitter rivalries between certain individuals apparently had developed through the years. I did hear a story about how someone attempted to kill somebody's pet dog. Their descriptions were very bitter. It was hard to say whether they were pretty

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[1]Letter from Donald F. Maclean, April 1, 1970, p. 2.

[2]*Idem.*

accurate. . . . Just imagine not having running water. Imagine being so much cut off, being part of the city, and yet, not really a part of it."[1]

Mrs. Maclean was singled out for commendation by Alan Borovoy in his August 1962 memorandum (see footnote 4, page 175), as well as in his speech at the Seaview African Baptist Church, August 23, 1962, in which he stated that Mrs. Maclean was among those who wanted to help the people of Africville. Directing his comments to the Africville residents present at that meeting, Borovoy said,

> "At least this much has happened--you're not alone any more. Now that you have people like Mrs. Maclean of the Voice of Women who want to help you. She's a wonderful woman, and I hope you'll invite her out here and she'll invite you into Halifax."[2]

Mrs. Maclean's membership in the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee appears, as evidenced by her own words, to be rooted in a "humanitarian" motive:

> "I believe that the resources of all peoples have hardly been tapped, are latent, are yet to come out. I think that having rights to be a full citizen is the beginning of the development of the latent talents and capacities of all people. I would say that the principle of the oneness of mankind is the basic [thing] that motivates me to continue in this kind of work."[3]

Lloyd R. Shaw Born at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, and a graduate of Acadia and Columbia Universities, Lloyd Shaw is a Halifax businessman. He is active in many local and national organizations: life member and past President of the John Howard Society of Nova Scotia; past President, Halifax Branch, Nova Scotia Division, Community Planning Association; past President, Sir Charles Tupper Home and School Association, Halifax; Vice Chairman, Halifax 1980 Committee; Director, Canadian Structural Clay Association; Member, Board of Governors, Acadia University; Member, Board of Governors, Overseas Institute of Canada; and former Member, Board of Governors, Carleton University, and the Canadian Welfare Council. Mr.

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

[2]Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[3]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

Shaw is also a member and former Vice President of the Nova Scotia New Democratic Party.

Mr. Shaw's business appointments include: Director, L. E. Shaw Limited; Director and Chairman of the Board, L. E. Shaw Transport Limited; Chairman of the Board, Nova Scotia Sand and Gravel Limited; Director and Chairman of the Board, Pelly-Shaw Newfoundland Limited; Director and President, Clayton Park Developments Limited; and Director, Modern Homes Limited.[1]

Mr. Shaw did not know the names of the families with long-standing historical roots in Africville:

> "I know there are such families, and I am not sure of their names. I only know of a few of the families. In any case, I don't think the [Edwards] are one of the families with long roots here. I know several [Miller] families very well. We had one maid in our home who used to come beaten up badly on more than one occasion. There were a number of murders there along that period.
>
> "Maybe some of the [Millers] were [old line families] . . . [perhaps] Deacon [Quinn] is another one, and the [MacPhersons]. There is a widow there whose name I don't recall."[2]

Mr. Shaw had some awareness of Africville problems through the activities of his church (First Baptist Church, Halifax), but acquaintance with Africville residents was largely confined to members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee.

> "[My acquaintance] . . . boiled down to those people who proved to be the same people who were involved in the Human Rights Committee and gave the leadership and so forth. And it was, and still is, restricted to the [MacPhersons, Millers, Quinns, and Edwards]. That pretty well covers all the first-hand contact I had."[3]

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[1]Curriculm vitae of Lloyd R. Shaw, personal communication, March 1970.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[3]*Ibid.*

His dominant perceptions of Africville were in terms of a physical slum and the natural beauty of its site:

> "I regarded it as a slum in most respects, at least as far as the standard of housing goes, and the very real hardships that these people lived in, due to overcrowding, and the heat and the cold, and the lack of services and all such things. Transportation, and everything else along that line.
>
> "On the other hand, it wasn't a slum in that there was still a fair amount of open land. The best location perhaps in the city of Halifax, with a view of the water. Compared with where we live ourselves, over on the other side of the Arm, I think it is probably even nicer over there. So in all those respects as far as the natural environment goes, it was almost unexcelled, especially with a little bit of work on it. So that I think there are both of those aspects to it."[1]

Shaw's involvement in the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee was motivated by a desire to eliminate conditions that existed in Africville:

> "I was interested in the people of Africville and in trying to help do something about that whole situation. I didn't feel that any group of people should be living anywhere in that kind of condition."[2]

Fred Brodie Born in Cape Breton, Fred Brodie has lived in Halifax for twenty-five years. He is a member of Local 130 (Halifax), the International Typographical Union; a delegate member of the Halifax-Dartmouth District Labour Council; and an active member of the Nova Scotia New Democratic Party. When he became a member of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, he was Chairman of the Human Rights Committee, Halifax-Dartmouth District Labour Council.

Mr. Brodie was not intimately familiar with Africville:

> ". . . my knowledge of Africville, outside of driving through there the odd time, was confined to our Committee's activities, and the people we knew, and the houses we visited, the church, the school, etc."[3]

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[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Tape-recorded interview, January 1970.

His perception of Africville was as follows:

> "From what we had seen of it, and what we know about it, it was a very unsatisfactory thing from the viewpoint of public services. You know, in regard to sewer and water and street lights, snow ploughing, police protection, and things like that. The fact that such conditions existed within the city boundary was shocking."[1]

The Black caretakers

The three Black caretakers are employed in middle-class professional occupations. They have a high degree of "Black consciousness" and are concerned deeply about White discrimination against Nova Scotian Blacks. One of the Black caretakers described as follows the relationship between the City of Halifax and its Black residents:

> "I don't think they [City officials] give a damn about Black people in Halifax. [We] have never been a group to reckon with. We have never been a political power. We were never a pressure group. We never had money. We were just damn nuisances.
>
> "You know, what the hell! 'So we inherited those people from slavery, we've got to do something about them, so give them some land.' In the province they have been given land that was useless . . . in the hope that a combination between the inclemency of the weather and the infertility of the soil that we would all die. But geez, God must have been on our side. Man, we have survived, more than survived, the Black population has increased. So I would say, basically, the City just didn't give a damn."[2]

H. A. J. (Gus) Wedderburn, Chairman, Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee Born in Jamaica, and living in Halifax since 1957, Gus Wedderburn is a graduate of Mount Allison and Saint Mary's Universities and has studied at St. Francis Xavier and Columbia Universities. He is Past President of the Nova Scotia Teachers Union, and was until recently the Principal of Ardmore School, Halifax. Mr. Wedderburn is

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

now (1970) a first-year law student at Dalhousie University. Most of his involvement with organizations is an expression of his concern for human rights: Chairman, Nova Scotia Human Rights Conference (1964-1965); Vice Chairman, Nova Scotia Civil Liberties and Human Rights Association; member, Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission; and, since 1962, President, Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

Mr. Wedderburn was a delegate from the Province of Nova Scotia to the Vanier Conference on the Family, Ottawa, 1964; delegate from the Anglican Diocese of Nova Scotia to the Mollie Batten Social Service Conference, Montreal, 1965; and delegate from the Province of Nova Scotia to the War on Poverty Conference, Ottawa, 1965.

In 1967, Mr. Wedderburn was a recipient of the Canadian Centennial Medal, awarded by the Government of Canada. In the 1968 Federal election he was the Nova Scotia New Democratic Party's candidate in Halifax City; in the same year, he was a member of the Halifax Advisory Committee to the Nova Scotia Voluntary Planning Board, and Vice Chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Social Action.[1]

Wedderburn was a member of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee because of concern for members of his own racial group:

> "It is sort of personal. Deep down on the inside I felt that members of my race were being treated unfairly. I felt an unfair advantage was being taken of these people and something had to be done. And I felt that I could do something. It was therefore incumbent upon me to do something."[2]

Wedderburn realized the importance of the Africville land as an industrial site:

> "There were a number of reports that had been written . . . which suggested that [the] land was ideal land because it was part of the Halifax pennisula; you know, water all around it. And there was not much room to expand. Land was at a premium. And here was ideal land to be developed industrially or commercially because it had room there, [a] water-

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[1]Curriculum vitae of H. A. J. Wedderburn, personal communication, March 1970.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

way, a railway. And so the City needed this land for development."[1]

He explained that one of the purposes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee was to protect the interests of Africville residents:

> "I believe deep down on the inside, they did not want to leave Africville, the residents themselves. But then on the other hand, it seemed inevitable to us that the City had every intention of taking over Africville. And that is why I became involved in this thing in the very beginning. . . .
>
> "The City had made a public announcement which we had interpreted to mean that the people who had a clear deed to their Africville property would be paid market value, and those who did not have a clear deed would be paid five hundred dollars for a quitclaim deed. And we felt that this was inadequate and that is one of the motivated reasons behind the whole Committee."[2]

Wedderburn had limited knowledge of Africville's social structure. His most familiar contacts were Africville residents who were members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee: the Edwards, Frank MacPherson and John Anderson. Prior to 1962, he had had virtually no contact with Africville:

> "I had driven through the place, knew where it was, but I didn't know anybody in Africville . . . but after I became involved with this Committee, ever since then, I have been in and out of the place."[3]

Although he defined Africville as a slum, he stressed the importance of community ties:

> "I think definitely it was a slum. It was a slum and I think it was a ghetto. There was poverty; there was poor housing; it was bad.
>
> . . . . . .
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> "The community life was quite good. Africville seemed to be a community with a good community spirit. There were these tight bonds both within and between

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[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

families. If someone got into trouble, for instance, from Africville, I had the feeling that the people of Africville would take care of that cat. If the cops could never find someone in Africville, [it was because the people] would protect [him], they would hide [him]. If someone was sick, the rest of the community, I had the feeling, would come in and give assistance, or if somebody was hungry, that sort of thing.

. . . . . .

"I live in a community of average middle-class people, and the neighbours don't give a damn about each other. But in Africville . . . everyone was for [one another] and everybody looked out and took care of each other."[1]

George Davis Born in Halifax and a graduate of Dalhousie University, George Davis is a lawyer. He is employed by the Province of Nova Scotia as Registrar of Joint Stock Companies and Registrar under the Securities Act. Davis perceived the community in terms of its close friendship patterns:

"There was a very good community spirit. This has been one thing definitely lost with the relocation, the idea of communityism, the idea of helping one another, neighbourliness, this sort of thing . . . they wouldn't have [that] when they left Africville. There was a closeness, a real closeness out there."[2]

The principle reason for the relocation, according to Mr. Davis, was the embarrassment caused by negative publicity about Africville:

"It is my opinion that the relocation came about because of the publicity of Africville from coast to coast and in the United States--magazines, newspapers and press."[3]

He explained that a goal of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee was the racial integration of Africville residents into the larger society:

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[3] *Ibid.*

"I think, in terms of the Advisory Committee . . . the over-all thoughts were in terms of the next generation . . . to assist the coming generation to be able to compete in the modern world. That it would be an advantage to the coming generation to be placed in a position where they would not be a separate community but a part of a larger community in which they would be competing as far as work, education, [and] housing were concerned. That was the over-all thought behind the thinking of the Advisory Committee, at the time of the relocation program."[1]

Rev. Charles Coleman Born and educated in the United States, the Rev. Mr. Coleman was pastor of the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church and of the Seaview African Baptist Church. He returned to the United States in 1966, and was not interviewed for the present study. Mr. Coleman was a young Black man, influenced considerably by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the work of Dr. Martin Luther King, its prime mover. Coleman was concerned deeply with the oppression of his race in the United States and Canada. His own experience in Harlem had sharpened his sensitivity to that oppression and made him perhaps more militant in orientation than were most Nova Scotian Blacks.[2]

The caretakers assessed his contribution to the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee as follows:

White Caretaker A

"I would say he [was] important. Again, the same thing as with Gus and George, the problem was they were outsiders. Had he been inside, I would say he would have been important . . . because he is articulate. But I'd rate him as important, primarily because his approach was a very strong one.

"He saw things more extremely. . . . But I think again, knowing Nova Scotians as I do, they prefer to have things done gradually, in less extremes. They trust the recommendations more when they are not carried to the extreme.

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[1]*Ibid.*

[2]Robin W. Winks, "The Canadian Negro: A Historical Assessment. Part II: The Problem of Identity", *The Journal of Negro History* LIV, 1, January 1969, p. 2.

"But I think he was important because he was the minister for their small church."[1]

White Caretaker B

"He, looking back, has more insights than almost anybody in the whole project . . . and he was very close to the people. He was completely outspoken and courageous. And if he had been able to carry his own people, Black people, with him at the church and in the community generally, he almost single-handed might have successfully opposed the relocation."[2]

White Caretaker C

"I like Charlie. He expressed impatience on a few occasions. I know when we would come out of City Hall, he would say, 'This is just killing time.' Of course, Coleman was an American Negro and he knew Harlem and he knew the South . . . We are inclined to be a bit conservative anyway and traditional down here. . . . It is only recently that Blacks in Nova Scotia have come forward. . . .

"But Charlie was a good man and he wanted action and he was impatient. Well, what the heck, if you are a Black man, and you have a situation like this, you want action. These were his people, his parishioners. This was his flock and he wanted to do something for them and he wanted to get it done. I would rate Charlie as a good man."[3]

White Caretaker D

"He came into the Committee after it had been going for some time, if I am not mistaken, and his attitude was rather belligerent. He had lived in the South, or had grown up there, and things are much more vicious than they are here. Much more aggressive approaches were being taken. . . . Well, the fact, of course, that he was pastor in Africville (at least the people in Africville attended his

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[3]Tape-recorded interview, January 1970.

church) was very helpful because they had some assurance that he was aware of their interests."[1]

Black Caretaker A

"He left the City before the thing was concluded, but he had some very positive contributions and he gave a great deal of insight, psychological insight, into many things that were going on. And he did influence the thinking of the Committee a great deal.

. . . . . .

"Charles was the pastor of the community, knew most of the people intimately and, by and large, we went along with the things he suggested."[2]

Black Caretaker B

"Rev. Coleman was the pastor of the church in Africville at the time of the relocation . . . and he played a very important role as far as ideas, as far as the concern for people, and as far as communicating with the City of Halifax [were concerned]."[3]

The Rev. Wrenfred Bryant became pastor of the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church after Mr. Coleman had returned to the United States and at a time when the relocation program was nearing completion. Mr. Bryant's decision-making role in the relocation process was, therefore, relatively minor. He attended two meetings of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and four meetings of the City Council Subcommittee that recommended settlement figures.

Africville members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee

Only five Africville residents attended more than two meetings of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. Major participation was limited to three residents who at-

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[3]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

tended twenty of the Committee's forty meetings, Mr. and Mrs. Peter Edwards and Frank MacPherson.

Mr. and Mrs. Edwards An elderly couple, the Edwards were the informal representatives to the world outside Africville. Nancy Edwards was born and raised in Africville. Her ancestors were among the first settlers, and she was a member of the largest kinship group. The relocation social worker described her as follows:

> ". . . a leader in the area . . . she was a midwife to many of the so-called younger women in the area during their pregnancies and, for this reason, people came to her for assistance."[1]

Her husband, Peter, was born in the British West Indies and had married into Africville:

> "I liked the place. When I first came to Canada, I seen the place and I liked the place. That's how I came to live in Africville. I didn't very well like the centre of the city. When I went out there, there was a welcome. So it was just like it was where I was born.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "The first three or four months I lived out there, I met my wife. . . . I was a seaman then . . . I was getting up in years and I kind of figured I would like to have a job on the land."[2]

The Edwards were articulate spokesmen for Africville. Through them, outside voluntary organizations entered the community.[3] The Edwards were the core members of the Ratepayers Association and it was Mrs. Edwards who wrote to request help

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, October 1968.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, October 1969.

[3]One of the few organizations involved in Africville was the First Baptist Church, Halifax, which organized such activities as a Vacation Bible School; see Alexa Shaw, "Two-week Project a Big Success at Africville Church", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, July 18, 1963. Miss Shaw, the daughter of one of the White caretakers, had once been a member of a youth group, First Baptist Church, that worked in Africville. In 1968-69, she was a City of Halifax social worker responsible

from the Canadian Labour Congress. It was in the Edwards' home that Borovoy met and talked with community residents during his morning visit to Africville in August 1962. The Edwards provided the crucial channel through which the relocation social worker was able to enter the community and obtain necessary information about kinship ties and land ownership. As the leading Africville member of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, Peter Edwards was the principal channel of communication between Africville residents (especially the elderly members of the old-line Africville families and members of the Seaview African Baptist Church) and City officials and relocation caretakers.

Deeply religious, the Edwards were important and influential members of Africville's Seaview African Baptist Church. At the time of relocation, Peter Edwards was a trustee of the Church. Friendly and outgoing, usually the Edwards were the focal point of informal church activities. Peter Edwards reported:

> "My wife used to have prayer meetings in our house, and I would be working and come in. The piano would be raising Cain and kinds of spirituals [would be sung], giving the new testimonials, and so forth."[1]

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for organizing a follow-up program for Africville relocatees. She described the Edwards as the family through which the First Baptist youth group had entered Africville:

"My original contact with Africville came through participation in a youth group at First Baptist Church. . . . This youth group became interested in undertaking some major project working with children and families in Africville and [had] probably the usual do-gooder motive for this.

. . . . . .

"Our first contact in Africville, outside of Rev. Donald Skier, who at that time was visiting minister, was with the [Edwards] family and they were introduced to us prior to our meeting. And then we viewed them . . . as a sort of parental figure in the community. As in fact we discovered that a great many of the children called Mr. and Mrs. [Edwards] Mama and Papa. And it was through the [Edwards] that we made our original contact to discuss the program with them, and ask if they felt there would be any support for it and left the question with them. They contacted other members of the community, and so on."

- Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

[1] *Ibid.*

The Edwards were concerned about the decline of morality in Africville. Peter Edwards linked the decline to changes in the community after the Second World War:

> "The changes were that a lot of people who didn't belong there . . . came and moved in. . . . Something that never used to happen in Africville happened at that time, because men came from the city and all around the place. They would come out there in the summertime and they would drink and get drunk. . . . After the strangers started to move in there, people [who] came out there started to get robbed and all that kind of stuff, and the blame would go on Africville. But it was not the people from Africville doing those things. . . . It gave Africville a bad name, it gave it a real bad name. Knocking out people, robbing people, that never used to go on out there. Africville never had a stigma, until they came out."[1]

Interviewed in 1969, the Edwards reported that they were strongly opposed to the relocation program. Mr. Edwards stated that when they finally moved, in 1965, into a City-owned house, it was because Mrs. Edwards was ill:

> *Interviewer:* "Why did the people from Africville first start to relocate?
>
> *Mr. Edwards:* "Because they were compelled to. It was the only alternative they had. It was a compulsory move on the City's part. They said they wanted it for industrial purposes. They better make sure it is for industrial purposes because we are waiting. Any time that they start putting up houses or residential out there, you can look out.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "We had no choice. We either had to move out, or be bulldozed out. One way or the other."
>
> *Interviewer:* "Was it the City that told you this?"
>
> *Mr. Edwards:* "Yes, [they would move us by] expropriation. 'If you don't sell, we'll move in and bulldoze you out.' I told them, when they bring the bulldozers . . . they would have to bulldoze me and my family to get us out. I intended to put

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[1] *Ibid.*

my family beside me and sit in a chair and [let them] bulldoze me out, that's it.

"I had to move because the wife took sick . . . and I had to move her out. Then I got an offer of this house, and I thought it was the best thing for me to move while I had a chance."[1]

Frank MacPherson A middle-aged Black, Frank MacPherson was born in the mid-city section of Halifax. Around the time of the Second World War, he moved to Africville because his bride's home was there and low-cost housing was available. His wife's ancestors had moved into the community around the turn of the century. Neither MacPherson nor his wife were members of a family whose roots in Africville went back to the 1840's and neither was part of the community's "church clique".

While living in Africville, Mr. MacPherson was a hard-drinking man. Many of his ties were with what the church "elders" described as the "trouble-makers" and "less respectable" people. Prior to the Second World War, he had been a professional prize fighter. After serving in the Canadian Army during the War, he worked at various jobs such as stevedoring, general labouring, and animal-slaughtering in an abattoir. Mr. MacPherson's work patterns and sources of employment were typical of his Africville peer group. The work was hard, irregular, and dirty. In his words: "You could only do it half tight."[2] Like many of his peers, his hard drinking, gambling, and work instability were part of a subcultural adaptation; it was both a response to, and a generator of, frustration and social disadvantage.

Mr. MacPherson differed in a number of respects from many members of his Africville peer group. He was better educated, having almost completed high school; he had a skilled trade; and he was acknowledged widely as a good, though short-term worker. Mr. MacPherson had, also, an awareness of the world beyond Africville; for instance, he had visited Detroit, Montreal, and Toronto, and during the Second World War he had been overseas. Interested in world affairs, he frequently expressed comparisons about the situation of Blacks in various parts of Canada and other countries.[3] In Africville, he had

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, October 1969.

[2]Interview, September 1969.

[3]In the light of his experience at the end of the Second World War, MacPherson believed that the German people

been involved sporadically in politics as captain of a political party. Sensitive to socio-economic differences, he expressed idealizations about academics and professional people, indicative of the high status he accorded them.[1]

Prior to 1960, Mr. MacPherson played a minor leadership role in Africville. In 1961, he was a member of the Ratepayers Association and he became involved, through the Edwards, in the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee.[2] Although not a forceful person nor a widely acknowledged indigenous leader, Mr. MacPherson was regarded by many Africville residents as "a good guy" who possessed some of the skills necessary for service on the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. He was considered to have an etiquette appropriate for interaction with bureaucratic officials and middle-class liberal humanitarians. The relocation social worker described him as "the type of fellow who was into everything, very approachable fellow, friendly. He was the type of fellow people didn't mind talking to."[3] MacPherson emphasized that during the relocation decision-making, he was "the only young guy" who represented Africville and who could relate to many of its residents. He did not, however, regard himself as being on the same leadership level as the Edwards.[4]

For the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, Mr. MacPherson was a medium of communication to many of the "marginal" Africville residents. In evaluating the Committee, he reported that the Black and White caretakers dominated discussions and that they easily "won out" in discussions with him and other Africville residents: "Talking is their business, and it's hard to beat them at it."[5]

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were less prejudiced than others: "A coloured man made out really well there." Interview, September 1969.

[1]For instance, in comparing drinking patterns among academics or professionals and his own Africville peer group, he held the opinion that, if academics or professionals develop a drinking problem, they stop before "reaching bottom". Interview, July 1969.

[2]MacPherson asserted that, in Africville, the Edwards were the "big voice to the outside". Interview, September 1969.

[3]Tape-recorded interview, June 1969.

[4]Interview, September 1969.

[5]Interview, July 1969.

It is important to note that MacPherson and the Edwards were neither elected nor appointed to represent Africville residents on the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. They became the unofficial representatives of Africville, on the Committee and in the relocation decision-making, solely because they had come forward, first in the Africville Ratepayers Association and, later, in attending meetings of the Committee. Africville residents by themselves held no formal meetings to discuss their impending relocation. Thus, while MacPherson, and especially the Edwards, had a legitimacy as indigenous leaders, the precise nature of their mandate on behalf of Africville was always questionable.

Now, having considered the make-up of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, we return to the chronology of events surrounding the decision to relocate Africville.

October 15, 1962: Africville residents resign themselves to relocation

The Development Department report recommending relocation appeared in *The Mail-Star* in early August.[1] During the same month, A. Alan Borovoy advised Africville residents that they should organize in association with other concerned Halifax citizens, and the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee was formed. From August to October, the relocation announcement was discussed in Africville.

In response to the relocation announcement, the Rev. Dr. W. P. Oliver[2] attempted to organize an Africville branch of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. On October 15, a meeting held at the Seaview African Baptist Church was attended by about twenty-five or thirty residents, most of whom were members of old-line Africville families. Many of these residents had fought Halifax City Hall officials for basic community facilities but, without a power

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[1]"Africville District Takeover . . . ", *The Mail-Star*, August 1, 1962.

[2]A prominent member of the Nova Scotia Black community, the Rev. Dr. Oliver was an active organizer of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, which was incorporated in 1945. A Baptist minister, he is a former pastor of the Windsor Plains Baptist Church and of the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church in Halifax. He is now (1970) a field representative for the Continuing Education Division, Nova Scotia Department of Education.

base from which to act, they had failed. Their attitude was one of pessimism and resignation. After discussion at the October meeting, they accepted the fact of relocation (see Plate 16, "Is Relocation Inevitable?"). Dr. Oliver explained, during a tape-recorded interview:

> *Interviewer:* "[While discussing] the October 15, 1962, meeting . . . you pointed out various conclusions that came from the meeting. One of them was that the residents had resigned themselves to the fact that they must relocate. Did you find that this was the case?"
>
> *Dr. Oliver:* "Well, yes, on the basis of almost, I can't say a head count, but it was the consensus coming out of the discussion. And, actually, as I recall now, they broke up into two small groups in a corner and each talked about this. What should we do? What point of view should we take? Is it reasonable to think we could stay here? Is it possible that we could get services in? And looking at all the situation, considering what the authorities were prepared to do, what it would cost to get facilities in and other factors, they said, '*Well, under these circumstances, it would be advisable for us to consider relocation.*' Then, I think, probably the point was to sit down and bargain the terms from which we should relocate." (Italics added.)
>
> *Interviewer:* "Was there a large attendance at that meeting?"
>
> *Dr. Oliver:* "As I recall it, there would be about twenty-five to thirty people."[1]

The next day, October 16, *The Mail-Star* reported:

> "Mr. Oliver said he had talked to many residents of the community and had reached four conclusions: [1] *The residents have resigned themselves to the fact that they must relocate.* [2] It is no problem for those who have a deed as long as they can get enough for their property, because they can look after their own relocation. [3] Many people don't want to live in public housing, but prefer single

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

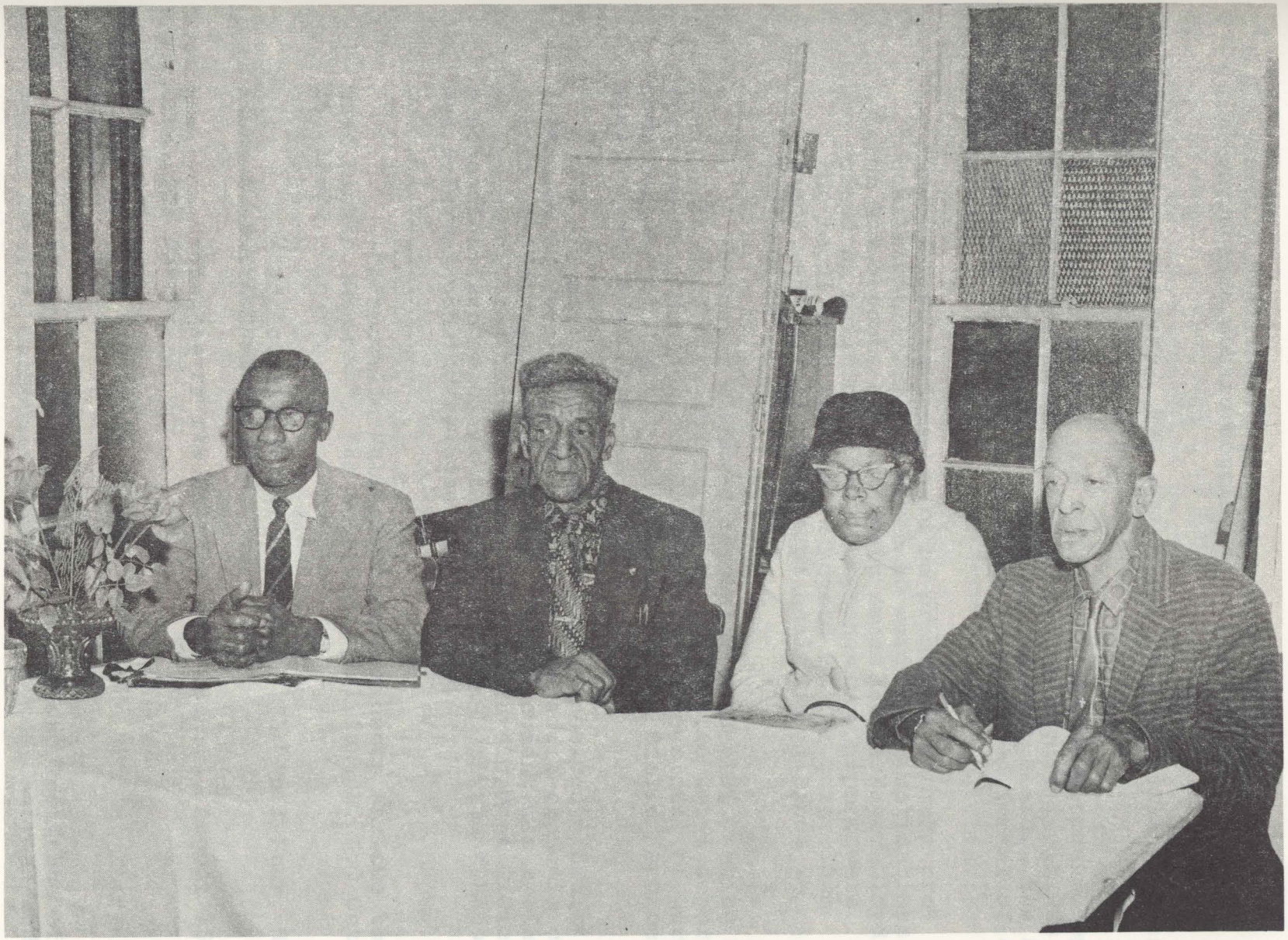
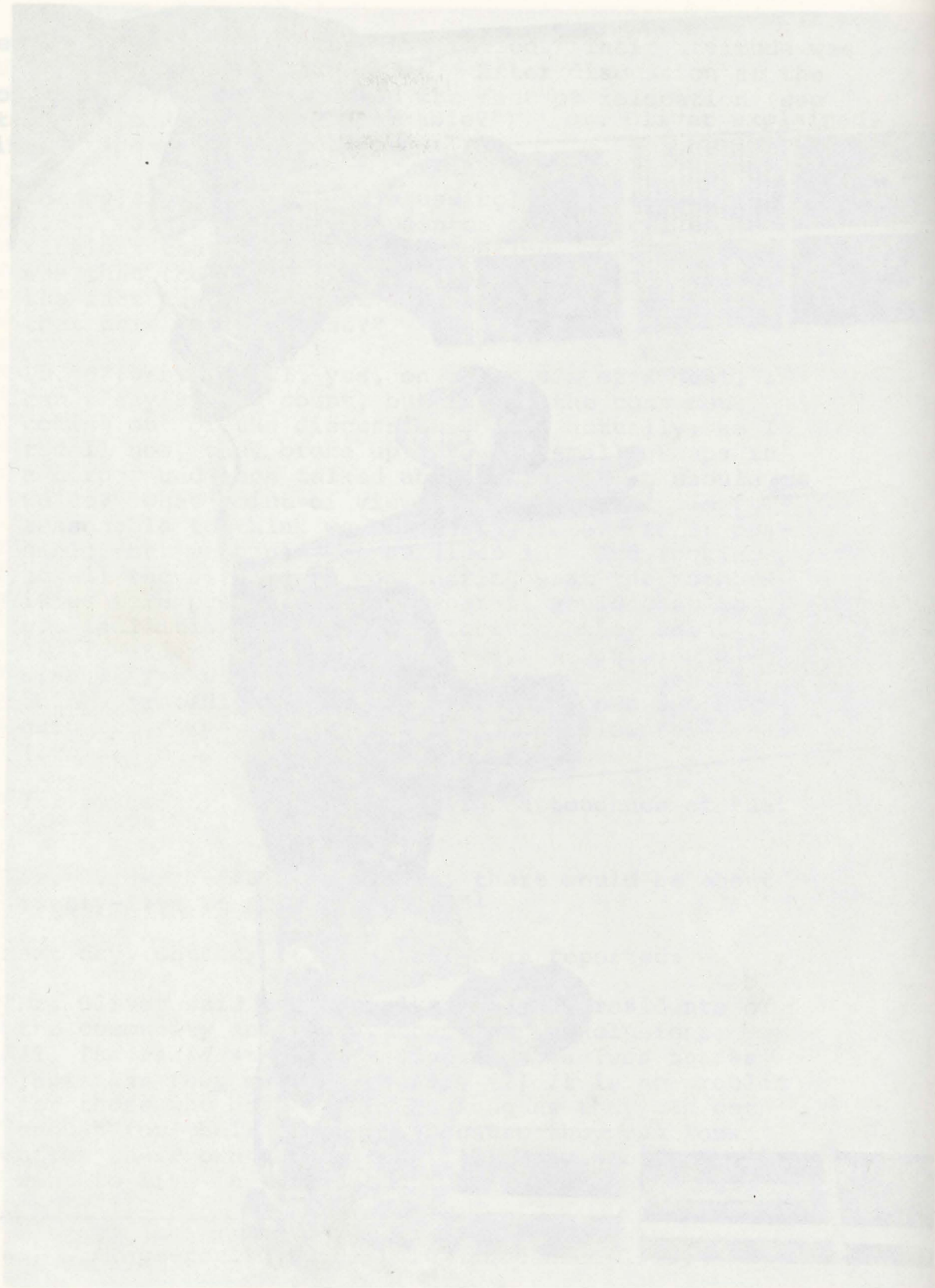


Plate 16. IS RELOCATION INEVITABLE? At a meeting (October 15, 1962) held in the church at Africville, community leaders and a representative of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (far left) discuss the City's relocation proposal. The next day The Mail-Star reported that the N.S.A.A.C.P. representative had talked to many residents of the community and one of his conclusions was that "the residents have resigned themselves to the fact that they must relocate."

--Photo courtesy of The Mail-Star



family dwellings. [4] The residents do not want segregated public housing."[1] (Italics added.)

October 24-25, 1962: The relocation of Africville residents becomes official City policy

Approximately one week after the Development Department Report appeared in *The Mail-Star* on August 1, it was to have been considered by the Halifax Planning Board. *The Mail-Star*, quoting the Mayor of Halifax, reported deferral of consideration:

> "Mayor Lloyd said it would be premature to make proposals until time is given to weigh all implications of the report. The two main areas which Mayor Lloyd cited as meriting a more comprehensive report were the legal implications in regard to the quit claim deeds, and a full picture of health conditions in the area."[2]

The Mayor withheld convening a special meeting of Council to deal with the matter of Africville until reports from the City Manager, City Assessor, Commissioner of Works, Commissioner of Health, and Manager of the Public Service Commission were available.[3]

In early September, the Mayor received a draft of a Dalhousie University study outlining the socio-economic condition of Africville residents.[4] This document was reviewed by the Mayor, the City Manager, and the Development Officer. A scheduled discussion of the Development Department Report was deferred pending release of the study.[5]

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[1]"Africville Ruling: Area Residents Anxious to Have Rights Honored", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., October 16, 1962.

[2]"Africville Report Deferred", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., August 8, 1962.

[3]*Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, August 15, 1962, pp. 496-97.

[4]*The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia.*

[5]Letter from Guy Henson, Director, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, to the Chairman and Mem-

By early October, various members of City staff had written their respective reports on Africville[1] and the Dalhousie University Study had been released to the press.[2] On October 24, 1962, the Committee of the Whole Council met in the Council Chamber, Halifax City Hall, and adopted unanimously, *as policy*, the relocation of Africville residents (see Appendix B, p. A19).

Members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and a number of Africville residents attended this Council meeting. The Committee's Chairman, H. A. J. Wedderburn, addressed the Aldermen:

> "The impression the Africville people have of you is of a big white brother pushing the black children around, and they resent it. If they were a majority group, you would have heard their impressions first."[3]

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bers of the Board, Institute of Public Affairs, September 7, 1962:

"The next-to-final draft was sent to [the Mayor] in a confidential way and he shared it with the City Manager and the Director of Development.

"Yesterday Mayor Lloyd telephoned me to say that he and the other two City officials had read it aloud in his office and found it of the greatest value to them in their consideration of current problems. He said that he wished to recommend to the already scheduled meeting of City Council that Council defer consideration of the staff report on Africville until our printed report was available as scheduled in the first week of October. I told him that we would not in the circumstances have any objection to his reference to it in this way and we are extremely pleased that he and the others felt it be a valuable document."

[1]Mimeographed report by Dr. A. R. Morton, Commissioner of Health and Welfare, August 28, 1962. Mimeographed report by G. F. West, Commissioner of Works, September 6, 1962. Mimeographed report by J. G. Thompson, City Assessor, September 7, 1962.

[2]"Local Negroes Need Help: Far Sighted Policy Needed, Says Dalhousie Report", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., October 4, 1962.

[3]Wedderburn's statement is quoted from: "Africville: Early Action Urged", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., October 25, 1962.

He contended that the aldermen should have consulted with the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and Africville residents before adopting a policy of relocation.[1] Mayor Lloyd explained "that the Committee of the Whole had attempted only to set the machinery in motion to procure the views and wishes of the residents before a final decision is made by Council."[2] During the meeting, one of the White caretakers expressed dismay that a large portion of the Africville area had been expropriated (for the Industrial Mile) and that most of the residents, some of whom were still paying taxes on their properties, were unaware of this action. He requested that discusssion be held with Africville residents, and the Mayor assured him that a final decision would not be made before discussions took place.

Nevertheless, City Council met *on the following day*, October 25, 1962, and unanimously adopted a report containing the following recommendations:

> "1. That the blighted housing and dilapidated structures in the Africville area should be removed;
>
> "2. That the full legal authority of the City should be used to accomplish this removal;
>
> "3. 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; and
>
> "4. That this policy be implemented with the utmost dispatch after its implications are fully conveyed to the residents affected and/or their representatives in consultation with church and welfare organizations."[3]

September 21, 1962, to August 29, 1963: The first twelve meetings of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee

The minutes of the first twelve meetings of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee reveal that the Committee

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[1] *Idem.*

[2] *Minutes of the Committee of the Whole Council*, October 24, 1962; see Appendix B, p. A19.

[3] *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, October 25, 1962, p. 609.

was concerned initially with achieving clarification of the City's policy towards Africville and with examining alternatives to relocation. The Committee's principal channel of communication with City Hall was Robert Grant, the Development Officer.

One of the Committee's first actions was to prepare a list of eleven questions to be answered by City officials, and, in November 1962, a written reply to these questions was received from Grant.[1] The settlement terms set forth in the Development Department Report were reasserted. Africville residents with "paper" or "possessory" title would receive full market value for their property. Residents with no "apparent legal claim title" could receive a gratuitous payment of five hundred dollars in return for vacant possession of their property. Grant outlined the City's reasons for the relocation. Africville residents were to be relocated so that they could comply with the requirements "imposed upon the balance of the residents of the City of Halifax."[2] The Africville land would be used for a limited-access expressway and for industrial location. Industries required cheap land, and industrial development would contribute to the economic situation by creating employment. Grant wrote as follows:

> "In essence, therefore, *the city of Halifax proposes to expropriate the Africville area in order to permit betterment of housing conditions for the residents.* In the process, it would expect to clear title for the lands in the area once and for all. This would permit these lands to be re-used in an orderly manner and with all the financial assistance that is normally available from the financial community.
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> . . . . . .
>
> "*The present proposal is that the lands in the area should ultimately be converted for industrial or commercial use. A major requirement of the city is the requirement for a right-of-way for the proposed new Shore Drive. . . . The re-use proposals for the area may have some slight bearing on a*

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[1]Letter from R. B. Grant, Development Officer, City of Halifax, to George W. Davis, Member, Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, November 21, 1962. See Appendix C for the entire text of the letter.

[2]Appendix C, p. A25.

decision to expropriate but the primary reason is the necessity to permit and assist the residents of Africville to comply with the requirements imposed upon the balance of the residents of the City of Halifax.

. . . . . .

"Industrial lands are not normally of high value. *Most industries are looking for cheap land* and most municipalities welcome such industry in spite of this basic requirement. *The economic wellbeing of a community depends upon a vigorous employment factor and industry creates this.*

"The present uncertainty as to land title in the area would make the land virtually useless for industrial purposes. Industries require clear title before they would consider constructing a plant. . . .

"The amounts paid by the City for land is not governed by the potential future use of that land. Payments are based upon the present use of the land and reflect the true market value in use of such lands and buildings."[1] (Italics added.)

On Wednesday evening, November 26, 1962, Grant's answers to the eleven questions were read and interpreted, by members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, to approximately fifty Africville residents assembled at the Seaview African Baptist Church. During discussion, fourteen additional questions emerged. Grant attended the Committee's next meeting, December 6, 1962,[2] where these questions were discussed and, in late January 1963, wrote a letter to the Committee's Secretary answering the questions.[3] Grant restated:

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[1]Appendix C, pp. A24-25.

[2]*Minutes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee*, December 6, 1962, p. 1. This meeting was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Maclean. The majority of the Committee's meetings were held at the homes of White caretakers or on the premises of public service organizations such as the Halifax Y.M.C.A.

[3]Letter from R. B. Grant, Development Officer, City of Halifax, to Donald F. Maclean, Secretary, Halifax Human

"The principal reason for the proposed action in the Africville area is to remove the substandard dwellings. I think most members of your Committee will agree that almost all of the occupied buildings in the area are at variance with the standards of occupancy established for the City. The dwellings could be ordered vacated or removed under one or the other of several statutes and ordinances. If Africville were not unique in terms of its history, it is quite probable that this would have been done already and the families required to find new housing on their own.

. . . . . .

"The present plans of the City call for the construction of a limited access roadway from the Nova Scotian Hotel to the Fairview Overpass. This roadway passes directly through the Africville area and many of the properties would have to be acquired in order to construct this road. The construction of that portion of the road running through Africville, however, is something that is not likely to take place for quite a number of years.

"Some of the land in the Africville area proposed for acquisition is tentatively zoned for industrial use. Industry creates employment and because of this, all cities must be interested in the establishment of industry. There is not at this moment a demand for this land for industrial purposes. If the land is to be used for the purpose suggested, the City would have to create the demand and there is no certainty that this can be done."[1]

During the time that the caretakers were attempting to ascertain City policy towards Africville, Grant was a key influence at City Hall. He helped to steer the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee towards acceptance of a relocation policy. At a meeting on November 15, 1962, the Committee adopted unanimously a motion to consider:

"The possibility of requesting that a special com-

Rights Advisory Committee, January 22, 1963. See Appendix D for the entire text of the letter.

[1]Appendix D, pp. A40-41.

mission consisting, for instance, of two judges of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, be instituted to direct special enquiries and to order a special survey concerning titles and possession of properties in Africville."[1]

Donald F. Maclean discussed with Grant the formation of such a commission. To a Committee meeting on February 13, 1963, Maclean reported:

"Mr. Grant replied that the City was developing a formula for dealing with property settlement, and that one resident of Africville had already approached the City concerning the disposition of his property. Mr. Grant suggested that the Committee observe the application of the formula to a particular case before formulating plans for further action."[2]

At the meeting on February 13, several Committee members expressed dismay that the City had been approached by an individual Africville resident, rather than by residents acting collectively. They requested the Secretary to arrange for the Committee to meet with Grant.

Eight days later, Grant attended the Committee's next meeting. He stated that Africville residents would be given the "priorities of a Clearance Area" and would not be requested to relocate until public housing was available. Grant explained that if an individual resident of Africville with clear title approached the City, negotiations for settlement would be opened, although the City would prefer, whenever feasible, to process settlements with the involvement of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee.[3] Wedderburn suggested that the City build new homes on City-owned land in the North End of Halifax and sell them to relocatees. Grant replied that there was no reasonable basis on which home ownership could be subsidized.[4] The Rev. Charles Coleman asked that these homes be built "as an act of reparation". Grant indicated that an undertaking of this kind would require a policy decision beyond the scope of his responsibility.

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[1] *Minutes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee*, November 15, 1962, p. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, February 13, 1963, p. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, February 21, 1963, p. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

He agreed to attend a meeting at the Seaview African Baptist Church, in order to clarify City policy towards Africville residents. Six years later, he recalled that meeting, held on May 1, 1963, in the following terms:

> "The sequence of events was that we prepared our report on the basis of information we had obtained from other than a survey source. We didn't think we were going to gain anything by going down surveying the people of Africville. [They] had been surveyed officially or unofficially many times in the past. . . .
>
> "We presented that report to Council and of course it created quite a furor. But one of the fundamental recommendations was that we not do anything until everyone had an opportunity to discuss it. And the meeting in Africville, I suppose, followed one or two meetings with the Human Rights group in which we discussed all aspects of the problem for many hours. And [we] also insisted that they put their questions in writing and we put our answers in writing so that there would be little or no misunderstanding. I would say that is the context within [which] that meeting took place.
>
> "I would say generally that as a public meeting involving [a] substantial number of people, [it was] a fairly quiet routine meeting. Certainly the great bulk of the people came to listen and to ask questions. There were two or three, or maybe half a dozen, men who were attempting to disturb things a little bit. One of the people who wasn't taking an active vocal part, but obviously leading the discussion, guiding the people who were objecting, was in fact a member of the Human Rights group. So I think if anyone was disturbed by it, it was the members of the Human Rights group. They were more disturbed than anybody else at anything that was said.
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> "I would say as public meetings go, it was a very quiet meeting. And one of the problems was that the bulk of the people really didn't have anything to say."[1]

Members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee considered alternatives to relocation and reviewed various

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

housing schemes.[1] Interviewed approximately six years later, one of the Black caretakers stated that cooperative housing was not possible "because of the lack of the spirit of cooperation within the residents of the community and because of the need for subsidies."[2] The Committee explored, also, the possibility of obtaining water facilities and sewerage for Africville. The Committee's Chairman explained:

> "We spent a lot of time studying cooperative housing, row housing, condominium housing, private housing. We looked at the Housing Act of Newfoundland. We even had a man in from Ottawa to explain to us a number of alternative types of housing.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "We also looked at the possibility of leaving Africville [as a community], and providing it with services. We also looked at the possibility of moving everybody out of Africville, levelling the place, rebuilding it and putting people back. We also looked at the possibility of setting up a limited liability company where all the people in Africville would sign their properties over to the group. This group would put it on the market. . . . There were rumours at the time that a number of private companies were looking at Africville and were prepared to pay (the figures I heard were varied) from one to two million dollars for the area. But that, again, we decided just couldn't work, for the simple reason that there were too many people without clear deeds to their property. It would be extremely difficult to decide who should get what and how much. Also, it would be difficult to decide who owned what, because we had been told by a number of legal authorities that . . . it was impossible to determine squatter's rights in the community.
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> . . . . . .
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> "We were thinking of leaving the people there, providing them with sewers and water and that kind

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[1]Various housing schemes were reviewed at the April 2, April 25, and May 15, 1963, meetings of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

of thing. That couldn't be done because of the way the houses were situated on the land. And the City Engineer explained to us that each time he put a bend in a sewer pipe it cost something like three hundred dollars. I selected one house which was near the main road in Africville and we figured it could cost three thousand to four thousand to put sewer alone at the house. . . . When these things are done, someone has to pay for them. The question is, who is going to pay? Who is going to pay the money to have all these things installed? Okay, so that was out.

"Cooperative housing--we took a look at [that]. When you have cooperative housing, people must be prepared to work together, to help each other, and we couldn't get that cooperation. . . . *Because I believe deep on the inside, they did not want to leave Africville, the residents themselves. But then, on the other hand, it seemed inevitable that the City had every intention of taking over Africville* [italics added].

. . . . . .

"We decided that we could not get any type of cooperative [housing] venture going. . . . People had no money. There were very few skills. There was a lot of unemployment. There were lots of back debts that had to be paid off. Some had liens on their homes. The whole credit rating was really bad. We decided because of those factors primarily, the whole thing just couldn't be done that way."[1]

The alternatives were examined without the active participation of the entire Africville community. The investigation was guided and directed primarily by the Black and White caretakers who were familiar with the mechanics and skills required to search for alternatives to the Africville situation. By early September 1963, the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee had held five meetings in Africville; during the consideration of alternatives, however, there was no wide-range "citizen participation" among Africville residents.

After reviewing various alternatives, the Committee remained uncertain about the type of housing arrangements that should be made available for Africville residents and decided

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

that a specialist should be consulted. Lloyd Shaw, a cosmopolitan Halifax business man, suggested the name of Dr. Albert Rose, Professor of Social Work, University of Toronto, the author of *Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance*.[1] Shaw explained:

> "I had gotten to know Dr. Albert Rose on the Community Planning Association and we were on the National Council. We worked together on various things and I had been interested in the Regent Park housing development right from the start and he had been heavily involved, I believe, in that. And it just seemed to me that he knew perhaps as much, if not more, about public housing and this kind of thing, than anyone that I knew of in the country. I was quite impressed with him and I thought he would be a good person to approach."[2]

In the cafeteria of the Nova Scotian Hotel, Shaw met with Mr. Wedderburn, the Rev. Mr. Coleman, and Alderman Allan O'Brien, and suggested Rose's name. It was decided, subsequently, that the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee would recommend to City Council that it invite a specialist, such as Dr. Rose, to visit Halifax. On September 5, four Aldermen from Halifax City Council met informally with members of the Committee, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Maclean, and discussed a letter to be submitted to City Council (see Appendix E).[3] The letter suggested types of housing for Africville residents: a non-profit, limited-dividend housing company, or the construction of high-density housing on the upper slopes of Africville. The Committee's letter recommended:

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[1]Albert Rose, *Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958). This is a study of Regent Park, Toronto, one of Canada's first extensive experiments in slum clearance and urban development.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[3]*Minutes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee*, September 5, 1963, p. 1. This meeting was attended by the seven caretakers (Fred Brodie, the Rev. Mr. Coleman, George Davis, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Maclean, Lloyd Shaw, and Gus Wedderburn); six other members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, including four Africville representatives on the Committee (Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, Frank MacPherson and Deacon Quinn); and four Aldermen (James Connolly, Mrs. Abbie Lane, Donald LeBlanc, and Allan O'Brien).

". . . 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 toward 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 judgement, a study in depth is indicated."[1]

Dr. Rose was identified as follows:

"Dr. Albert Rose graduated in 1939 as a gold medallist in the Honours Political Science and Economics course at the University of Toronto, and he received his Ph.D. three years later from the University of Illinois. From 1943 to 1945 he served with the Canadian Army, after which he held the post of Research Director of the Welfare Council of Toronto until, in 1948, he joined the staff of the School of Social Work, University of Toronto, where he is now Professor of Social Work.

"Dr. Rose has been associated with the Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, the Canadian Welfare Council, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and the Community Planning Association of Canada.

"Dr. Rose has published a number of significant reports on various aspects of housing and metropolitan planning, including *An Experimental Study of Local Housing Conditions and Needs*, submitted to Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation in 1953, and his principal study, *Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance*, published in 1958."[2]

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[1]Letter from the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee to his Worship the Mayor and Aldermen, City of Halifax, N. S., September 6, 1963; see Appendix E, p. A52.

[2]Appendix E, p. A55. Dr. Rose is now (1970) Director of the School of Social Work, University of Toronto.

On September 12, 1963, Wedderburn addressed Halifax City Council and requested support of the recommendation set forth in the Committee's letter. City Council decided unanimously:

> ". . . that the City Manager be directed to: (a) invite Dr. Rose to come to Halifax to make a preliminary survey of Africville; and (b) to report to Council the terms and conditions under which the study would be undertaken if the need for same is indicated."[1]

November 1963: Dr. Albert Rose visits Halifax

Dr. Albert Rose visited Halifax on November 24-26, 1963.[2] He had read the City staff reports on Africville, a number of magazine articles about Africville, and the Dalhousie University study, *The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia*. Interviewed approximately six years later, at the University of Toronto's School of Social Work, Dr. Rose stated that, prior to his 1963 visit, he was unfamiliar with Africville. "I knew very little about the community

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[1] *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, September 12, 1963, p. 397.

See, also, "Expert to Seek Solution for Africville Issue: Prof. Albert Rose, Toronto, Invited", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., September 13, 1963; and "Advisory Committee Submits Letter to City Council", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., September 13, 1963.

The announcement of Dr. Rose's forthcoming visit to Halifax was greeted with enthusiasm at a monthly meeting of the Halifax Coloured Citizens Improvement League; see "Report on Africville Welcomed", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., September 14, 1963.

[2] Gus Wedderburn recalled:
"I think it was Lloyd Shaw . . . who, on a return from one of his trips, mentioned Albert Rose, who apparently had been involved with some relocation in the City of Toronto, and had done a tremendous job. . . . Apparently, he was considered to be one of the top men in the field in North America, not just in Canada. And I can remember people saying that 'he was an extremely busy person, and if you can get him, grab him, but there is a ninety per cent chance that you are not going to get him.'"
- Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

of Africville. I had not seen it previously. I had heard that it existed."[1]

While in Halifax, Dr. Rose toured the community:

> "Bob Grant, or the City Manager, or both, took me through the community, and we drove through it twice. We got out and we walked around. It is not a very big community in terms of distance. And at that time, this was late November 1963, the roads were such that you could barely get in and out, so it wasn't something that would take long. I don't suppose I spent more than perhaps two hours in Africville altogether, on two separate visits."[2]

He described his impressions of Africville as follows:

> "In a nutshell, my impressions were devastating. . . . my impression was that, in the Canadian context, this was the worst urban appendage I had ever seen. I was overwhelmed by the visual context of the physical surroundings. It seemed to me that the thing was a bottomless pit; that you could pour in fantastic resources and you have no base upon which to rehabilitate; that if you were to build back a viable community you would really have to start from scratch.
>
> "You might just as well assume no one was living there. The whole neighbourhood would have to be serviced with water and sewage disposal. The streets would have to be laid out. There was no street lighting, as I remember it. There were no . . . public transportation facilities. I think the nearest school was outside the boundaries of the area. They had a magnificent view.
>
> "I was appalled, frankly, by the feeling that here was a group of Canadians that were as entombed, entrapped, as ever I had even dreamed about. . . . Even in downtown Toronto, it seemed to me that what we called slums bore no resemblance to the impression that I got of Africville. That was my reaction and

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, Toronto, Ontario, February 1970.

[2]*Ibid.*

it was not a reaction that I certainly wanted to destroy this community. I found it difficult to believe that a community existed. I had no doubt that, by the time I left, and that by the time I met with the leaders, there were a great many values here that were worth preserving."[1]

During his two days in Halifax, Dr. Rose interviewed five City officials, two university specialists, and two professional social workers,[2] and met informally with others.[3]

> "In addition to these formal contacts, I had informal contacts with persons who were known to me as social workers, some of whom were graduates of this department [School of Social Work, University of Toronto]. The difference between what was said to me formally by a public official and what was said to me privately by a person who was not necessarily dealing with residents from Africville but knew some of the situation, was startling."[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] For the names of the City officials, university specialists, and professional social workers, see Appendix F, p. A60.

[3] One City official described his meeting with Dr. Rose:

Interviewer: "What kinds of questions did Albert Rose ask you about the community of Africville?"

City Official: "Very little. He seems to have been well-informed, but there was a good deal of prejudice injected into what he had been told. I did not feel that he knew the people of Africville."

Interviewer: "Why was this?"

City Official: "I think here again the press, [the] news media, had built up an image that here were a group of people living almost in the jungle. There was no way of dealing with them but force them out, force them to do this, that, and the other thing, and I think he went along with this.

"I tried, on one occasion, to impress upon him that I thought they were more intelligent than most of the people of Halifax, because they are . . . smart. Their I.Q., I don't know, for some of them I would imagine quite high."

- Tape-recorded interview, October 1969.

[4] Tape-recorded interview, Toronto, Ontario, February 1970.

Dr. Rose recalled his meeting with Halifax City officials as follows:

> "The public officials made it perfectly clear to me that they intended to utilize those lands for non-residential purposes. And this is why I warned the Mayor, when I had a private audience with him, that if he were to turn this over to developers who might provide high-income residential housing, he would face the same problem of urban removal becoming Negro removal as had been the bone of contention and a very serious problem in many American cities. . . .
>
> "But is seems to me that what they told me, and what plans they had in the back of their mind, [may] have been very different. They may have had plans in their minds for various uses that would have been offensive, considering the destruction of the community that was about to occur."[1]

On the evening of November 25, Rose met with fourteen members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee at the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church.[2]

> "Wedderburn picked me up before the meeting at the Baptist Church, and we talked privately for a while because I wanted to know what sort of group I was going to meet, what sort of people. I think he alerted me to the fact that people had been in a sense under duress, under tension, for a great many years. Those were the pre-militant days, I must emphasize. They were ready to talk, if somehow the City could decide what their needs were."[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Minutes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee*, November 25, 1963. This meeting was attended by Dr. Rose, six of the caretakers (Fred Brodie, Rev. Mr. Coleman, George Davis, Donald Maclean, Lloyd Shaw, Gus Wedderburn), and eight other members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, including four Africville representatives on the Committee (Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, Frank MacPherson, and Deacon Quinn). During his forty-eight hours in Halifax, Rose's contact with Africville residents was with the Africville members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee.

[3] Tape-recorded interview, Toronto, February 1970.

During the meeting, Africville members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee expressed a preference for rebuilding housing on the community's existing site, but Rose argued against what would be, in effect, a segregated housing project. He observed that these residents appeared to be unaware of some of the important possible consequences of relocation:

> "The reality of [relocation] couldn't have possibly penetrated their consciousness at that point. They would have to move and have to face life in the metropolis . . . where they would face discrimination in housing. I don't think this impact really penetrated. They seemed to be sort of resigned, and there wasn't any of the militancy that one would expect from Black groups say five or six years later."[1]

Rose recalled some details of the meeting at the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church:

> "I think my most valuable experience was in the evening meeting with the Advisory Committee on Human Rights. This Committee included . . . prominent members of the Africville neighbourhood, as well as persons who were then prominent and became more prominent in Black movements in Nova Scotia. . . . We had a very interesting evening's conversation.
>
> "I was trying to ascertain from these people what it was they saw as their objective (I'm speaking now of the Black persons), and what I might do to assist them. They knew that I had some knowledge of housing, perhaps from the introduction and the fact that they were notified that this person was coming from the University of Toronto.
>
> "And so we explored for some time, perhaps an hour or three hours, the whole question of a rehousing program on the site itself. I expressed the view, and I think I was correct, that the chances of their obtaining federal-provincial financial and other support under the then-existing arrangement in the National Housing Act were very slim; in fact, not really worth talking about.
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> "I also tried to explain to them that part of this reluctance might be physical, in terms of the

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[1] *Ibid.*

absence of normal municipal servicing. But I think the greater question would have been the reluctance of federal-provincial authorities to rebuild a ghetto or effect what you might call a segregated community. This was the phrase I pounded away at. I said that, as a Canadian, as a human being, [with] a great deal of compassion for their particular circumstances, I don't think I could honestly recommend [that] a segregated community, even a modern one, ought to replace what was there.

. . . . . .

"They placed a great deal of emphasis on the church, and I thought that their spiritual gatherings could be re-established somewhere else along with other community facilities. They were pretty skeptical of what I was saying, frankly, and gave up only with a great deal of difficulty that the answer to the problem was to tear down Africville and replace it on the site with a public housing project such as the Regent Park in Toronto which they knew I had studied at one point."[1]

Rose described the evening as an unpleasant experience:

"They [Africville members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee] were trying desperately to find some way in which the people could remain on the site, rebuild that community or strengthen it, somehow [stop] the inevitable. . . . It's a good six years ago, and it is very difficult to recall. But while everybody was very nice and there was, shall we say, no unpleasant or threatening discussion, no confrontation, I had the feeling that among some of the leaders there was an understanding of what I was saying. Others appeared to be sort of . . . resigned to what was the inevitable dissipation of their community.

"I didn't enjoy the evening, particularly, as an experience. It was like making arrangements for a funeral. It was not a pleasant experience at all, and I felt that I was almost in the position of some great authority, say in the field of housing. There was not really a lot of, or a series of, alternatives.

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[1] *Ibid.*

"They were desperately clutching at last straws. And yet no one likes to be in a position of saying 'I'm perfectly certain that that's the case and, therefore, you have had it.' And that was, in part, the position I was in that evening."[1]

Two of the caretakers described, in the following terms, the November 25 meeting with Dr. Rose:

Caretaker One: "We held a meeting with him at the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church and we discussed the whole question. And he was quite impatient, in some respects, about the dilly-dallying--studies, briefs, and all that stuff--and said it was studied to death, or words to that effect. And the time was now to get some action on the thing. And he did speak briefly about housing like in Cabbagetown, Toronto. . . .

"He was an experienced municipal housing man, worth listening to. . . . He figured . . . what the heck, you know the problem, so get cracking."[2]

Caretaker Two: "The main thing I recall was the viewpoint put forward by the Africville representatives, or people, that they didn't want to move. And they gave him a rough time, it seemed to me. He may have intimated even then what he was going to report. He was a fairly blunt fellow and may have known the answers even before he arrived."[3]

December 1963: The Rose Report

By early December, Dr. Rose had forwarded his report to Halifax City Council (see Appendix F). Although he had not had contact with the vast majority of Africville residents, he wrote:

"The residents of Africville appear ready and to some extent eager to negotiate a settlement concerning the ultimate disposition of their community.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Tape-recorded interview, January 1970.

[3] Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

"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 the inhabitants were of a different racial background."[1]

The report described Africville as "one of the most intensively studied communities in North America",[2] and recommended against conducting a large-scale research project. During a 1970 interview, Dr. Rose argued that "the real concerns of the City Council would not be facilitated by a major social-scientific research project."[3]

"I felt that the City of Halifax and its officials had a tremendous knowledge of the Africville community; at least, in terms of its physical aspects and its basic demographic data. I knew that they did not have the kind of information that social scientists might gather in personal interviews with the families, with respect to their intra-familial situations, with respect to their attitudes toward the community, with respect to concerns about possible dislocation of the community and the relocation. But my judgement, after a fairly short visit to Africville, was that the real concerns of

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[1]Appendix F, p. A62.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. A61. In 1968 Winks wrote: "The Negroes of Halifax, and especially of Africville, are one of the most studied groups of people in North America, but the studies seem not to have helped them." Robin W. Winks, "The Canadian Negro: A Historical Assessment. Part I: The Negro in the Canadian-American Relationship", *The Journal of Negro History*, LIII, 4 (October 1968), p. 298.

Rose and Winks are incorrect. In 1963 and in 1968, only superficial data existed about Africville's history and social structure. These data were contained in "official" City reports and the Dalhousie University publication.

During the 1970 tape-recorded interview, Dr. Rose considered that his 1963 statement was an exaggeration: ". . . as I see the phrase now, I would think that [it] was somewhat of an exaggeration. I suppose all I was really saying was to back up my argument against major continuing research. They had a great deal of extensive superficial data about the Africville community, but otherwise I see the sentence now as an exaggeration."

[3]Tape-recorded interview, Toronto, Ontario, February 1970.

the City Council would not be facilitated by a major social-scientific research program.

. . . . . .

"They knew the basic demographic situation. They knew the resources of these people. They knew the structures they lived in, whether they had title or they didn't have title. They didn't know all of the sociological aspects of the thing, but my honest view was that perhaps I wasn't competent in that area. I just didn't see the need for refined research in those aspects of the situation, in order to reach a decision.

. . . . . .

"It is very easy for a person who comes in for two or three days to say; 'What you need is a thorough examination of the social interrelationships in this community, the institutions that the people depend upon, their kinship relationships, how they exist from day to day, and what their basic attitudes are.' I could have promoted a major research project involving maybe years of work, at least in the summers, for myself, groups of students, and economically this might have been very advantageous.

"The fact that I wasn't promoting some huge gain of a personal nature for myself really made me feel that I was more, rather than less, responsible."[1]

Rose explained that if his report had been written in 1970, rather than in 1963, he might not have recommended against a research project.

"I just didn't see the need for refined research . . . in order to reach a decision. I might make a different decision today, after six years of seeing urban renewal neighbourhoods identified, designated . . . legally torn apart, uprooted, rebuilt, and then finding that my attitude toward what we were doing was not as clear as I thought it was. . . .

"Today I might make an entirely new recommendation about both research and about the nature of the program, and all the rest of it. I don't think

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[1] *Ibid.*

> I would accept the view that I just swallowed everything the City was saying to me. I must emphasize what I said before, that I was so appalled by what I saw that certainly there was a quick reaction in my mind, in my spirt, as it were. The only solution to this problem was to get the people out of there and into something that more approximated a normal way of life. I hadn't seen in either the United States or Canada, at that time, a segregation as evident as this one."[1]

The fundamental needs of the Africville residents, Rose wrote, were housing, employment, and income. Solutions were outlined for these needs:

Housing: The housing solution was viewed as a tripartite undertaking:

(1) The families with title to property would receive sufficient financial compensation to make a down-payment on older homes in downtown Halifax.

(2) Rental would be provided, if necessary, during a readjustment period, for families that sought admission to public housing.

(3) Roughly half of the Africville families would arrange their own housing and seek rental acommodation in Halifax or the province of Nova Scotia.

Employment: Dr. Rose asserted that the employment and livelihood of a large proportion of Africville residents derived from "scavenging on the adjacent city rubbish disposal area."[2] He stated:

> "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.

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[1] *Ibid.* [2] Appendix F, p. A63.

"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."[1]

Income: In addition to settlement payments and compensation, welfare assistance should be available for relocatees as they created new living patterns in Halifax.

Organization of the relocation program

The report recommended that City officials design the relocation program in consultation with Africville representatives and the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, and that:

"The Development Department of the City of Halifax 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 . . .; and

"(c) the creation of a special relocation fund to assist families who require furniture or equipment. . . ."[2]

The report also recommended recognition of "the special situation [of residents without a deed to property]" and that "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."[3]

A further recommendation was that "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. . . ."[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. A64.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. A66.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. A67.

The crucial recommendation

Dr. Rose went beyond the two purposes that Halifax City Council had designated for his November visit[1] when he made the crucial recommendation that:

> "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]

Adoption of this recommendation in January 1964 by the Halifax City Council lent an aura of acceptability to Council's Africville relocation policy.

Seven years later, Dr. Rose observed:

> "I think what you identified again is confusion in my report between sticking more narrowly to the reason why I came there and the fact that, in reality, I went beyond the terms of reference and talked about the future of the community. . . . If this [report] were to be read and totally digested by City Council, it should have been what it was, ten pages, shall we say, or two thousand and five hundred words, as the typical councillor wouldn't read any more.
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> "Now, I didn't see this, you see, as the only document, the final report, that precedes the public action that might be taken on the report by the Council of the City of Halifax. I trusted the Mayor because I had seen him in action many times before and I have the same feeling about the present Mayor: that, in terms of urbanization and an understanding of social impact, in terms of public housing or the housing legislation, and the public aspects [of]

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[1]The purposes of Dr. Rose's Halifax visit, as required by Halifax City Council, were: "(a) . . . to make a preliminary survey of Africville; and (b) to report to Council the terms and conditions under which [a] study would be undertaken if the need for same is indicated." *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, September 12, 1963, p. 397.

[2]Appendix F, p. A66.

low-income housing and urban renewal, these men stood out amongst Canadian mayors.

. . . . . .

"I have seen so much happen in the last seven years, in so many cities in the United States and Canada, that I would be much more careful, much more conscious of, shall we say, rash promises, than I think is apparent from the report of December 1963.

. . . . . .

"I don't believe that what I was doing at the time was really writing what may be called an urban renewal study, or preparing a master plan, or even a preliminary plan for the future of that area. What I thought I was doing was examining the situation, in order to recommend whether they should be researched or should not be. . . .

"I decided that I couldn't see any real advantage to either group - the resident or the civic official - in large-scale social research, social-scientific research. I suppose I should have stopped at that point, and what my report in effect does is make recommendations for treatment of the community. But to me they were really a set of quidelines, or preliminary views on areas of great concern, that I felt they must take into account; such as, the reality of providing people with housing, employment, income, and community facilities if they were to be moved from there into downtown Halifax, and emphasizing the responsibility that City Council was taking upon itself, if it did this. But I suppose the report could be read as if it were written by a group of urban consultants who might have spent a year there. . . . I think that I would have to say very frankly that I learned a lot about [what] one might say and what one might not say in a similar situation."[1]

Reaction to the Rose Report

The Rose Report received editorial support from the

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, Toronto, Ontario, February 1970.

Halifax press.[1] The Development Director, Robert Grant, described the report as "a document that was clear, brief, well-written and worth every cent of the five-hundred dollars that the City paid for it."[2] Interviewed in 1969, Grant recalled that Dr. Rose agreed with the City's premise that Africville should be relocated:

> "We sent Dr. Rose all of the information that we had, and said we would like him to come down and do a study. And when he came down his first comment at the meeting was . . . to the effect that 'having read all the stuff, I didn't see that there was very much purpose to me coming.' Then on second thought, he said, 'I feel that maybe it was worth five-hundred dollars of the City of Halifax's money to have some confirmation from an outside source as to the basic recommendations that you had made, and that is why I came down.'
>
> ". . . In other words, he was accepting the basic premises we were suggesting. And the only area where there was any real discussion, and this was prior to having written the report, but it was one of the ideas he suggested, was the basis of compensating people on family size, structure and conditions, as opposed to real estate. And we were holding out for the principle of compensation in real estate, and he was holding out for real estate plus all of these other factors.
>
> "Now the only reason we were holding out was from an administrative point of view. . . . How do you balance apples and oranges? I suppose this was one of the most difficult problems during the whole process. If you give someone $5,000 for this set of circumstances, how does this equate with this other set where you paid $7,000?"[3]

One White caretaker's reaction to the Rose report was typical of opinions expressed by the non-Africville members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee:

"I thought that [Rose] was one of the leading men

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[1]"Africville: Time for Action Is Now", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., December 23, 1963.

[2]Interview, June 1968.

[3]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

in Canada, and his recommendation was adopted. I had doubts even then, you know, and if his report had been different it would have had tremendous weight with me. But it supported what we were not committed to as a Committee. But if the report was different, we could very well have changed that."

Interviewer: "Once the report was out, the [Halifax Human Rights Advisory] Committee decided to go along with the relocation?"

Respondent: "That is right. This helped dispel doubts. Experts, and you don't know yourself . . . [they have] no axe to grind."

Interviewer: "Do you think Dr. Rose could do a sufficient study in the time that he was [in Halifax]?"

Respondent: "No, I don't think so at all. I must confess, I wondered. This long report, not a long report you know, but a good number of pages and a lot of recommendations.

"[He was in Halifax] as I recall, two or three days, perhaps a long weekend. I don't know if he came back at all to do any further work. I feel [that this time period was] entirely inadequate for such an important thing."[1]

January 2, 1964: Halifax City Council defers approval of the Rose Report

During its January 2, 1964, meeting, Halifax City Council considered a motion to approve the following recommendations from the City's Finance and Executive Committee:

"(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

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

the draft legislation required to permit implementation of the recommendations."[1]

The Mail-Star quoted the Mayor as stating before Council that "immediate consideration must be given to the matter in order to have legislation prepared for the forthcoming session of the Nova Scotia Legislature."[2]

Eleven members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee attended the meeting.[3] The Chairman, Gus Wedderburn, addressed Council. He submitted that Committee members had not received copies of the Rose Report until they arrived at the Council meeting and that, therefore, they had not had an opportunity to review it.

In the light of Wedderburn's objection, Council moved: (a) to defer further consideration of the Rose Report for two weeks until its next meeting, and (b) that the City solicitor be instructed to prepare the necessary draft legislation to submit to the Nova Scotia Legislative Assembly.[4]

After Council's discussion of the Rose Report, the eleven members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee met for almost two hours, in an office adjacent to the Council Chamber. They voted unanimously to accept the recommendations of the Rose Report, and to cooperate with the residents of Africville and the City in implementing the recommendations. The Committee further moved to request two guarantees from the City: assurance that Africville families would not be relo-

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[1]*Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, January 2, 1964, p. 2.

[2]"City Defers Move to Buy Buildings, Land in Negro Community", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 3, 1964.

[3]*Minutes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee*, January 2, 1964. The Council meeting was attended by five of the caretakers (Fred Brodie, George Davis, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Maclean, and Gus Wedderburn) and six other members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, including four Africville representatives on the Committee (Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, Frank MacPherson, and Deacon Parsons).

[4]*Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, January 2, 1964, pp. 2-3. Council also authorized the Mayor to approach the federal and provincial governments to determine if either or both would contribute financial support for the relocation program.

cated in areas slated for redevelopment; and payment of monthly rental for relocatees, if necessary, for an indefinite period of time.[1] The Committee also decided to hold a public meeting on Thursday, January 9, 1964, in the Seaview African Baptist Church, to discuss the Rose Report with Africville residents.[2]

January 9, 1964: Thirty-seven Africville residents approve the Rose Report

Seven days after the Council meeting, the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee met with forty-one Africville residents[3] at the Seaview African Baptist Church. One of the caretakers explained that the attendance was small because "the meeting was attended primarily by the older community people, the ones who really cared about the community and went to all our meetings."[4]

Prior to consideration of the Rose Report, two newspaper reporters and one radio newsman were requested to leave the meeting. The Chairman of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, Gus Wedderburn, described the meeting:

> *Gus Wedderburn*: ". . . It was at that meeting that we read to them the Rose proposal. And I, as Chairman of the Human Rights Advisory Committee, chaired that meeting. We had a number of copies of the proposal made and distributed among the group."
>
> *Interviewer*: "To everyone there?"
>
> *Gus Wedderburn*: "To most of the people. Everyone had access to a copy, so they could see [it]. I went through it, sentence by sentence, clause by clause, paragraph by paragraph, and there was discussion back and forth. There were some changes recommended which were put into the thing. . . ."
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> *Interviewer*: "Was there resistance to the Rose Report when you read it? . . ."

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[1]Neither of these requested guarantees was granted by the City.

[2]*Minutes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee*, January 2, 1964.

[3]"37 Africville Residents Approve of Rose Report", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 10, 1964.

[4]Interview, December 1969.

Gus Wedderburn: "There was always resistance to things in the Rose Report. But we on the Committee tried at all times to explain that we had explored just about every alternative, every possibility, and . . . to the best of our judgement at the time felt that the Rose Report . . . was the best thing."[1]

At this meeting, thirty-seven Africville residents voted to accept the report.[2] By midnight, the Chairman and Secretary of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee had released to the press a statement that the Rose Report and its recommendations, with minor changes, had been approved unanimously at the meeting. The next day they wrote a letter to the Mayor and Aldermen explaining that the Rose Report recommendations had been approved unanimously by the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and by ninety per cent of Africville residents present at the meeting on January 9; the letter did not indicate that only thirty-seven residents had voted in favour of the report. The letter to Council stressed three points: concern about the possibility of Africville families moving into areas slated for redevelopment; the need for assurance that the City would pay monthly rental, during a readjustment period, for relocatees unable to pay rent; and the importance of employing a trained social worker or social scientist who would assist relocatees during the transition period (see Appendix G).

January 16, 1964: Halifax City Council approves the death of Africville

On January 16, 1964, the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee formally submitted its letter (dated January 10) to Council.[3] Gus Wedderburn addressed Council, explaining that the Rose Report was acceptable to Africville residents and requesting Council to consider the following additional point:

"That those who will be in the process of buying homes shall be protected by a written guarantee in case of lapse of payments due to sickness, unemploy-

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[2]"37 Africville Residents . . .", *The Mail-Star*, January 10, 1964.

[3]*Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, January 16, 1964, p. 40.

ment or minimum pension so that their position will not be jeopardized."[1]

The Mayor replied:

> "All we are doing tonight is establishing broad principles. . . . 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."[2]

Council then moved that a Special Committee be appointed, composed of members of Council, City staff, and representatives of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Commitee. The Special Committee was to consider the Rose Report recommendations and report to Council with recommendations for the phasing of the relocation program.[3]

Mr. Edwards, an Africville member of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, explained to Council that a number of elderly Africville residents with low incomes were concerned about buying new properties or paying rent in public housing:

> "Some [elderly Africville residents] were born there, have lived there all their lives and never gone anywhere else. [They] want to know how they are going to pay for a home.
>
> "We want to know how we are going to finance these. There is no way for some of us."[4]

The Mayor replied:

> "I think that if this is kept under continuous study, we can overcome the problem by 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

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 41. This request was not acted upon by the City.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] "City to Make Africville Move As Painless As Possible, Mayor Says", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 17, 1964.

support the recommendations from the Advisory Committee to help overcome the problems that arise in making the move."[1]

Council then passed a motion that authorized the relocation of Africville residents over a period of two years and nine months.

Why was Africville relocated?

This chapter has raised a number of questions: Why were the people of Africville relocated? Were the underlying reasons humanitarian, intended to improve socio-economic conditions among the residents and to end segregation; or, primarily, did Halifax politicans and development officials want Africville land for industrial or residential development? Was the purpose of the relocation to further the economic interests of Halifax? Reason analysis, wherein one attempts to find the basic motivation behind social action, has many pitfalls; nevertheless, it is a necessity when examining planned social change. If one is to characterize the Africville relocation as being of the liberal-welfare type or the development type, one must make reference to the motivational and ideological considerations of the decision-makers as well as to the organizational aspects of the relocation project. Moreover, the success of a relocation as a certain type of planned social change depends partly on the strength of the underlying motivational and ideological orientation of the key decision-makers.

As noted earlier, relocation of Africville was long considered by City officials and planners. What accounts for its taking place in 1964? Two explanations emerge clearly from interviews with the caretakers, politicans, and City Hall officials associated with the relocation: distaste for adverse publicity, and humanitarian concern. These factors were pressures towards a decision for relocation, but the data suggest additional significant factors.

The major adverse publicity consisted of articles in two national publications, *Maclean's Magazine*[2] and the *Star*

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Stein, *op. cit.*; Susan Dexter, "The Black Ghetto That Fears Integration", *Maclean's Magazine*, July 25, 1965, p. 16 and *passim*.

Weekly,[1] a report in *The New York Times*,[2] and the Dalhousie University study[3] that described the socio-economic conditions of Africville. One of the caretakers described the publicity in the following terms:

> "I think [Africville was relocated] because it was a blight on the conscience on a good many people. Probably a good many people sincerely felt that it wasn't the best thing for the people living there. It was by this time [c. 1963-64] getting great national publicity and was presenting an image of Halifax from coast to coast which was bothering a great many people as citizens."[4]

Both the national publicity and the Dalhousie study (as well as the American article) appeared after, not before, the City Development Department Report recommending relocation;[5] that is, after the stage had been set for relocation. The publicity disposed "the average Haligonian" to accept City Council's Africville policy. The Assistant Archivist, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, in reviewing a section of the present report, wrote:

> "It is my personal opinion that there may have been some aldermen and businessmen who wanted Africville land fully developed by industry and paying higher taxes, but that the average citizen supported relocation of Africville families because they were sick of such publicity as that of Stein in *Maclean's* and the others, focusing attention on how badly the

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[1]Sylvia Fraser, "The Slow and Welcome Death of Africville", *Star Weekly*, Toronto, January 1, 1966, pp. 1-7.

[2]Raymond Daniell, "Nova Scotia Hides A Racial Problem", *The New York Times*, June 14, 1964, p. 64.

[3]*The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia*, p. 13.

[4]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[5]The Development Department Report appeared in *The Mail-Star* on August 1, 1962. The Dalhousie University publication was released to the press on October 3, 1962. National and international publicity appeared as a response to City Council's relocation policy: Stein, October 1962; Dexter, 1965; Fraser, 1966; and Daniell, 1964.

Negroes were treated in the Africville ghetto."[1]

The humanitarian concern to relocate Africville residents related to two matters: the improvement of living conditions, and the racial integration of Africville residents. The following are typical replies to the question, "Why did the City relocate Africville?"

Halifax Alderman: Improvement of living conditions

"[The City relocated Africville residents] mainly to move them out because . . . the situation wasn't healthy. And people should not be permitted to live in conditions in which they were living in Africville, with no water or sewerage, and there were also fire hazards there . . . a lot of them did their own work, and [electric systems] weren't as safe as they should be."[2]

Halifax Director of Development: Racial integration

"It seemed to me as long as there was an Africville, there was very little chance for very many people to escape from it. . . . The younger people, therefore . . . could only tend to worsen their conditions. . . . They had nobody to lift them up by example, and I personally feel that this is the only way this type of community can improve, by the people within the community. Now when the community is broken up, some of the better elements in the community may be influenced by their neighbours to improve their conditions."[3]

White Caretaker: Improvement of living conditions

"From what we have seen of it . . . and what we know about it, it was a very unsatisfactory thing from the viewpoint of public services; you know, in regard to sewer and water and street lights, snowploughing, police protection, and things like that. The fact that such conditions existed within

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[1]Personal communication from Miss Phyllis R. Blakeley, Assistant Archivist, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, April 1970.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[3]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

the city boundary was shocking."[1]

Black Caretaker: Racial integration

"I think the over-all thoughts [of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee] were . . . to assist the coming generation to be able to compete in the coming world. That it would be an advantage to the coming generation to be placed in a position where they would not be in a separate community, but a part of a larger community in which they would be competing as far as work, education, [and] housing were concerned."[2]

The segregated Black community and the poverty of its residents had existed for many years prior to the events of 1962-64 and the final decision to relocate. Previous chapters have documented the numerous petitions from Africville residents, the many times prior to 1962 that humanitarian concern was expressed on their behalf, and the abortive City policies formulated to rectify deprivation in Africville. Why did the humanitarian concern crystallize at this time as a factor urging relocation? Sylvia Fraser's pithy analogy speaks to this question:

"For 150 years [the Africville residents] were nourished on neglect. Now everyone professes an interest in them. The community of Africville is like a patient that has shivered for weeks in the corridor of a hospital and then is suddenly whipped into a private room where a squadron of nurses fight to take her temperature and feel her pulse."[3]

Explanation of the intensification of concern lies in the convergence of an improved ideological climate and a desire by City officials in land-scarce Halifax to redevelop

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[3]Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 6. We shall discuss below (see Chapter Eight) Africville residents' perceptions of the purpose of relocation. Most relocatees believe that they were relocated because the City needed the land. They believe, also, that the City profited more from the relocation than did they, the Africville residents. Their *post hoc* views of the relocation can be understood partly in terms of their own experience subsequent to relocation.

Africville as part of a larger scheme of industrial and commercial developement. The changing ideological climate in the late 1950's and early 1960's was characterized by the development of urban renewal policy in Canada,[1] the growth of the civil rights movement in the United States and in Canada, and local criticism of social policy by both Blacks and Whites (reflected, for instance, in the achievements and new leadership of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People[2] and in the formation of ginger groups for social action such as the short-lived Joseph Howe Society). There were two more specific developments in the fifties which proved to be significant for Africville. One was the increased participation by organized labour in the general struggle against racism and poverty; it may be recalled that when Africville residents sought outside assistance in the early sixties they contacted persons associated with the Canadian Labour Congress. The other development was the formation of a ginger group within the local branch of the Community Planning Association of Canada. This group pressed for housing reform and encouraged the City to bring in a noted planning authority to examine Halifax problems; one of his 1957 recommendations was that Africville be relocated. It should be noted that while Africville residents were being relocated larger redevelopment projects in the north and central areas of the city were being completed. It is difficult to determine precisely how much weight should be given to the change in ideological climate as a factor in the Africille relocation. Prior to 1962 there was no sustained effort, based on this factor, to rectify neglect and oppression in Africville.[3] The "problem" of Africville surfaced periodi-

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[1]See Stanley H. Pickett, "An Appraisal of the Urban Renewal Programme in Canada", *Urban Renewal*, (Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1968).

[2]Clairmont and Magill, *Nova Scotian Blacks*; pp. 34-35.

[3]The Halifax *Mail-Star* had an editorial practice of reporting the relocation of Africville residents. Prior to 1962, only sporadic articles about Africville were published. Most of *The Mail-Star's* articles appeared during the relocation decision-making (1962-64) and the relocation itself (1964-67). A former reporter for *The Mail-Star*, now (1970) a City Hall official, commented about the possible influence of the newspaper's publicity on the average Haligonian:

"I think another very great factor to be considered was the publicity campaign conducted over the years by Frank Doyle, who was an editor of the Halifax [*Chronicle- Herald* and *The Mail-Star*]. . . . This resulted in tremendous interest

cally in the public attention but then soon faded away. Yet it does appear that the changes in social climate referred to above did have a relevance to the Africville relocation. Groups and organizations came into existence, pressing for social change and ready to be mobilized in projects such as the Africville relocation.

While the improved ideological climate was an important factor in public responsiveness to the relocation project, land-use considerations appear to have precipitated the chain-reaction of events leading to the Africville relocation. A former mayor of Halifax recalled that unless there was some clear advantage for Halifax as a whole, the City would have been quite cautious about relocating people who did not want to move. In 1962, as part of a more comprehensive plan of development, the North Shore Development Plan proposed that the Africville land be used for a limited-access expressway. The plan was publicly released in February 1962. By August the Development Department Report recommending relocation was released to the press and, seven days later, rejected by Africville residents. That same month, A. Alan Borovoy visited Halifax and discussed the City's relocation proposal with Africville residents and other concerned Halifax citizens. Following his visit, the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee was formed. By October Africville residents had resigned themselves to the relocation, and City Council adopted relocation as official policy. For sixteen months the caretaker members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee explored alternatives to relocation. In January 1964, the Rose Report's recommendations for relocation reinforced City Council's existing policy, and the caretakers accepted the fact of relocation.

Interviewed in 1969, the caretakers, politicians, and City officials associated with the decision to relocate stressed humanitarian reasons for their involvement. Undoubtedly their concern was genuine. Clearly, too, this mobilization of concern was directly related to the City's 1962 announcement of the North Shore Development Plan. The relocation was, thus, the result of the reactions and counter-reactions engendered by a plan that was intended to further the economic development and future growth of the City while at the same time removing the "blight of Africville". For this reason it would be difficult to decide, solely on

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focused on the . . . health hazards in the community. . . . Perhaps the general responsiveness [of Halifax citizens] to the Africville relocation would have resulted largely from this.

- Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

motivational-ideological grounds, whether to classify the Africville relocation as a liberal-welfare or a development type of relocation. Only when one considers the structure and organization of the relocation project, does it more unambiguously fall into the former category.

Interviewed subsequent to the relocation, City officials denied that relocation was intended to further the City's economic interests. The Mayor of Halifax argued:

> "I just don't frankly believe that the action was triggered by any desire for, or any expectation of, industrial development. And if it had been for the purposes of industrial development, Africville would still be there. We can't afford to just make land vacant for nothing."[1]

In similar vein, the Director of Development (appointed in 1961) maintained:

> "The properties themselves just could not be permitted to remain in the city of Halifax. They were not fit for human habitation. If they had been anywhere else in the city, in this particular year, they would have been ordered down at the expense of the owners. As a matter of fact, during those years, we did order down about seven hundred houses at the owners' expense, and that would have been the case except for colour.
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> . . . . . .
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> The city had (by the city . . . I mean the whole community) concluded that the conditions such as existed in Africville could not be permitted to continue. The program which developed, I think, was really a program whereby we could convert [what] was essentially a worthless asset retained by the residents into a worthwhile or a useful asset. . . . There was no way they could dispose of their land except to an authority which had the power to expropriate, to wipe out all claims and charges against it."[2]

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969. Africville had become "a worthless asset" because its residents were Black and because they had been deprived of standard City

The Mayor's view that the City "can't afford to just make land vacant for nothing" is at variance with the Director of Development's statement about the intention to convert the Africville land, "a worthless asset retained by the residents into a worthwhile or useful asset." The apparent disagreement may stem from after-the-fact reinterpretation of politically charged events.

In his 1962 letter to the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, the Director of Development stressed that the primary consideration in deciding to relocate was the "betterment of housing conditions". He indicated to the Committee that Africville land was proposed for expressway, industrial, and commercial use (see Appendix C). Commenting on the compensation value of Africville land, he wrote that industrial lands are not normally of high value; however, "the economic well being of a community depends upon a vigorous employment factor and industry creates this."[1] After a century of neglect, the residents of Africville were to bear the added burden of subsidizing the economic growth of a city of which they were never truly a part.

There is further irony in the fact that apparently the Africville land will not be used for the purposes outlined in the 1962 North Shore Development Plan. Carlyle Warner, Senior Planner, City Development Department, explained that the plan was studied and considered unfeasible; however, the relocation of Africville residents remained City Council policy.[2]

Today the Africville land lies vacant.[3] It has

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facilities. There may have been additional reasons, such as the complex pattern of land inheritance and squatter rights. The City had played a negative role in the development of the Africville community, and the Africville land was an asset for either industrial or residential development.

[1]See Appendix C, p. A25. The proposal to use Africville land for an expressway follows a pattern that critics of American urban renewal programs call "Negro clearance". Anderson points out that the goal of the American renewal schemes often is the preservation or creation of a White middle-class neighbourhood, and that Blacks constitute a very high proportion of the diplaced people. Anderson, *op. cit.*

[2]Interview, January 1970.

[3]Anderson has noted that it is not uncommon for cleared land to be vacant for a number of years before new

been altered by construction of an approach to the nearby A. Murray MacKay Bridge, which crosses the Narrows between Halifax and Dartmouth. Halifax City officials were opposed to the bridge site and the present Mayor has explained that the decision to build at the Narrows was not a factor influencing the decision to relocate Africville residents.

> *The Mayor*: "Let me deal with the Bridge question. The City of Halifax did everything it could to prevent this second crossing being put in the North End. That was forced on us by a decision of Premier Stanfield, following a dispute between Halifax and Dartmouth. Halifax wanted it in the South End and Dartmouth wanted it there. All the traffic indications were that demand was south of the bridge at North Street, and on planning grounds we thought that it should have been in the South End. So [during the decision-making to relocate Africville] we did not have the bridge in mind, and we still think it is a terrible loss to the City in the North End that the bridge is there."
>
> *Interviewer*: "When was this decision made?"
>
> *The Mayor*: "By Mr. Stanfield? It was approximately 1966."
>
> *Interviewer*: "Would it be all right to quote you on what you just said in connection with the bridge?"
>
> *The Mayor*: "Yes, certainly. It is matter of public record. The decision of his . . . was publicly recorded; it wasn't confidential in any sense. As a matter of fact, the location of bridges is determined by Order-in-Council of the Provincial Government, which is then given as an authority to the Bridge Commission to construct a bridge at a given site, and that would be on record as an Order-in-Council."[1]

In February 1969, the City of Halifax commissioned

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construction is begun: "A typical urban renewal project takes a long time. The planning stage for an average project takes approximately three years. The over-all length of time, from start of planning to completion of new construction, needed for an average project is about 12 years." Anderson, *op. cit.* p. 229; see also pp. 73-90.

[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

Project Planning Associates and their architectural affiliates to formulate development proposals for an area bounded by Duffus Street, Lady Hammond Road, Kempt Road, Bedford Basin, and the Narrows. Included in this area is the former Africville site.

Dr. Albert Rose, who earlier had advised the City with reference to the Africville relocation, was engaged as a consultant in the study of City Prison land. In a June 1969 report, he wrote about Africville as follows:

> "Nova Scotia contains perhaps as many as 40 per cent of Canada's total black population, that is, 20,000 to 25,000 out of an estimated 60,000. The experience in the elimination of Africeville [*sic*] from 1964 through 1967 has left a number of bitter legacies. *The white population realizes that it sanctioned the elimination of a black ghetto*, yet at the same time, it has not developed any appropriate use for the Africeville lands and they remain at the present time a mass of rubble extending for a considerable distance to the north of the Prison lands. *To a very real degree Africeville stands for destruction without long range planning or, at best, a degree of planning without goals for the implementation of sound social objectives.*"[1] (Italics added.)

On October 14, 1969, an "area conceptual plan" was submitted to the City's Director of Development.[2] The Africville land was designated for a district City park as well as for industrial, warehouse, and highway use. This plan is now under consideration by City staff.

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[1] *City of Halifax: Prison Land Development Proposals, Report No. 1, Survey and Analysis*, Vol. 2, *Social Factors*, June 23, 1969, p. 3. This report is on file at City Hall, Halifax, N. S.

[2] *City of Halifax: Prison Land Development Proposals, Report No. 2, Area Conceptual Plan*, October 14, 1969. This report is on file at City Hall, Halifax, N. S.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MECHANICS OF THE RELOCATION: 1964-1969

Interviewer: "Were there any . . . strategies that the city used to convince people to move?"

Africville Relocatee: "The only strategy done was moving everybody out . . . you can't buck the government, because they got more than you."

Interviewer: "More, in what way?"

Africville Relocatee: "They got the power. If you have the money, you have the law. You can't do nothing with them in our situation. We are not the educated kind. We don't know how to go around loops and corners. They know what they are doing."

Interviewer: "Did you do a lot of negotiation or discussion with the City, before you reached the [settlement] price?"

Africville Relocatee: "Quite a lot, but I got nowhere. As I said, I have no money to fight them, so I lose out in the end."

- Tape-recorded interview with an Africville relocatee, October 1969.

Introduction

The establishment of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and its subsequent involvement in relocation decision-making and mechanics was a key factor in making the Africville relocation appear progressive and distinctive in the urban renewal climate of the early 1960's. Its participation, along with Halifax City Council's acceptance of the Rose Report, stamped the Africville relocation as a liberal-welfare type of planned social change and might have indicated that the relocation would indeed signal new life-opportunities for Africville residents.

During the 1962-64 decision-making phase, the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee did attempt to relay

information to Africville residents, to obtain their views, and to represent their interests to City officials. Unfortunately the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee did not build a strong community-supported Africville organization; consequently its mandate was always questionable. Only a handful of Africville residents continued to participate in the deliberations of the Committee during the "mechanics" phase of the relocation and these few residents had no delegate authority on behalf of Africville residents. Non-Africville members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee continued to play an important "caretaker" role in the "mechanics" phase of the relocation; with representatives of City Council they formed an advisory subcommittee which examined reports of the relocation social worker and made recommendations to City Council. The unorganized Africville residents were collectively excluded from these political administrative processes and few of them consulted with the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. In effect, then, the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, as an actor in the relocation drama, had more legitimacy in the eyes of the City administration than in the eyes of Africville residents. In a non-pejorative sense the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee was co-opted by the City. It was given powers by the City and expected to look after Africville interests; in return, its involvement stamped the relocation program as progressive and humane.

The Rose Report, written in the liberal-welfare tradition of planned social change, was a document marked with the best of intentions. Nevertheless, as a guide to relocation mechanics it left much to be desired. Beyond recommending the appointment of a relocation social worker, the involvement of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and the development of educational and occupational rehabilitative programs, the Rose Report did not specify intermediate level goals or objectives, nor did it indicate how rehabilitative programs might be carried out successfully. The Rose Report was essentially programmatic; beyond recommending that the relocation be administered by the City's Development Department, rather than the City's Welfare Department (whose director was against the relocation of Africville residents), the report did not delve into the political-administrative realities that any carefully designed program of planned social change must recognize and take into account. For example, given the Development Department's bureaucratic mandate and its political realities, there was a danger that the emphasis in the relocation would shift from rehabilitation and the elimination of inequality to the clearing of the Africville lands and real estate negotiations. How was this to be checked? In view of the vagueness of the relocation objectives, it would be critical

to ensure the mobilization of advocacy on behalf of Africville residents, especially as they were excluded from the decision-making processes. In the relocation apparatus, the source of internal advocacy was the relocation social worker but, since he was employed in the Development Department, how could it be ensured that internal advocacy would be strengthened rather than mitigated? The chief external source of advocacy was the involvement of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. How was one to structure the relocation apparatus so that this advocacy function could be optimized? As noted above, the Committee's mandate to speak for Africville residents was questionable. Moreover, participation by Committee members in the relocation mechanics was on a voluntary basis. Would they be able to handle this time-consuming caretaker function, in addition to their regular commitments, without getting lost in the myriad of individual relocation cases and becoming increasingly dependent on initiatives from City officials?

The Rose Report, then, was programmatic rather than detailed and analytical concerning how new life opportunities would be created for Africville residents. Its successful implementation depended considerably more on good will than on detailed legal and organizational recommendations. City Council, in passing the Rose Report, assumed thereby no legal obligation for rehabilitative programs. The lacunae in the Rose Report, though pardonable given Dr. Rose's terms of reference, were serious, since effecting positive social change for the disadvantaged is very difficult. Within the liberal-welfare tradition of change, the rhetoric of the Africville relocation, the structural obstacles to equality and full participation in the mainstream of society by the poor, especially the Black poor, are underestimated. In view of structural conditions and other realities of bureaucracy, racism,[1] and so forth, it is difficult to alter life-conditions dramatically for people who are poor, ill-educated, unorganized and discriminated against. If there is to be any likelihood of success at all, there has to be detailed planning and considerable attention must be given to the mobilization of advocacy and to organizational structure.

The Administrative Framework for the Relocation

The Rose Report recommended:

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[1]Racism is more subtle and pervasive in our society than is commonly acknowledged. See for example, Louis L. Knowles and Kenneth Prewitt (eds.), *Institutional Racism in America* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1969).

"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."[1]

Shortly after City Council adopted the Rose Report, the Mayor met with the Minister of Public Welfare and the Deputy Minister. The provincial welfare officials agreed to "find a person to do the relocation."[2] They suggested Peter J. MacDonald, a forty-year-old social worker, who had been employed since 1948 with the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare. Mr. MacDonald was born in Sydney, Nova Scotia, where his father was employed in the local steel plant, and received his Bachelor of Arts degree from St. Francis Xavier University. Upon graduation he returned to Sydney to accept employment with the Department of Public Welfare, where most of his career in social work was associated with juvenile probation services and child welfare casework. In the early 1960's, Mr. MacDonald attended the Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, and obtained the degree of Master of Social Work. The Deputy Minister of Public Welfare explained why his Department had suggested MacDonald as the Africville social worker:

"[He is a person] who can meet and talk to people, and that was what we needed. Someone who could go into Africville and talk to people on their own level. Peter was the person we had with these skills."[3]

In April 1964, City Council's Finance and Executive Committee recommended to City Council MacDonald's appointment,[4] which recommendation subsequently was adopted. MacDonald was given a three-year leave of absence, and payment of his salary was shared by the Province and the City.[5] He began work on

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[1]Appendix F, p. A66.

[2]Interview with Dr. F. R. MacKinnon, Deputy Minister, Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare, September 1969.

[3]*Ibid.*

[4]"Named to Shift Africville Folk", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., April 10, 1964.

[5]From June 1964, to April 1966, fifty per cent of MacDonald's salary was paid by the Province; from May 1966 to

June 1, 1964, to "spend the first several weeks at a 'familiarization' program. [He] would be acquainted with City Hall routine and mechanics along with information on the Africville project."[1]

Shortly after MacDonald was appointed to the staff of the City's Development Department as relocation social worker the Development Officer, Robert Grant, prepared a policy statement outlining the operational procedures for the relocation program and the respective roles of City Council's Africville Subcommittee.[2] Essentially the former was to concern itself "with the broad issues rather than specific cases", while the latter was to ensure rapport between the City and the relocatees and to see "that the City's commitments to the community are carried out." The Development Officer's report also specified two types of relocation compensation - "for land and buildings and . . . to assist in the relocation of families."[3] The responsibility of the Development Department in welfare quidance "for such a period as appears necessary" and the responsibility of the City in employment and educational rehabilitation were also noted.[4] Finally, the report outlined the Department's responsibility in finding alternative housing accommodations for the relocatees and moving them to their new homes.[5] These recommendations were adopted and the control of the relocation was totally assumed by the Development Department. One of these recommendations, however, was to have particularly grave consequences for the Africville relocatees:

> "In order to avoid overlapping of responsibilities and to avoid the establishment of precedents which could be difficult to deny at a later date, it is suggested that the Welfare Department accept responsibility for continued assistance to the Africville community until such time as individual properties are acquired. Immediately upon acquisition of each particular property, responsibility for all forms of assistance and guidance should become the

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June 1967, the Province paid seventy-five per cent. Letter from Dr. F. R. MacKinnon, Deputy Minister, Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare, September 22, 1969.

[1]"Welfare Official Takes on Africville Project", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 2, 1964.

[2]Appendix H, pp. A75-A80. [3]*Ibid.*, p. A77.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. A78-A79. [5]*Ibid.*, p. A79-A80.

responsibility of the Development Department and should remain the responsibility of that Department for as long as the commitment to the individual family exists.

"Generally speaking, the City appears to have committed itself to a programme of assistance and guidance for a minimum period of six months from the date of movement of the family. It is, however, anticipated that the total movement of the community will take place over a period to December 31, 1966 and it seems logical that guidance should be given for such a period as appears necessary. At the end of the guidance period, the responsibility for any assistance would be returned to the Welfare Department."[1]

As shown later in this chapter, this recommendation operated to the detriment of relocatees. The Development Department withdrew from the political-administrative arena after completing its mandate of negotiating settlements and moving the vast majority of residents. The responsibility for further welfare and guidance was transferred to the City's Welfare Department, whose Director refused to give special consideration to their financial problems. As responsibility for the relocation was shifted from one department to another, the residents were indeed caught in a bureaucratic mazeway whose administrative and political realities were beyond their comprehension.

The Development Department and the Africville Relocation

The control and ultimate success or failure of the early phase of the relocation was chiefly in the hands of two individuals: the Development Officer and the relocation social worker. From a sociological perspective, their actions should not be analyzed in terms of individual motivations but in terms of roles within a larger political-administrative framework. The relocation program was drafted by an expert, adopted by Halifax City Council politicians, and handed to agency bureaucrats for implementation. These officials were constrained by their mandate, the resources made available to them, and the nature of the surrounding interorganizational relations.

From mid-1964 to late 1967, the relocation social

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[1]Appendix H, p. A78.

worker was the only City employee directly involved on a day-to-day basis with Africville residents and relocatees. He was responsible to the Development Officer who, as Director of the Development Department, largely directed or controlled the mechanics of the relocation program. Given the importance of these two men, it is pertinent to consider briefly their perception of Africville and their respective roles during the relocation.

Robert B. Grant, a former employee of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, was appointed in 1961 as Development Officer for the City of Halifax. Born in Stittsville, Ontario, Mr. Grant received a Bachelor of Commerce degree from Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. From 1942 to 1947 he was a pilot in the Royal Canadian Air Force and received the D.F.C. In 1947 he joined Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and served with that organization in Ottawa, Toronto, Regina, St. John's, and Halifax. He resigned in 1961 to accept the position of Development Officer, City of Halifax.[1] As an experienced bureaucrat, Grant believes that written documents are the heart of an efficient organization and that policy decisions and guidlines should be in writing. In corresponding with the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee he "insisted that they put their questions in writing and we City staff put our answers in writing, so that there could be little or no misunderstanding."[2]

Undoubtedly the Development Officer was the most important senior City official during the relocation decision-making and the implementation of relocation policy. He had written the 1962 report recommending relocation, he had been the City's liaison with the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, and he had met with Dr. Albert Rose in December 1964. With the social worker, he reviewed the settlement prices offered to Africville residents. In essence, the Development Officer was a City Official who regarded his role to be that of supporting, justifying, and implementing City Council's Africville policy. An alderman member of the City Council Africville Subcommittee, who in 1971 was a senior member of Council, described the Development Officer's commitment to "the City's interests" and his quiet, efficient, and cost-accounting perspective:

" . . . [Mr. Grant] was head of the Department to

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[1]Curriculum vitae of Robert Grant, communication from Mr. Grant's office, April 1970.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

whom Peter MacDonald reported, and he did take part in some of the discussions, and he tended in my view to tend toward substantial caution. He was a great defender of . . . the public interest as distinct from the private interest. I think his influence on Peter MacDonald was probably substantial, in that indirectly he influenced the program quite a bit. . . . I think that he would tend to opt for what he would see to be the City's interests, keep the costs down, get the thing cleaned up with as little controversy as possible, and therefore not letting too much information out. . . .

" . . . it is true that . . . as a Development Officer for the City, when looking at any piece of real estate within the city of Halifax, [he] looks at it through the eyes of a developer; that is, a public developer, if you like. . . . One who sees this land here as being worth x dollars today; and five years from now, when certain other things happen, being worth x plus y dollars; and twenty years from now being worth x plus y plus z dollars. . . . He has this sort of urban economics in his head all the time."[1]

Another former alderman who was a member of the City Council Africville Subcommittee expressed resentment of the Development Officer's influence on the social worker's staff reports.

"Well, Bob Grant, of course, was Mr. MacDonald's immediate superior. I personally resented his [Grant's] involvement in this, at times. Because I had the distinct impression that some of the material that was coming down as a report under Mr. Grant's signature was a shade distorted. So I believe, at one point, I quite forcibly indicated that future reports were to be under the signature of Peter MacDonald, who was to take full responsibility for their writing and for the content. And I think from that time on, the reports came much more realistically.

"I think Bob, with mistaken loyalty to the City possibly, was trying to whitewash some of the situation that existed there, and this was certainly not what we wanted. I think he went beyond what

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

he should have done in those circumstances."[1]

In discussing his part in relocation decision-making and the implementation of policy, the Development Officer explained that he reviewed with the social worker each settlement negotiation, and usually approved or amended all reports recommending a specific settlement.

Interviewer: "In terms of the decision-making, what would be your role in the overall relocation?"

Development Officer: "Well, first of all I developed the general policy statement . . . which I had to defend before Council, and the public at large. Secondly, I was dealing with Albert Rose; or, put it this way, I was his contact point in the city when he was here, as far as the City itself was concerned. And thirdly, I suppose I collaborated with Peter in reaching agreement on recommendations that were made to the Committees for acceptance or rejection [of settlements]."

Interviewer: "That must have been a difficult thing, to sort out all the various factors to make a recommendation."

Development Officer: "It was an exceedingly difficult thing. It was a question of balancing oranges and apples, comparing one case to the other. I am quite prepared to believe that there may have been injustices done to one as compared to another. I might also say that I think if the injustice was done . . . it was only because somebody else had more than the other.

"I suppose Peter and I met anywhere from half an hour to an hour a day on each individual case. He told me when he had somebody approach him that was interested in settling. We agreed generally on the basis on which he could negotiate with that particular person, both as to compensation and as to alternative accommodation."

Interviewer: "And on the basis of that, reports were written and submitted to the Council?"

Development Officer: "It wasn't all this simple.

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

What you did, once you got some person interested in moving, then the process of talking to the person [started] and this process of negotiation probably went on, on an average of three to four months. It was only when we had come to some conclusion that the report went forward. . . . It was usually drafted by Peter and approved or amended by me, and from there on I can recall very few cases where [the reports] weren't accepted.

"As a general rule, I didn't participate in the individual negotiations with the individual persons. This was basically wrong, because it would place Peter in the position where everybody felt that he could be bypassed in the discussions."

Interviewer: "Did Peter have trouble in many of the negotiations with the people?"

Development Officer: "I would say that any negotiation is a difficult thing. It is not a question of adding up 2, 3, 4, 5 on one side and 2, 3, 4, 5 on the other, and balancing everything, and everybody agreeing. It's a process of constant talk. I don't know what you mean by 'trouble'. Put it this way: some person might be coming in and holding out for a figure of, say, $12,000, which was completely ridiculous in terms of what they had to offer, and you think that negotiations would be endless. Then something would happen on either side, and all of a sudden things would come together, as is the case with any type of negotiation."[1]

The Development Officer's perception of Africville residents was that they had a "live for today" philosophy. He acknowledged that, in his opinion, Africville was a slum, stigmatized by Halifax citizens, both Black and White.

Development Officer: "[Africville residents] were a group of people who had been segregated and who had to fend for themselves. They had a tendency to live for today, and not worry about the consequences. I suppose it is not unlike some of the mining towns. . . . You talk to a group of miners, you know, you say, 'Why do you do this?' And they say, 'We like it,' and they live for today."

. . . . . .

[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

Interviewer: "Some people viewed Africville as a slum. What do you think?"

Development Officer: "I don't think there is any question that it was a slum of the worst sort. Certainly from a health point of view, it was worse than anything we had in the centre of the city. From a fire point of view, it probably wasn't quite so bad as some of our congested downtown areas. At least if there was a fire in Africville there would be only one property go, whereas in downtown there was always the danger of a whole block going. But certainly any person who remembers or has seen pictures of the buildings could only assume that it was a slum. Now I don't think it was any better or worse than any of the other slums of like nature in the province.

. . . . . .

"As far as the White population was concerned, it was considered to be an area . . . you didn't really want to hear about, didn't want anything said about it. You just hoped that probably it would go away and just keep very quiet. I had a feeling in talking to members of the Black community that they tended to think it was the slum of slums."

Interviewer: "So there was a stigma even from the Black community itself, towards Africville?"

Development Officer: "This was the impression I had, and I think maybe this was the very fact that tended to hold the community together. I think Albert Rose said this, in effect. The one thing they had in Africville was a common misery which tended to hold them together. No matter what happened to them on the outside, they could always go back to Africville and find somebody who had the same problems."[1]

The relocation social worker was responsible for implementing the Rose Report recommendations and City Council's Africville policy. His role was multifaceted; he was expected to negotiate settlement prices, to assist relocatees find alternative housing accommodation, to arrange for an occupational and educational retraining program, and to provide "guidance"

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[1] *Ibid.*

for Africville residents and relocatees. He was the major liaison between City officials and Africville residents. As "under-structure personnel",[1] he did not determine policy but, to a large extent, the success or failure of policy execution was in his hands. The Development Officer succinctly outlined the social worker's role in policy implementation:

> "Peter MacDonald, of course, came on the scene after the basic decisions and policies had been made. He was not a policy-maker to that extent. His basic responsibility was negotiations (and I use that in the very broadest sense) with all the residents of the area, in terms of their relocation, including compensation, jobs, education, and rehousing.
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> "Peter, after the basic policies had been made, was certainly the lead man in the implementation of policies. He came through with the basic information necessary for decision-making on each individual case."[2]

The social worker considered that the industrial potential of the Africville land was not the principal reason for relocation; rather, he viewed the City's actions as expressing a desire to resolve a difficult social problem. It was the Africville children, he argued, who would benefit most from the relocation.

> " . . . people have mentioned to me that the City only wanted to get into this program so that they could acquire the land, because if anything is at a premium in Halifax, it's land. I can't, in conscience, go along with this thinking because I can't see how, in 1960 or 1961, people who were at the head of municipal government, at that time, could forecast future events. . . . So I would prefer to think of it purely as a social problem, something which had to be resolved.
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> . . . . . .

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[1]This concept is borrowed from Floyd Hunter's study of community power. In his analysis of the power structure in Regional City, Hunter argues that "men of independent decision" are a relatively small group while the under-structure personnel, who are the executors of policy, "may run into the hundreds." Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1963), p. 66.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

"Taking a bird's-eye view of the future, I think in the long run it will be the children who will benefit the most. The philosophy under which I worked was that this relocation would help break down prejudices. . . . I would hope that this would show up within the five, six, and seven-year olds, who in fifteen or twenty years time will be adults. There will be a gradual erosion of this business of prejudice."[1]

The social worker's knowledge of Africville's social structure contrasted with that of the caretakers. During his three years in Africville he became intimately familiar with the day-to-day dynamics of the community's life. He perceived, more than most outsiders, intrinsic value in the Africville community; for instance, the importance of extended family ties:

"There is one difference that I noticed as far as Africville was concerned, compared with other areas in which I worked. The Africville people generally were always able to make room for one more. By that particularly I am thinking of the older people, the grandfather, and the grandmother, and the aunt, and the uncle who were elderly. These people were looked after. I rarely heard anyone say, 'I'll have to send my mother, my father, or my aunt, to . . . the old people's home'.

"When they were thinking of moving out [relocating] and becoming involved in another home, this was one of the factors that they thought about first, that they would have to provide a room for so-and-so. Now whether it was their mother or their father, whoever it might be, and I think this mainly was one of the things that was brought home to me.

"The other, of course, was the daughter coming home pregnant and bringing her child home. I don't think the parents appreciated this all that much, but at least when the girl did come home she brought the child with her, and the child was brought up as a member of the family. I don't know about the stigma attached to this, but I think that down deeper . . . they were a bit disappointed. This is what welfare workers, social workers, are coming to the conclusion today, the unmarried mother coming

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, June 1969.

home, so that she should be looked upon as a member of the family, and not as an outcast."[1]

The social worker described in detail the relationship between the City of Halifax and Africville, and underlined the discrimination that existed towards the community.

"The dealings with the City over the years have been a sore point with many people because, as I understand it, . . . they went to the City and asked for some concessions, and, for some reason or another, these concessions were not made. Concessions such as having the road ploughed during the winter. Ordinarily, streets in the winter in the city are ploughed as quickly as possible after a snowstorm. Africville was generally left until the last, every other street in the city was ploughed and someone decided to go down and run a plough through Africville. . . . Some felt that the only reason they did this was for the garbage trucks to get to the dump, and very rarely did they go into the area other than when the garbage had to be hauled to the dump.

"In the spring of the year, when the road began to break up, nothing was done. The people who did have automobiles were getting stuck in the road, they were breaking springs, breaking tires, and what have you. When this was mentioned, they did not get all the satisfaction they required, and sometimes did not get any satisfaction at all. The result was that if someone was sick, it was difficult to get a taxi to come into the area. If they called up the store to have an order delivered, the storeman would bring the order so far, and then they had to walk the rest of the way and try to bring their order home. At one stage of the game, I understand, the City blocked both ends of the street. I don't now recall why, but there was a reason for it. In the meantime, somone did become ill and it was quite a problem trying to get this individual out. So I think they had their legitimate gripes with the City.

"The City administration did very little, probably using the stick that the amount of tax that we get from this area is very little, so how can

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[1] *Ibid.*

they expect service. They wanted street lighting, which didn't come until quite late in the history of the community. Of course, they didn't get the water or sewer line. I think they made approaches to the City. How concentrated their efforts were, I don't know, but it didn't come to pass. . . . Money was one reason, it would be expensive, . . . people would have to move . . . their homes, or have their homes moved so that the water and sewer lines could be installed. They did have electricity, which was brought into the community of late years.

"Granted, probably the City of Halifax was ninety-five per cent at fault for even allowing such conditions to exist, and for even allowing such a condition to begin. . . . Why something was not done by the City Fathers, I don't know . . . because certainly in the other parts of the City this wasn't allowed. You couldn't just put up any kind of a building and get away with it. If this is discrimination, there you have it.

"Once people became settled there, they were more or less isolated actually from the mainstream of the city business and, I suppose, forgotten. If the City had the interests of the people actually at heart, they wouldn't have allowed it. If they were going to allow it [the City should have] put in some kind of sewer and water system, so that the people could live decently. The end result was the outside privy, which is a pretty poor sort of thing, and the well. The wells because of the closeness of the outside toilets became contaminated. Why there wasn't a major outbreak of some kind of disease or other there, I'll never know. And then again, maybe, the people built up an immunity to this kind of thing."[1]

The social worker spent considerable time visiting homes and talking to residents. He was critical of experts and other people who by merely driving through Africville formed their superficial opinions of the community.

"I can't go along with the idea that [some people have] who have just driven through the community and looked at the outside condition of the

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[1] *Ibid.*

houses, and said, 'This is a terrible place to live,' and base their opinions solely on what they saw by driving through the community. Not one of these people would go inside and have a look at what was going on inside, because the inside was an entirely different situation. I could take you into houses there that I was kind of ashamed myself to walk in, because I felt that I was just tracking dirt through their home.

"The floors were just shining. I can see where the people were annoyed and defensive when you had pictures in the paper and it would show somebody's outhouse and the City dump and all this kind of stuff. And then you would read the caption saying, 'This is Africville, this is a slum dwelling and the people are this and that and the other thing,' which was entirely false. There were many residents who were just as clean as anybody else, but they were in an unfortunate circumstance, where they didn't have facilities. There was no sewer or no water; the availability of these services was non-existent."[1]

The Entry of the Relocation Social Worker into the Community

The relocation social worker took up his duties on June 1, 1964. Eight days later, he and the Development Officer attended a meeting of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee.[2] The Development Officer reported that some of the Africville residents had already indicated to the City that they wanted to negotiate a settlement; he emphasized the importance of concluding settlements by written agreements. He informed the Committee that it "would be desired to concur in every proposed decision of settlement . . . before . . . the decision is submitted formally for ratification to City Council . . . ."[3] He indicated also, that:

"Mr. MacDonald will have avialable to him expert advice about real estate, and Africville residents would be well advised to consider proceeding

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Minutes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee*, June 9, 1964.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

through Mr. MacDonald rather than through conventional real estate channels where humanitarian considerations may not be a dominant concern."[1]

At the meeting on June 9, Peter MacDonald met Nancy and Peter Edwards and Frank MacPherson, the Africville representatives on the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. Mr. Edwards explained that, several days after the meeting, he and his wife had paved the way for the social worker's entry into the community. They introduced him to the old-line families.

> "The first people that Peter MacDonald saw were me and my wife and we took him around to different people and [to] speak to the people concerned with what he was doing.
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> "Me and my wife took Peter around from place to place, and introduced different people to him and telling him different things. The older people especially we took him to . . . people who were born there and raised there, . . . not the young people."[2]

After meeting the old-line families, the social worker spent four months extending his contacts until he knew all the residents. He preferred to interact on an informal basis, "talking to a person in his own home, in the kitchen, or outside in the yard, or in the local store."[3] After the first six months, he felt he had "gained the trust of the

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Tape-recorded interview, October 1969. MacDonald's entry into the community was assisted by one of the City's aldermen, who knew many of the Africville residents and advised them to cooperate with MacDonald. The alderman explained: "Many a time I would get calls from these people . . . asking me what I thought about Peter MacDonald. I would tell them that I felt they could trust him and I think this helped him to do a better job than he could have done if he hadn't a recommendation from someone like me, who knew the area and the people. . . . I went to the people first and told them that this man was only doing his job, and to try and cooperate with him." Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[3] Tape-recorded interview, July 1969.

Africville people"[1] and he started to negotiate settlement prices. Initially, however, he was perceived as a "City employee" and was viewed with skepticism and suspicion by many residents who expressed to him their intense verbal hostility concerning the City's neglect of their community.

> "The first three or four months was a matter of going into the community and meeting the people, listening to their thoughts on relocation. . . . They more or less associated me [as] an employee of the City and used this as a means of ventilating their thoughts. They had gone through many trying times in Africville and didn't get all that much satisfaction from the City. And all these feelings, I suppose, were pent [up] over many years . . . and here was a person who was going to hear them. . . . On many occasions I've gone in, and right off the bat they would start condemning the City for what they hadn't done. Once this [was] over, we could get down to discussing the relocation itself, and what it meant to them, and what their feelings were. I suppose the next step was working with the people who were thinking of relocating, what their expectations were, and what they wanted."[2]

When MacDonald was appointed relocation social worker, his office was in Halifax City Hall. Approximately three months later, he moved into an office at the Seaview African Baptist Church in Africville, but after a short period he returned to his City Hall office:

> "I first started with an office in City Hall . . . [but] representatives from the community who were on the [Halifax] Human Rights [Advisory] Committee thought . . . an office . . . [should] be available in the community. People would be close to the scene of the operation; they could more readily use this office, rather than come to the city, which meant a matter of three or four miles, and getting taxis, trolleys, and this type of thing. . . .
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> " . . . an office was made available in the church, but [after using it for] approximately a week, it proved that this wasn't successful . . . I had only two or three people who came to discuss

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*

problems. . . . I think the reason for that was, if somebody came into the office in a small community, the neighbours knew who was coming in and started guessing if this person was going to move. . . . So for that reason I think people didn't want to use . . . [the office] in the community. They were more at ease if I went to their homes or else they came into City Hall to discuss their problems in my office."[1]

Citizen Involvement During the Relocation Program

During the relocation, there was neither community-wide citizen participation nor an indigenous power base for collective bargaining with City officials; rather, major policy decisions were formulated by decision-makers external to the community, and settlement prices were negotiated on a family or individual person basis. There were, in the main, three underlying reasons for lack of collective involvement: (1) powerlessness generated by historical conditions; (2) the structure of decision-making before and after the Rose Report; and (3) the growth of 'new' strains in the community, resulting from the nature of the settlement negotiations.

Powerlessness

A contemporary American sociologist has defined powerlessness as "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks."[2] This definition emerges from a social-psychological perspective; it ignores the central question: What are the objective conditions in society that generate powerlessness? This question demands that powerlessness be analyzed along lines similar to E. P. Thompson's discussion of class; namely, that it be viewed as "a social and cultural formation, arising from processes which can only be studied as they work themselves out over a considerable historical period."[3] Thus powerlessness can be conceptualized as an "ideal type" construct that

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation", *American Sociological Review*, XXIV, 784, December 1959.

[3] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 11.

is the result of the relationship between individuals and their socio-historical environment.[1] At the community level, powerlessness can be transmitted among residents from generation to generation. Viewed as an emergent-historical phenomenon (that is, as something that emerges from a sequence of discrete historical events), it is not necessary to stop history at a given time and operationalize a concept of powerlessness, in order to measure its intensity and variation among individuals who lived in Africville.[2]

Africville residents, being black and poor, viewed the world with pessimism and resignation. Political bargaining with the "outside world" had been unsuccessful; the dominant attitude within the community was one of powerlessness and political ineffectiveness. Africville residents had come to expect little consideration from City officials, and the relocation announcement was seen by many as the latest step in a long series of deprivations and outrages to which they had grown accustomed. At the time of the relocation announcement there was no firmly established indigenous power base around which residents could organize either to assure substantial citizen participation or to mobilize against relocation. As noted in the preceding chapter, the Development Department Report, which was published in the local press, was strongly rejected on August 8, 1962, by nearly one hundred Black people; only eight weeks later, however, the idea of relocation was "accepted" during a meeting at the Seaview African Baptist Church.

Structure of Decision-Making

Neither before nor after the Rose Report (1963) did the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee structure itself in a way conducive to full citizen participation from Afric-

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[1]Mills presents a similar argument in his analysis of the new middle class in twentieth-century United States. "Explanations of a theme running as deep as political alienation must be made in terms of factors that extend over several generations." C. Wright Mills, *White Collar: The American Middle Classes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 340.

[2]Because the field work was completed after the relocation, it was not possible to collect systematically data concerning the degree of powerlessness in Africville; however, the existence of political alienation and indifference in the community was a recurrent theme in the majority of informal interviews with relocatees.

ville. It has been noted above that the Committee grew out of requests for assistance addressed by a few Africville residents to civil rights leader Alan Borovoy. The Committee brought together professional, middle-class people interested in improving race relations and a handful of concerned Africville residents who had formed a Ratepayers Association. The latter group was selective, unrepresentative of the community, and without effective organization; little effort was spent in developing a strong community-supported indigenous organization, either by the members of the Ratepayers Association or by the volunteer "outsiders" who were the predominant members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. With the formation of the Committee, the Ratepayers Association, as such, ceased to exist.

Although the Africville relocation was the principal concern of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, there was virtually no meaningful participation by Africville residents on the committee. The building of a "citizens-at-large" committee, rather than developing first a strong, less vulnerable indigenous Africville organization, resulted in there being no authoritative "Africville voice" and in the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee having no clear-cut mandate on behalf of Africville residents. Despite considerable time and effort, the caretaker members of the Committee were seen by community residents as "outsiders".

The well-intentioned and hard-working caretakers tended to see the few Africville residents who did meet with them as legitimate indigenous leaders and as spokesmen who represented most individual persons and groups in the community. However, the Edwards and MacPherson, the Africville residents who regularly attended meetings of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, were neither elected nor appointed as members of that Committee; they were at best "unofficial representatives" of Africville, solely because they had been involved in the Ratepayers Association and, later, in attending meetings of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. Their mandate on behalf of Africville residents was always uncertain; they were not seen by residents as influential persons in the relocation decision-making. Their role in relocation mechanics became simply to relay, occasionally, information and requests to the caretakers.

The decision-making of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee directly involved only a few community members, but the caretakers did attempt to communicate with residents through a number of public meetings. Prior to September 1963, while the White and Black caretakers were exploring alternatives to relocation, five public meetings were held

at the Seaview African Baptist Church, Africville. During these meetings residents frequently expressed verbal hostility towards City officials for failing to supply Africville with basic community requirements. After the Rose Report was submitted to Halifax City Council, only forty-two residents attended the sixth public meeting, where thirty-seven voted to accept the Report.[1] After City Council had adopted the Report, the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee held six additional public meetings, between August 1964 and November 1965, but attendance by residents declined. The Chairman of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee contrasted attendance at these public meetings with attendance at meetings of his Committee:

> "As time went on the attendance at these meetings [with Africville residents] began to dwindle. At . . . [one] meeting there might have been seventy-five people, and at another one there might be twenty-five people. And there were meetings where there would be four or five people. And there were times when there were only Peter MacDonald and myself and maybe two people from the community, although these meetings were always announced ahead of time.
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> "But the meetings of the [Halifax] Human Rights Advisory Committee were always pretty well attended. We met in different places. We had a hell of a lot of meetings, when I look back on it. My God, man, we worked like slaves, [looked at] all sorts of things, and explored all kinds of possibilities. One time my telephone bill was out of this world."[2]

After mid-1965, the last four public meetings were predominately discussions regarding temporary improvement of physical conditions in the community.[3] Among residents there

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[1]Details of this meeting are related in the preceding Chapter.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[3]One of these discussions was an explanation to residents of the City's policy of installing water tanks in the community. To assure a "safe" water supply for Africville, the Finance and Executive Committee approved and recommended to City Council "the installation of two 1,000 gallon tanks . . . in vacant dwellings in the central section of the Bedford shore community. . . . The proposal is to have the city

was little apparent interest in these meetings, and attendance was low.

Community Strains

In addition to powerlessness and the structure of decision-making, another important factor militated against the emergence of meaningful participation by Africville residents in the relocation program; namely, the growth of suspicion and jealousy resulting from the nature of the impending settlement negotiations. The Rose Report had recommended that settlement negotiations be completed on a family-unit or individual-person basis. Given these terms of reference, there was no concerted attempt by either the caretakers or the relocation social worker to develop an indigenous power base around what Saul Alinsky has called "native leadership."[1]

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works department refill the tanks with water daily. The project is estimated to cost $4,000." See, "Africville To Get Water Tanks", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., April 9, 1965.

The Chairman of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee recalled, in the following terms, the discussion with residents about these water tanks:

"A lot of people, the majority of residents, refused to use the water from the tank. . . . They didn't like the looks of the truck [because it was] the same truck that was used to sprinkle the City. Also they said that the water stayed still in a tank and becomes stagnant and things will start growing in it and it is not healthy.

"One night I was in Africville. I had to go down with Dr. Fogo, the Director of Health, and Peter MacDonald, to discuss the water thing, and try to explain that the water from the well[s] is bad, you get typhoid and that sort of thing. They just didn't bite. . . . One lady . . . insisted that her well was pure, where we said it was contaminated . . . [she] brought water from her well and the water from the tank, and we were asked to sample both, and tell which was the better tasting water. I did a lot of praying, but we sampled both and both tasted the same to me."

- Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[1]Alinsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-75. Developing an indigenous power base demands much time, effort, and a sense of mandate on the part of organizers. The volunteer and parttime caretaker members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee did not have these requisites in full measure. The relocation social worker, on the other hand, had a mandate from the City to get the job done smoothly and expeditiously. Conse-

Without a collective base from which to bargain, strains developed as a number of residents were perceived by their neighbours as "trying to get everything they can out of the City without concern for the rest of the people of Africville."[1] It must be remembered that Africville residents were highly vulnerable, in that land claims were often without legal support and there were multiple claims against many pieces of property. Under these circumstances, the terms of reference for the settlement negotiations placed the residents in jeopardy, and created a *sauve-qui-peut* situation. This fact added considerably to strains already in the community and led to much suspicion and distrust. The Chairman of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee observed:

> "It seemed to me that there was a great deal of suspicion and jealousy, especially with this relocation thing, when the time came to give things out. Everyone was watching to see what everyone else got, and then wanted to know why, and this could have resulted from the stresses and strains of the whole situation. . . . you know, this has been the home of families for generations and all of a sudden they are losing it, the whole style of life, the whole way of life is being changed, and I think that was a natural reaction."[2]

With tears in his eyes, Mr. Edwards, one of the Africville members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, explained sadly that one of the reasons for failure to mobilize the community against the relocation was that suspicion and jealousy made it virtually impossible to organize the residents into a unified group that could bargain collectively with City officials.

> "People just didn't trust each other. A lot of suspicion came along with this [relocation]. One [resident] was getting more than the other. I think it would have been a lot better if they had stuck together. My wife and I and the [Ratepayers

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quently, while both the caretakers and the relocation social worker considered the option of collective action by Africville residents, there was not a strong push to realize it.
- Tape-recorded interviews, Fall, 1969.

[1]Interview with an Africville relocatee, September 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

Association] out there, we tried to stick together. We would have done a lot better if all had stuck together."[1]

Settlement Negotiations

During his three years as the relocation social worker, Peter MacDonald was the liaison between the City administration and Africville residents. Most of his effort, well into the third year of his service, was channelled into the various facets of physically relocating Africville residents; i.e., encouraging them to relocate, acting as the "middleman" in their real estate negotiations with the City and arranging new accommodations. Over eighty per cent of the relocatees interviewed indicated that virtually all their negotiations were conducted solely with the relocation social worker. The relocation social worker reported that he made it a personal policy not to quote possible purchase prices for their lands and buildings. Rather, he would insist that the residents make an offer which he would then relay to the Development Officer. When the relocation social worker was asked for assistance by residents in determining a selling price, he referred them to "listed purchase properties" in the City and encouraged them to use these as comparisons in arriving at a figure for their own property. Upon completion of each settlement negotiation, he wrote a staff report which recommended a specific financial settlement and outlined personal information about the individual resident or family unit. Each report was submitted to the City Council Africville Subcommittee (herinafter referred to as the Subcommittee) for adoption or rejection. If approved by the Subcommittee, the settlement price tended to be ratified automatically by both the Finance and Executive Committee and City Council.

July 1964: The First Settlement

A month after the relocation social worker assumed his position, negotiations began with several residents. The social worker informed a meeting of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, held on July 2, 1964, that Miss Dorothy Wilcox "had indicated that she wants to dispose of a house in her possession in Africville and move into Mulgrave Park [a public housing development]."[2]

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[2]*Minutes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee*, June 2, 1964, p. 1.

Prior to this meeting, the aldermen on the Subcommittee had approved a settlement of $500 to be paid in monthly installments, relocation at City expense, and the waiving of a $1,500 hospital bill. One of the Black caretakers, the Rev. Mr. Coleman, reported to the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee that he and an independent appraiser "had examined Miss [Wilcox's] home and had concluded that the City's proposed settlement is fair . . . ."[1] The Committee members agreed unanimously to concur in the settlement proposed. On July 17, 1964, the local newspaper announced that "Halifax City Council ratified the first property purchase of the Africville acquisition program."[2] Shortly after this announcement, Miss Wilcox moved into public housing.

January 19, 1965: The Merger of the Subcommittee and the Black Caretakers of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee

After the meeting on July 2, the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee held four additional meetings in 1964. During these meetings attention shifted temporarily from the Africville relocation to the planning of a Human Rights Conference, which was held in late 1964 at Dalhousie University. The Committee decided at its first meeting in 1965 that three members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee would meet regularly with the three aldermen on the Subcommittee. It was moved by Mrs. Donald F. Maclean, seconded by Mr. Peter Edwards, and agreed that the representatives be George Davis, the Rev. Mr. Coleman, and Gus Wedderburn.[3] The Committee's Secretary explained why these Black middle-class caretakers were selected:

> "The first consideration was that these people [were] Negro; otherwise, again it would look as if White people were doing the whole thing. And secondly, . . . they were the ones who would have the first-hand knowledge of the community, particularly about

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] "City Pays $500 for Africville House", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., July 17, 1964. See, also, "Africville First Case Nears End", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., July 19, 1964. Miss Wilcox was paid $100 directly, and the remaining $400 was paid in monthly payments of $28.

[3] *Minutes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee*, January 19, 1965, p. 1.

persons, and would be able to assess claims in terms of persons and their background. . . . I don't think there was any White person on the Committee who would have been . . . regarded as competent, or would have felt competent, to do as well or better than the Negroes in that capacity."[1]

After this merger of Black caretakers and aldermen, settlements were no longer referred directly to the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee.[2] The Subcommittee became the decision-making body responsible for adopting or rejecting settlements recommended by the social worker. The Subcommittee had eight members: three Black caretakers,[3] three aldermen,[4] the relocation social worker, and the Development

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

[2]After the merger, the members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee turned their attention to other human rights issues in Nova Scotia. They did, however, maintain some interest in the over-all relocation program; for instance, they pressured City Hall to provide Africville with water tanks. *Minutes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee*, March 17, 1965. They also petitioned the Halifax Medical Society to inquire why medical aid was not available for a resident who had died in Africville. *Minutes of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee*, December 10, 1965, January 25, 1966, and February 17, 1966.

[3]The three Black caretakers were George Davis, the Rev. Charles Coleman, and Gus Wedderburn. Mr. Coleman returned to the United States and was succeeded on the Committee, in September 1966, by the Rev. Wrenfred Bryant, the Black minister who replaced Mr. Coleman at the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, Halifax. *Minutes of City Council Africville Subcommittee*, September 7, 1966, p. 1.

[4]The first aldermen representatives were Peter Richards (chairman of the Subcommittee), Allan O'Brien, and James Connolly. After a civic election in 1965, the aldermen representatives were James Connolly (chairman of the Subcommittee), Allan O'Brien, and Gerald Doyle. In 1966, Alderman Mervyn Sullivan replaced O'Brien, who had been elected Mayor of Halifax. With the exception of the late Alderman Doyle, Mr. Bryant, and Mr. Coleman, detailed tape-recorded interviews were completed with each member of the Subcommittee. These interviews followed the interview guide set forth in Appendix K, pp. A131ff.

Officer.[1] From February 16, 1965, to October 5, 1965, the Subcommittee held nineteen meetings.[2]

Decision-Making Within City Council Africville Subcommittee

Before completing negotiations with an Africville resident, the social worker would discuss the settlement price with the Development Officer.

> "Bob Grant . . . was my boss . . . I would discuss the prices asked by individuals with him, and find out what his thinking was, and how this might be accepted by Council.
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> . . . . . .
>
> "He would be the most important person because he was the one with whom I was dealing most of the time. . . . He would be responsible . . . for the . . . money decisions - the amount of money that was actually to be spent.[3]

After the social worker discussed settlements with the Development Officer he would write staff reports for submission to the Subcommittee, which usually adopted them unanimously. Interviewed in 1969, he stated:

> "I don't recall any settlement [where] there was such violent disagreement that it was left for another meeting. These people [Subcommittee members] were sensible people."[4]

When interviewed, Subcommittee members were asked about the social worker's part in deciding upon settlements. Their answers followed a consistent pattern: The social worker

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[1]Although not appointed by Halifax City Council as a member of the Subcommittee, Grant attended most of the Subcommittee's meetings.

[2]The Minutes of the City Council Africville Subcommittee are on file at the City Clerk's Office, City Hall, Halifax. The City Clerk, Mr. Ralph Stoddard, granted permission to Xerox these minutes.

[3]Tape-recorded interview, October 1969.

[4]*Ibid.*

was a "professional"; he was presumed to know the community residents; his staff reports and proposed settlement prices were clearly set forth; and in most cases his proposals were adopted readily.[1] A former alderman member of the Subcommittee summarized the decision-making process within the Subcommittee:

> *Interviewer*: "In the Africville Advisory Subcommittee, how were decisions reached regarding settlements?"
>
> *Alderman*: "Reports were brought in from the staff, which we presumed to be primarily the work of Peter MacDonald, which described the situation with the family, and said that he had reached a tentative agreement with them. . . . Most of such reports were approved without any great detail of discussion or controversy. A few of them were questioned in some detail. Sometimes we had discussions about the criteria and so on, but fundamentally we accepted what seemed to be both recommended by our professional advisers and acceptable to the people. This was a lazy, if you like, approach, but the assumption on which we operated.
>
> . . . . . .
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> "There were very few disagreements about these reports . . . My recollection would be that . . . if some Committee members objected . . . the staff were

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[1]Four Africville residents initially refused to accept settlement offers proposed by the City, and the Subcommittee adopted resolutions approving the expropriation of their properties. *Minutes of City Council Africville Subcommittee*, May 29, 1967, and October 5, 1967. An alderman member of the Subcommittee discussed these expropriation resolutions: "[These resolutions] were just to get the general clearance of the whole area. As I pointed out, we thought they should have been out of there. Rose said they should have been out of there, and anybody [who] looked at the place knew they shouldn't have been in those accommodations. So we decided to expropriate, [although] very few [members of the Subcommittee] wanted to expropriate. I don't think any of them did." - Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

During informal untaped interviews with one of the research directors, MacDonald stated that he did not use the threat of expropriation as a "weapon" to force these four residents to accept the settlements eventually paid to them.

asked to look at it again, and talk with the people again, and come back with some possible revision or improvement. . . . I don't know if we ever had any actual votes on settlement. I think that normally the Committee operated by consensus. . . ."

Interviewer: "Were there many cases then where Peter was asked to re-do the staff reports?"

Alderman: "I think it would really be a small proportion, maybe five or ten per cent, something like that order. . . . Basically the Committee would agree with Peter's report."

Interviewer: "What happened once the consensus was reached in the Committee? Where would the report go from there?"

Alderman: "The report went into the Finance Committee of the Council, which was made up of the Mayor and seven Aldermen, normally rubber-stamped there, and then it went to Council [where] it was rubber-stamped, and that became the formal decision of the City at that point. The Committee, although called advisory, was really making the decisions, although maybe they were made by the staff before that. . . . The Committee itself did not apply a great deal of critical judgement. Occasionally some resident complained to some member of the Committee, and this resulted in a more active discussion on the matter."

. . . . . .

Interviewer: "What role did [the social worker] play in the decision-making of the [Subcommittee]?"

Alderman: "Well, he supplied the written staff recommendation. He answered questions about the nature of his discussions with the people, the nature of the problems in the unsettled cases, and the overall progress, and how we were coming out time-wise. He . . . reported to us even after settlements had occurred. [At times] he had further requests from people and complaints, and sometimes a furniture allowance . . . or some extra payment was made at a later date for something. . . . He reported on attempts to get employment for some of the people, and on attempts to organize educational programs."

Interviewer: "Was it necessary for him to be somewhat aggressive in pushing his points on the staff report?"

Alderman: "I wouldn't say so. At least I don't recall him being very aggressive. He was perhaps firm on some occasions, but I wouldn't call it aggressive."

Interviewer: "Was this because the Committee basically tended to go along with the recommendation?"

Alderman: "Yes, I think you get an atmosphere where you are really operating by consensus. Whoever does the initial report . . . is really making the decision. That was really the atmosphere in which it was done."[1]

Subcommittee meetings were not open to Africville residents: The discussions and decisions about settlement prices were regarded as confidential.[2] An alderman member explained why residents were excluded:

"The argument that was put forward, I think by City staff, was to the effect that as we were getting all the personal details of the affairs of individuals and families put before the Committee . . . it wouldn't be appropriate to give this information to some residents of the area who might treat it in a way other than confidential.

. . . . . .

"I can see the other side of this, that people in the area may have felt left out of the decision-making process. But I am not sure, even at this point, that . . . a better result would have been achieved from anybody's point of view if actual

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

[2]In an insightful discussion of the bureaucratic policy system, Rourke observes, "Secrecy . . . allows officials to cover up and continue ill-advised policies and to shield their own incompetence from discovery." Francis E. Rouke, *Bureaucracy, Politics and Public Policy* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), p. 5. See also, Francis E. Rourke, *Secrecy and Publicity: Dilemmas of Democracy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1961).

residents of the area had been on the Committee."[1]

Settlement Criteria and the Cost of the Relocation

There was no "formula" for arriving at settlement prices paid to Africville residents for their land or dwellings, or both. The Development Officer noted that the first settlements set precedents followed in later settlements.

> *Development Officer*: "The criteria were a series of precedents that were built up as the settlements took place. Now, to my knowledge, there was no effort made to push people into particular settlements. In fact, when people . . . made the approach they usually started talking four or five times as much as we could possibly justify, under the very hazy guidelines that we had. Once they had reached a decision as to the amount of money they would accept, it was absolutely essential that the settlement be processed immediately, because they wanted their money then and there. That is why we didn't go to the Federal Government for help, because we figured it would take months and months explaining each and every settlement.
>
> "Now having had . . . [a] settlement approved by Council, it didn't necessarily mean that the person couldn't change his mind. I suppose there were five, six, or seven of them that changed their mind after and held out, and . . . perhaps bettered themselves slightly."
>
> . . . . . .
>
> *Interviewer*: "How were settlement amounts reached for the relocatees?"
>
> *Development Officer*: "That's the $64,000 question, no doubt about it. I suppose it was a combination of factors. There was a certain degree of justification arrived at by taking an artificial land area that presumably could be considered to be owned by a particular person. To that was added the number of buildings that might be a potential value, and to some extent there was allowance made for the age and position of the particular person.

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

There was no formula, believe me. I suppose it was as much by precedent as anything. Once a pattern started to evolve in the first few settlements, then everything else was measured against those. It was certainly an artificial calculation in legal terms, because there was no way in which we could possibly justify any of the amounts we paid, if it were on a strictly legal basis."[1]

The relocation social worker reported that numerous factors entered into his arriving at recommendations for settlement prices: property owned in Africville, age, number of children, and employment stability. Not every settlement was based on "objective" factors. An alderman member of the Subcommittee emphasized that "character" and "reputation" were taken into account when the Subcommittee reviewed some of the social worker's recommendations:

"I hesitate to use the word 'character', but I think it had something to do with it. Sometimes a Committee member would indicate that a certain fellow had a reputation as being very irresponsible, even though he had a family. If he got a grant of so much money, it would end up back in the provincial coffers via the liquor store, or something like that. . . .

"Okay, maybe in these cases we were playing God, I don't know; but in those cases we felt that nothing would be served by giving that person a larger grant. Whereas you had a fellow who had, like I say, a good steady job and was of fairly good character, you would stake him."[2]

City documents indicate that only fourteen residents had legal title to their property.[3] In the vast majority of settlements concerning land, there were no deeds for a property. The relocation social worker described how estimates were reached:

"First of all, we tried to get a story from the owner, and from there find out something at the

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[3]*Minutes of City Council Africville Subcommittee*, October 5, 1967, p. 6.

Records Office, both at City Hall and the Court House, through the Registry of Deeds Office.

. . . . . .

"Where there were no actual deeds . . . [we] pretty well went along with the story . . . the people would give. The property was handed down [from generation to generation], more or less by word of mouth. Older members of the family who had passed away divided their property among their boys and girls. . . . So there was actually no written document for each particular piece of property saying that one member of the family owned so many square feet and another owned another section or part of the property. So . . . [we] went along pretty well with the status quo as it was in the community.

"The City gave the people credit for the number of square feet which they owned. It wasn't an accurate thing, because it would be pretty difficult to measure accurately, and plot accurately on the map, especially along the shore line, through the years, some of their property by the action of the weather was eaten away. . . . And another section [of the community] was actually built up because it was used by the City for dump purposes. . . . To plot . . . [land ownership] on the map would be pretty difficult . . . [without] records to substantiate the plotting."[1]

In accordance with the Rose Report, settlements were not only paid for land, or dwellings, or both; many included welfare payments, furniture allowances, and the waiving of tax and hospital bills. The specific settlement categories are:

(1) *Financial Compensation*: Money, usually paid by cheque, for ownership of land, or dwelling or both.

(2) *Welfare*: City welfare money paid to relocatees.[2]

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, July 1968.

[2]To minimize "bureaucratic red tape" and to expedite the relocation, the social worker was given control of City welfare payments to relocatees. The Development Officer ex-

(3) *Hospital Bills*: The waiving of unpaid hospital bills.[1]

(4) *Tax Bills*: The waiving of unpaid City tax bills.[2]

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plained, "When Peter came to us . . . I insisted that he have control over the [welfare] money during the relocation process . . . I felt that this was the only way in which we could cut fast enough, and deal with specific problems. . . . It was always intended that [these welfare payments] would not continue as a separate process, and that . . . [they] would subsequently be taken . . . [over] by the Welfare Department. In fact, this is what happened." - Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

One City official, a critic of the relocation program, observed in an interview (August 25, 1969) that the City indirectly paid for the relocation of Africville with provincial and federal funds. The majority of welfare monies paid to relocatees were paid from social assistance funds related to a cost-sharing program with the provincial and federal governments.

Another City official described the cost-sharing in these terms: "The percentage breakdown between City, Province and Federal government on Social Assistance expenditures is 25%/25%/50% respectively. Initially, the welfare expenditures for Africville residents were placed on the standard claim which the City submits to the Province for sharing according to the foregoing formula. Although sharing was obtained for the major portion of these expenditures, I am told that the City had to bear the full cost in cases where families received large cash settlements from the City and could not be regarded for social assistance purposes as being in financial 'need'." Correspondence from Mrs. Alexa McDonough, Special Projects Supervisor, Office of Social Planner, City of Halifax, May 6, 1970, p. 2.

[1]The hospital bills waived "were *actual* amounts based on the City Collectors records of bills which patients had failed to pay and the City had therefore been held accountable. Since payments for these bills had already been made by the City to the V.G. [Victoria General] Hospital the cheque from the Africville capital account was made payable to the City itself." *Ibid.*

[2]"As in the case of hospital bills, unpaid taxes would have been assumed by the Collectors Department. Therefore, upon receipt of payment from the Africville account, the City collector's office was unable to indicate the debts involved as having been paid." *Ibid.*

(5) *Furniture Allowance*: Money paid to relocatees to purchase new furniture or household items. The largest payment usually did not exceed $1,000.[1]

(6) *Sundry Costs*: Money paid for moving expenses, for compassionate settlements to residents who owned neither land nor dwelling, for repairs to relocatees' new homes, and for land-transfer taxes.[2]

Settlements were concluded with a total of ninety-eight persons or family units. In some cases, a family-unit settlement was paid to a number of individual persons; for instance, parents would receive a property settlement, while elder children were paid a furniture allowance or given welfare assistance, or both. The settlements paid to relocatees have been classified into five categories:[3]

(1) *Propertyless*: Residents who owned no property and either rented homes, boarded, or lived without charge with relatives or friends.

(2) *Renters with claims*: Renters who owned inherited

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[1]The social worker described the furniture allowances: "The agreement that the City Council passed was to the effect that I could work within a budget of $500 to $1,000 for the necessary household items. In some instances, the money was given direct to the individual and, in other instances, the family was told to go to a particular store of their choice, and purchase the furniture required, up to $1,000.

". . . . When the first of the settlements had been made to the people in the rental category, [these allowances were] used to buy things other than furniture and in actuality the money was squandered. . . .

. . . . . .

"[Thus] it was felt that it would be better if the money was more or less held at City Hall and the bill sent from the store, then the [Halifax] Human Rights [Advisory] Committee were sure that the family received the benefit of furniture." - Tape-recorded interview, July 1968.

[2]A compassionate settlement was paid to each of two families who rented their Africville homes; one settlement was for $2,500 and the other was for $750.

[3]In tape-recorded interviews the social worker described the community in terms of three categories based on the property status of the residents: (1) residents with title deeds; (2) residents without title deeds; and (3) renters. The five categories derive from his description.

property, or owned a building that they did not occupy, or received part of a relative's settlement.

(3) *Home and landowners*: Residents who owned a home and land, in some intances without title deed.

(4) *Homeowners*: Residents who owned a home but not land.

(5) *Homeowners with multiple claims*: Residents who owned a home, or land, or both, and inherited other buildings or lands.

Table 2 shows $531,644.03 as the total paid to relocatees,[1] and an additional $18,741.83 in waived hospital and tax bills. The propertyless residents benefited least; for the most part, they received only furniture allowances or welfare payments.[2] The twenty-eight settlements for the propertyless were not submitted to review by the Subcommittee. As the relocation social worker noted:

> "If a resident was renting in the community, the payment of a settlement was not discussed by the Subcommittee. This was my own determination. As far as the furniture allowance was concerned . . . I had been given permission to spend up to $1,000 for necessary household items."[3]

In addition to ninety-eight settlements with residents, thirty-

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[1]The calculation of the cost of the relocation was a complex task. At Halifax City Hall there were no systematic bookkeeping records listing the expenditures for each settlement. To collect the data required over a month's work reviewing the Africville files at City Hall.

[2]The settlements paid to Africville residents in the propertyless category are reminiscent of a verse in the Gospel According to St. Matthew: " . . . but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." Matt. 25:29. These residents had few "worldly goods", but could live inexpensively in Africville. From their settlements they received only limited financial assistance, but were faced with higher living expenses when they moved into the urbanized area of Halifax. This pattern of distributive injustice has been referred to in another context as "The Matthew Effect". See Robert K. Merton, "The Matthew Effect in Science", *Science*, CLIX (January 5, 1968), pp. 56-63.

[3]Tape-recorded interview, July 1969.

Table 2

SETTLEMENTS WITH AFRICVILLE RELOCATEES

Settlement Category	Property-less N = 28	Renters with Claims N = 10	Homeowners N = 19	Home and Land Owners N = 32	Homeowners with Multiple Claims N = 9	Total N = 98
Financial compensation	-	$20,825.55	$41,636.66	$269,896.80	$66,758.32	$399,117.33
Welfare payments	$21,271.04	5,984.12	20,337.33	13,452.76	6,171.14	67,216.39
Furniture allowance	18,360.35	5,573.95	10,658.54	19,337.01	5,471.96	59,401.81
Sundry costs	4,750.00	-	175.00	748.00	239.50	5,908.50
	44,381.39	32,383.62	72,807.53	303,434.57	78,640.92	531,644.03
Hospital bills waived	-	1,506,63	2,543.83	9,395.22	313.95	13,759.63
Tax bills waived	-	311.11	183.89	4,263.78	223.42	4,982.20
Total	$44,381.39	$34,201.36	$75,535.25	$317,093.57	$79,178.29	$550,385.86

eight settlements were reached with non-resident owners of Africville property. Table 3 shows payment of $61,202.47 to non-relocatees and waiver of $1,864.61 in hospital and tax bills.

Table 3

SETTLEMENTS WITH NON-RELOCATEES
N = 38

Financial compensation	$57,471.35
Welfare payments	1,255.19
Furniture allowance	2,475.93
Sundry costs	-
	61,202.47
Hospital bills waived	877.90
Tax bills waived	986.71
Total	$63,067.08

Sale of the Seaview African United Baptist Church

In May 1967, the Trustees of the Seaview African United Baptist Church requested a $30,000 settlement for the church building.[1] In response, the Subcommittee suggested that "further discussions be held between City staff and the Trustees of the Church in an attempt to negotiate a more realistic settlement."[2]

In July the Trustees reported that the congregation was willing to accept a settlement of $20,000. The Acting City Manager wrote to the Subcommittee that "if the $20,000 price is acceptable, actual negotiations with regard to the purchase can be initiated immediately."[3] At a meeting of the

[1]The church was built on leased City land.

[2]*Minutes of City Council Africville Subcommittee*, May 29, 1967, p. 5.

[3]Memorandum from G. F. West, Acting City Manager, to the City Council Africville Subcommittee, July 18, 1967.

Subcommittee held on July 19 one of the Black caretakers, the Rev. Wrenfred Bryant, agreed to discuss the settlement with the church deacons.[1] Eight days later he wrote to the relocation social worker that the congregation "have not been made any offer by the City."[2] Approximately five weeks after receiving Bryant's letter, MacDonald replied that the City's Assessors Department had "assessed the church building for $5,000 . . . [with] an estimated replacement value of $13,500."[3] He also wrote that the City would pay a settlement of $15,000 for the church.[4] In mid-September the trustees signed an agreement to accept a settlement of $15,000. On September 28 the Subcommittee approved the figure and decided that the $15,000 should be "deposited in a Trust Fund to be used under the terms determined by the Trustees and their Solicitor."[5] The money was deposited as an Education Trust Fund to be used by Black children in the Halifax area, with preference to be given to children of Africville relocatees. The Church Trustees were appointed the directors of the Fund.

In total, the monies paid by the City of Halifax to Africville residents and non-residents, and for the Seaview African United Baptist Church, amounted to $607,846.50. In addition, $20,606.44 in hospital and tax bills was waived.

Relocatees and Settlement Negotiations

It has been noted that there was no organized Africville presence during the "mechanics" phase of the relocation. Few residents consulted with those members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee who were their advocates on the Subcommittee assessing the recommendations of the relocation social worker. Well over eighty per cent of the relocatees interviewed in 1969 reported that they had never even met with mem-

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[1]*Minutes of City Council Africville Subcommittee*, July 19, 1967, p. 5.

[2]Letter from the Rev. Wrenfred Bryant to Peter MacDonald, July 27, 1967.

[3]Letter from Peter MacDonald to the Rev. Wrenfred Bryant, September 5, 1967.

[4]*Ibid.*

[5]*Minutes of City Council Africville Subcommittee*, September 28, 1967.

bers of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. Less than twenty-five per cent reported any assistance from local organizations and leaders or from the two or three Africville residents who continued to participate in the deliberations of the Human Rights Advisory Committee. Although the City officially made available to the Africville residents legal and real estate services, less than thirty per cent of the relocatees indicated any awareness of these services and only fifteen per cent used them. Basically, in the settlement negotiations the Africville residents depended on their own resources and their relationship with the relocation social worker.

It has been observed that lower-class relocatees have a tendency to operate at two levels when dealing with government officials, either overtrusting civic welfare officials or expressing complete cynicism. Such an orientation (both attitudes may be held almost simultaneously by the relocatee) appears to be related to a perception that one is powerless and that the world of authority and officialdom works in personalistic and random ways. On the basis of interviews and informal conversations with the relocatees over a two-year period, we found this orientation to be very widespread. The Africville relocatees depended heavily on the relocation social worker and many believed they could influence him, but most were very cynical about his advocacy of their interests, pointing to the fact that he was in the employ of the City and that "one doesn't bite the hand that feeds him". Approximately ninety per cent of the relocatees interviewed met with the social worker at least several times. About half these relocatees felt that they could convince the social worker of the merit of their negotiating position; thirty per cent believed that he helped them get a better deal from the City. On the other hand, ninety per cent of the relocatees saw the relocation social worker as essentially used by the City to convince the Africville residents to relocate and fifty per cent associated him with perceived City threats of expropriation and tactics of dividing the people to reduce their resistance to relocation.

Approximately forty per cent of the relocatees interviewed indicated that they were at least somewhat willing to relocate upon becoming aware of the the relocation program. In reporting their actions once they knew for certain that Africville was to be destroyed, the relocatees on the whole fell into two categories, the passive kind who felt resigned and the active type who set about trying to get the "best deal" for themselves and their families; an equal number of residents characterized their subsequent actions as being of one or the other kind. Regardless of these differences, the chief stategy

adopted by relocatees was to depend on their relationship with the relocation social worker, either throwing themselves on his mercy or trying through him to bargain hard with the City. Only sixteen per cent of the relocatees consulted lawyers (either City-provided or private) and only ten per cent obtained real estate appraisals. Given the multiple claims to property in Africville, it was surprising how few relocatees attempted to get other residents to join them in adopting a tough bargaining position or to work out with others arrangements concerning property. About twelve per cent of the relocatees interviewed indicated that they had claimed special circumstances such as old age or disability in negotiating with the social worker and some twenty per cent reported that they assisted relatives in trying to obtain a "good deal" from the City.

While the social worker reported that the original settlement terms proffered by the Africville residents were generally accepted, the latter indicated that they usually obtained less than they asked for. Only twenty-five per cent of the relocatees reported that they obtained the same or better settlement terms than initially requested. Approximately eighty per cent claimed they did not get "a fair deal" in the relocation and a slightly higher percentage indicated that relocation monies were not distributed fairly among the residents. Perhaps the most intensely felt complaint that the relocatees raised about the settlement negotiations was that promises made by the relocation social worker concerning rental and welfare assistance in the post-relocation situation were not kept. Relocatees referred to verbal promises (and in a few cases to rather ambiguous letters received from the relocation social worker) which were not followed up once the relocatees had settled in elsewhere in the city and the county.

The overall impression one obtains from examining relocatee strategies and orientations during the settlement negotiations is that relocatees related individually and privately to the City. Only thirty-five per cent indicated that they discussed their settlements with others within the community. Very few relocatees were aware of settlements involving the community as a whole, such as the terms of the church settlement or the Subcommittee promise to periodically re-evaluate the worth of the Africville land up to 1987. The privacy and individuality of the settlement negotiations is surprising, given the extensive kinship ties in the community and the overlapping property claims. On the other hand, the pattern is congruent with the structure of the relocation decision-making. There was little place for a more collective, co-operative response in dealing with the relocation social worker or with the Subcommittee. At one point in the reloca-

tion a petition was circulated among the residents, arguing for Africville representation on the Subcommittee, but it was neither strongly supported in the community nor encouraged by City officials. The few Africville residents who had participated in the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee were among the first to open negotiations with the City; thereafter, a more collective response was impossible.

The Rehabilitation Program

In addition to recommending the clearance and expropriation of Africville land, the Rose Report urged that the City of Halifax initiate an employment and occupational retraining program. Assistance in obtaining employment was to be given, and residents without marketable skills were to be "assisted to obtain vocational guidance, counselling and, if possible, training or retraining."[1] To implement this recommendation, retraining and employment programs were established. These programs were to be a vital part of the general plan to alter in a progressive manner the life condition of Africville residents. Other programs of family counselling and legal advice were also considered. Unfortunately the educational and occupational programs were inadequate and unsuccessful. Few Africville relocatees

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[1]Appendix F, pp. A64-A65. Dr. Rose appears to assume that educational programs would eliminate, in part, employment difficulties faced by Africville residents. In contrast, a noted American sociologist has commented on the usual failure of such programs:

"In recent years growing awareness that employment is essential if poverty is to be reduced has led to great emphasis on various kinds of educational programs. For example, job training programs have been developed to equip young adults for available employment. *These programs--from the Job Corps to vocational rehabilitation and youth opportunity centers--have had very little effect* [italics added]. It has proved exceedingly difficult to persuade the trainees to stay in the program, and problems of low motivation and lack of persistence have been characteristic, manifested in high drop-out rates and low levels of achievement. The facts of the labor market have confirmed the suspicion expressed by the trainees; many of the training programs have proved irrelevant to employment opportunities because much of the training has been for non-existent jobs and employers have been reluctant to hire the trainees despite all the high-level exhortation for private industry to 'meet its responsibilities.'" Lee Rainwater, *Behind Ghetto Walls: Black Family Life in a Federal Slum* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970), p. 409.

reported that they were aware of family counselling and legal services, let alone used them. Some relocatees found that their worldly possessions were transported to their new residences in yellow city trucks--hardly an auspicious new beginning. Finally, bureaucratic conflicts at City Hall resulted in some relocatees not receiving welfare assistance necessary to maintain them in their new surroundings. In general the rehabilitative program fell considerably short of effecting dramatic social change.

The Retraining Program

A vast majority of Africville residents had a meagre formal education and few were eligible to enroll in any of the government-sponsored trades training programs. A special one-year adult education class was established, therefore, in an attempt to enable residents to meet entrance requirements. The class began in September 1964, with an enrollment of thirteen; at the end of the course, in June 1965, there were only five in the class. Too few were interested in continuing the class in September 1965. The relocation social worker explained the failure of the adult education class:

> *Social Worker*: "Many of the male adults felt they would like to become involved in either vocational training, or a trades training program. And when they investigated these training programs, they found their educational requirements weren't high enough to make them eligible for entrance.
>
> "In September 1964 the Adult Education [Division, Nova Scotia] Department [of Education] became involved and the class was organized.[1] Space was found and, at . . . the first opening of classes we had approximately thirteen male adults who were interested in increasing their educational standards."
>
> *Interviewer*: "What type of classes were given . . .?"
>
> *Social Worker*: "If I remember correctly, the [average educational level] was somewhere around

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[1]The class was organized by the Adult Education Division, Nova Scotia Department of Education, in association with the Board of School Commissioners, City of Halifax. The organization is described in a press release written by Peter J. MacDonald, June 28, 1966.

Grade VI, so it meant taking people from Grade VI to approximately a Grade VIII level. This [was] fitted into a one-year period . . . so that they could qualify for entrance into a trades training program.

"Now the program began in September and continued through until . . . June. But at the end of the year there were only approximately five people who finished. The other people dropped out for one reason or another; they either became employed, or became disgusted, or just didn't want to continue.

"Then it was decided that we should try the program again the . . . following September. But in trying to get people to . . . make a class, we couldn't get the required number. I think the required number by the Department of Education was somewhere around six to eight people.

. . . . . .

"Maybe there was a mistake in the whole program. They tried to bring individuals . . . in this particular community up to what they might call a middle-class value, as far as education is concerned, and I'm wondering how valid it is."[1]

The Employment Program

After the relocation social worker was appointed, the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare appointed a full-time Black employment officer to assist Blacks find employment in metropolitan Halifax. Most of the social worker's time was required for relocation negotiations, and he had relatively little time to devote to an "employment brokerage". He referred many residents to the Department's employment officer.[2] When interviewed in 1969, the employment officer reported that, in consequence of Africville residents' educational dis-

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, July 1968.

[2]The relocation social worker wrote in 1966 that "as a result of this appointment [the Black employment officer], it has been possible for City staff to refer cases to the Department of Welfare officer, thus permitting more time for the relocation portion of the program." Press release, June 28, 1966, p. 2.

advantage, he had been able to find employment for only a few of them.[1]

Moving from Africville

The Rose Report recommended "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."[2] The housing shortage in Halifax, especially for low-income families, made it impossible to develop a registry or immediately to find accommodation for some of the residents completing settlement negotiations. The social worker observed:

> "People couldn't move right away, until some reasonable [housing] became available. And in some instances people remained in the community for six to eight months after a settlement was made, regardless of how anxious they were to move. There just wasn't anything available.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "If [City-owned housing] was available, I went to visit these places and decided on what would be suitable. Then I took the person involved to visit them, and he made the decision. . . . Now this is presupposing that he didn't get anything on his own."[3]

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[1]Interview, July 1969.

[2]Appendix F, p. A66.

[3]Tape-recorded interview, October 1969. A small number of Africville residents bought their new homes before they moved from the community. As there were some difficulties with the first home purchases, on June 24, 1966, the relocation social worker wrote to all Halifax real estate agencies requesting that " . . . before an Agreement of Purchase and Sale is completed by a resident of Africville, it is being suggested that the Agreement be first forwarded to the office of the City Solicitor."

MacDonald explained the reasons for his letter:

"What happened is that the residents of Africville were advised that if they were going to become involved in home ownership, they should first seek the advice of a solicitor. The Solicitor's Department at City Hall would remain available to them. And what happened is that a few people be-

Once alternative housing became available, each resident owning land or buildings, or both, signed a quitclaim deed. His dwelling was demolished immediately by bulldozer or burned by the City Fire Department. Interviewed about moving from the community, a number of relocatees complained bitterly about the "big yellow trucks" that moved them. One middle-aged woman expressed her hostility in the following terms:

> "Them . . . City people sent a garbage 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."[1]

Asked about the "big yellow trucks", the social worker explained that they were used to move a number of residents' belongings because commercial movers were reluctant to provide service.

> *Social Worker*: " . . . it wasn't easy to always get a moving truck, or a particular moving company, to come in and move a family. The families wanted to move on a particular date; for example, families moving into public housing units [where] the unit

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came involved with agreements of purchase and sale. They were getting in over their heads, as far as property [and] home ownership [were] concerned.

"The Subcommittee was getting concerned about it, and it was decided a letter should be sent to the members of the Real Estate Board, advising that residents of Africville would be contacting them wanting to become involved in home ownership, and the [real estate agents] should contact the City Solicitor's office. This was done, and of course the reason for it was to protect the residents from a real estate agent who might want to 'take them for all they're worth', if you want to put it that way.

. . . . . .

"The problem was that people were going to the real estate agent, some real estate agents, and they were signing a legal document, which is an agreement of purchase and sale. They didn't fully understand it, it wasn't explained to them fully. . . . Once this document is signed, then the individual has agreed to purchase. Otherwise if he doesn't . . . he can lose any deposit that he has made, and will have to pay the real estate agent the money which it cost to have this place advertised again on the market."

- Tape-recorded interview, July 1968.

[1]Interview, November 1969. See also, "People Moved Out in Garbage Trucks", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., February 26, 1970.

became available within a couple of days. People had already decided they would go into public housing, so it meant getting the family moved as quickly as possible.

" . . . the regular moving companies . . . didn't have the equipment available, so the next best thing was the City-owned truck.

Interviewer: "What type of trucks were these?"

Social Worker: "They were a regular City truck. I know you can say they were garbage trucks, but I don't think they were the regular type of garbage truck. The trucks were clean. It wasn't a closed-in truck, except, if the day was rainy then they had a tarpaulin over the truck to protect the furniture. As a matter of fact, they were cleaned before they left City Field.

"We had a number of families who were moved by the regular moving company and, of course, we had moving companies going in who attempted to move people, but because of the condition of the furniture wouldn't come back again to move the families. They gave an outright 'No'. Actually the trucks they were sending . . . [were] no better than the truck that was being used from the City Field Department.

Interviewer: "Why would the moving companies say 'No'?"

Social Worker: " . . . because in some instances, they moved furniture in which there were bedbugs, and in which they felt there were cockroaches . . . they felt . . . they would have to fumigate their trucks . . . the expenses involved in cleaning the trucks [were] such that they weren't making any money on it. This . . . was a problem and in some instances fumigation didn't help too much.

. . . . . .

"I can't say I was all that happy to see the regular City truck coming in to move the people, but when you can't get . . . the commercial moving companies, what else can you do?"[1]

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, July 1968.

October 1967: The Relocation Social Worker Leaves Halifax

By mid-1967, Peter MacDonald's three-year leave of absence from the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare had ended. Most of the settlement negotiations had been concluded, and the Development Officer reported that the relocation social worker:

> "had come to a position where he was spending more time disbursing welfare funds than he was really dealing with the [Africville] problem.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> " . . . some of the families had by that time [August 1967] two or three years of guidance and assistance. I know that the last year Peter was spending nearly as much time visiting people who had been relocated."[1]

In October 1967 MacDonald left Halifax to become Case Work Supervisor of the Family Court at Sydney, Nova Scotia. Many of the Africville relocatees were receiving welfare funds and anticipated that they would continue to receive them. Before he left Halifax, the social worker mailed to each relocatee receiving welfare a mimeographed copy of the following letter:

> "July 28, 1967
>
> "Dear _____
>
> "As of August 1, 1967, would you please contact Mr. H. B. Jones' office [City Welfare Office], 5970 University Avenue, instead of my office when you require welfare assistance.
>
> "Thank you for your consideration and cooperation.
>
> "Yours very truly,
>
> [sgd] "P. J. MacDonald
> Social Worker"

The social worker explained:

> *Social Worker*: "This letter was sent out to people

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

who were receiving assistance. As you may remember, we were dispensing [welfare] assistance from City Hall - or I was, anyway. The reason for it was part of the rehabilitation program.

"Around the time I was to leave, I had talked to Bob Haley, who was assistant to [the Director of City Welfare], about the people who were receiving assistance. The idea was, when I left, that the people who were receiving assistance would [be the responsibility] of the City Welfare Office. This letter actually was . . . advising the people who were receiving assistance the address of the Welfare Office. . . . Then they wouldn't call City Hall and somebody would tell them, 'Well, I don't know anything about it.' At least they would have the proper address and they would be able to present themselves at the proper office."

Interviewer: "You pointed out earlier that there were some problems associated with the letter. Could you explain what they were?"

Social Worker: "There were problems after I left. People were going under the assumption that welfare was to be continued, some thought for an indefinite period, some thought for a period of two years to four years."[1]

The concluding observation in the social worker's interview points to a major criticism voiced by relocatees. Interviewed several years later, a number stated that they had never been informed clearly about the length of time that welfare assistance would be available to them.[2] After the social worker's departure, relocatees were faced with a Kafkaesque situation; as part of their settlement a majority had received welfare, but in 1967 responsibility for providing this assistance was assigned to a different agency, the City Welfare Office. The Director of this bureaucracy, H. B. Jones, would

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, July 1969.

[2]The Development Officer contended that the social worker had informed Africville residents that welfare assistance would not be available indefinitely. "He [MacDonald] was talking on many occasions and I am sure that he would say to them, even on the day he moved them, 'Look, we will look after you for a period of time but this is not going to be an indefinite time'." - Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

not consider former Africville residents as "special" welfare cases; unless they could meet the criteria for receipt of regular welfare, assistance was terminated. The Welfare Director, a critic of the Africville relocation,[1] argued that the transferring of Africville cases was against the policy of the City Welfare Office. He viewed the payment of welfare money to Africville relocatees as a form of discrimination against other relocated low-income persons who were not being given welfare assistance as a condition of *their* relocation. He considered that by payment of welfare money to Africville relocatees the City was indirectly subsidizing its acquisition of the Africville land.[2]

Lack of communication existed between the relocation social worker and the Welfare Director, a lack that prejudiced the precarious situation faced by relocated Africville residents. The Welfare Director contended that the letter to relocatees (July 28, 1967) had not been discussed with him:

> *Interviewer*: "Did [the relocation social worker] discuss [the letter] with you?"
>
> *Welfare Director*: "Not at all. I never was consulted. No discussion took place regarding any correspondence, or indeed anything that was done in this office. This letter . . . [dated] July 28, 1967. I certainly would not have agreed to such a thing going out, if I had been in the scheme."
>
> *Interviewer*: "The reason I asked this question, we have to clarify it to some extent. Peter states in the interview that I had with him, . . . that he discussed [the letter] with Bob Haley, your assistant. I forgot to ask him at the time if he discussed it with you. Was further communication then passed on to you about the letter from Haley?"
>
> *Welfare Director*: "I was unaware that Mr. Haley had

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[1]See "Says City Falling Down on Africville Project: Welfare Director Says Relocation Not Necessary", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., April 26, 1965. Jones was quoted as saying, "the City has fallen down on its responsibility to Africville. Providing proper water and sewerage facilities for these people, when needed, would have enabled them to give as good an account of themselves as any other families in the area and would make relocation unnecessary."

[2]Interview, August 1969.

discussed anything of this nature. Mr. Haley was employed as supervisor of case workers. He had nothing to do with policy and, obviously, this would be a matter of policy."

Interviewer: "Did Peter send to you, when he left, a list of types of welfare payments that were made to the relocatees, listing the reasons that the payments were made, and some idea of how long they were to continue?"

Welfare Director: "Nothing at all. When he left, we took on every person who was a former resident of Africville, the same as any other person applying for welfare."

Interviewer: "So that there was no special consideration made?"

Welfare Director: "Not in this office. This is the point [on which] I disagreed with Dr. Rose, and I refused to do this. I refused for a long while to accept any of the vouchers prepared by Mr. MacDonald. But that was as broad as it was long, because if I had not accepted them they would have gone through on my account in any case, because the Director of Finance, the City Manager, or anyone above me could have signed the voucher."

Interviewer: "Why are you against this kind of welfare payment?"

Welfare Director: "It wasn't welfare, it was a payment to offset the claim that the coloured people concerned were selling their claim to the property of Africville. The other reason I wouldn't accept it, if we had used our budget in the normal sense in which we were using it with other clients, they would not have qualified in a great many instances."

Interviewer: "An important question connected with this is the fact that on the basis of this letter apparently many Africville relocatees thought that their welfare assistance payments would be continued. Peter argues that these payments were made for the purpose of rehabilitation (to use his term) and on that basis [welfare payments] should have been continued. What do you think of this argument?"

Welfare Director: "Not very effective. What re-

sources could he offer, other than the dollar, for rehabilitation? He was not set up, structured, to provide that type of service. No doubt he used the various agencies when it was feasible. But one worker, with a time limit to remove a whole community wouldn't have too much time to give to rehabilitation. What he did was in the matter of expediency, the quickest way to get home."[1]

"Pa" Miller: The Last Africville Resident

When MacDonald left Halifax, a small number of settlements still remained to be completed. Negotiations were concluded by the Real Estate Division of the City's Development Department. By 1969, only one resident, "Pa" Miller, remained in Africville.

"Pa" Miller was a member of one of the oldest and most numerous Africville families. He was also one of the most popular persons in Africville. In 1941 and again in 1957 part of his Africville property had been expropriated. During the relocation he had rejected City overtures for his property. In finally forcing "Pa" Miller from Africville, the City closed the Africville relocation on a sour note.[2] If the relocation began with a promise of positive social change and administrative good will, it ended with bureaucratic bungling and poor taste and with the economic interests of the City being given top priority. "Pa" Miller strongly resisted relocation and ignored the advancing construction of the nearby A. Murray MacKay Bridge. His home was located in the middle of an intended approach road to the bridge and "the City was being pressured by the Halifax-Dartmouth Bridge Commission and the Dineen Construction to get control of [Miller's] land. The delay was costing $20,000 a day."[3] On November 26, 1969, City Council approved expropriation, which took place three days

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, October 1969.

[2]The Director of the Development Department has noted that the "Pa" Miller event herein discussed took place after responsibility for Africville had been assumed by a Department other than the Development Department. - Personal correspondence, November 26, 1971.

[3]John O'Brien, "Alderman Knew of Difficulties About Property", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 23, 1970.

later.[1] "Pa" Miller was informed of the expropriation but remained adamant. Officials at Halifax City Hall attempted, on December 4, 1969, to persuade him to move by proffering a suitcase containing $14,000 in cash. "Pa" Miller rejected this offer, but several weeks later accepted a settlement of $14,387 and moved into a $13,000 City house rented to him at $20 a month. His account of the incident, as reported in *The Mail-Star*, describes his relationship with City officials and reveals a deep attachment to his Africville home.

> "Almost 150 years of continuous settlement ended the day Africville's last resident, 72-year old Aaron 'Pa' [Miller] left.
>
> "'Pa', as he is affectionately called by all who know him, relinquished the hold on his Africville home and property December 30, 1969, when the city of Halifax gave him a cheque for $14,387.76.
>
> "For city officials, this was the final acquisition of Africville property in a relocation program which saw 80 families and some 400 persons moved off the land between 1964 and 1967.
>
> "SAD DAY
>
> "However, for Pa [Miller] this was not a joyous occasion, rather it was possibly the saddest day of his life. 'The day I left my home a part of me inside died,' he said.
>
> "'I didn't want to leave, I was born there, got married and raised my family there,' said Pa. 'I'm getting ready to die so what the hell do I want to leave for - I liked it there.'
>
> "Unfortunately for Pa, progress has little sentiment for an old man and his fond memories. His property stood smack in the middle of the approach road to the Narrows Bridge and the city was forced to expropriate the land as it was hindering construction of the bridge.
>
> "If I had been a little younger the city would never have gotten my land . . . I would have fought them to the end, said Pa with a hint of both sadness

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[1] "Ward Replies to NSAACP Charge", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 24, 1970.

and bitterness in his voice and in his eyes.

"His Africville property consisted of four lots with three houses on them. Up until a few years ago there were four houses and Pa rented them out for $8 a month. 'I also had another lot opposite the Seaview Baptist Church that the city took back in 1967. I haven't received a nickle for it yet,' he said. 'I guess I am going to hire a lawyer to take care of that and another couple of matters for me,' he said.

"WOULDN'T SELL

"Relating the circumstances leading up to the city expropriating his property, Pa said, 'It all began in 1966 when Peter MacDonald, a social worker hired by the city to assist in relocating Africville families, asked me if I would sell my land and move.'

"'I told him no, I don't want to sell my land and move, but if you are prepared to give me $35,000 for my land maybe I will consider it. That must have scared them off because nobody bothered me again until 1968,' he chuckled.

"'The city in their next approach asked me if I would take $12,000 for my property,' said Pa. 'I told them no. A few months later they offered me $14,000 and I refused that offer as well.'

"With time marching on and the Narrows Bridge rapidly approach Pa's property, city officials continued their pressure in an effort to get the land. 'At one stage they told me that my land was to be expropriated because they had no record of my ever paying taxes,' he said.

KEPT RECEIPTS

"'Well I fooled them,' said Pa, boasting that he has kept the receipts of every bill he paid. 'I marched down to city hall and presented them with all my tax receipts,' he said.

"Finally, on November 26, 1969, city council moved that Pa be paid a total of $14,387.76 for his land and if he refused the offer the land would be expropriated anyway.

"Realizing his time had run out, Pa said he told city officials if they would move his house from its present location to a site next to the incinerator he would accept their offer. 'They agreed to this only to change their minds later and tell me the house could not be moved,' he said.

"After more dickering, Pa finally agreed to move to a six-room city owned house . . . where he pays $20 a month rent. He moved from his Africville home January 2 and four days later it was demolished and a new road built over it.

"An incident which upset Pa terribly, occurred at city hall about two weeks ago. Relating what happened, he said, 'They sent for me and when I got there I was taken into someone's office. There was five or six persons in the room plus a suitcase full of money all tied up neatly in bundles.'

"IT HURT ME

"Getting angrier by the minute as he talked, Pa continued, 'The suitcase was open and stuck under my nose so as to tempt me and try and pay me off right there and then,' he said.

"'I didn't like that at all . . . it hurt me,' said Pa. '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.' Pa added 'when they finally paid me it was by cheque and they came to my home to do business.'

"Pa, commenting on the Africville relocation said, 'The city should never have moved the people from Africville. They should have built homes for them and given them the chance to pay for their homes the same as is being done for people in North Preston and elsewhere.'

"'The city gave the Africville people no deal at all,' he said. 'Some were put into places far worse than what they left. Also, when the people lived in Africville, they were not on welfare . . . now, practically everyone is on welfare and in debt because of high rents and the cost of living.'

"'I never did like charity, it robs a man of something,' said Pa.

"'Most of the people who left Africville are sorry for it . . . they don't like the city,' he said. 'They miss the community life and the good times we all had,' he added.

"'We even had our own church.'

"It's not difficult to understand and appreciate Pa's attachement to Africville since his family ties with the settlement dates back to the mid-1800's when his grandfather, escaping bonds of slavery in the southern United States, first came to Preston and then finally settled at Africville.

"A Boer War veteran, Pa's grandfather was 125 years old when he died. Pa's father William [Miller], a small contractor, was born at Africville and lived there all his life until he died in 1953 at the age of 95.

"Pa, deep voiced, gray haired and with large hands that bear the scars of many years of hard work, says he is in good health and still spry. A coal handler and stevedore on the Halifax waterfront for most of his life, Pa retired in 1965. A widower, he has two sons living, one in Toronto, the other in Halifax.

"Reminiscing about the 'good old days,' Pa told of lobster fishing in Bedford Basin, keeping a garden, a few hens and pigs and of social life in the community.

"His favorite story was about the old rum runners who used to unload cases of bootleg booze from their powerful motor launches at the fertilizer wharf where the Nova Scotia Abattoir is located today.

"'I remember one Christmas Eve when we unloaded 10,000 cases of every kind of booze imaginable,' he said. 'I never saw so much liquor at one time in my life . . . I was given eight cases of whisky and $100 for helping to unload . . . man what a Christmas that was.'

"'No sir, when you spend a lifetime in one place it's hard to get used to someplace else . . . I

never will,' said Pa."[1]

The newspaper article embarrassed City officials. One of the Black caretakers, Gus Wedderburn, in his capacity as president of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, wrote City Council an indignant letter of protest:

"2953 Winston Place
Halifax, N. S.
January 20, 1970

"His Worship the Mayor Allan O'Brien & Members of Council,
City Hall
Halifax, N. S.

"Your Worship and Members of Council:

"The Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People is hereby bringing to your attention an incident which took place at City Hall about two weeks previous to January 12, 1970. Mr. Aaron [Miller] of Africville was taken into an office at City Hall in which were Messrs. Donald Murphy, City Solicitor, Sydney Langmaid,[2] Supervisor of Real Estate, Harold Crowell, Social Planner, Barry Carter, Special Project Worker and two or three other men, where he was both pressured and coerced to sell his property in Africville by being shown a satchel full of money, allegedly $14,000.00 in cash. We consider such behaviour to have been not only an insult to Mr. [Miller's] dignity, but also a grossly immoral act, motivated by a total disrespect for this gentleman as a fellow human being, because of his age, and his station in life. Such blatant disregard for one's human dignity is of course unpardonable and even more so when initiated by supposedly trusted public servants.

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[1]Jim Robson, "Last Africville Resident: If I Had Been A Little Younger City Would Never Have Gotten My Land", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 12, 1970.

[2]Wedderburn is mistaken in stating that Mr. Langmaid attended the meeting. Present were City Solicitor D. F. Murphy; Director of Finance and City Treasurer D. B. Hyndman; Internal Auditor C. W. Smith; Social Planner H. D. Crowell; the Africville Special Project Worker; and two plainclothes officers. See *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, January 29, 1970, p. 23.

"We of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People are therefore demanding an investigation of this incident, disciplinary action against the perpetrators of this evil act, a public apology to Mr. [Miller], and assurances that such behaviour will never again take place regardless of who the individuals involved may be.

"We further request that City Council adopt a motion expressing its disapproval of this conduct and dissociating itself both in principle and in fact from this disgraceful action on the part of staff.

"Yours truly,
[Sgd.] H. A. J. Wedderburn
FOR THE EXECUTIVE
NOVA SCOTIA ASSOCIATION FOR
THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLOURED
PEOPLE."[1]

On January 24, 1970, a statement from the City Manager appeared in *The Mail-Star*. The City Manager stated, "Mr. [Miller] was not coerced into selling his property, he was simply shown the money was available."[2]

Three days after the statement appeared in the press, Mayor O'Brien attended a meeting of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured people, where he read letters signed by City Solicitor Donald Murphy and Social Planner Harold Crowell, expressing regret about the incident but denying ill intent.[3] The Mayor proposed that the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission investigate the incident, but an NSAACP member argued that this was unnecessary.

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[1]*Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, January 29, 1970, pp. 21-22. See also Jim Robson, "NSAACP Beef: Raps Behaviour at City Hall," *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 21, 1970.

[2]"Ward Replies to NSAACP Charge," *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 24, 1970. The full statement from the City Manager is recorded in the *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, January 29, 1970, pp. 22-25.

[3]Len Pace, "NSAACP Turns Down Mayor's Proposal for Commission Probe of City Hall Incident", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 28, 1970. These letters are recorded in the *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, Halifax, N. S., January 29, 1970, pp. 26-27.

". . . . there was no need for an investigation on a scale suggested by Mayor O'Brien.

"All that was necessary was that the member of city staff who was responsible for the money being offered be identified and appropriate disciplinary action taken.

"The $14,000 didn't just happen to be there, he said, someone in authority had made a decision and should admit it.

"He said he doubted the Human Rights Commission was free from political pressures and able to conduct an impartial inquiry."[1]

After considerable emotional discussion, the NSAACP voted against the Mayor's proposal.

City Council also received the following telegram from the National Black Coalition:

"MONTREAL QUE JANUARY 27 [1970]

HIS WORSHIP MAYOR ALLEN O'BRIEN AND CITY COUNCILLORS CITY COUNCIL HALIFAX N S

THE NATIONAL BLACK COALITION SUPPORT THE STAND TAKEN BY THE NSAACP REGARDING THE MANNER IN WHICH YOUR EMPLOYEES TREATED MR [MILLER] STOP THE STATEMENT BY YOUR MANAGER NEITHER JUSTIFIES NOR VINDICATES THIS GROSSLY IMMORAL ACT AND DISREGARD FOR HUMAN DIGNITY STOP NOTHING SHORT OF A PUBLIC APOLOGY TO MR [MILLER] BY THOSE INVOLVED IN THIS INSULT WILL BE SATISFACTORY STOP

[Sgd.] NATIONAL BLACK COALITION"[2]

On January 29 City Council again discussed the Miller case. Mr. Wedderburn, representing the NSAACP, and Mrs. Carrie Best, representing the Black United Front of Nova Scotia, addressed Council.[3] After hearing the arguments of the Black

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[1]Pace, *op. cit.*

[2]*Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, January 29, 1970.

[3]Their speeches to Council are contained in *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, January 29, 1970, pp. 28-31.

spokesmen, Council unanimously adopted the following resolutions, which had been drafted by several aldermen prior to the meeting:

> "1. City Council recognizes the error in judgement of the cash incident, supports its staff in their motivation, and recognizes that the City should have sought a Court Order as the means to secure vacant possession of a City-owned property. In future, a Court Order would be used.
>
> "2. The City does not accept the moral judgements or errors of the NSAACP letter, but notwithstanding, endorses the apology to Mr. [Miller] which is contained in the letters of Mr. Murphy and Mr. Crowell.
>
> "3. The City offered to refer the matter to the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission. The NSAACP rejected this offer. The City is not prepared to deny the competence of the Human Rights Committee by adding nominees to a Committee to investigate.
>
> "4. The report of Mr. Ward and the statements of Mr. Murphy and Mr. Crowell provide the facts and put the matter in perspective.
>
> "5. The City, having acknowledged the error of judgement, having endorsed the apology to Mr. [Miller], and having accepted the City Manager's report on the facts, now with respect to all those involved in the case, considers the matter closed."[1]

Conclusion

Much of this chapter has been descriptive; it has outlined the administrative-bureaucratic mechanisms by which the Rose Report recommendations were implemented during the relocation of Africville residents. For an analysis of these facts the reader is referred to Chapter IX, "The Implications of the Africville Relocation". It is clear from the

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31. See also, John O'Brien, "Council Closes [Miller] Case: Error in Judgement Recognized," *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 30, 1970.

data that, without an indigenous political voice or power base of community representatives, the Africville residents had no collective political strategies or tactics by which they could effect significant social change to improve their life condition. They were confronted by a bureaucratic maze-way, a world of expertise and power which was not, in the main, part of their daily experience. Excluded from the decision-making machinery and supported by internal and external sources of advocacy which were for a variety of reasons inadequate, the relocatees had to negotiate settlements with a City agency that had neither the official mandate nor the resources necessary to undertake a broad program of planned social change.

CHAPTER EIGHT

LIFE AFTER THE RELOCATION

Interviewer: "Different people had gains and losses because of the relocation. What do you think are your most important gains?"

Africville Relocatee: "Gains, because of the relocation? I haven't gained a thing! The only difference between this home and my home [at Africville] is that this is a little bigger home, and it has water and sewerage. Outside of that, I don't see a damn thing that's different. My expenses are overwhelming. . . . Regardless of our wells going dry in the summertime, and the cold in the wintertime, I still perfer Africville a thousand times to this place I am in now."

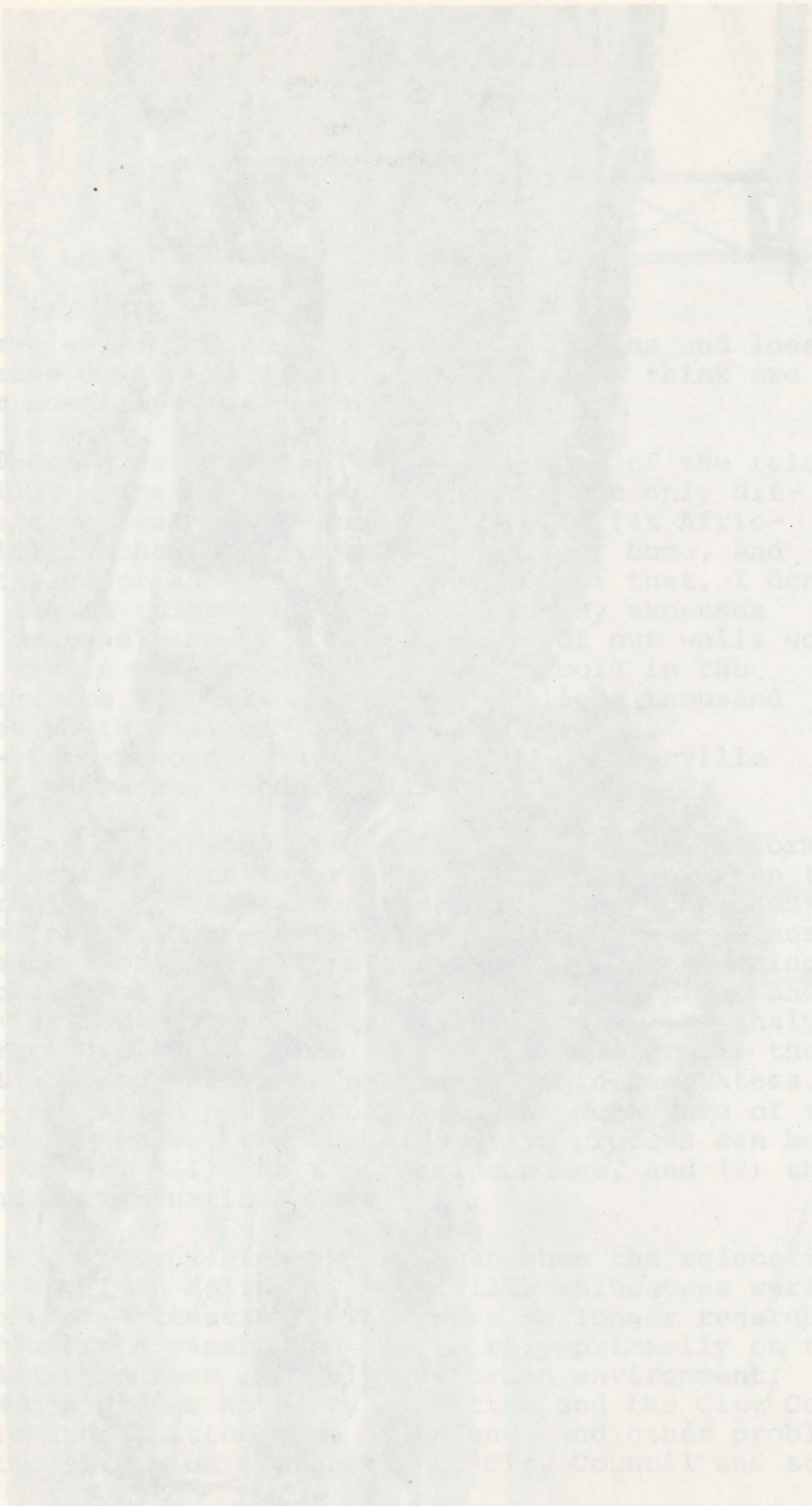
- Tape-recorded interview with an Africville relocatee, October 1969.

In considering life after relocation for former Africville residents, it is important not to focus only on the day-to-day problems of relocatees; their everyday problems and the solutions to them are part and parcel of the relocatees' total environmental context. It is necessary, by considering caretaker interests and activities, City Hall politics, and new programs initiated by the City administration, to analyse the administrative process which has determined in part the range of social and economic alternatives open to relocatees. In the post-relocation period following the departure of the relocation social worker, the administrative process can be divided into two phases: (1) the floundering phase, and (2) the continuation and reexamination phase.

The floundering phase began when the relocation social worker left Halifax. Africville relocatees were left in a precarious situation. They were no longer regarded as "special" welfare cases, and had to rely primarily on their own unaided resources in their new urban environment. The Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and the City Council Africville Subcommittee came to an end, and other problems engaged the attention and energy of City Council and staff.

As indicated previously, once the Black caretakers and aldermen members of City Council's Africville Subcommittee

Plate 17. AFRICVILLE AFTER THE RELOCATION. In 1969, only a few foundations in Africville were evident, amid piles of scattered concrete and rocks. In the background the A. Murray MacKay Bridge, connecting Halifax and Dartmouth, is being constructed.
--Photo by Donald Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill



As indicated previously, once the Black caretakers and aldermen members of City Council's Africville Subcommittee

began to function, the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee concerned itself less directly with the relocation process. The Chairman of the Committee explained:

> "The relocation got going and it was more or less moving on its own momentum, [and] the question arose, 'What next is there for the Human Rights Advisory Committee?' There was really nothing specifically in the Halifax area. . . . The other problems that were in existence we felt could be handled by groups like the NSAACP, the service clubs, and the departments of government. So the Human Rights Advisory Committee then looked at the whole provincial question. . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "One of the things we started to work on at the time was the housing problem all across the province. We started studying in depth the Human Rights Act of the province. We started to look at the minimum wage legislation, fair employment legislation. And for a while we even studied the hate literature legislation which was [under] consideration in the House of Commons, Ottawa. After looking at all those things, we decided to zero in on the . . . Provincial Human Rights Act, which was absolutely, totally, completely useless. We began documenting our cases. We did testing, studies, and that sort of thing. . . . And then we started getting community organizations to join us to exert proper pressure on the government at the proper time and in the proper places to get the Act changed."[1]

In addition, as noted by the Secretary of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, many of the Committee's members became involved in a new organization, the Nova Scotia Human Rights Federation:

> "I don't think we deliberately decided to disband. . . . It was about that time that something called the Human Rights Federation began and I think literally half the people on the Human Rights Advisory Committee became members of this new body. In fact, Gus Wedderburn, who was Chairman of the Human Rights

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

Committee, became Vice-President of the Federation."[1]

The City Council Africville Subcommittee met five times after the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee had disbanded. At the Subcommittee's final meeting, held on October 5, 1967,[2] the relocation social worker submitted the following letter:

> "In June, 1964, I became involved in the relocation of the residents of the community of Africville through an agreement between the City of Halifax and the Provincial Department of Welfare.
>
> "With the generous assistance given by Members of this Committee, both individually and collectively, the Africville Relocation Program for all practical purposes has been completed.
>
> "I wish to take this opportunity to express my thanks to the present Committee Members and also to the Members who previously served on the Committee for their co-operation and direction over the past three years. There is no doubt in my mind that without your interest the Africville Relocation Program would have been very seriously handicapped.
>
> "Hopefully, the results of the Program will

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

[2]At this meeting, the Subcommittee adopted the following motion:

" . . . after complete expropriation of . . . [the Africville area] any increase in value of these expropriated properties that may accrue by re-sale of any portion thereof, as defined by the Council of the City of Halifax, should be allotted to the Trust Fund which has been established by the organization and settlement of the Seaview Baptist Church, for the education of descendents of the area whose homes were expropriated, and this to remain in force up to and including December 31, 1987." *Minutes of City Council Africville Subcommittee*, October 5, 1967.

The motion was referred to Council's Finance and Executive Committee, which passed the following additional motion:

"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."

have a beneficial effect for both the residents who have been relocated and for the community at large, especially at this time when the brotherhood of man is being advocated by all peoples of good will. *To guarantee these results, consultant services given by a recognized social agency will assist tremendously to insure that the efforts of the Africville Relocation Program will not be frustrated* [italics added].

"If in our own small way we have made it possible for one child from the community to reach his potential, then our efforts have not been in vain. Once again, gentlemen, many sincere thanks for your cooperation over the past three years."[1]

The letter urged the provision of follow-up "consultant services" but, for a number of reasons, no program was established. Other issues took precedence: aldermen were divided over the selection of a new City Manager; interdepartmental power struggles continued; and the City was in the process of extending its boundaries through extensive annexation. Within the context of the larger political picture and its preoccupations, the relocatees were overlooked. An important and influential City Hall official commented about the internal conflicts and their effect:

"The City Manager died in June 1967 [and] the Council was split in two [one side supporting one nominee for the position of City Manager, and the other side supporting a different nominee].

. . . . . .

"It was kind of a death struggle and it related to . . . conflicts involved in the Development Department and the Works Department--where the engineers ought to be and the Planners and the Building Inspection Department and so on. . . . And the focus was just there, plus a prospective annexation of major proportions. That was fundamentally it. . . . We had a very weak Welfare operation . . . with which we were not familiar; we didn't have regular reports on it. . . . And the Development Department, once Peter MacDonald was off its staff, lost a social component of the department. . . .

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[1]*Minutes of City Council Africville Subcommittee*, October 5, 1967.

"There were other major struggles that related to the Cogswell Street interchange, and whether the historic buildings on the waterfront ought to be saved. Things like this . . . absorbed the energies of staff and Council and the public, and nobody heard anyting about . . . Africville; I suppose they had forgotten."[1]

The relocatees found themselves in a Kafkaesque web, as responsibility for the relocation was transferred from the Development Department (whose major concern is the acquisition and development of land and other property) to the City Welfare Office, where the fact that they were Africville relocatees yielded them no special consideration. Asked why no follow-up program was instituted, the Development Officer explained:

"Well, I think there are three factors involved. One, my function was to develop policies and to arrange for relocation. That having been done, then it became a matter for Social Welfare to accept the responsibility, so that there was really a change of administration that was involved. As far as I was concerned, it was a clear-cut turnover of certain files and responsibilities to another Department. . . . At that time, of course, Peter MacDonald ceased to be available to us . . . and I wasn't in the business of continuing with this type of program.

"I think the second thing that was involved was probably the fact that the original commitment to the Africville group, as I recall, was they would continue to receive guidance for a year after they relocated. I suggest to you that some of the families had by that time been receiving two and three years' guidance and assistance. I know that the last year, Peter was spending nearly as much time visiting people who had been relocated.

"And I suppose the third thing was . . . an embarrassment to the Welfare Department [because] we had 'broken the rules' [by giving special welfare assistance to Africville residents] during the process of relocation and the period after."[2]

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

An alderman member of City Council's Africville Sub-committee recalled the fact that the relocation social worker's recommendation had been considered by Council, but a program was not established. He contended that the relocatees should have become the responsibility of a different authority, the provincial government.

> "As far as I was concerned, I was so happy that the thing was solved, that was one committee less. . . . We really depended on the provincial government to do something [about the follow-up].
>
> "There was talk of this and I think Peter MacDonald recommended it. I believe we sent a report to Council, and the Council agreed to the report and everything else, but nothing was done.
>
> "I think [Council] felt that possibly the provincial government should have gone on from there because some of them [Africville relocatees] were outside the pale of the City of Halifax. Some had bought in Hammonds Plains and Dartmouth, and it was felt that the provincial government should keep an eye on the situation. I don't think anything was done at City Hall at all."[1]

While the relocatees became the victims of this "bureaucratic buck passing", the middle-class liberal caretakers assumed that a follow-up program was being developed. When, after the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee had disbanded, it transpired that a program had not been established, caretakers expressed surprise and concern.

A White caretaker observed:

> ". . . I assumed that there was a follow-up. I didn't realize that, when Peter MacDonald went off, that was the end. And I didn't know that our Welfare Department was still back in the Elizabethan era and that these people were just left completely

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969. The same alderman replied as follows when asked if he thought a follow-up program was necessary:

"No, I think these people [Africville relocatees] are more interested in getting more money out of it, out of the City of Halifax. I think it is unfair, because I think these citizens of Halifax who paid the shot have treated them very justly."

to their own resources. . . . This came as a surprise and almost a shock to me. I should have known, but didn't."[1]

A Black caretaker expressed his reaction in similar terms:

"We more or less felt, and I as a member of the [City Council Africville] Subcommittee was under the opinion that Peter MacDonald had left some sort of structure and arrangement whereby the City would take care of the people and their problems thereafter, that they would have unlimited access to the City Solicitor, and the City Department of Welfare, and that sort of thing. . . .

. . . . . .

"We . . . felt that the City was doing it, so here was a breakdown in communication. I honestly felt that things were going fine until I started getting some sort of feedback [that] the situation was not as it should have been."[2]

Left to their own resources and without direct and continuing assistance from any City agency, many of the relocatees experienced a variety of emotional and financial problems.[3] For approximately a year, with little City aid, they struggled with these problems.

The continuation and reexamination phase began in mid-1968 with the City's establishment of a Social Planning Department under the direction of Harold D. Crowell, a professional social worker. He was assisted by Special Projects Supervisor Mrs. Alexa McDonough, a trained social worker and daughter of one of the White caretakers, who had known a number of relocatees through her association with youth activities at the Seaview African United Baptist Church. After the Social Planning Department had developed a follow-up relocation program, Mrs. McDonough was directed to supervise it. She recalled:

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[3]Interviewed in 1969, the relocation social worker noted that many of these problems developed through lack of a follow-up program after he left Halifax. See "Social Worker on Africville: Follow-up Could Have Averted Relocation Problems", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., October 4, 1969.

"During the first summer's existence of the Social Planning [Department] . . . a great many telephone calls were received from . . . [relocatees] with problems ranging from being plagued by creditors for furniture bills which they thought the City had committed itself to pay, all the way to persons whose mortgages were in jeopardy.

" . . . therefore, when I came on staff in September 1968, the Social Planning [Department] felt that it was necessary to make contact with the general relocated population, in order to try to document the extent of the problems, the nature of the problems, and discuss with the people what kind of solutions they would need."[1]

The difficulties faced by relocatees became further evident when the research directors of the present study invited the relocatees to attend a public meeting at the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, held on October 7, 1968.[2] Approximately fifty relocatees attended, one after another rising to expatiate on their problems, most of which were financial. One of the research directors recorded in his project diary:

"[One of the relocatees] indicated that he was satisfied with the home he had in the city. However, he pointed out that when he lived in Africville he managed to bring in a small living and on this small amount of money he was able to survive. He had [in Africville] a much lower cost of living. He had no rent to pay, but since he has come to the city his expenses have doubled and he finds it very hard to survive financially. He estimated his yearly income to be $1,060.

"He pointed out that many families and even the younger men were losing out. One of the important aspects he thought was overlooked in the relocation was . . . adequate explanation of the expenses the relocatees would meet after they moved. He thought

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

[2]This meeting was attended by relocatees, the two research directors, one of the project research assistants, and two of the caretakers, the Rev. Wrenfred Bryant and Donald F. Maclean. The meeting, chaired by Maclean, was called to explain to relocatees the nature and purpose of the Africville Relocation Study and to invite their cooperation.

that detailed planning should have gone into [explaining to relocatees] the cost of living in the city compared to the cost of living in Africville.

> "The [relocatee] further thought that they should have redeveloped Africville instead of moving people into the city. . . . He didn't like to go to the Welfare [Office] because they told him that he would have to go and look for work. However, he was an old man [70 years old] and was not able to get work."[1]

The next day, the two research directors met at Dalhousie University with a number of City officials and other invited Halifax citizens, to whom they described the economic hardship reported the previous evening by a large number of relocatees.[2] After this meeting, one City official remarked privately that awareness of the Africville Relocation Study in progress was arousing renewed interest in the relocatees and was compelling further attention to their plight.

Less than two weeks later, on October 19, 1968, the Social Planning Department held a public meeting at the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, which was attended by approximately fifty relocatees, the Social Planner, the City Manager, and the Special Projects Supervisor. The latter recalled what took place:

> "The purpose of the meeting was to call together as many relocated Africville residents as we were able to reach . . . by letter as well as by word of mouth. [We wanted] an opportunity to meet with them and interpret with them the existence of the Social Planning [Department] and the resources which

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[1]Project Diary, October 7, 1968.

[2]A report prepared in February 1969 stated, "On October 8, 1968, members of the New Social Planning Staff were invited to attend a meeting concerning an Institute of Public Affairs research study of the Africville relocation. The City is indebted to the Department of Public Welfare of the Province of Nova Scotia, who approved and financed this undertaking, for it was through their attendance at this meeting that Social Planning Staff became aware of some very considerable problems being encountered by former Africville families." *Africville Follow Up Proposal*, Social Planning Staff, (February 4, 1969): a confidential report quoted here by permission of the Social Planner.

would be made available to assist them to arrive at solutions to some of the kinds of problems that they had been encountering since relocation, and to have an opportunity to document the nature and extent of the problems which . . . [they] were facing.

"[The meeting was divided] into small discussion groups . . . according to their housing status. One group [was] the homeowners, the second [was composed of] rental tenants, and [the third was] for public housing tenants.

"After meeting in small discussion groups, the three City staff members [the Social Planner, the City Manager, and the Special Projects Supervisor] reported back to the . . . [meeting] on what some of the findings were from these three discussion groups. And it was suggested that perhaps each of these three groups should appoint two representatives to a committee, which later became known as the Committee of Former Africville Residents, to meet on a continuing basis with the three staff people . . . to explore further some of the problems and solutions to their problems."[1]

The first meeting of the Committee of Former Africville Residents was held on November 7, 1968. For the following four months, it met every two weeks.

"The first step taken by the Committee was to try to document the extent of the financial indebtedness of the relocated residents, because this was really the dominant theme in the early discussions. . . . The [relocatees] were so heavily indebted to finance companies and various other sources that there was really little point in discussing other problems or other kinds of programs until some effort was made to remedy the debt situation. A questionnaire [to obtain information about the extent of indebtedness] was therefore drawn up by this Committee and the individual Committee members took responsibility for distributing the questionnaire to the relocated residents. . . . The survey was completed by mid-January [1969]."[2]

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

[2]*Ibid.*

The Committee prepared a proposal requesting provincial assistance in establishing a loan fund, and in late February 1969 three members of the Africville committee, the Social Planner, and the Special Projects Supervisor met with the Deputy Minister of Public Welfare. The proposal read in part:

> "In view of the large debts accumulated by many Africville families since the time of relocation, and the accompanying high interest rates and carrying charges (in some instances amounting to 22% per annum), it is suggested that a loan fund be established in the approximate amount of seventy-five thousand dollars ($75,000). Although this would mean requesting an initial amount of $56,250 (75%) from the Province, and $18,750 (25%) from the City, the *actual* cost to each party would be no more than the interest required to borrow these sums--approximately five thousand dollars ($5,000) and eighteen hundred dollars ($1,800) respectively, plus an amount which would have to be projected to allow for 'bad debts'."[1]

This proposal was adopted by the Department of Public Welfare, which advanced $50,000 for the loan fund, and by Halifax City Council, which advanced $20,000, "with the provision that this loan would be ultimately repayable to the Governments concerned."[2] The monies were used to establish the Seaview Credit Union, whose bylaws were formulated in part by the Committee of Former Residents; the Committee shortly became inactive. Several public meetings were held with relocatees in March and April for the purpose of discussing the credit union, voting on its bylaws, and electing a Board of Directors. All the executive offices (president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer) were held by former Africville residents. Board members included five other relocatees, the City's Social Planner, and a representative of the Nova Scotia Credit Union League.

In addition to establishing the Seaview Credit Union, the Social Planning Department hired, in June 1969, a non-professional worker and former Africville resident, Mr. Frank MacPherson, to work with relocatees and to help administer the Credit Union.

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[1] *Africville Follow Up Proposal.*

[2] Memorandum on *Africville Follow-Up Proposal* from S. A. Ward, City Manager, to His Worship the Mayor and Members of the City Council, March 4, 1969.

With the formation of the Seaview Credit Union and the hiring of an Africville relocatee to manage it and to coordinate a variety of special programs to be developed, Africville relocatees appeared to have some prospect of beneficial change in their life situation. In requesting City Council's approval of its Africville follow-up proposal, the Social Planning Department pointed to the serious indebtedness incurred by relocatees, especially by homeowners with mortgages and by renters living outside public housing.[1] It was noted further that, whereas approximately ten Africville families were receiving welfare assistance at the outset of relocation, relocation had effected a sharp increase in welfare dependency.[2] Housing and employment needs were noted. Accordingly, a comprehensive set of rehabilitative and preventive services was deemed necessary. The proposal drew attention to the City's responsibility to fulfill its relocation "contract" and contended that close cooperation from representatives of each party to the "contract" (i.e., the City and Africville residents) was crucial to the success of a follow-up program.

In the late summer of 1969, several relocatees organ-

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[1]A handful of relocatees had received relocation settlements for land and property which enabled them to purchase new homes virtually outright. These relocatees were older, relatively well off, and had comparatively little financial worry.

Information concerning indebtedness was obtained through a questionnaire survey of relocatee households by the Committee of Former Africville Residents. The response rate was approximately sixty per cent; despite this less-than-desirable response rate, the general picture of indebtedness agrees with information collected by the researchers.

[2]Approximately fifty-five per cent of the respondents in the survey were obtaining regular social assistance from the City of Halifax. This figure is consistent with our own findings from a more extensive questionnaire given in the summer of 1969 to all relocatees who had received a settlement consideration in the period 1964-67; here, too, approximately fifty per cent of the respondents indicated that they had obtained post-relocation welfare assistance. Some of the increased social assistance can be attributed to changes in the Canada Assistance Plan (1966), which "created eligibility for a new higher-income segment of the population". Most of the increase is, however, related directly to the needs of Africville residents in their new environment.

ized the Africville Action Committee. They were disappointed with the lack of progress in the housing and employment programs discussed by the Social Planning Department, and they believed that the credit union project, while not without value, held out little prospect for a permanent and significant change in the life-situation of relocatees. Perhaps more important, the Africville Action Committee members had a different frame of reference than that implied in the proposals of the Social Planning Department. The latter had emphasized the City's fulfilling the obligations of the relocation "contract" by developing follow-up rehabilitative programs; such programs were to be created and even administered with meaningful participation by relocatees. The Africville Action Committee argued that, rehabilitative considerations aside, Africville residents had legitimate reasons for demanding more direct and material compensation from the City; apparently they believed also that a strong and separate Africville organization could more effectively ensure the development of appropriate follow-up programs.

The core members of the Africville Action Committee were a handful of relocatees who were concurrently participating in the credit union program. They were wary of the City, somewhat antagonistic towards the respectable "old-timers" (who had been identified as Africville leaders and whom they faulted for lack of leadership in the planning period prior to relocation), and pragmatic rather than "political" in orientation. They were dissatisfied less with the fact of relocation than they were with the actual terms of the relocation exchange. In addition to sharing with the Social Planning Department a concern for current socio-economic conditions among relocatees, they expressed dissatisfaction with the way in which funds obtained from the sale of the Seaview United Baptist Church were being used[1] and with the compensation procedure recommended by City Council's Africville Subcommittee and subsequently, in modified form, by the Finance Committee in the event that Africville land were to be leased or sold by the City at a value greater than the cost incurred for clearance and development. The Africville Action Committee considered the Africville land to be of significant potential value and felt that the City's promise of

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[1]The interest on the trust fund set up with money obtained from the sale of the church was to be used primarily for the education of children of Africville and, secondarily, for the welfare of other Balck children in the Halifax area. The Africville Action Committee alleged that few Africville children had obtained assistance, but that monies had been allotted to several Black organizations. They wanted the trust fund to be converted into an emergency fund for use by relocatees in present crises.

revaluation and compensation, presumably to be in effect until 1987, was an empty gesture.[1] They considered that the Africville relocation would vanish from memory in a few years and that development costs would "eat away" future City profit from the land; consequently, they desired a financial settlement from the City, in return for relocatees' waiving of claim to compensation in the possibly remote future.

Hard-pressed economically and lacking much of the wherewithal necessary to substantial organizational effort (e.g., resources, time, skills), the Africville Action Committee met several times in late August and early September to develop proposals and to organize a mobilization of former Africville residents. An executive committee was established, information was obtained, and word-of-mouth communication to other relocatees was supplemented by a general meeting held in early September. A rather vague plan was adopted, requesting that funds from the sale of the church and monies obtained in settlement of land claims be placed in an emergency fund, perhaps administered through the offices of the Seaview Credit Union, to be used primarily to meet relocatees' housing needs and debts. The following petition was circulated among relocatees:

"Petition to the Mayor of Halifax, His Worship Allan O'Brien

"We the undersigned, formerly residents of Africville, hereby request a meeting with responsible city officials to discuss the following points:

(a) the Africville trust fund;

(b) the assessment of the value of the Africville property;

(c) the present conditions of the former Africville residents.

"We request the meeting to be held

"The undersigned appoint the following individuals to be their spokesmen:

(a)
(b)
(c)
(d)
(e) . . . . . ."

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[1]Motions of the Africville Subcommittee and the Finance Committee are not legally binding on the City of Halifax.

With the exception of relocatees who could not be contacted and a few homeowners who did not wish to become involved, most relocatees signed the petition.

On October 2, 1969, six representatives of the Africville Action Committee met with the Mayor to discuss the points specified in the petition. Details of the meeting were reported on the front page of *The Mail-Star*:

"MAYOR TO PROBE AFRICVILLE CLAIMS

"By JIM ROBSON, Staff Writer

"Mayor Allan O'Brien said today he would discuss with council and former Africville residents appropriate ways to assist the 80 families from the community who were relocated by the city between 1964 and 1967.

"A group of six persons representing the Africville action committee met with Mayor O'Brien Thursday to discuss their problems and present him with a petition signed by former residents.

"PROMISES PROBE

"Mayor O'Brien said that while a special project officer of the city's social development department was working closely with the former Africville residents, there will be 'further investigation' into alleged promises which the action committee said were made by the city and not fulfilled.

"Group spokesman [John Moore], said Mayor O'Brien was sympathetic towards their cause but up until yesterday 'was not acquainted with all the facts' surrounding the Africville relocation program.

"'The facts were shown to Mayor O'Brien as they appeared in black and white in City Hall's own minute books,' said Mr. [Moore]. 'The mayor was concerned, said he was going to investigate, and wants to meet with us again soon,' he added.

"THREE PROMISES

"The action committee told Mayor O'Brien the

80 Africville families were promised three things basically: a year's free rent upon relocation into city housing or other type of accommodation; all families were to receive $1,000 towards new furniture, and the city was to review the value of the Africville land purchased and place any adjustment money into a trust fund for the former residents.

"Mr. [Moore] said the mayor stated he was 'not aware of these promises' and sent for the council minutes.

"Mayor O'Brien said today 'a decision was made according to council minutes that it would be better for the Africville residents if they waited until development of their land started before any reassessment could be carried out.'

"'The value of the land is not so great now due to the heavy costs of servicing it,' said the mayor.

"NOT IN MINUTES

"Mayor O'Brien said, 'the resolution regarding the reassessment stated that if the land value went up over the price the city paid the residents for the land, the difference would go towards a scholarship fund.'

"Mayor O'Brien said 'there was nothing written in the minutes concerning free rent or grants for furniture. However, there will be a further investigation to see in fact if these promises were actually documented.'

"Mr. [Moore] said 'according to our figures the people of Africville were paid a total of $480,000 for their land.'

"Mayor O'Brien said this point was discussed at the meeting yesterday and he had social planning director Harold Corwell call the finance department on the matter. He said the figures Mr. Crowell got indicated that the city spent from $606,000 to $650,000 on the land.

"Mr. [Moore] said the action committee has consulted different land appraisers who feel the city should have paid more for the land at Africville.

"'THROWN IN DEBT'

"'The move from Africville meant that most of the families were thrown into more debt because of high rents, mortgages, fuel bills and transportation costs,' he said. 'This has kept their noses to the grindstone and they can't get ahead because of these bills.'

"'Mayor O'Brien asked us what we thought was a rough figure on what the 80 families owed in bills,' said Mr. [Moore]. 'We gave him an estimate of $70,000.'

"Mr. O'Brien said 'I am sympathetic with their case and agree that some proposals should be put forward to council to see how the city can appropriately help the Africville residents.'

"The mayor added that if anyone did make these promises to the Africville people 'it was not done in bad faith.' He said the biggest weakness of the relocation program was a lack of follow-up on the city's part.

"Mr. [Moore] said he told Mayor O'Brien of a letter he had in his possession dated June 20, 1967 and signed by City Clerk Ralph Stoddard. 'Among other things, the letter states that if I get sick or become disabled or am out of work, the city would assist me with mortgage and bills.' The same type letter was sent to other former Africville residents.

"OUT OF WORK

"'I was out of work for nearly three months last year,' said Mr. [Moore] an employee of Canadian National Railways. 'I took my letter and went to the city for help but I didn't get any,' he said.

"Another member of the action committee, [Edward Parks], a young married man, said he applied to the city for the 'free rent deal and got it only one or two months. I was sent down to join a welfare line which I found degrading. After that I didn't bother.'

"Mr. [Parks] estimated that between 50 and 60 per cent of the Africville families received 'free rent' from the city for a couple of months and then

didn't get any more.

"Referring to the $1,000 furniture promise, Mr. [Parks] said few people actually got furniture in this manner. Some, he said, got perhaps $500 worth while several got furniture only to be billed for it later by the store.

"'The families had no choice but to pay for the furniture or else lose it,' he said. 'This expense added to the family debt load and caused many problems.'

"BEYOND MEANS

"Mayor O'Brien said he was told by staff that some people in fact did receive $1,000 for furniture. However, he said staff also mentioned a particular case where a family spent beyond their limit then came back and wanted the city to pay the extra. 'The city refused to do this,' said the mayor.

"Mr. [Parks] said 'the people think they were cheated out of their land, their homes, and what small luxuries they possessed. They were bitter over the promises made to them right in their homes by a city representative, only to find later the promises were never kept.

"'People are having problems keeping up their mortgages,' he said. 'One family had to sell their home because of the lack of transportation costs to and from city limits. Another family lost their home while still another is in the process of losing theirs because they can't meet the expense,' said Mr. [Parks].

"When the relocation took place, families were moved into city and public housing units for the most part. A few managed to buy another home while others moved to areas such as Sackville and Kearney Lake.

"'Many large families are having it hard finding apartments,' he said. 'Those in public housing are moving out as soon as possible because of high rents,' said Mr. [Parks].

"DRIFTING APART

"'Some families are drifting apart because of the undue strain put on the head of the household in trying to meet his family's needs and pay off bills at the same time,' he said.

"Faced with their problems and few apparent solutions to them, Mr. [Parks] said that several persons got together and approached the city last spring for assistance. This move resulted in a credit union being established which is managed and operated entirely by former Africville residents.

"The city of Halifax put up $20,000 and the province $50,000 to give the credit union a working capital of $70,000. Set up in June, 1969, the credit union will loan residents up to a maximum of $1,500 over a 36 month period at nine per cent interest.

"Mr. [Moore] estimated that only about 50 of the 80 families relocated could take advantage of the credit union because of credit limitations. To get a loan, a person must pay a $5. membership fee, following this he must be able to demonstrate his ability to pay.

"Administrative setup of the credit union consists of a manager, [Frank MacPherson], a credit committee, a board of directors and a supervisory committee. The credit committee, with three members, screens all membership alpplications. They also sit once a month and process loan applications.

"While members of the action committee feel the credit union is certainly helpful, they say it doesn't help all the people, only those who qualify. 'What is really needed is an emergency fund that all families with a pressing need can draw from', said Mr. [Moore]."[1]

After the meeting with the Mayor, the Africville Action Committee lost momentum. An effort was made to notify sympathetic civic organizations of the more recent developments

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[1]Jim Robson, "Mayor to Probe Africville Claims: Seeks Way to Help", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., October 3, 1969.

in the Africville relocation and to solicit support for the Committee's future proposals and actions. Letters of support were obtained from several organizations and influential citizens but, nonetheless, the Committee itself began to disintegrate. It was not prepared for protracted negotiation or struggle with City Hall. Its proposals were vague; there were internal differences concerning leadership and strategy; and there was no effective utilization of resource people. With the referral of its requests to City bureaucracy for study, the Africville Action Committee lost its initiative and became too weak and incohesive to surmount the rigours of day-to-day preparedness and challenges to its authenticity as the representative of former Africville residents. Yet, like an old soldier, and like the Africville relocation itself, the Africville Action Committee did not die; it simply began to "fade away".

In the winter of 1969-70, the Africville Action Committee engaged in no significant activity on behalf of the relocatees. During this period, there was also a lull in the Social Planning Department, for the Special Projects Officer concerned with relocatees was on a short leave of absence. Upon her return, the pace of the Department's efforts quickened; a housing proposal was developed under the joint sponsorship of the Department and the Committee in mid-1970, and additional rehabilitative programs were discussed. The Africville Action Committee was reduced to being a "paper organization" identified principally with one or two relocatees who, while they enjoyed the support of most relocatees, lacked resources to achieve anything or to mobilize others. The Committee's demands for more direct material compensation from the City were neither acceded to nor rejected; rather, they were placed in limbo, the worst of all fates for a fledgling and resourceless organization.

During 1969 and the first half of 1970, while presumably planning major programs of housing and employment, and while making available to the relocatees a number of marginally relevant services,[1] the Social Planning Department worked on the strengthening of the Credit Union program. Regular meetings with some relocatees and the communication of information between relocatees and the City was achieved through the Credit Union. By mid-1970 some eighty-four former Africville residents had purchased shares in the Credit Union enabling them to

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[1]Marginal, that is, in view of the problems facing the relocatees as a group. The services included a Home Aid Project, counselling, and so forth. Some Africville relocatees were also made aware of City-wide services and projects by Social Planning Department staff.

draw low-interest loans; however, the majority of the relocatees did not identify with the Credit Union, and many saw it simply as a City agency with a new twist from which they could obtain scarce money by purchasing a share at a nominal fee.[1]

Over ninety-five per cent of the relocatees interviewed in the summer of 1969 believed that the City has gained most from the relocation, while over ninety per cent claimed that the people relocated had lost the most. Consequently, among many borrowers from the Credit Union there was a certain sense of legitimacy in "borrowing" without much concern about repayment. Many other relocatees had borrowed money because of financial pressure, and for the same reason found themselves unable to meet this new debt responsibility. By late 1970 the Credit Union was in financial trouble; the relationship between the credit union, increasingly identified with the City, and many relocatees became one of creditor-debtor, and relocatees became reluctant to interact with their creditor, the credit union. The concept of the credit union was valuable, and certainly some relocatees were assisted by it; many were faithful members. But the context within which it functioned--the dire needs of relocatees, the perceived distributive injustice of the relocation exchange, and the long tradition of injustice towards Africville--had created formidable problems. In a submission to City Council, December 9, 1970, the Social Planning Department noted four key problems with respect to the credit union program:

> "1. Lack of previous experience in the Credit Union movement of both City staff and Africville representatives, who comprise 16 of the 19 member Board and Committees, as stipulated in the Supplemental By-Laws;
>
> 2. Limited capacities of many borrowers to meet financial commitments, due to pressures of unstable employment, low wage levels, inflation, ill health, or other unanticipated circumstances;

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[1]An untitled and undated housing proposal prepared in mid-1970 indicated that eighty-four relocatees had purchased shares totalling $359. In the questionnaire survey taken in the summer of 1969, only thirty per cent of the respondents (less than forty persons) had indicated having any contact with the Credit Union. However, the questionnaire population consisted only of adult relocatees who had received some direct settlement consideration. The Seaview Credit Union, on the other hand, was open to all former Africville residents and their grown children.

3. Lack of trust on the part of many relocatees, stemming from the Africville Relocation and resulting in some members viewing the Credit Union as a City-sponsored project to be under-minded rather than supported;

4. Lack of experienced management of the Credit Union."[1]

The Social Planning Department submitted that, despite these problems, "if successful in gaining the full support of its membership and strengthened by new management (both yet to be achieved), [the Credit Union could] become a worthwhile investment in the future of the Africville people."[2]

In the fall of 1970, the Africville Action Committee was revitalized. Availabiltiy of new resources, continued frustration of hard-pressed relocatees, and fear that time was running out on the possibility of receiving ameliorative action from the City, resulted in a new spurt of activity. Several meetings were called among relocatees, a new executive was formed, and new proposals set forth a more comprehensive set of demands:

"(a) Direct financial compensation: Monies to be made available to relocatees presently in financial crisis owning to pressing mortgage and rental debts.

(b) Financial aid in conjunction with a new housing program for those who can benefit from such an undertaking. The City assuming responsibility for the down-payment on new housing.

(c) A special committee be set up consisting of City, Canada Manpower and Africville representatives to coordinate and counsel an employment program specifically geared to the relocatees.

(d) The maintenance and revitalization of the SEAVIEW CREDIT UNION and related programs carried on by Social Planning."

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[1]City of Halifax, Social Development Department, *The Africville Follow Up Program*, Report to Mayor Allan O'Brien and Members of City Council, December 9, 1970, p. 2.

[2]*Ibid.*

Support for the proposals was obtained from civic organizations and influential citizens, and two television interviews provided publicity. On December 9, 1970, approximately fifty relocatees assembled in City Council chambers to hear the City's response to the proposals. Council empowered the Mayor to establish a committee consisting of City staff and representatives of the Africville Action Committee to discuss the proposals and to suggest soluions. Concurrent discussions and negotiations continue.

It would be premature to evaluate the significance of recent cooperative efforts of the Africville Action Committee and the Social Planning Department. They are largely at the planning stage. The Africville Action Committee is still heavily dependent upon the efforts of but a few relocatees and lacks resources that would enable it to function effectively, on a continous basis, as a strong indigenous pressure group. Appointments sometimes are not kept and there are unfortunate delays in initiating and in responding to proposals. The organizational difficulties of the Africville Action Committee and the merits of its different frame of reference are perhaps not fully appreciated by City staff.[1] On the other hand, the Social

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[1]The Africville Action Committee continues to argue that future compensation from land appreciation is an inherently empty promise by the City, and that an immediate settlement should be negotiated. There has been little response to this issue by the City, perhaps because the construction of an approach to the A. Murray MacKay Bridge, which lies across part of the former Africville land, has reduced the land's potential value. An editorial in *The Mail-Star* questions the extent of land used for the approach:

"Who would ever have dreamed that anyone would seriously propose that so much land be given to bridge approaches in a land-hungry city such as Halifax? Who would ever have believed that anyone would have been so extravagent as to render virtually sterile a huge tract of land in a city crying for property for industrial and residential use?

"Just how much land was given to this project--an approaches system that in great part simply channels traffic back through the city proper? Just how much did it cost to acquire this land? How much to clear it for bridge-approach construction?

"What were the alternatives? Could the same purposes have been fulfilled with a lesser-scale bridge-approach system, on less land? How much of the land now taken up by the approaches and arteries could have been salvaged for industrial purposes, for instance, while sacrificing nothing in bridge-approach efficiency? How much has it cost the city in tax reve-

Planning Department has limited resources, and its modest advocacy of relocatees' interests is not without City Council detractors who hold that Africville relocatees should receive no further special consideration. Consequently, there are strains in the relationship between the Africville Action Committee and the Social Planning Department, and a perception by each that the other does not fully understand and appreciate its position. In an important sense, the legitimacy of each party's contention invites attention to the larger social system within which the two parties are groping for a solution.

Housing

One clear responsibility assumed by Halifax City Council in adopting the Rose Report was to provide Africville relocatees with safe, sanitary, and decent housing. The scarcity of land and the population pressure on the Halifax peninsula posed many difficulties for this relocation obligation. An alderman member of the Africville Subcommittee observed that housing stock had been in low supply since the Second World War. He explained:

> "That was a hard job [finding houses for people] but, at the same time, everybody coming into the city of Halifax was having a hard time, so there was nothing different about that because everybody was involved in the same difficulty. Any person with a family couldn't get accommodation in the city of Halifax; so there were no openings in any housing and the City tried to make provision by buying a certain amount of houses in the redevelopment area and then we would put these people in. This is how we would get around it . . ."[1]

The development officer, noting the problems of re-

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nues?

"Even the casual observer must question the development of a New York-like bridge approach system in a Halifax setting. He might be excused, too, for questioning the priorities of the men behind the structure--who gave so much of one of the city's scarcest resources, land, to a grandiose system of arteries leading to and from a harbour crossing." - Prodigious Tentacles", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., May 31, 1971.

[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

housing caused by "unexpected" delay in the construction of public housing, generalized:

> "I think this is always the problem. You can't keep houses vacant. Therefore you've got to tie in the moving and removal of houses with the provision of new housing and it's a perennial problem . . . I think it applies in any city. . . ."[1]

An additional and specific problem in rehousing in this relocation instance was the fact that Blacks were being dispersed throughout a largely White community. Several instances of discrimination occurred; in one case a relocatee who moved into a White neighbourhood in Halifax County was threatened;[2] in another, a relocatee's White neighbour allegedly attempted to solicit support for a petition against the relocatee's establishing residence there.[3]

Nevertheless, Africville relocatees, like relocatees in most urban renewal projects in Canada and the United States,[4] have obtained improved housing facilities. Improvement, measured in terms of size and condition of dwelling,[5] applies to facilities provided in areas of Halifax adjacent to the Africville site. Relocatees who removed elsewhere either purchased houses in Halifax County,[6] or migrated to the metropolitan centres of Toronto, Montreal, and Winnipeg. Only twenty-five to thirty per cent of the adult relocatees did not relocate within walking distance of their former Africville dwellings.

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, December 1969.

[2]"Woman Fined for KKK-Type Threat", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., February 22, 1966.

[3]Interviews, June and July, 1969.

[4]See, for example, Chester Hartman, "The Housing of Relocated Families", *Urban Renewal*, James Q. Wilson, (ed.), (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1967), p. 316.

[5]Comparison data concerning each relocated household were obtained from relocatees themselves, as well as from the relocation social worker. Systematic presentation of data is not given here.

[6]Two or three relocatees purchased houses elsewhere in Nova Scotia.

Africville relocatees obtained better housing, but at special cost; many experienced what they considered to be a loss in freedom and housing status, becoming tenants instead of homeowners. Most relocated families "owned" their dwellings in Africville, whereas less than one-third were homeowners after relocation. To people without adequate and regular income, and unused to paying rent, mortgage, and service and maintenance bills, the expense of improved housing brought new worries, family strains, and indebtedness. None of these circumstances is exceptional; rather, they are readily predictable from a review of relocation studies in North America. Attention is drawn here to this housing pattern, for much of the case for considering the Africville relocation as a liberal-welfare model of relocation rests on housing improvements; relatively little positive change can be discerned in other aspects of relocatees' life situation.

Many Africville relocatees moved into public housing in an area of Halifax adjacent to Africville and in a neighbourhood that Haligonians sometimes refer to as the coloured, Negro, or Black district.[1] As of August 21, 1969, twenty-eight public housing units (seven bachelor units and twenty-one family units) were occupied by Africville relocatees. Four applications for public housing had been approved (two in 1967), but the applicants were awaiting vacancies. In addition, three applications were on file from former Africville residents who were not listed among the relocatees.[2] There is evidence of a clash of life-style between some relocatees and the Halifax Housing Authority. Eleven relocatee applications had been rejected (that is, not recommended by the Housing Authority inspector) on the ground that the applicants were "unsuitable";[3]

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[1]These designations are used, despite the fact that the district has more Whites than Blacks. With the elimination of Africville, however, the district has the largest concentration of Blacks in Halifax.

[2]The relocation list contains the names of all persons who lived in Africville while the relocation social worker was employed by the City. The questionnaire population consisted of adults on this list who received any kind of settlement (i.e., money for land, for property, or for both; welfare assistance; or furniture allowance). Counting husbands and wives separately, the questionnaire population totalled one hundred and forty.

[3]Six additional applications had been rejected for a variety of reasons; three applicants subsequently were no longer interested in moving into public housing.

moreover, two relocatees have been asked to vacate their public housing units, and several others have been warned by the Housing Authority.[1]

From a quite different point of view, there was a further clash of life styles. The fluid social structure of Africville was at variance with the "cut-and-dried" style acceptable to the Housing Authority. Africville residents had a tradition of extended family (consisting of several generations) and quasi-extended family household formation. Such formation, while tolerated by the Housing Authority, required special permission and entailed significant costs. One woman who wanted to live in public housing observed: "Well, I wanted to move into Uniacke Square and they told me it would cost $95 a month. I wanted one of my grandsons [fifteen years old] to move in with me, but that would have been an extra $30 per month. So that would have been too much money to pay."[2]

Moreover, Africville residents were used to "freedom" and "elbow room" in their Africville milieu. Prior to relocation, most residents had indicated that they liked best about Africville the fresh air, the view, the freedom of the place, and the congenial neighbours. In the 1969 questionnaire survey, relocatees reiterated these attractions as being of prime appeal. Some relocatees abhorred the prospect of entering public housing and, among those who did, there was considerable complaint about Housing Authority regulations.

When the Social Planning Department became involved in the plight of relocatees, a key recommendation to City Council (March 1969) proposed that a priority listing of relocatees be established for immediate consideration by the Housing Authority and that a rehabilitative program be developed to overcome "unacceptable standards of housekeeping". The proposal was intended to deal with the fact that some Africville relocatees had not been rehoused in permenent, decent, safe and sanitary housing, and to make it possible for them to obtain public housing units. At that time, at least twenty-three public housing units were occupied by Africville relocatees.

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[1]The Africville Subcommittee earlier had expressed concern (October 20, 1965) about the unsatisfactory rehousing of relocatees, and requested that consideration be given to establishing a housekeeping course for some relocatees. The request was referred to the relocation social worker, but action was not taken.

[2]Interview, July 1969.

Plate 18. MULGRAVE PARK. A public housing project into which several Africville families moved.

--Photo courtesy of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation

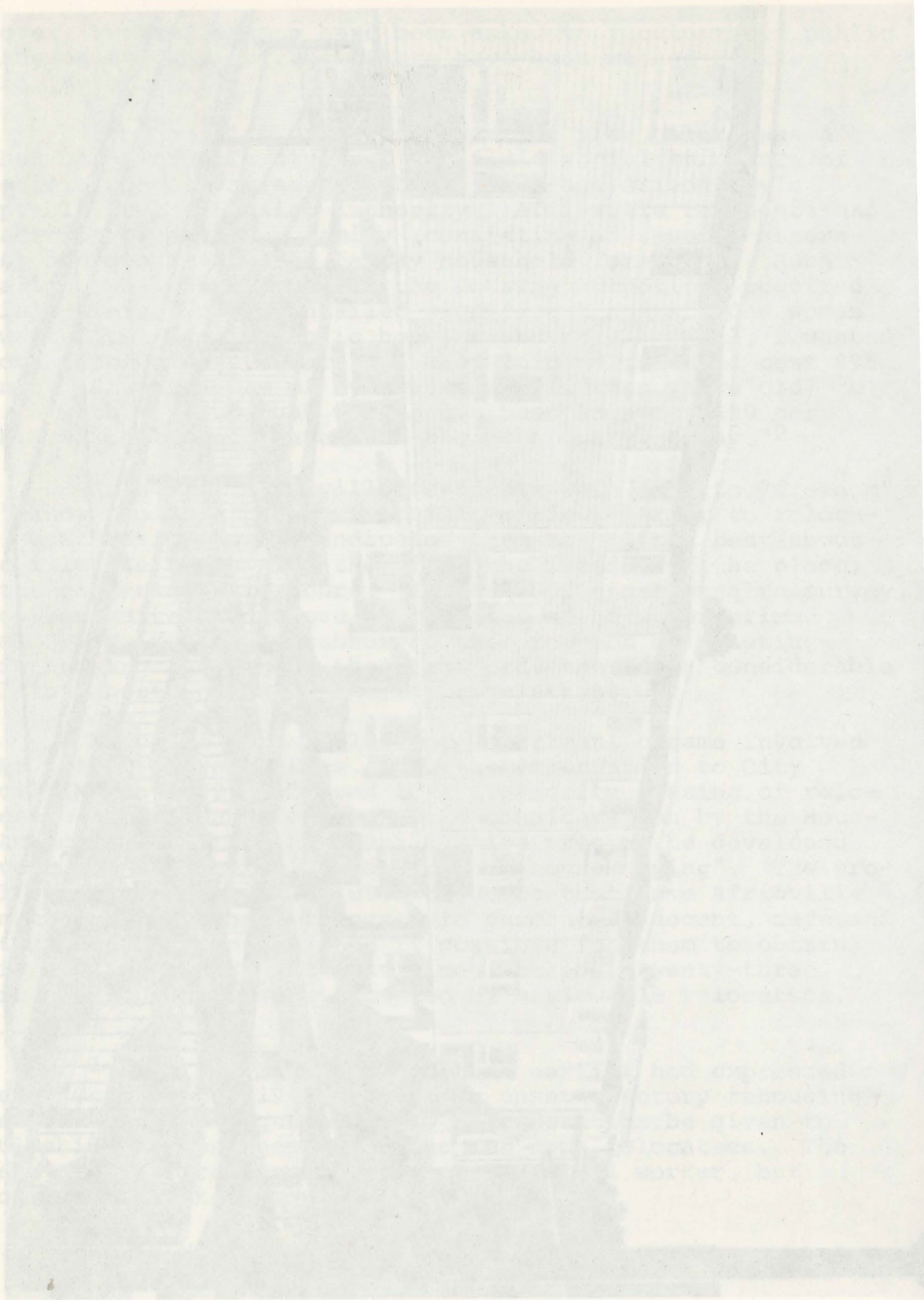

Plate 19. UNIACKE SQUARE. Most Africville families relocated in public housing moved into Uniacke Square.

--Photo courtesy of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation

In a further submission to City Council, dated December 2, 1970, the Social Planning Department noted that thirty-three relocated families (including single persons) were accommodated in public housing and that, through a program designed to attain Housing Authority Authority acceptance, two other families were assisted in upgrading their housekeeping standards.[1] It was observed further that these thirty-five famliies "represented the total number of relocatees known by Socoial Planning to be desirous of such accommodations."[2] The disparity of eleven between the total number of occupants and applicants on file in August 21, 1969, and the total reported by the Social Planning Department on December 2, 1970, could be explained by the possibility that a number of relocatees having been rejected by the Housing Authority, were insufficiently motivated to reapply.

Approximately twenty-four relocatee families purchased homes with money received from their relocation settlement. About half the homeowners settled in the North End of Halifax, an area adjacent to the Africville site and considered to be "respectable working class". Seven others settled near metropolitan Halifax.[3] The remaining few went farther afield, two moving out of Nova Scotia. Many of the homeowners in Halifax City and Halifax County, never before faced with substantial monthly bills for mortgage and services, and not in possession of new employment opportunities, quickly found themselves saddled with debt. Several took in boarders to defray some of the unexpected expenses. Four or five lost their homes because they were unable to discharge financial

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[1] *The Africville Follow Up Program.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[3] Six of these families had male heads who associated intimately with one another in Africville, where they formed the "Hilltoppers Club", as it was known in the community, and had many good times together. These men were in early middle age, had large families and relatively poor-paying employment, but the ties of marriage and kinship were strong. Three of the families lost their homes and, since relocation, the others have had continuing financial and personal crises. One of these homeowners noted, with respect to the post-relocation situation: "We suddenly realized that things were not the same as in Africville. You had to plan and budget and worry about tomorrow. Now all the fun is gone and all we do is worry." - Interview, July 1969.

obligations.[1] Several others were rescued temporarily from a similar fate by the credit union program initiated by the Social Planning Department. One hard-pressed homeowner pointed out:

> "When we lived in Africville, we didn't have a fancy home, but at least we had some money left over at the end of the week. Now, with my husband making $75 a week, $37 goes on mortgage, then we have to pay light bills, water bills, phone bills, food and clothes. We just don't have enough money! I wonder if we can get money from welfare. I went down before and they wouldn't give me any because my husband is working, but they would give it to some other person who doesn't need it as much as I do. It doesn't seem fair."[2]

The serious financial plight of homeowning relocatees was emphasized in the proposal for establishment of a credit union that the Social Planning Department submitted to City Council in March 1969. It was submitted that the debt pressure on this group could be alleviated by a low-interest loan fund which subsequently was established. Additional suggestions (such as the enactment of legislation authorizing the assumption of second mortgages in instances where families were having difficulty in meeting payments) were made but neither strongly argued nor acted upon.

Several hard-pressed homeowners borrowed from the fund and obtained temporary relief, but the underlying economic situation assured continued vulnerability. This fact was pointed out by the Africville Action Committee, in a brief pre-

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[1]Two of these families were in public housing in August 1969. City Council's Africville Subcommittee had recommended a policy that the Solicitor's Department should continue to make free legal advice available to relocatees buying houses beyond the three-year period of relocation. It appears that there was a City staff meeting in May 1968 to consider what help could be given to relocatees having mortgage troubles; at this meeting it was reportedly concluded that staff should be hired to assist these relocatees, but action was not taken. The relocation social worker earlier had advised several relocatees, because of their low incomes, not to purchase houses, and he had sent a letter to real estate firms requesting that they consult the City Solicitor before concluding transactions with relocatees.

[2]Interview, July 1968.

sented to the Mayor on October 28, 1970.[1] The Committee requested that money be made available to homeowners, if the latter would waive rights to a future land settlement.[2] The Committee acknowledged the efforts of the Social Planning Department in establishing a credit union, but pointed out that the availability of even low-interest loans did not appreciably lighten relocatees' burden.

The category of relocatees with fewest resources and receiving least attention were the renters, who occupied private dwellings or City-owned houses located in the north-central redevelopment area of Halifax that provided only temporary shelter. Their housing conditions, while on the whole an improvement over Africville accommodation, often were neither safe nor decent and were otherwise inadequate. These relocatees received from the relocation little beyond temporary welfare assistance; they were often the hard-core multi-social-problem cases. Among the approximately fifty-five adults in private rental accommodation in August 1969, named on the relocation list, were a number of persons that, during and after the relocation, City officials had "written off" as being virtually impossible to rehabilitate.[3] Another group of "at least ten families presently [December 9, 1970] living in grossly inadequate rental accommodations owned by private landlords or by the City of Halifax" were considered by the Social Planning Department to be candidates for home ownership, if "reasonable" opportunities and resources could be made available to them.[4]

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[1]The brief, untitled, was signed by the Committee's executive members.

[2]The Africville Action Committee requested that, rather than holding out to relocatees a possibility of their receiving further funds if the City sold the Africville lands at a profit by 1987, the City respond financially to present crises by making a settlement from City funds with relocatees who would in turn waive any further claims.

[3]The Social Planning Department reported to City Council, through the City Manager (December 9, 1970), in a statement dealing with criticisms of the Africville Follow Up Program, that "there are a *small* number of households, consisting of several adults [relocatees] not necessarily related, relocated into City-owned housing, with serious unresolved social problems, making it virtually impossible to find suitable permanent housing for them." *The Africville Follow Up Program*, p. 3.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 3.

In the "second phase" of the relocation program, the ameliorative measures advanced by the Social Planning Department have resulted in several relocatees obtaining improved housing in City-owned temporary dwellings and in public housing; also, temporary assistance has been given to a few homeowners through the Seaview Credit Union. For many relocatees, welfare assistance has been especially important in maintaining improved housing.

The Africville Action Committee has been particularly vocal about the need for an adequate housing program. In mid-1970 the Africville Action Committee and the Social Planning Department prepared and submitted a joint proposal to Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.[1] The proposal urged adoption of a low-cost housing scheme whereby approximately fifteen relocated families (five currently in public housing and ten in private rental or City-owned housing) could "participate in a scheme designed to provide a more permanent, independent, and satisfactory mode of housing, offering the possibility of eventual home ownership."[2] This forward-looking proposal called for the Seaview Credit Union, or a sub-organization, "to be empowered to serve as a sponsoring body for the purpose of operating a non-profit housing development cooperation [*sic*] designed to meet the needs of its membership [Africville relocatees]. . . ."[3]

The proposal emphasized, also, the importance of involving Africville relocatees in the administrative structure of the scheme, and requested funds for this purpose. The proposal has not been acted upon, although the Social Planning Department has expressed optimism in a report (December 9, 1970) to City Council:

> " . . . to date, the lack of available serviced land has been the most serious barrier. However, staff will be ready in the very near future to present to Council for their consideration and support, preliminary plans for a housing project involving families relocated from Africville."[4]

Unfortunately this optimism, like much of the rhetoric surrounding the Africville relocation, appears to have

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[1]The untitled and unsigned copy of the proposal in the researchers' possession indicates that the proposal was a joint submission.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 2.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 8.

[4]*The Africville Follow Up Program*, p. 3.

been unfounded. During the past year there has been no sign of any activity by the City regarding new housing for Africville relocatees.

Employment

A 1962 report dealing with socio-economic conditions among Blacks in Halifax City stated:

> "No matter what one uses as an index of a poor employment situation (low average income, large number of weeks unemployed, fewness of people in the more skilled occupations), Africville Negroes rank worse than Halifax as a whole and in general worse even than the mid-city Negroes."[1]

No serious creative employment program was developed by City officials during the basic relocation period, 1964-67, and the economic vulnerability of Africville relocatees has been accentuated by relocation. Relocatees are confronted by expenses that were either non-existent or minimal in Africville. Moreover, some relocatees have lost a source of income; namely, the salvaging of material from the City dump.[2] The questionnaire data indicate that most relocatees have had either the same or a greater regular income since relocation, but relocatees reporting income increases reported also an increase in financial problems. Increase in income was not particularly significant; as most responding relocatees had

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[1] *The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia*, p. 13.

[2] There has been a tendency among "outsiders" to exaggerate the income that Africville residents obtained from salvaging. It was ascertained, through discussion with Africville residents and with salvage dealers to whom they sold, that only two or three residents could have earned regularly as much as fifty dollars a week. Several additional residents obtained modest pocket money through salvaging. One unmarried Africville relocatee observed: "I used to collect junk; could make thirty dollars a week sometimes. Just enough to keep from starving. Now and then someone would get nabbed by the cops. That was because the kids used to go down and tease [the dump official] and make him mad." - Interview, August 1969.

Given the circumstances of life in Africville, it can be said that salvaging, while not an economic mainstay for other than a small minority of Africville residents, was a relevant supplement for a number of them.

not changed their employment, for the most part increases reflected a rise in wage-level experienced by workers in general. A small number of relocatees have obtained higher-paying employment or additional part-time employment since relocation.[1]

During the basic relocation period members of the Africville Subcommittee often expressed concern about relocatees' employment prospects. The relocation social worker, not having an employment program with which to work and being fully engaged in settlement negotiations and other aspects of the relocation program, sent unemployed or underemployed relocatees to an employment officer assigned to concern himself exclusively with the employment placement of Blacks in the metropolitan area. No special consideration in employment placement was given to Africville residents. The follow-up proposal that the Social Planning Department submitted to City Council (March 1969) observed that, with reference to both permanent and temporary work, vague records indicate that employment opportunities may have been found for twelve to fifteen persons. Even this small figure seems high. Only six questionnaire respondents indicated that they used the "employment service" made available by the City during relocation and only an additional fourteen persons indicated awareness that the service was in existence.[2]

The *continuation and reexamination phase*, the "second phase" of the relocation, has brought renewed concern for the employment of Africville relocatees but few concrete achievements. In hiring Frank MacPherson, the Social Planning Department indicated that one of his duties would be "planning for job training, work activity experiences, and job placement" among Africville relocatees.

In late August 1969, a general meeting of Africville relocatees was called, under auspices of the Social Planning Department, to consider suggestions for employment. A committee of relocatees emerged from the meeting, but there is no evidence of subsequent action. Apparently, in the first half of 1970 the Social Planning Department discussed training programs with Canada Manpower officials. In early 1971, the De-

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[1]A detailed description of income and employment patterns, before and after relocation, will be presented in a future report.

[2]Over the past four years, and independent of the City's relocation program, the employment officer hired by the provincial Department of Welfare to counsel and "place" Blacks in the metropolitan area has worked with many Africville relocatees and their grown children.

partment, representatives of the Africville Action Committee, and a Canada Manpower official formed a special committee to enquire again into problems of employment among Africville Blacks and to develop and coordinate assistance programs. The committee is expected to submit proposals in the near future. Several important observations have emerged from these discussions: (1) it is extremely difficult, within existing social arrangements, to provide real economic opportunity for Africville relocatees; (2) many of the relocatees are virtually impossible to place in employment because of old age, infirmity, family responsibilities, or behavioural disorders; and (3) many of the out-of-school children of relocatees are without economic prospects. In view of these observations and the "achievements" to date of the relocation program, the rhetoric of liberalism that accompanied the Africville relocation seems empty, if not perverse.

Assessment of Life Conditions

The Africville relocation, in structure and rhetoric, was a liberal-welfare program of planned social change. Clearly, though, the rehabilitative and opportunity-creating aspects of it did not dramatically improve life conditions for many Africville residents. Given the continuance of post-relocation negotiations and the possibility of new government-supported or initiated programs, it is difficult to sum up in any final way the results of the project or to accept, without reservation, some of the relocatees' attitudinal statements or definitions of the situation.[1] Yet it would be difficult to see the basic relocation program as being substantively creative. Most relocatees did obtain better housing and more services; propertyowners do appear to have received better than the then-market-value for their individual properties; more residents who were in need of social assistance while in Africville are now receiving welfare in their new environment. At the same time these gains have to be qualified somewhat. With better housing has also come higher costs, more financial worries, often a change in status from homeowner to renter, and sometimes a perception of less freedom to adjust the physical environment to one's needs and wishes. Increased social assistance in some cases has been necessitated by the relocation itself; it has caused some recipients to feel more dependent and regulated; moreover, it is difficult to see wel-

[1]This is not to challenge the essential truth or realism of their statements, but merely to point out that a bargaining situation is still operative. This caveat applies, of course, to the earlier discussion of relocatee strategy in settlement negotiations.

fare assistance as more than a short-term solution. Then, too, while Africville residents may have received individually "a good deal" for their properties, it is less certain that collectively they could be said to have fared as well. The legally unencumbered Africville lands should appreciate in value in a developing and land-scarce port city. The only really concrete bargaining point Africville residents had in any attempt to radically alter their life-opportunities--their land--no longer exists; in this sense there is a loss of alternatives.

Given the above conditions, it is not surprising that many have expressed bitter feelings about the relocation. One relocatee noted:

> "I feel they [fellow Africville residents] were stupid to move because the people weren't given anything to establish themselves. The people of Africville struggle all their lives to make a go of it. The City came in and treated the people like you would treat a dog, give him something and take it back!"
>
> *Interviewer*: "How did they take it back?
>
> *Relocatee*: "Through rent, through old bills they dug up when people moved. I'm paying for a place that you can't even put a nail in the wall. If you don't pay your rent right on the dot, you get a phone call right away, telling you to pay up or get out. You're scared half the time that you'll slip up; they're always checking up. No security."[1]

Interviewed in 1969, sixty-three per cent of the relocatee respondents claimed that the relocation produced a personal crisis for them. Yet it is clear from the following tables that, apart from money worries, the problem was less one of what the relocation "produced" than of what it "took away".

Tables 4, 5, and 6 indicate that, in addition to financial worries, a less common but significant result of the relocation was that it produced changes in household composition. In several instances older married children and unmarried daughters with children took advantage of social assistance proffered by the City to set up their own households. There were also several cases were common-law relationships did not survive the relocation change and where "other relatives" living in the Africville household moved elsewhere upon relocation. In a gen-

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, August 1969.

eral sense, the relocation had an "embourgeoisiement" effect on family structure and relations; the extended family form was less common in the post-Africville households. An exception to this general pattern was the slight tendency for more post-Africville households to take in paying boarders--a fact not unrelated to the main relocation result of increased money worries. Relatively few relocatees reported marital and kinship strains that they perceived as traceable to relocation; yet of those indicating family sickness since relocation (Table 5), about one-third claimed the illness was related to relocation pressures. Finally, while the vast majority of relocatee respondents indicated that their employment position was not improved by relocation, only a few reported that relocation had directly caused employment difficulties.

Table 4

RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF CHANGES WROUGHT BY RELOCATION (N=140)

	% Yes
Job problems	16
Household changes	40
Marital strains	17
Money worries	72
Strains among relatives	12

Table 5

RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF HOUSEHOLD CHANGES SINCE RELOCATION (N=140)

	% Yes
Children left home	26
More or less boarders	11
More or less other relatives in home	22
Family sickness	28

Table 6

RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF "TROUBLE MAKING ENDS MEET" SINCE RELOCATION (N=140)

	% Yes
More trouble	66
About the same	22
Less trouble	12

It was indicated earlier that most Africville residents were relocated within walking distance of the Africville site. It would be expected that, from the point of view of contact with relatives and friends and familiarity with the neighbourhood, there would be no profound change in sociality. Table 7, 8, and 9 bear out this expectation. Most respondents indicated that close contact was retained with former Africville friends, that they had some feeling of belonging in the new neighbourhood, and that their new neighbours were at least somewhat friendly and trustworthy. It could be expected that in time their positive assessment on these matters would gradually approximate their stated attitudes towards Africville living; Table 9 points in this direction. Nevertheless, when interviewed the relocatees still indicated a slight preference, on sociality and general living grounds, for their old Africville situation.

Table 7

RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF CONTACT WITH FORMER CLOSE FRIENDS IN AFRICVILLE (N=140)

	% Yes
Regular contact	53
Reduced contact	20
Little contact	27

Table 8

RELOCATEE PERCEPTIONS OF AFRICVILLE AND NEW NEIGHBOURHOODS (N=140)

	New Neighbourhood % Yes	Africville % Yes
Feelings of Belonging:		
Really belong here	45	87
Don't belong as much as others	20	6
Don't belong at all	30	4
Friendliness of Neighbours:		
Very friendly	45	80
Somewhat friendly	45	18
Unfriendly	8	1
Trustworthiness of Neighbours:		
Very trustworthy	28	56
Somewhat trustworthy	45	39
Not trustworthy	18	2

Table 9

RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF ADEQUACY OF LIVING CONDITIONS IN NEW NEIGHBOURHOOD (N=140)

	% Yes
Better than Africville	38
Same as Africville	16
Worse than Africville	43

Tables 10, 11, 12, and 13 indicate that the relocatees still felt a significant "grief" at leaving Africville and that many felt "things were not going well". They were having trouble making ends meet (Table 6) and, despite familiarity with their new neighbourhood, did not believe that they could count on neighbours for assistance. Under these conditions it might be expected that the Africville relocatees on the whole would not be optimistic in their outlook. This latter expectation was borne out in their responses to a standard sociological alienation scale.[1] The per cent giving alienated responses to the five items making up the scale were respectively, 75%, 80%, 80%, 83%, and 88%.

Table 10

RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF FAMILIARITY WITH NEW ENVIRONMENT (N=140)

	% Yes
Know area well	77
Somewhat familiar	18
Not at all familiar	3

Table 11

RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF BEING ABLE TO COUNT ON NEIGHBOURS IF IN NEED (N=140)

	% Yes
Can count on	37
Can't count on	58
Don't know	5

[1]See Appendix J, p. A120.

Table 12

RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF GENERAL SITUATION AFTER RELOCATION (N=140)

	% Yes
How Things Have Been Going:	
Good	26
Indifferent	30
Bad	42
Overall Are You Pleased With Things Since Relocation?	
Very pleased	25
Somewhat pleased	28
Not at all pleased	47

Table 13

RELOCATEE "GRIEF" CONCERNING AFRICVILLE (N=140)

	% Yes
Have You Returned to Africville Since the Relocation?	
Yes, often	54
Yes, a few times	26
No	20
Do You Miss the Africville Life?	
Very much	73
Some	7
Little or none	17

In adjusting to their new environment--in many cases to several new environments, since fifty per cent of the relocatees interviewed had lived in at least two homes since leaving Africville (Table 14)--relatively few joined new organizations or associations. Similarly, beyond the Welfare agency, only a minority of relocatees had contacted other social service agencies when interviewed in 1969 (Table 15).

Table 14

RELOCATEE MOBILITY SINCE LEAVING AFRICVILLE (N=140)

	% Yes
Lived in 1 home	60
Lived in 2 homes	30
Lived in 3+ homes	16

Table 15

RELOCATEE CONTACT WITH SOCIAL AGENCIES SINCE RELOCATION (N=140)

	% Yes
Social Agency:	
Social Planning Department	25
Seaview Credit Union	28
Canada Manpower	20
City Welfare	49
Provincial Welfare	16

In the present brief and descriptive overview there has been no attempt to make analytic and causal-type differentiations concerning the Africville relocatees. It is clear that some relocatees believe that the relocation was desirable and

view themselves as better off because of it. It will be important to explore these variations at a later date. In general, more satisfaction was found among those who were upwardly mobile in orientation (measured by pre-relocation intention to migrate from the community), those who defined themselves as "marginal" or transient in Africville (measured directly by self-definition and more indirectly by expressed feelings of not belonging while in Africville), and those who placed a high value on integration.

During the relocation planning phase and throughout and after the relocation, City officials often emphasized that a major benefit of the relocation would be the long-run advantage to the relocatees' children as a result of integration. Some relocatees did mention integration as one of the positive aspects of the relocation, but the majority did not see this as a paramount consideration. Two characteristics peculiar to North American liberalism have been an emphasis on individualism and an "osmosis" conception of social change; the former questions the desirability of sub-group collective identities, and the latter is overly optimistic in exaggerating social change prospects associated with placing people in a better environment. It is most doubtful that long-run gains will accrue to Africville residents and their children as a result of the relocation. This might happen and it might not. When the Africville school was closed in 1952 and children were transferred to a racially mixed school outside the community, long-run advantages were predicted, but many of the children went into auxiliary classes, and many now, as young men and young women, are unemployed and frustrated. Vague hopes are a poor substitute for detailed planning and serious commitment.

CHAPTER NINE

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE AFRICVILLE RELOCATION

> "There is a dialectic of disorder at work in the world. It is a dialectic every bit as ruthless in its impact on human hopes and values as any Hegel ever dreamed of. It spares no society, and few people. It is impartial in the way it defeats the plans of both dropouts and Presidents. And the misuse of the rhetoric of liberalism has contributed in no small measure to the operation of that dialectic.
>
> "For even empty rhetoric generates aspirations among people who take it seriously. Aspirations kindle new and concrete hopes. But then the emptiness of the rhetoric is revealed in the paucity and perversion of the complementing programs. Thus expectations are not fulfilled, and frustration and bitter anger result. The expression of this anger differs, depending on the intensity of the expectations and the extent of the gap between program and fulfillment."
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> - Arnold S. Kaufman, *The Radical Liberal: The New Politics: Theory and Practice* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), p. 13.

Relocation and Race Relations

Many observers of relocation programs in contemporary North American society have likened this form of planned social change to the violent removal of Indians during the period of colonization. They have referred specifically to urban renewal as a race/class war since usually urban renewal projects have displaced the poor and the minority-group members without significantly improving their life conditions. Such critics have attacked the liberal welfare rhetoric that has accompanied typical relocation programs since the Second World War as a subtle cover for the class interests of monopoly capital which "pulls the strings" of the welfare establishment.[1] From

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[1] Alvin Gouldner describes the liberal establishment in *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*, pp. 500-502. He attacks specifically a "new ombudsman sociology whose very

this perspective, much relocation has been considered a generally successful warfare for the power elite and the status quo. The Africville relocation, as noted earlier, was accompanied by the rhetoric of liberalism. The relocation was presumably to represent a step forward in improving race relations. The Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee was given a role in implementing the relocation and the relocation policy was to include provision of educational and economic programs designed to present new social opportunities.

At the beginning of the relocation, most Blacks in Nova Scotia either accepted the relocation as desirable or were silently critical of its policy. White officials and citizens interpreted relocation as positive social change. Since the relocation of Africville families, however, there has been a change in these evaluations. Many Black Nova Scotians have become very critical of the relocation program, and consider it to have profited the City much more than the relocatees. Extrapolating from the Africville instance, some Black leaders have begun to suspect that relocations of this kind may be, indeed, a form of race warfare. Among City officials and informed citizens, there has been a similar, though less profound, disenchantment with the Africville relocation.

The White Community and the Africville Relocation

Initial evaluation of the Africville relocation by the local and international press and by City officials was positive. The relocation was publicly defined as symbolic of a new and more progressive era in race relations. The editors of *Time* magazine observed:

> "The bulldozing of Africville exemplifies determined, if belated, effort by the municipal and provincial government to right an historical injustice."[1]

While an article in the national *Star Weekly* described "the

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criticism of middle-level welfare authorities and establishments serves as a kind of lightning rod for social discontent, strengthening the centralized control of the highest authorities, and providing new instruments of social control for the master institutions."

[1]"In Search of a Sense of Community", *Time*, April 6, 1970.

slow and welcome death of Africville",[1] City officials postulated that considerable benefits would be reaped ultimately by *children* of relocatees, now that Africville was phased out and the children could be raised in a more healthy and integrated environment.[2] An article in *Maclean's Magazine*[3] suggested that "a fear of integration" on the part of community residents was an unfortunate and irrational obstacle to necessary and desirable relocation. Throughout relocation implementation, the local press issued progress reports on the number of families relocated and encouraged a faster phasing-out of the community. Selective publicity, emphasizing the contentment of relocatees,[4] resulted in "good press" for the relocation and assured the public that a creative program was being achieved. The tone of the local press coverage is indicated in the following editorial summation of the relocation:

> "[The relocation social worker] never swerved from his goal of securing not only much better housing for the families of Africville but, equally important, of ensuring that the children of the relocated families would have the benefits they had so obviously missed.
>
> "Soon Africville will be but a name. And, in the not too distant future that, too, mercifully will be forgotten."[5]

Since the "apparent" termination of the basic relocation program with the departure of the relocation social worker in late 1967, there has been a changing evaluation of the Africville relocation among local government officials and informed citizens, as well as in the local press. There is still a consensus that Africville residents should have been relocated and that, eventually, integration will bring numerous

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[1]Fraser, *op. cit.*

[2]*Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, Halifax, N. S., September 14, 1967; see also an interview with the relocation social worker: Sheila Urquhart, "Africville Program Complete in July", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., July 5, 1967.

[3]Dexter, *op. cit.*

[4]See, for instance, Sheila Urquhart, "Ghetto Going on Schedule", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 3, 1966; and "Africville Program Complete in July".

[5]"End of Africville", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., July 7, 1967.

beneficial by-products. On the other hand, there is also a greater realization that Africville relocatees are not satisfied with the relocation and that much of the rhetoric accompanying it did not lead to the benefits anticipated and desired. Much of the new criticism in the White community relates to the lack of adequate follow-up to assist relocatees in coping with life in their new environment; another major point of criticism - reflecting both a shift in societal values and a retrospective idealization of Africville - is focused around the issue that the relocation broke up a community but did not provide an adequate substitute for the relocatees. The changed evaluation is a result, in part, of public criticism expressed by the Africville Action Committee (formed in 1969) and the interest in relocatees expressed by the City's Social Planning Department (created in 1968). Several television programs have discussed the socio-economic conditions of relocatees, and the local press has carried several accounts of officialdom's "sympathetic" response to criticisms expressed by the Africville Action Committee.[1] The City's fatuous mishandling of "Pa" Miller, the last Africville resident to be relocated, occurred after criticism of the relocation had begun to mount. This incident, creating an inept and shameful ending to the relocation, added further to criticism.

There is now (1971) a more criticial appraisal of the Africville relocation in the White community and even among certain City officials. It appears, however, that criticism has not been channeled productively and that no clear, widely held lesson has been drawn from the relocation. Some City officials, miffed by recent criticisms of the relocation and annoyed with the continuing demands for redress made by the Africville Action Committee and its sympathisers, hold the view that already the relocatees have received more than "strict justice" would demand; in effect, the officials themselves have discounted much of the rhetoric originally associated with the relocation.

Blacks and the Relocation: Phase One

It appears that, among Nova Scotian Blacks, initially the Africville relocation was regarded as both inevitable and acceptable. Numerous Blacks living elsewhere in Halifax and

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[1]See, for instance, Jim Robson "Mayor to Probe Africville Claims", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., October 3, 1969, and "Social Worker on Africville: Follow-Up Could have Averted Relocation Problems", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., October 4, 1969.

in surrounding communities believed that Africville was a slum of the worst sort; its reputation as a deviance service centre, exaggerated by bad publicity, had led many Blacks to believe that Africville's continuing existence was unwarranted and made them receptive to the liberal, welfare rhetoric that accompanied the relocation announcement. That Africville was perceived as a stigma by Blacks, as well as Whites, was attested in numerous interviews.[1]

Several Black Haligonians recalled that, when younger, they were warned by their parents against ever going to Africville.[2] Others were quick to point out that they were born and raised in *Halifax proper*, pointedly dissociating themselves from Africville. In the neighbouring Black communities, people often echoed the views of a Hammonds Plains lady who reported that "a lot of horrible things were going on down there."[3] A Black leader from Preston referred to Africville as "a cancer in the sight of Halifax."[4] Even the Black ministers who had served the community in the decades preceding relocation, while pointing out positive attributes of the community and discounting much of its notoriety, indicated that oppression and discrimination had over the years exacted a heavy toll on the community's morale and solidarity.[5] The few Black Haligonians who dissented from this view of Africville were exceptions that "prove the rule". One man, for instance, noted that he regularly visited Africville and argued that the bad image of the community was, more or less, the creation of the City, conspiring to obtain the Africville lands; he acknowledged, however, that "there are very few Black people in Halifax County who would look upon Africville in the way that I do."[6]

Although many Black Nova Scotians accepted the public assessment of Africville (and of the relocation program), and

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[1]In addition to interviewing Black leaders in the Metropolitan area, the researchers and their assistants discussed Africville with a large number of Blacks living in Halifax County and in communities as distant as Guysborough County.

[2]Interviews, Summer 1969.

[3]Interview, November 1969.

[4]Tape-recorded interview, August 1969.

[5]Tape-recorded interviews, June and September 1969.

[6]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

supported the need for planned social change, there were some who understood, also, the causes of Africville's peculiar development. They expressed concern that, at least in relocation, Africville residents would be treated fairly and generously by the City. A few Black leaders urged that a section of the City be set aside for Africville families and that a new and well-serviced community be constructed; various possibilities of low-cost housing were advanced.[1] Implicit in these comments and suggestions was the belief that there was something valuable in the Africville community and that it would develop and flower if, under new opportunities, the residents were able to reestablish themselves elsewhere. Other Black leaders, while not sharing these assumptions, recognized that Africville residents had long been oppressed. They sought to guarantee that relocation would bring real opportunity and be not simply another, and perhaps more subtle, example of City mistreatment. As one of the Black caretakers on the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee put it:

> "There was no doubt in many of our minds that the City had intended to take in that land and we were afraid compensation would not be accurate and adequate, and that is why a group of us got together and started working."[2]

At the beginning of the Africville relocation, most Nova Scotian Blacks were aware of the relocation program's existence and some leaders had made public their concern about, and suggestions for, the residents' future. Africville was by no means, however, a rallying point for "nationalistic" and militant voices in the Black community. Black organizations, on the whole, did not participate significantly in advising and assisting Africville residents or in defining operational terms of the relocation. The president of the NSAACP discussed the impending relocation with Africville residents at a sparsely attended meeting in the Seaview United Baptist Church (1962), where relocation was accepted passively and attention was focused on the details of relocation policy. The NSAACP-sponsored meeting

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[1]See, for instance, the "Letter to the Editor", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., August 11, 1962, submitted by B. A. Husbands, President, Halifax Coloured Citizens Improvement League. Mr. Husbands, in forwarding his particular plan, observed, "I feel that where the people of Africville have striven within their means to provide shelter for their families they should be given the . . . opportunity to better themselves and, at the same time, better the community as a whole."

[2]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

did nothing to organize Africville residents or to develop a strategy for negotiation with the City. A communiqué issued after the meeting dealt only with the complicated situation in Africville concerning land claims and the reluctance of residents to enter public housing.[1] The Halifax Coloured Citizens Improvement League played a similarly insignificant role in the relocation, although the president of the League issued several public pleas to the City to assist Africville residents in building new homes elsewhere:

> "I would be happy to see the men and women of Africville retain their individualism and pay for their own [new] homes in what would become an acceptable residential community. They will if we gave them the chance.
>
> "This matter has long lagged. Among those who have supported us in the past and are now dead are listed premiers Edgar N. Rhodes and Angus L. Macdonald, Alderman 'Billy' O'Toole, Monseigneur Curran and Father Courtney, just hastily glancing at our records.
>
> "They have been followed by Ira P. MacNab, Frank W. Doyle and many others.
>
> "Let's have it done at least in time for Canada's Centennial."[2]

Beyond some public expression of concern, and quiet urging of City benevolence, Black leaders and organizations were involved in the Africville relocation only to the extent that several Blacks participated in the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and, subsequently, in City Council's Africville Subcommittee. Several reasons account for what appears in retrospect to have been a low level of involvement by the broader Nova Scotian Black community.

First, as noted above, there was a stigma associated with Africville by Blacks living elsewhere and a belief, influenced considerably by scandalous newspaper accounts of life in Africville, that the community was not viable. Moreover, Africville was a difficult community to organize; it was not an integrated community but, rather, a place where radically different social types existed side by side, and where many

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[1]See Chapter VI, p. 198.

[2]Letters to the Editor, *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., May 11, 1963; see, also, the letter to the editor cited above, dated August 11, 1962.

people had become scarred and apathetic after hard life struggles. The church clique, with whom outsiders attempting to work for social change would normally associate, was old, somewhat withdrawn, and conditioned to seek allies among White liberals. Then, too, even the strong, stable residents were vulnerable in that employment was irregular and property claims were questionable. Several Black leaders reported that they had tried, without success, to go into the community to organize and otherwise assist residents.[1]

Another reason for the insignificant participation of Black leaders and organizations was that, upon the initiative of a few Africville residents and, subsequently, upon the advice of civil rights experts, several local Black and White professionals were thrust into a caretaker role as members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. The existence of the Committee may have created the impression that additional outside involvement was unnecessary; apparently it resulted in those Black leaders not desiring to participate in the Committee being discouraged from involving themselves in Africville affairs, lest they be considered trouble-makers.[2] Since the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee was committed to the realization of general or universal human rights, there was little justification in its frame of reference for the celebration of Africville as a *Black* community or for rallying strong *Black* sentiments around the relocation. Finally, in the early 1960's the Nova Scotian Blacks did not have the sense of unity and identity, nor the more articulate and effective mili-

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[1]Tape-recorded interviews, August 1969. Two of the leaders alluded to here went into the community after relocation was underway. It should be noted that Africville relocatees did not acknowledge the assistance of local Black leaders from outside Africville. Over 70 per cent reported that they did not even meet with the Black caretakers from the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee to discuss their situation or terms of settlement. A mere handful of relocatees reported contact with Black leaders for the purpose of receiving assistance to help them cope with the relocation.

[2]Two Black leaders who claim to have disagreed with the strategy followed by the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, on the grounds that unintentionally its members were being coopted by the City, reported that they were labelled troublemakers when they attempted to assist Africville residents. Regardless of whether these allegations are true, probably it is true that once a community organization develops, it tends to channel and restrict others' participation.

tant leadership and organization that developed later in the decade. Thus, not only was there little likelihood that Africville affairs would strike a responsive chord in the broader Black community but there was also slight motivation on the part of Africville residents to seek allies there.[1]

Since no Africville organization participated in relocation decision-making, and no Africville resident was privy to the deliberations of City Council's Africville Subcommittee, participation of Blacks in relocation policy and mechanics was limited virtually to the three Black caretakers from the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. These three men spent considerable time and effort defining the terms of relocation, examining alternatives, meeting with Africville residents, and obtaining information from residents and City officials. They saw their role essentially as advocates and bargainers for the relocatees. Once the relocation negotiations began, the Black caretakers accepted the terms of reference and assessed the fairness of individual settlements on the basis of property holdings, tempered by compassion. Looked at in these terms, since the settlements proferred by the City were well above market price, usually the settlements were considered reasonable. It is probable that the participation of Black caretakers was a crucial factor in the relocatees' obtaining higher-than-market-value prices for their property, welfare assistance during the relocation period, and temporary amenities in Africville while awaiting relocation. By their very presence on the Subcommittee, as well as by their advocacy, the Black caretakers were able to make Black experience in Nova

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[1]White liberal allies are, of course, often useless. James Q. Wilson, discussing politics in the United States, observed that "Negro civic leaders stand on the periphery of power. They hope to needle or prod or anger or humiliate those who can direct the course of affairs into granting concessions to Negro demands. The Negroes themselves are remote from the centers of influence, and this distance gives a certain logic to their views of the public interest and appropriate strategies for action. But those whom they seek to influence are often powerless also, if by power we mean the ability to establish binding public policy. The White civic leaders and politicans are either complacent or caught up in their own conflicts of interest, and are severely constrained by their own opinions and fears as to the consequences of any radical change in the racial patterns of the city." James Q. Wilson, *Negro Politics* (New York: The Free Press, 1960), p. 286.

Scotia a consideration in relocation decision-making. On the other hand, bargaining within narrow terms of reference was an ineffective means of realizing the presumed ends of the relocation program; that is, to decisively redress injustice against Africville Blacks and to provide new and real opportunities for them.[1] Such ends are long-term in nature, difficult to measure and tend to be shunted aside in the day-to-day quest for equitable and reasonable individual settlements and temporary welfare assistance.

It is important to recall that the Black caretakers were involved with the Africville Subcommittee on a voluntary basis. In this task they were without independent resources; consequently, they were dependent on City officials for much information and often found themselves merely responding to City initiatives and staff reports. To slow the processing of individual cases, in itself very time consuming, in order to debate the broader issues or to link routine Subcommittee actions to the larger ends of the relocation would have been bold under the circumstances. It would be considered obstructionist not only from the point of view of the City but, also, from the standpoint of the relocatees; the Black caretakers did not have a clear mandate on behalf of Africville residents and very few of the latter identified with the caretakers or sought out their assistance. Then, too, there was little public pressure for realization of the presumed larger ends of the relocation program. The wider Black community, as noted above, was accepting and silent; the local press not only publicized the relocation selectively (e.g., running feature stores on "contented" relocatees) but was also constantly urging a faster phasing out of Africville.[2]

Blacks and the Relocation: Phase Two

In the few years since relocation, Africville has acquired a new symbolic meaning in the Black Nova Scotian

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[1]Wilson observes that "the bargainer is not as highly committed to specific ends as is the militant, and is correspondingly less willing to alter the mission of an organization to strike out at a target of opportunity not previously agreed upon as being within its purview. To do so would mean a sacrifice in other goals - such as friendly relations with supporters." *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[2]See, for instance, "Africville May Disappear by Year's End", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 5, 1966; and "Africville Move Painfully Slow", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., September 14, 1966.

community. Winks observes:

> "By January of 1967, when the last building fell to the bulldozers, Africville was more than a designation on the city's old maps, however - it was a word to which militant black Nova Scotians now rallied. . . ."[1]

With the creation of new Black organizations such as the Black United Front (BUF) and the Afro-Canadian Liberation Movement (ACLM), as well as the growth of infrastructure requisites (such as social clubs, stores and publications) for a vibrant Black subculture, there has developed among Nova Scotian Blacks a more visible unity and integration.[2] A new mood has become pervasive in the Black community, a mood more militant, more protective of its uniqueness, and more conscious of its possibilities than existed heretofore. In this new context increasing criticism has been directed against the Africville relocation and, as a symbol, the relocation has generated considerable cynicism among Blacks as to the motives of government and a suspicion that relocation may be a tool for continued exploitation. With reference to Africville, one Black leader observed:

> "Black people are bitter and hostile and a lot of Black communities now learned of the necessity for them to get together when the Man comes out and starts talking relocation."[3]

An influential militant and politically radical Black leader expressed the cynicism that has become relatively common among Blacks, concerning the liberal welfare rhetoric accompanying the relocation:

> "I think the Man got what he wanted - that land. It was as simple as that. People were allowed to stay there the same as Black folks anywhere; they could stay until the White man decided, Okay, now I want my land back. And the time came, and he said 'Okay nigger, get out!' And all the Black folks had to get out."[4]

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[1]Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, p. 456. Winks is mistaken in reporting that the last building fell to the bulldozers in January 1967.

[2]See Clairmont and Magill, *op. cit.*

[3]Tape-recorded interview, June 1969.

[4]Tape-recorded interview, August 1969.

That Africville, although now non-existent, has become something of a rallying symbol for Blacks, is illustrated by the remarks of one Black leader heavily involved in community organizaing among Nova Scotia Blacks. When he enters a new community to organize the residents there, he discusses the plight of Africville relocatees who lost their community and their land and got little in return. He urges the residents, "Let's pull together, or else we'll be another Africville!"[1]

This cynical critical perspective among many Blacks reflects more than institutional and attitudinal changes in the broader Black Nova Scotian community. As the dust of relocation has cleared, it has become evident to many that the relocation achievements fell far short of the rhetoric accompanying it. Beyond real-estate considerations, City officials did not make a sustained creative effort to provide the new opportunities promised relocatees. This fact has become public knowledge due to the protests of the post-relocation Africville Action Committee, the word-of-mouth communication among Blacks concerning the hardships of some relocatees, and the publicity given City Hall machinations in dealing with "Pa" Miller, the last relocatee. Consequently, many Blacks have concluded that the City must have been primarily interested in obtaining Africville land. Most of the Black leaders interviewed believed that Africville was choice real estate of considerable value to the City. One Black minister reasoned as follows:

> "[the Africville relocation] was something that was planned for years. That's a very ideal locality and I think in the long-range planning of the City of Halifax they looked forward to the day when they were going to move those Negroes because they wanted the area. They didn't do anything to help those people do anything for themselves. It was planned, it was deliberate, and when the time came for them to move them, they moved them."[2]

Another Black leader argued strongly that the choice Africville lands were obtained at a bargain by the City:

> "I am sick about Africville - when I think in terms of a fellow . . . getting five hundred dollars for a home and piece of valuable land and . . . a promise given him by somebody that they are going

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, June 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

to pay [his] furniture bill . . . then those people were fairly manipulated and robbed. If Africville belonged to Jewish people, you would not have got it for ten million dollars. It belonged to Black people, and you got it for something over $100,000 or less."[1]

On the other hand, a Black City official and community leader who came to Halifax after the relocation discounted both the alleged value of the Africville lands and the argument that residents received inadequate compensation:

"I am in a position to state . . . that the City did not take the land because they needed it. The City took the land, Africville was removed, because it was a bloody embarrassment. Up to today [September 9, 1969], we have not been able to use that land . . . Only if containerization goes to Bedford Basin instead of Navy Island will part of that land be of any economic value. . . .

"A substantial number of people had no title to the land and the City gave them settlement far and above a fair market value and the equity situation.

"Again . . . I make the point there was an abscess on the urban landscape, something that was bringing Halifax bad press. People of conscience went into the situation and a half-hearted attempt, a half-hearted program [was initiated]. There was no attempt at retraining and the follow-ups weren't done. It wasn't done as well as it could be done. On the question of the monetary compensation, I do not think that it was as bad. . . .

"I think [the Africville relocation] presented a relocation without, what I would call, human renewal--retraining people and the social programs necessary to make such a thing something of a success."[2]

The Black community's pervasive criticism concerning the City's obtaining valuable Africville lands at bargain prices does not apply usually to specific individual settlements. Informed Black leadership generally acknowledges that,

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969. The relocation cost was approximately six times the figure speculated by interviewees.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

in terms of market prices existing at the time of negotiations, relocatees received fair settlements. Most Black leaders refer, however, to the collective and potential value of the land. It is argued that as long as relocatees held property in Africville, they possessed a scarce waterfront area which could become increasingly valuable as Halifax developed. Not only have the relocatees not received benefits and opportunities communsurate with their needs but, also, as a collectivity they have lost identity, traditional security, and a potential bargaining resource--their lands, with which they might have been able to revive their own sense of community.

The foregoing conception of the relocation identifies the City as the party obtaining profit: it has eliminated "a blot on the urban landscape"; it has, by spreading the relocatees over the county, "eliminated" a problem by making it less visible; and it has gained scarce waterfront lands whose value can be expected to increase.[1] This conception has been deepened by changes in the Nova Scotian Black community and throughout society; as noted earlier, the new mood in the Black community places considerable intrinsic as well as instrumental value on Black identity and on the uniqueness and potential of Black communities. The rise of a counter culture in the broader society, the proliferation of communes, and the demand for meaningful citizen participation have influenced the ordering of criteria on which the Africville relocation is now being assessed by Nova Scotian Black leaders and other citizens. More positive value is being accorded to the small community and to life-style differences. Accordingly, the relocatees are perceived as having lost much and received little. It is in the light of such considerations that one must understand occasional exaggerations concerning land value and occasional idealizations concerning Africville as a community.[2]

At the time the Africville relocation was being planned and implemented, less intrinsic value was ascribed to the small-community style of living. Higher value was placed on racial integration *per se*, and greater stress on universal application of standards. This was the era of the Civil Rights Movement, when the rhetoric of liberalism was very persuasive

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[1]It should be remembered that members of City Council's Africville Subcommittee passed a motion concerning compensation if the resale of the Africville lands yielded a profit for the City. This suggests that some of the members considered the lands to be potentially valuable.

[2]In most instances, exaggerations refer as much to what might have been as to what was.

and the Africville relocation could be credited as a laudable achievement: a segregated "slum" community was obliterated and most property owners received better than market value. It is not surprising that some Blacks listed as a significant achievement of the NSAACP the latter's limited participation in the Africville relocation.[1] Interviewed in 1969, one of the Black caretakers observed:

> *Interviewer:* "Do you see any correlation between the militancy of teen-agers and what happened to Africville?"
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> *Interviewee:* "That is four years ago--kids grow up in four years and thinking and ideas change. Africville was a tough problem. . . . It is very difficult to change the life pattern of all the people--it is probably impossible, so that mistakes definitely were made. The kids might be militant now, but if the kids were adults at the time of history, I don't know if their reaction would have been any different from the adults that had to do with the thing. If the same committee were doing things today, they probably would have done things differently."[2]

In the first part of the 1960's, few Black leaders used the evaluative criteria now common in assessing relocation planning and implementation. "Nationalistic" Black control of voluntary assocations oriented to social change and relegation of racial integration to a position subordinate to economic and cultural considerations was rare.[3] As new-outlook leaders

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[1]See Eugene Williams, "The NSAACP and Education", unpublished M.A. thesis, Maritime School of Social Work (Halifax, N. S., 1969), p. 48.

The NSAACP had actually little to do with the relocation. One of the Black caretakers became President of the NSAACP in late 1962 and, by indirect association, the NSAACP was identified with his involvement.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

[3]One Black leader of this stamp expressed his dissatisfaction with the Africville relocation, and pointed out that his early criticism of the relocation process had resulted in his being labelled a troublemaker. He argued that the price of integration, as exacted by the relocation, was much too high. At the time of relocation his views seemed out of step with the pro-integration and civil-tights oriented younger Black leaders. In

leaders have become more common, a corresponding higher valuation has been accorded the Black community in general, and a greater protectiveness given to its resources. A critical community resource is land. Traditionally, due to racism, Blacks settled on the edge of White towns and villages in Nova Scotia; typically, the Black enclaves were neglected by government. Nowadays, with developing industrialization in certain areas of the province--especially in Halifax County--many Blacks are apprehensive lest their lands be expropriated. Africville is instructive here, not only because of what Blacks perceive as an unfair settlement favourable to the City but, also, because in some Black communities there is (as there was in Africville) a common lack of legal title to land. One Black leader from Preston pointed out the lesson of Africville:

> "Some [people in the community] are learning from [the Africville relocation]. Some of them realize that if they don't pull up their breeches and look into their needs and get their businesses in order, the same thing could happen here that has happened in Africville.
>
> "Halifax cannot expand any further. If there is any expansion in this area, it is going to be in the Dartmouth area and here on number seven highway, and we have a number of Black homes on the main highway; in fact, I think we have one of the few Negro communities in Nova Scotia where Black people are still living on the main highway. If the area expands, if those Black people don't get themselves in order, they are going to be pushed into the roads."[1]

Other Black leaders from neighbouring communities indicated that the Africville relocation has effected a new militancy among Blacks. A young leader in North Preston noted:

> "[The Africville relocation has had an effect] not only on North Preston, but also in other Black communities. They figured that if Africville was gone, people also wondered which community was going next--all the people in North Preston were afraid they would be next. I am quite sure these people want to stand up and fight for their homes."[2]

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the current militant and "nationalistic" period, his views are accepted and influential.

[1]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

A leader from the Black community of Cherry Brook observed:

> "Some of them Blacks on small communities outside Halifax fear that the same thing can happen to them with the way that Africville was done. But one of the things in removing Africville, they have given the people outside in these small communities a fighting spirit in which these people are saying they are not going to do this to me. I am not going to be relocated. The removing of Africville did some good for the communities around here because they are saying now, we don't want this kind of thing, we are not going to have it, and they are trying to do their best to keep what they have."[1]

Some Black leaders contend that a relocation along the lines of the Africville relocation will never occur again in Nova Scotia. Their argument relates not only to the settlement terms of the Africville relocation but, also, to the fact that the Black communities have been developing stronger community organizations; consequently, it is held that the process of future relocations would be materially different. The Africville relocation is seen by the Black leadership to have been decided upon and implemented by outsiders, chiefly White City officials. The relocation social worker is considered to have been a City employee who obviously had to be accountable to the City. Typically, the Black leaders held that unwittingly the Black caretakers were co-opted by the City:

> "Those Black leaders who had some role, no matter how small, in the relocation of Africville were people who might look back now and say, I can see where we were wrong; but at the time they were frightened people who did what they thought was right and best for the community. In later years when you are able to sit back and see that this [or that] could have been done but, at the time, they didn't see it that way--they were frightened by the fear that children would be harmed and [by propaganda about] children dying of typhoid; all this [propaganda] was thrown at them."[2]

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

[2]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

One Black Haligonian, in commenting on the development of community organization, remarked:

> "I feel sorry for the power structure or any White group that would go [into the Black communities, attempting to relocate the people]. This was attempted in Beechville and it was clearly defeated there. I would not want to see a person go into Preston; I think you would have a lot of [aroused] Black people, not only in Preston but all over Nova Scotia. This could not happen again."[1]

A very influential Black leader expressed more stridently the same point:[2]

> "If [Africville residents] had been organized ahead of time, they could have resisted. That's what happened to Beechville. The Black people there said last year when the White man came in and tried to force them off the land, they were prepared to die with guns and shed blood on their land and that is a tremendous point for Black people and I think that is what people need.
>
> "When a man comes out prepared to take their land, they must be prepared to shoot. I always say this, the White man put us out there. When we came here, he said, 'You go out there and don't you come around Barrington Street or Brunswick Street where we are.' He isloated us; he didn't want us near him. [Now] that the land is valuable, he says,'You go into public housing.' And he puts the Black man in a situation that keeps him in servitude for the rest of his life. Therefore, he puts us there, and the land is so valuable we want to build there and stay there. If you want to monkey around with our land, you must be prepared to suffer the consequences."[3]

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

[2]Beechville, a depressed Black community on the outskirts of Halifax, approximated Africville's size. It was considered for relocation, but the residents wanted to remain and build new and better homes. A cooperative was set up and, funded by Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, some residents have obtained new housing in the area.

[3]Tape-recorded interview, June 1969.

The Africville relocation did present the City with an opportunity to redress previous injustice to Blacks. The relocation has been hailed as a step in that direction, but clearly it has not been so perceived by many members of the Black Nova Scotian community. It would be a considerable exaggeration to claim that the relocation effected a new climate either better or worse in race relations. For one thing, climate changes in recent years have other important causes; the new perception of the Africville relocation is more an effect than a cause. Furthermore, in organizing data around one issue and relating it to other themes and developments, usually there is a tendency to overemphasize the data's total significance. Nevertheless, it is not an exaggeration to say that the Africville relocation has angered many Blacks and, by making them sensitive to the rhetoric of liberalism, has contributed to their sense of urgency in organizing themselves. One Black leader expressed succinctly in these words the Africville relocation's key symbolic importance for Nova Scotian Blacks:

> *Interviewer:* "Do you thing [the Africville relocation] could happen now, to another Black community?"
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> *Interviewee:* "That is one thing we are apprehensive of. This is one of the things that causes us to move, because it is my feeling that many of the Black communities are threatened by development, and development is in, here in Nova Scotia. I am not satisfied that our master plan takes into consideration the Black community; all of the maps or plans that I have studied always seem to skip the Black communities. They are not included in the over-all planning; as a consequence, they are left barren and become the municipal dumps, and once they are depreciated to that extent they are bought for little or nothing and the Black people are moved off. So the planning of our people (any program that we set up) must include this whole business of community planning and people who are knowledgeable of the long-term planning . . . so that our communities can be included in the development processes. As the land values [increase], so the land values of the Black land should increase. You see all over the world this whole business of squatters; the land is allowed to depreciate and people are allowed to do whatever they like. Building codes are ignored and health regulations are ignored, until development comes, and then all of a sudden there is a push and they are pushed off. Sometimes it is difficult to awaken people who have lived this

easy way, to warn them of what is coming."[1]

Relocation and Planned Social Change

The Africville relocation, as rationalized in City Council's acceptance of the Rose Report, was supposed to have effected a planned and comprehensive social change. In that perspective, the relocation was an opportunity to restructure the life-style of a particular group of people, to redress long-standing injustices against them, and to bring to bear on their problems a coordinated set of welfare solutions. The planned social change, as we have seen in previous chapters, was less than satisfactory.

Relocation, as planned social change, can have a variety of goals, strategies of implementation, and criteria of assessment. Order can be imposed on diversity in any specific instance by identifying the operative relocation model. Sometimes, public definition can be a reliable indication to a relocation's placement in the typology of relocation models discussed earlier (i.e., development, welfare, political, and traditional). The Africville relocation, in intention, rhetoric, and administrative arrangement, clearly is an example of the welfare model. The relocation's lack of success in effecting significant and positive social change among Africville residents needs to be examined for the insight that it can yield into problems in welfarism and the welfare approach to social change.

One of the most important weaknesses in the Africville relocation was the lack of adequate discussion of the problem situation and the absence of strategy for effecting significant social change among Africville residents. In the Rose Report and other relocation reports, mention is made of educational, occupational and consultancy programs, but no guidance is provided concerning design or implementation of

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, July 1969. Cooperative housing groups have been formed in several Black communities (e.g., Beechville, Cherry Brook, East Preston and North Preston). In discussing a cooperative housing project at North Preston, a reporter noted that "from the outset it was recognized that nothing should be done to upset the sense of community which exists in North Preston." (Howard Hall, "Community Group Active in North Preston", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., July 12, 1969). In the same article, a welfare official is reported as saying: "[The North Preston people] have a sense of community and a sense of identity that provides a basis for sound development."

programs and no analysis that would link specific actions to measurable goals. Yet it is very difficult to alter the life conditions of the poor and the disadvantaged. The problems of such relocatees are usually multifaceted, historically and structurally rooted, and hard to redress. It is easy to rationalize away failure in terms of the attributes of the disadvantaged or their lack of cooperation and unwillingness to change. It is convenient to use temporary expedients or to dodge responsibility. For these reasons a detailed, legally binding plan of action is often imperative. In the absense of this kind of guidance, the Africville relocation program became essentially a matter of real estate negotiation and temporary welfare assistance. In its "relocation contract", the City committed itself to extraordinary measures expressed in empty rhetorical fashion. Expert legal opinion has advised us that, in undertaking the relocation, the City did not commit itself legally to provide educational, occupational and consulting programs.[1] Given that lack of legal commitment, success in achieving the larger ends of relocation (assuming that such an achievement is fully possible within the institutional structure that created the problem in the first place) depended either upon building a strong power of advocacy into the public agency responsible for carrying out the relocation, or upon mobilizing external pressure to conterbalance the ultimately "legalistic" orientation of the City administration. The Africville relocation failed on both counts.

The welfare approach to planned social change invariably confronts the power and conservatism of bureaucracy. The administrator is charged with specific actions by elected officials; it is his task to separate the wheat from the chaff, the specific commitments interpreted legalistically from the emotional and often deceptive rhetoric of policy announcements. In performing this role the bureaucrat, if competent and agressive, commands considerable day-by-day direction over policy. As one elected City official reported in attempting to account for the gap between rhetoric and achievement in the Africville relocation:

> "The elected people are amateurs; they tend to respond to crises and to what is placed before them in terms of staff reports and recommendations. They tend to assume that [the City] staff are looking after implementaion of policies previously adopted . . . There is a certain lack of consistent pressures from the community. As I said earlier, I

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[1]Correspondence with a civil law specialist, Halifax, N. S.

think that those of us who thought about [follow-up] at all, assumed that the welfare operation of the City was responsible for looking after the needs of people wherever they were."[1]

In some instances bureaucracy may subvert publicly announced intentions, but usually it performs its legitimate task more or less efficiently. Criticism of the welfare approach and welfarism, when directed against bureaucrats, often is merely scapegoating that deflects attention from the political system itself and the interests of a power elite.

In the implementation of welfare policies, experts and services alike are coordinated and directed by the responsible government departments. These have their established routines, acknowleged friends and detractors, and, typically, zealously guard against or try to absorb outsiders. On the grounds that the bureaucracy, given its *legal or quasi-legal* mandate, does not effectuate the maximal change possible, a critic might well speak of the "dead hand of bureaucracy" subverting social policy oriented to significant social change. Legislation virtually always allows some scope for policy innovation within administration. As Doern and Aucoin note, "[policy] outputs can be altered not because the bureaucracy is 'inefficient' nor that these outputs are merely the accidental results of the clash of bureaucratic forces. They are often 'rationally' contrived; that is, related to a different set of goals or assumptions later inserted by policy actors, which are just as effectively 'policies' as were the original general statements made by politicians."[2] How the bureaucracy will cope with this innovative possibility depends on its particular guiding philosophy, its existing political realities, and its established routines. Although internal change may occur within government departments, through change in leadership and in the disposition of other personnel, probably the most common source of change is external. Indeed, changes initiated by internal considerations have usually to be justified in terms of external pressure; for example, a new leader or director may justify, in terms of outside demands, a new policy or new departmental structuring.

In the case of the Africville relocation, the City's Welfare Office had little to do with relocation planning and

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, November 1969.

[2]G. Bruce Doern and Peter Aucoin, (eds.) *The Structures of Policy-Making in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1971), p. 5.

execution. That agency developed, over the years, a model of Africville and Africville people that virtually precluded any real change in their life situation. Its director was opposed to the relocation; the policy line (or recommendation) was to urge, although not strongly fight for, extension of regular City services to the Africville community. Welfare assistance, when given, was doled out with a heavy paternalism. There was a celebration of the resourceful Africville residents who could "scrounge out" an existence admist the squalor and garbage dump. Consequently, impetus for the relocation of Africville did not come from the Welfare Office; nor, under the circumstances, was there much likelihood that it would be charged with significant responsibility for relocation.

The City department most interested in the relocation of Africville was the newly established Social Development Department. Seeing Africville as an "environmental disaster" as well as the site of scarce waterfront property important to the City's future growth[1] it provided the impetus for relocation and coordinated all aspects of the relocation program. The relocation officer, a trained social worker hired because of his ability to "get along" with people, was assigned to the Development Department and placed under the immediate supervision of the Development Officer. He coordinated the real estate and welfare components of relocation. The tactic of centralizing under the one City department the relocation administration had, from the point of view of planned social change, several practical advantages. Not only did it appear to offer more creative possibilities than working through the existing Welfare Office but, by facilitating the potential coordination of services and agency functions under the relocation social worker, it makes possible a concerted effort to effect change. The relocation social worker dispensed welfare, arranged relocation transportation, and acted as liaison in making real estate, legal, and other City services available to Africville residents. On the other hand, given the nature of the task discussed above, centralizing the relocation under the Development Department had certain limitations for social change. The Development Department saw the Africville relocation as a

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[1]The editors of *The Mail-Star* also noted the importance of Africville lands to the city's future growth: "Not only is Halifax short of all types of land for industrial purposes, it is especially lacking in waterfront sites which so many businesses need and demand. Providing suitable docking facilities are built, part of this problem will be met when the demolition of Africville is completed." - Editorial, "Plan to Secure More Waterfront Land," *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., July 16, 1964.

short-term, three-year project; special responsibility for the relocatees once the land was cleared of people was not built into the frame of reference or guiding philosophy of the Department. Moreover, the Development Department was, by fixed terms of reference established by Council, a professional, expert-staffed entity oriented to the interests of "the City as a whole". Ideologically, its commitment was to a development model of relocation implicit in these terms of reference. Planned social change in the case of the Africville relocation (for very good reasons, not being handled through welfare-oriented agencies) became, therefore, the responsibility of a different governmental bureaucracy which, while oriented to change, was not likely to emphasize special client-interests, citizen participation, or a long-term commitment to the relocatees' socioeconomic conditions.[1]

Given the bureaucratic arrangements of the Africville relocation, and the normal tendency for a bureaucracy to hover close to its "legal" responsibilities, it is not surprising that the emphasis of the Development Department was on the clearing of land and on real estate negotiations. The relocation social worker became, in effect, more an employee of the Development Department than a liaison officer representing clients in negotiations with a bureaucracy. Initial plans to maintain a separate office at Africville for the social worker were abandoned; he used an office in the Development Department, at City Hall. Relocation transactions were discussed by the social worker and the Development Officer, and the "City's position" communicated to Africville residents. Almost all the social worker's reports to the Africville Subcommittee were first discussed and approved at meetings between him and the Development Officer. In the eyes of most relocation participants, the latter was the relocation social worker's "boss". A major problem of the welfare approach in the instance of the Africville relocation was to build into a non-welfare-oriented agency a commitment to special client interests. A major task of the relocation social worker was to bring this about while in the ambivalent position of being an employee of the agency. Failure to deal successfully with this problem is seen in the lack of effective programs to create new opportunities for relocatees. The relocation became largely a real estate operation, with welfare payments "thrown in" to satisfy

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[1]What the Development Department, from its standpoint, might regard as an unusual degree of consideration to social welfare matters would appear insignificant from the point of view of those familiar with the extremely difficult task of effecting significant social change for such a disadvantaged group within existing institutional arrangements.

the caretakers and to meet community concern that a long-neglected and oppressed people be treated equitably. One City official observed:

> " . . . a certain kind of pressure was brought to bear [on Africville relocatees] . . . in relation to the use of social assistance funds which were available to [the relocation social worker] on some kind of special-arrangement basis. He was able to meet requests for financial assistance. I think in many cases the effect was to soft-pedal or soft-pad the transitional period, to perhaps conceal from people really the full impact of the economic burden and so on which they would have to encounter, making the entire relocation more acceptable to the people and in many respects unrealistic because these funds were terminated with the termination of [the social worker's] employment."[1]

The other way of achieving the larger ends of relocation while operating within the terms of reference established by City Council was to mobilize external pressure that would counterbalance bureaucracy by demanding maximal achievement of the City's moral, if not legal, commitment. Perhaps, too, such pressure could lead to new Council policy and formal adoption of additional explicit responsibilities for implementation, should the relocation experience demonstrate that this was necessary in order to realize welfare goals.

In the Africville relocation, external pressure was expressed institutionally through participation of the three Black caretakers from the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee on the Africville Subcommittee. Their participation and the prior involvement of the larger Committee were significant structural features in the planning and implementation of the Africville relocation and served to define the relocation as a welfare model, although it did not result in achievement of the larger welfare goals of the relocation. The formation of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and its role in examining the City's relocation plan, suggesting alternatives, and seeking expert welfare advice have been discussed at length. Certainly the Committee's involvement in planning for the relocation did much to ensure that a liberal, welfare rhetoric would characterize the relocation program, and that the City would commit itself to developing related programs for effective social change. The Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, and especially the Black caretakers, rendered an important

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[1]Tape-recorded interview, September 1969.

service to Africville residents in terms of relocation settlements, temporary welfare assistance, and City concern for Africville residents awaiting relocation. But once actual negotiation began between the City and relocatees, the external pressure for change was absorbed into day-to-day concern with specific individual settlements and crises. There was little time to focus on the larger picture of relocation and to create programs oriented to long-term objectives. There was no available mechanism by which an "Africville opinion or voice" could be readily identified and assessed. The caretakers and other members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, involved on a part-time, voluntary basis and possessed of few independent resources, naturally relied upon staff reports and initiatives. They found themselves, rather than taking initiatives of their own, responding either to City initiatives or to the few Africville residents who sought their assistance. Given the absence of a strong indigenous Africville organization and the non-involvement of other external organizations, individual problems, requests, and crises could not be channelled effectively through the caretakers into new programs or policies. The nebulous nature of the long-run programs announced initially made it difficult for the caretakers to measure benefits in terms other than the individual settlements, which accordingly increased the caretakers' dependency on staff reports. Their difficulty of "not seeing the forest for the trees" and in keeping abreast of relocation developments is illustrated by their subsequent acknowledged surprise at the absence of a relocation "follow-up".

Apart from lack of time, energy, and resources, the most important reason for the inadequacy of institutionalized external pressure in closing the gap between rhetoric and achievement was the weak linkage to the Afrcville people themsleves. There was little organized Africville involvement in any phase of the relocation, and virtually none once relocation negotiations began. The majority of relocatees had no sense that their individual or collective interests were being advanced by the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. Many more relocatees reported that they depended on the relocation social worker's help or on their ability to bargain well with him. These facts raise important issues concerning the manner in which sources of pressure external to the City government were marshalled in the Africville relocation.

There is major difficulty, generally, in achieving organization among the poor, for their poverty obstructs the development of ramifying and consolidated exchange systems. This often means that the infrastructure requisites for effective indigenous organization are lacking and, accordingly, poor and oppressed groups seek out assistance among middle-class

"liberals". The pattern was especially evident in the Africville situation, where residents had the additional liability of being Black in a somewhat racist society and where they experienced a clash of different social styles within Africville itself. The "natural" bias then, as far as the mobilizing of pressure was concerned, was towards an integrationist-collaborationist strategy. This strategy was encouraged by the civil rights leaders who responded to pleas for assistance from a few residents.

The middle-class professionals, who with the support of a few Africville residents guided the strategy of mobilizing pressure, made some crippling presumptions about life in Africville and about how significant social change could be achieved. That such presumptions were made is related to the ideology of the times, as well as to the scarce time, energy, and resources they could devote to the Africville case. One set of presumptions concerning the nature of Africville (i.e., that it was a slum, that as a segregated community it had become atavistic, that the people were squatters and transients), while not without some foundation in fact, was selective; Africville was not seen as having much value for its residents. By not giving as much weight to positive considerations (e.g., the potential land value, the fact that a number of people owned their own homes, many residents' sense of historical continuity) the well-intentioned outsiders failed to see the Africville people as having a strong base which, if they were well organized, would enable them to bargain from a position of power.

A second and related set of presumptions dealt with how to effect social change, given the nature of the Africville community. It was considered valuable to have middle-class people associate with Africville residents and apply strong moral pressure on the City; in other words, to make sure that the poor had sound, articulate middle-class spokesmen. Middle-class professionals may well be helpful in developing organization among the poor. It does appear that, prior to involving the poor in a larger structure of middle-class people and organizations, it is important that the poor's own organization be strong and viable. Otherwise, what happens is precisely what occurred in the Africville case; as residents saw in the larger organization a veering away from their own specific concerns and their own perceptions of problems, they allowed others "to do things for them" and simply dropped out. The result was lack of identification of relocatees with the caretaker group, so that organized external pressure in the relocation was exerted by a group without roots in Africville and without an Africville mandate.

In an important sense, it is premature to render an evaluation of the Africville relocation. As noted above, a second and even third phase of relocation has been entered into since the Social Planning Department reviewed the relocation project and initiated several programs, and since the formation of the Africville Action Committee. Negotiations continue and programs are being developed and revised by both the Social Planning Department and the Africville Action Committee. One cannot predict precisely what will happen. These post-relocation developments are ameliorative rather than decisive but are, nevertheless, deeply important to the well-being of Africville relocatees and their children. From this phase of the relocation, it is clearly apparent how difficult it is to generate significant social programs for the needy, the poor, and the ill-educated "*within* the system". There have been difficulties in the Africville Action Committee's endeavour to organize former Africville residents and in the Committee's association with the Seaview Credit Union, administered through the Department of Social Planning.

Notwithstanding the present continuation of the relocation program, it is valid to consider the relocation as having been virtually completed upon the departure of the relocation social worker. If the Africville relocation were framed in terms of a development model of planned social change,[1] the relocation might very well be considered successful: land was obtained by the City, in keeping with the needs of a proposed development program. The premium waterfront property, even if currently not being fully utilized, can be expected to appreciate with industrial and port expansion. By relocating Africville residents, the City has rid itself of what some have considered an "environmental disaster" and has overcome the embarrassment of having within its boundaries a distinct, segregated Black community. While this "public benefit" presumably has been achieved, the City can claim also to have treated the relocatees fairly, and even generously, from the standpoint of the market value of individual properties in the period 1964-67. But if the relocation is framed in terms of *a welfare model of planned social change*, as its intention, rhetoric, and structure would indicate, it can hardly be called a success.

Critically viewing the relocation in the latter sense, it seems apparent that several modifications of the relocation apparatus would have increased the probability of an acclaimed success. For one thing, it would have been useful to eliminate some of the ambiguity in the relocation social worker's role and to strengthen his advocacy function by giving him a freer rein

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[1]For discussion of assumptions and stragegies of the development model of relocation, see Chapter I, pp. 24-26.

and independence from any specific City department. Clearly, too, the external advocacy of the caretakers would have been more effective had further resources been available to them. A more detailed and explicit rehabilitation plan would have provided guidelines against which to assess the success of programs designed to improve life-opportunities for the relocatees. Also a greater effort to involve an indigenous Africville organization would have produced different results. It is well-known that it is difficult to generate and maintain a consistent, responsible community organization. This would have been a problem in Africville, but if the rationale of the relocation is that it is "for the people", investment of the necessary time and effort cannot be considered wasteful. The growing demand for citizen organizations and participatory democracy has both normative and pragmatic aspects. It is not only a response to failures in planned social change; it is based on the premise that involvement in decison-making will make relocatees "better citizens". If the inefficiency and squabbling of such structured (and perhaps funded) particpation produces clear hazards to living or threats to the general City interests, a redefinition of the relocation situation with a different and appropriate relocation rhetoric and administrative structure might well be required. Certainly there are different models of planned social change appropriate to different circumstances.

The Africville relocation has been a useful example of planned social change to study. It is typical of many liberal-welfare relocation programs carried out in North America over the past decade. It would be naive to assume that all would have been well had a "follow-up" been built into the basic plan of action; little has resulted so far from the follow-up that was begun in 1968. The examination of the Africville relocation might be less instructive for future planned social change. The social and cultural climate has changed. Given the re-emphasis on the importance of the small community in recent years, the revitalization of concern for subgroup collective identities, and the new emphasis on rehabilitation rather than relocation, what possibility is there of another *Africville* relocation?

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Memorandum from G. F. West, Acting City Manager, to City Council's Africville Sub-committee, July 18, 1967.

Memorandum on Africville Follow-Up Proposal, from S. A. Ward, City Manager, to His Worship the Mayor and Members of the City Council, March 4, 1969.

Press Release on the Africville Relocation program written by Peter J. MacDonald, June 28, 1966.

APPENDIX A

AFRICVILLE

CITY OF HALIFAX

DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT REPORT

JULY 23, 1962

Letter from the Rev. Wrenfred Bryant to Peter MacDonald, July 27, 1967.

Letter from Guy Henson, Director, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, to the Chairman and Members of the Board, Institute of Public Affairs, September 7, 1962.

Letter from Peter MacDonald to Rev. Wrenfred Bryant, September 5, 1967.

Letter from Mrs. Aleka McDonough, Special Projects Supervisor, Office of the Social Planner, City of Halifax, May 5, 1970.

Letter from Dr. F. R. MacKinnon, Deputy Minister, Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare, September 22, 1969.

Letter from Donald F. Maclean, April 1, 1970.

Memorandum from A. Alan Borovoy, Executive Secretary, Toronto and District Labour Committee for Human Rights, to Mr. and Mrs. Peter Edwards, John Anderson, Rev. W. P. Oliver, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Maclean, Fred Brodie, George Davis, Gus Wedderburn, Lloyd Shaw, and Buddy Day, August 1962.

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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 of 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 slope 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 northeastern 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 1100 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 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 for 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, 2, 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.

APPENDIX B

CITY OF HALIFAX

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE COUNCIL

MINUTES

OCTOBER 24, 1962

APPENDIX B

CITY OF HALIFAX

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE COUNCIL

MINUTES

OCTOBER 24, 1962

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE COUNCIL
MINUTES

Council Chamber,
City Hall,
Halifax, Nova Scotia,
October 24, 1962,
3:30 p.m.

A meeting of the Committee of the Whole Council was held on the above date.

There were present His Worship the Mayor, Chairman, and Aldermen DeWolf, Abbott, Lane, Macdonald, Butler, Meagher, LeBlanc, Trainor, Healy and Wyman.

Also present were Messrs. P. F. C. Byars, L. Mitchell, R. H. Stoddard, W. J. Clancey, L. M. Romkey, G. F. West, R. B. Grant, K. Munnich, W. A. Gray and H. B. Jones.

AFRICVILLE

His Worship the Mayor stated that the meeting had been called specially to consider the matter of "Africville," and he referred to the Staff reports, dated July 23, and September 11, 1962, the former of which recommended that five general policies be adopted.

He also referred to the report of the study conducted by the Institute of Public Affairs of Dalhousie University, entitled "The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia," which had recently been submitted.

His Worship the Mayor referred to Page 7 of the Staff report of July 23, 1962, and stated that the opening contention of the Section headed "Conclusions," which follows, is supported by the whole body of law as contained in the City Charter, By-Laws and Regulations of the City:

> "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 was decided to first consider separately, the five recommendations contained in the Staff report, dated July 23, 1962.

Recommendation No. 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.

Alderman Lane asked how soon would alternative housing be available if the families were displaced.

The Development Officer replied that the timing would be dependent upon other steps that have been taken by the City, and the timing of the next phase of the public housing program, after completion of the Westwood Park Project, is difficult to control because of the involvement of the senior levels of Government. He concluded by saying that the timing of the offers to the residents of Africville must be tied to housing projects over which the City has some degree of control.

Alderman Lane commented that the indications are that there are no immediate plans to provide alternative housing for the families which is essential before approving the recommended procedure.

His Worship the Mayor stated that the purpose of the discussions is to determine by what means the necessary alternative accommodation can be made available and the timing depends upon whether or not it will be made available.

Alderman Lane asked if there is any indication in the report of the Institute of Public Affairs of the number of the displaced families who will be in a position to find their own alternative accommodation.

The Development Officer replied that the report did not indicate this, but had laid out for the consideration of Council certain basic principles which, if agreed to, could serve as the background for discussions leading to the exact procedure to be followed in reaching a solution to the problem of Africville.

Recommendation No. 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.

The Development Officer stated that the principle expressed in the Staff report is exactly the principle adopted by City Council with respect to the Uniacke Square Redevelopment Project and the Jacob Street Redevelopment Project, i.e., that the housing offered to the displaced families be of a subsidized nature; and he contended that the difficulties of offering home-ownership as alternate housing are such that no formula has yet been evolved anywhere in Canada or the U.S.A., to implement this kind of program.

His Worship the Mayor observed that it is not possible, under the present Federal Legislation, to provide desegregated housing for any minority group (other than Senior Citizens) with Federal financial assistance.

Alderman Lane stated that all of the complications of the problem are familiar to the members of Council, but the people who live in Africville find it difficult to understand their position and they want to know how much longer they will be permitted to remain in their present dwellings, and whether or not alternative accommodations will be available a year hence, or next month, or if they will have to make immediate plans to relocate.

She referred to an article on the subject of "Africville" in a recent issue of MacLean's Magazine which criticized the Members of Council for its attitude of apathy towards the problem; and she stated that she was anxious to have it manifested that Council will do whatever is necessary to see that action is taken to provide a solution to the problem which will be fair to all concerned.

His Worship the Mayor referred to Page 4 of the Staff report, dated July 22, 1962, which listed three basic approaches which are available to the City, as follows:

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 was agreed by all members that Council could not justify its position of allowing the present contravention of the City Charter, By-Laws and Regulations to continue at Africville, and action must be taken to solve the problem.

Alderman DeWolf contended that all but two of the families in Africville are colored people who would prefer to remain in that area if possible, and he suggested that a portion of the "Industrial Mile" land be used for the construction of a type of housing similar to that being provided by the Senior Citizens' Housing Group, for the residents of Africville, rather than placing them in apartments.

He referred to the statistics quoted in the report of the Institute of Public Affairs which showed that 63% of the families have an income of less than $2,000.00, and he contended that these families neither desire nor can afford the high rents for apartments in the subsidized housing projects; but perhaps the cost of the other type units might be kept low enough to make it economic for them to purchase or rent.

The Development Officer stated that the Federal Government Grant for limited dividend housing loans (for normal project family-type accommodation) is subject to certain conditions, one of which is that the rentals will be such as to meet the needs of the lower third of the income range. The rentals are dependent upon the cost of construction and developers found that it was a difficult problem to provide single family houses because it was necessary to set the rentals in excess of the cost of construction in order to get any return on their investment. Another disadvantage is that in the limited dividend legislation no provision has been made for the subsidization of rentals of families in the lower income groups.

Alderman DeWolf again referred to the report submitted by the Institute of Public Affairs which showed that 35% of the families in Africville have annual incomes under $1,000.00, and he contended that such families cannot pay any rent and that the problem has to be dealt with in an entirely different basis and consideration would have to be given by the three levels of Government to subsidize 100% of the rent in these cases which involve social welfare.

The Development Officer stated that, the implication of the Federal housing legislation is that families which cannot pay rentals on the basis of the minimum income will be required to have their rentals subsidized through welfare agencies.

Alderman Macdonald asked if a survey was made of other settlements outside the City so that a comparison might be made with conditions existing in the various colored communities.

His Worship the Mayor said that he was not aware of any such survey having been made but that from his own observations it was apparent that there are different kinds of conditions in these areas and the differences in economic conditions and job opportunities of the families are reflected in the types of housing which exist.

He concluded by saying that a similar type report would have to be made in the County in order to make a proper comparison.

Alderman Lane said that she had discussed this matter with Mr. Henson, the Director of the Institute of Public Affairs, who had stated that there are just as urgent problems in the other areas, but the Halifax problem is the only one about which anything is being done.

His Worship the Mayor referred to the point raised by Alderman DeWolf of providing individual dwellings for the Africville families on a portion of the Industrial Mile Area and asked him to elaborate further.

Alderman DeWolf stated that he did not subscribe to the answer given by the Development Officer, and he felt that City Council and the other members of the partnership had not given sufficient consideration to the idea of providing satisfactory housing for these families--that is satisfactory to their needs, not necessarily containing central heating; and he suggested that single-family units or semi-detached units of low cost construction near the area where the people are now located might be feasible which would be acceptable to them.

He concluded by saying that this consideration should be given before a final decision is made, as an alternative to the proposal contained in the Staff report.

Alderman Healy suggested that the people in Africville who will have some equity value in their properties would be able to provide accommodation for themselves for less money outside the City since they seem to want to live in isolation.

Recommendation No. 3

Where clear title to land and building rests with the City as a result of recent expropriations, apparent owners as of the date of expropriation be paid a gratuitous payment of $500.00 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.

His Worship the Mayor suggested that rather than fix the compensation at $500.00, that an indication be given that the Council has some empathy for these people and that a reasonable settlement will be arrived at.

Recommendation No. 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 effected through the Courts or by negotiation. Owners who are unable to prove title will be paid a gratuitous payment of $500.00 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.

His Worship the Major stated that the people in this category would have to be put in the same position as the people in No. 3, and the fair market value of the property would have to be paid on expropriation.

Recommendation No. 5

That if recommendations 1, 2, 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.

MOVED by Alderman Lane, seconded by Alderman Butler, that the five recommendations of Staff be accepted in principle and that City Council proceed along these lines unless the results of Recommendation No. 5 indicate a need for some modification to the basic proposal.

Alderman Lane stated that the reason for making the motion is to facilitate the meeting of the various groups mentioned in Recommendation No. 5; and she further stated that she would like to see the principle immediately adopted by Council that the dilapidated structures in Africville be removed and that the Staff Recommendation No. 1 be implemented, compensation offered where it is due and the whole matter acted on as soon as possible. She concluded by saying that if the motion is not acceptable in its present form it could be rephrased.

After further discussion, Alderman Lane, with the consent of her seconder, withdrew her motion.

MOVED by Alderman Wyman, seconded by Alderman DeWolf, as follows:

That Council establish the following general policy:

(a) That the blighted housing and dilapidated structures in the Africville Area should be removed;

(b) That the full legal authority of the City should be used to accomplish this removal;

(c) 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;

(d) That this policy be implemented with the utmost dispatch after its implications are fully conveyed to the residents affected and/or their representatives in consultation with church and welfare organizations.

The motion was passed unanimously.

It was then agreed to hear any person who wished to speak.

Mr. Weatherburn [sic] addressed the meeting, as Chairman of a group of the residents, contending that City Council should have consulted with the residents before passing the motion, and he objected to the wording of the motion because he felt the last part should have been the first part.

After His Worship the Mayor explained that the Committee of the Whole had attempted only to set the machinery in motion to procure the views and wishes of the residents before a final decision is made by Council, Mr. Weatherburn offered no further objection.

Mr. Steed also addressed the meeting, and contended that the provisions of Ordinance No. 50 were never applied to the buildings in Africville and that the Building Inspector has not made an examination of any of the structures. He further stated that people have built houses and other structures in Africville without permits and "no one asked about it."

His Worship the Mayor: "This is a situation you agree we should correct, and this is what we hope we can accomplish with the assistance of yourself and your representatives."

Mr. Fred Brodie, representing the Halifax-Dartmouth and District Trades and Labour Council, addressed the meeting and stated that the Supervisory Committee of his Council were dismayed to learn that a large portion of the Africville Area had been expropriated and most of the residents were unaware of this action, some of whom are still paying taxes on their properties.

He asked that full discussion with the residents of Africville be carried out so that they would be fully aware of all the implications of the proposed action.

His Worship the Mayor assured the speakers that no final decision would be made before the discussions have been held and a report submitted to City Council, and he asked the representatives for their continued support so that a satisfactory solution to the problem could be reached, as soon as possible.

J. E. LLOYD,
MAYOR AND CHAIRMAN.

R. H. STODDARD,
CITY CLERK.

APPENDIX C

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN

R. B. GRANT
DEVELOPMENT OFFICER
CITY OF HALIFAX

AND

GEORGE W. DAVIS
MEMBER
THE HALIFAX HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

NOVEMBER 21, 1962

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His Worship the Mayor assured the speakers that no final decision would be made before discussions have been held and a report submitted to City Council, and he asked the representatives for their continued support so that a satisfactory solution to the problem could be reached, as soon as possible.

J. B. LLOYD,
MAYOR AND CHAIRMAN.

R. H. STODDARD,
CITY CLERK.

bvember 21, 1962

Mr. George W. Davis
Barrister
239 Gottingen Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Dear Mr. Davis:

RE: Africville

I will attempt to outline below th answers to the questions you have raised in respect of Afriville. The questions are dealt with in the order presened by you except in one instance. You will note that I have iven the answer to Question 5 before Question 4. This is doe for simplification as the answer to Question 5 partiallyanswers Question 4.

1. What precisely are the boundaries f Africville?

The area known as Africville has n definitive legal boundaries. For purposes of the City report of July 23, 1962, Africvill is considered to include all the buildings identified by number on Plan No. P500/46 attached. The area would, of course, include the lands which could be legally identified with each and all of the buildings.

There may be some who feel that Africville includes either more or less land and buildings than those illustrated on the plan. The ultimate definition is entirely one of judgment.

2. Why does the City of Halifax want to expropriate Africville?

It is the opinion of the City that most, if not all of the buildings in the area covered by the report could be ordered vacated under the provisions of Section 757 of the City Charter, Ordinance 50, and the statutes pertaining to health and fire protection. In many instances,

the buildings could be ordered demolished. If the various legislative provisions are enforced in their entirety, as is happening in other parts of the City, residents of Africville would, almost without exception be required to find alternative accommodation.

Some residents of the area may have good title to their lands. Others have questionable title while still others could prove no title at all. In view of the title situation and the lack of services, residents of the area would be left with little possibility of developing or disposing of their land. Clouds on title would make it very difficult, if not impossible, to raise funds by way of mortgage loans to assist in rebuilding.

It is the opinion of City Staff that conditions in Africville cannot be brought to the minimum level required by Ordinance 50 through a salvage operation. A copy of Ordinance 50 is attached. Essential services, such as sewer, water, and roads require an orderly arrangement of housing units on an acceptable pattern of public rights-of-way. These services cannot be installed without a complete re-arrangement of structures and of land holdings.

Structures moved, as would be required to permit the installation of essential municipal services, are required to meet the standards of new construction within the City. As you are aware, these standards are considerably higher than those imposed under Ordinance 50. Few, if any, of the existing structures could be brought to the standard required of a new building.

In essence, therefore, the City of Halifax proposes to expropriate the Africville area in order to permit betterment of housing conditions for the residents. In the process, it would expect to clear title for the lands in the area once and for all. This would permit these lands to be re-used in an orderly manner and with all the financial assistance that is normally available from the financial community.

By expropriating the properties, the City would make itself liable for claims for compensation by persons holding title to lands in the area. Such claims would be compensated at full market value. At the same time, possession of clear title to the lands by the City would serve to justify to some extent gratuitous payments to those with no legal but some moral claim of title.

The present proposal is that the lands in the area should ultimately be converted for industrial or commercial use. A major requirement of the City is the requirement for a right-of-way for the proposed new Shore Drive. The proposals for re-use are illustrated on Plan No. P500/44 attached. The re-use proposals for the area may have some slight bearing on a decision to expropriate but the primary reason is the necessity to permit and assist the residents of Africville to comply with the requirements imposed upon the balance of the residents of the City of Halifax.

3. <u>If Africville land is potentially valuable for industrial purposes, will residents of Africville receive high value in return for lands expropriated</u>?

Industrial lands are not normally of high value. Most industries are looking for cheap land and most municipalities welcome such industry in spite of this basic requirement. The economic wellbeing of a community depends upon a vigorous employment factor and industry creates this.

The present uncertainty as to land title in the area would make the land virtually useless for industrial purposes. Industries require clear title before they would consider constructing a plant. They need this clear title to protect themselves and in order to encourage participation in the financing of their operations by lending agencies.

The amounts paid by the City for land is not governed by the potential future use of that land. Payments are based upon the present use of the land and reflect the true market value in use of such lands and buildings.

In order to insure a just settlement for both the City and the owner, independent appraisers are engaged by the City to place a market value on each property. Many owners also engage independent appraisers to establish their value for them. Negotiations are carried forward within the framework of values established by these independent appraisals. In the event that negotiations are unsuccessful, the former owner of an expropriated property has recourse to the Courts for establishment of a just settlement. In view of this, our negotiations reflect the decision of previous court cases.

There will be those in the Africville area who have in fact no legal claim to the land which they occupy. The City recognizes that it could expropriate these properties and have no legal liability for compensation. It has been suggested that a form of gratuitous payment be made to those with a moral claim for compensation. Such payment would not be required to be paid by the Courts.

5. Has tax money been accepted from people who lack titles to the properties that they possess? If so, why?

The answer to the first part of this question is yes. For many years properties in the Africville area were not assessed. The reason for the lack of assessment was the apparent lack of a clear claim of land ownership.

In 1956, after the completion of the Cleminshaw Revaluation of City properties for assessment purposes, the City Assessor became quite concerned about the situation in the Africville area. After consultation with the former City Manager and the former City Solicitor, it was decided that all properties in Africville and indeed throughout the City would be assessed even though no clear title could be established. The basis of assessment was that it would apply only to the buildings. The assessment would be made against the apparent owner of the building. The assessments were in fact made against the persons who claimed to own the building whether these persons could justify their claim or not.

The justification for the assessment was the provision contained in the City Charter that occupants of buildings on lands owned by the City of Halifax or Her Majesty the Queen are liable for real estate taxes on the buildings which they occupy. Most of the roots of title examined by the City indicated that the land was originally owned by the City or Her Majesty. Where clear title was not held by an individual it could well be argued that the last known title was vested in the City or Her Majesty.

4. Why has the City accepted payment of taxes on land which was expropriated in 1957?

The original assessments on the properties which were expropriated by the City in 1957 were placed in accordance with and for the reasons given in answer to your Question 5.

When the City expropriated these lands in 1957 it anticipated a claim for compensation from the Estate of William Carvery. It also anticipated that the buildings and the lands would be cleared in a reasonable period of time. Neither of these events occured.

Assessments against the structures within the area were continued through the year 1960. This continued assessment and any tax collections resulting from the collections are justified on the basis that occupants of structures located on lands owned by the City are, by City Charter, liable for real estate taxes. The assessments were discontinued in the year 1961 on the advice of the then City Solicitor that clear title rested with the City and it was their hope that the lands would be used within a reasonable period of time for industrial development.

6. Why has the assessment of some properties (as reflected in tax bills) decreased during the past few years?

Prior to 1956, assessments in the City of Halifax on residential properties did not closely reflect current market values. In 1956, the J. M. Cleminshaw Company completed a re-assessment programme of all properties within the City. The Cleminshaw Company approach to assessed value was current

market value. This was in accordance with the interpretation of the requirements of the City Charter.

The original assessments in the Africville area were based upon the original Cleminshaw valuations. Shortly after the adoption of the Cleminshaw valuations throughout the City, City Council, as a result of numerous appeals, reduced the Cleminshaw valuations by 15% across the board. The first reduction in assessment in the Africville area, therefore, reflected this 15% reduction.

The net result of the Cleminshaw re-valuation with its slight subsequent reduction by City Council is a very marked increase in the total value of assessed properties in the City of Halifax. The required tax revenue did not change appreciably. The result was that many residential properties and, particularly those in the Africville area, were required to pay substantially less taxes than they would have had to pay prior to re-valuations for assessment purposes. The tax return on residential properties was reduced at this time from $3.72 to $1.50 per $100.00 of residential assessment.

In 1960, the City Assessor's Department did a further re-assessment of all properties. This re-assessment had to take into consideration the provisions of Ordinance 50 which was adopted in 1958. In effect it meant the value of properties which could not conform to the minimum provisions of this ordinance were substantially reduced. The result was that assessments in the Africville area and on some other properties within the City were reduced.

7. Why have not Africville residents been granted permits to improve their dwellings?

It is my understanding that few, if any, of the structures within the area which we have defined as Africville had been built in the first instance under authority of properly approved Building Permits. City records indicate that in the early 1950's approximately sixteen (16) applications were made for Building Permits, twelve of which were for repairs and four for new structures. All but one of the permits were issued as requested.

In latter years the practice of applying for and issuing of Building Permits appears to have reverted to the practice in effect previous to 1950. There appear to be few, if any, Building Permits requested and certainly none have been issued.

If a Building Permit were applied for today it might or might not be issued. The responsibility for issuing such a permit rests with the Building Inspector. The probability is that the Building Inspector would refuse to issue such a permit and his reasons for so doing would be one or both of the following:

1. Properties are not serviced by piped water or piped sewer. It is not the practice in the City of Halifax to issue permits if either of these essential services is missing. The Health Committee is the only authority to issue a permit in the non-use of public sewer.

2. If a building is to be repaired or altered the work done on the building must be sufficient to bring that building to the minimum standards required under Ordinance 50. A Building Permit can only be issued for this type of repair providing the total amount to be expended is not in excess of 50% of the value of the property as determined by the Building Inspector.

   If the cost of repairs or alterations is in excess of 50% of the building as determined by the Building Inspector, the repaired building must meet the standards of construction imposed on all new structures. In effect, it would be the opinion of the Building Inspector that Building Permits could only be issued if the proposed alterations resulted in the new structure meeting new construction standards.

If a Building Permit is applied for and is refused by the Building Inspector the citizen has the right to appeal the Building Inspector's refusal to the Committee on Works of the City Council.

8. <u>What will happen to people who do not have evidence of clear titles to lands which they possess? In what way will they be compensated?</u>

The situation in respect of title in the Africville area appears to fall into three general categories:

(a) Persons who have a paper title to their property.

(b) Persons who have possessory title to their property.

(c) Persons who have no apparent legal claim to title.

Persons in Categories (a) and (b) above are, of course, entitled to full legal compensation for their lands. Any person who has a proven title whether by way of registered deed or through possessory title has a claim against the expropriating authority for just compensation. The City would be required and would, in fact, feel obligated to pay the full market value for these particular properties. These market values would, as previously mentioned, be determined by independent appraisal.

Persons in Category (c) above would not have any legal claim to compensation. The City could, in fact, expropriate these properties and place the onus for proof of ownership on the persons concerned. If these persons could not prove a legal right of ownership, the City would not be required to compensate them.

In view of the fact that there are families in this position in Africville and because of the special consideration being given Africville, the City has taken the position that it may have a moral obligation to pay some compensation in these cases. It has been suggested that those with an apparent ownership but with no legal claim should be made a gratuitous payment of $500 in return for vacant possession of the property.

In essence, the City is prepared and required to compensate at market value any persons with a legal claim to title. A gratuitous payment would only be made to those with an apparent ownership but no legal claim.

9. Does the City intend to buy properties solely in terms of their current assessed values?

The City cannot compensate on the basis of assessed values. These values are not normally accepted by the Courts in determining claims for compensation.

As previously mentioned, compensation to owners with a legal claim is based upon the market value of the property in use. The City's offers to such owners are based upon independent appraisals obtained by the City. In order to insure the fairness of the City's offer, many owners obtain their own independent valuation.

10. Would it be possible for the City to convey to Africville residents a sum of money that would enable them to make down-payments on new homes?

The City normally compensates owners to the full extent of the value of the property taken from them. In the case of Africville, it has been suggested that this normal procedure will be followed. It has been suggested in addition that a gratuitous payment of $500 should be made to those with a moral but no legal claim for compensation.

The amount of money to be paid to the residents of Africville in compensation for properties acquired by the City should, in many instances, be sufficient to make a down-payment on a new home. Persons with a legal claim to a substantial area of land occupied by reasonably large buildings could expect to be paid more than persons with no claim of ownership on either lands or buildings. The gratuitous payment of $500 to those who have no claim on title would not normally be sufficiently large to cover the down-payment on a new home.

11. Would it be possible for Africville residents to be relocated on land near, but separate from, the Industrial Mile area?

The answer to this question falls into two general categories--rental and home ownership. The answers are very complex and involve several fundamental issues. I am attaching for your information a copy of the Uniacke Square Redevelopment Area report which deals in specific terms with these complexities. Outlined below are some general comments:

A. RENTAL

It was suggested in the original report that some of the families in Africville would be unable financially to own new homes of their own or to occupy rental accommodation at full economic rents. These families might in fact wish to take advantage of the subsidized rental housing now being offered by the City to families displaced by redevelopment.

Outlined below are some of the more pertinent points in respect of subsidized rental housing:

1. Rentals are based upon the total income of the family. This total income is considered to be the income of the head of the house, a working wife, resident children over 25, and up to $75 per month of resident children 25 or under who are working. Shelter rentals approximate 20%-21% of the gross family income. The cost of heat, hot water, etc., if supplied, is additional.

2. The subsidized rental projects are constructed in partnership with the Provincial and Federal Governments and are amortized over a period of up to 50 years. The average rental required to be obtained on each unit in the average project in order to meet the costs of operation and to write off the costs of investment is between $85-$90 per month. This does not include the cost of heat, hot water, etc., if these are provided.

3. The Partnership of the Federal-Provincial-Municipal Government is prepared to subsidize each rental housing unit to an average of $25.-$30 per unit per month. The apartments or housing units within the project must, therefore, be rented in such a manner as to attain an average rental return of about $55-$60 per month. This means that for every low income family admitted to the project, a family of higher income must be admitted.

   In order to establish a subsidized rental project for the residents of Africville in the area of Africville, it would be necessary to prove that the incomes of those who wished admission to the project were such as to provide an average rental return, excluding services, of $55-$60 a month. It would seem that such a rent level might be difficult to attain. On the other hand, the lower income people from the Africville area could go into one of the existing or contemplated subsidized rental projects without affecting the rent levels. If these families were unable to meet the average required rental, this average could still be attained by admitting higher income groups from other areas.

B. HOME OWNERSHIP

There may be those in the Africville area who would be interested in re-establishing in homes of their own. It might be possible to find land in the northern part of the City which is zoned for and could be developed for residential use. This would, of course, necessitate the provision of proper streets and municipal services.

There is no way that we have been able to determine in which home ownership can be subsidized with equity to all. The Uniacke Square report deals at some length with this problem. Home owners generally seem to prefer to be able to choose their own location rather than to have such locations imposed by Government. Without subsidization, home owners can probably make a better deal by themselves than they could by proceeding with the direct assistance of any level of Government.

It occurs to me that the questions asked by your Committee tend to emphasize the assessment practices of the City as they apply to the Africville area. Presumably, these questions are directed in an attempt to use the answers in proving title to specific properties. I do not feel, however, that this is the case.

Even if the answers do tend to prove title, I feel your Committee should not lose sight of the fact that assessments are only one part of our taxing procedure. Some time ago we provided you with a list of the tax arrears for Africville. I think you will note from this that the total amount of tax arrears in the area amounts to approximately four times the annual charges. As you are aware, the City has the right to exert tax liens and sell properties at a tax sale where arrears are outstanding.

I could, of course, dwell at much greater length on the answers to some of the questions that you have placed before me. I feel, however, that the answers given are of sufficient length to permit basic consideration by your group. If you require further information, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me.

It is my understanding that you wish to consider these questions with your Committee and with the residents of Africville. Following this, we could arrange for a further meeting with your Committee. I would hope that this further meeting could be arranged reasonably soon as it was my impression that our first meeting was most useful.

Yours very truly,

(signed): R. B. Grant
Development Officer

RBG/meb
Enclosures

APPENDIX D

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN

R. B. GRANT
DEVELOPMENT OFFICER
CITY OF HALIFAX

AND

DONALD F. MACLEAN
SECRETARY
THE HALIFAX HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

JANUARY 22, 1963

It occurs to me that the questions asked by your Committee tend to emphasize the assessment practices of the City as they apply to the Africville area. Presumably, these questions are directed in an attempt to use the answers in proving title to specific properties. I do not feel, however, that this is the case.

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Yours very truly,

(signed): R. B. Grant
Development Officer

RBG/mmb
Enclosures

January 22, 1963

Mr. Donald F. Maclean,
Secretary,
Halifax Advisory Committee
on Human Rights,
5787 Ogilvie Street,
Halifax, N. S.

Dear Mr. Maclean,

I must apologize for the extremely long delay in dealing with your letter of December 17, 1962. However, as I explained during our recent telephone conversation, we have been very busy in recent weeks.

I will attempt to deal with your questions in the order they are presented. My written answers will of necessity be much shorter than the verbal replies which I was able to give at our last meeting. I hope, that the replies will be of use to you.

1. <u>The $500 proposed as compensation, to persons who do not have clear titles, is inadequate; this amount would not make possible the acquisition of alternate accommodation.</u>

An expropriating authority is required to compensate an owner on the value of the property taken. The law does not require that the expropriating authority provide sufficient compensation to re-house the displaced person. After all, that person might choose to re-locate in much more expensive accommodation. The expropriating authority could not, therefore, be expected to accept responsibility for this.

The proposal to pay $500.00 to persons with an apparent ownership, but no legal claim of any sort would be a gratuitous gesture on the part of the City. Strictly speaking the City could expropriate the lands where title is in doubt, and wait for the owners to prove that compensation was due them. The persons who we have suggested should receive $500.00 would not, in this case, be able to justify any claim for any compensation.

I do not think it was the intention that the City would accept the responsibility to re-house all families in the Africville area in new homes of their own. As pointed out in our discussions and in previous talks to your group, subsidization of home ownership is almost impossible to justify.

The proposal to pay $500.00 was, in fact, a proposal to pay some compensation to those who would have no legal claim against the City if their land was expropriated. The question of whether $500.00 is an adequate payment is, of course, debatable, but I do not see where it would be possible to use the cost of alternative accommodation as a basis for measuring the amount of a gratuitous payment.

2. Africville residents do not want to become, in effect, permanent "welfare cases."

I think I am quite safe in saying that no one would like to see Africville residents become permanent "welfare cases."

The City's proposal for relocating residents of Africville, contemplates that all families would be offered accommodation in one of the public housing projects. Many of the families offered this accommodation might choose not to accept it. This, of course, is perfectly within their rights.

The families that do accept accommodation in public housing units would be required to pay rents in accordance with their ability to pay. The ability to pay is determined by their gross family income, which is considered to include the income of the head of the family, a working wife, up to $75.00 a month of the resident children under 25 and all of the income of resident children over 25. The family would be required to pay approximately 20% to 21% of this gross family income as monthly rent. If services, such as heat and hot water are provided to the tenants, the tenants would, of course, be required to pay their fair share of this.

The minimum rental chargeable in Mulgrave Park ranges from $24.00 to $32.00 per month, depending upon the size of the family, for shelter. To this must be added the cost of the services provided, which at this level of rental would run about $12.00 per month.

Unemployed families, or families with incomes below that which will permit the minimum rental payment may be eligible for welfare assistance in meeting their rents. It is hoped that most families requiring welfare would require it on a temporary basis. Inevitably a few families may find themselves on continous welfare but it would be hoped that the improved housing would permit families to better their job opportunities.

It has been noted throughout the country that average rentals within public housing projects increase by about $1.50 per unit per month, each year and this of course is a reflection of the increased average earning powers of the families.

3. Africville residents want to continue to live near a church building of their own.

If the church property is acquired by the City, the City would be required to pay compensation for it. The congregation would, therefore, have an amount of money available to it for the replacement of the building.

The City's position is that the families from the Africville area will be offered housing units within the various City-owned projects. It was proposed during our last meeting that possibly a special subsidized rental project could be built for the residents of Africville. It was pointed out that there were financial reasons why this would be almost impossible.

Public housing units are built in partnership with the Federal and Provincial Governments. The housing units cost from $12,000 to $14,000 each and require an average rental of between $85.00 and $90.00 per unit per month to break even. The Partnership agrees to subsidize these units to the extent of $25.00 to $30.00 per unit per month but the balance of the costs of operations must be met by the tenants.

The tenants in any project would be required to pay an average of $55.00 to $60.00 per month with the lower income tenants paying less and the higher income tenants paying more. It is doubtful if the Africville group could manage these average rentals. It seems likely that they would have to depend upon other groups of wage earners within the City to insure that the average rental is met.

From what I have been told, it seems unlikely that all the residents of Africville would be able to establish a complete new community on a home ownership basis within the City. Some residents may, in fact, be willing and able to obtain new homes of their own, others may wish to take advantage of the City's offer of alternative accommodation in public housing projects.

It seems very unlikely that it would be possible to re-establish a church for the exclusive use and within the immediate area of relocation of Africville residents. Inevitably, there will be some movement of families to different locations. The congregation should, however, have funds available to it to assist in the provision of a new church if they so desire.

4. Africville residents want clarification of the City's stated view that the City's principal reason for deciding to expropriate Africville is to remove substandard dwellings, and want to know to what extent a desire to obtain Africville for industrial use was a factor in the City's decision.

I gather from this question that there may be a feeling among some residents of Africville that the principal reason for acquiring the area is to permit the City to promote industrial development.

The principal reason for the proposed action in the Africville area is to remove the substandard dwellings. I think most members of your Committee will agree that almost all of the occupied buildings in the area are at variance with the standards of occupancy established for the City. The dwellings could be ordered vacated or removed under one or the other of several statutes and ordinances. If Africville were not unique in terms of its history, it is quite probable that this would have been done already and the families required to find new housing on their own.

If City action were taken to remove the properties, the City might well take the position that it was the owners responsibility to realize what they could from the disposal of their land. Because of the uncertainty of title it is doubtful whether many people would be interested in acquiring these lands. The owners would be hard put to re-use the lands themselves in accordance with the By-laws of the City, because the uncertainty

of title would almost definitely preclude mortgage loans which would be necessary in order to permit the erection of satisfactory structures.

The City's proposal is therefore, to remove the structures and by acquiring the properties, place themselves in a position to compensate the owners. Expropriation by the City or by some other Government appears to be the only way in which land titles in the area can be cleared.

The present plans of the City call for the construction of a limited access roadway from the Nova Scotian Hotel to the Fairview Overpass. This roadway passes directly through the Africville area and many of the properties would have to be acquired in order to construct this road. The construction of that portion of the road running through Africville, however, is something that is not likely to take place for quite a number of years.

Some of the land in the Africville area proposed for acquisition is tentatively zoned for industrial use. Industry creates employment and because of this, all cities must be interested in the establishment of industry. There is not at this moment a demand for this land for industrial purposes. If the land is to be used for the purpose suggested, the City would have to create the demand and there is no certainty that this can be done.

5. <u>The City has indicated that Africville has no designated boundaries. What are the boundaries of Africville, as an electoral polling district</u>?

As I mentioned during our two meetings, Africville is not a legal entity and as such has no legal boundaries. It is a community within the legal boundaries of the City of Halifax and is in the same legal category as say Westmount and other areas of a like nature. While these areas have, in the course of their history, acquired a name, this name has no significance in legal terms.

I am attaching a City plan on which we have outlined Electoral Polling Districts Nos. 201A and 205. The Polling Districts 201A and 205 are described as the lands within the boundaries outlined on the plan, but excluding therefrom the area known as Africville which is in Polling District No. 204. We have been

unable to locate a polling district boundary description of the Africville area and we understand that this polling district is set up by a list of names only.

It does not appear that there is a plan showing the electoral polling district of Africville.

6. Why are lands for prospective industrial use not deemed to be high in value?

The principal reason that industrial lands are not deemed to be high in value is, of course, the fact that industry is just not prepared to pay high prices, and finds that it does not have to.

Industry provides the economic support for most communities. It creates the primary employment on which the community depends for its livelihood.

Industry is highly competitive. Land costs and municipal taxes can have a very important bearing on the ability of an industry to compete. If these costs are so high that the industry cannot compete, the industry has no alternative but to cease operations.

Industries are aware of their value to a community. Most communities are also aware of this value. New industries will therefore locate in the areas where they are given the best deal, and there is a competition amongst the communities to get these industries. Many communities provide land virtually free of charge in order to attract potential employers in the industrial field.

7. What City service is received in return for taxes paid on Africville properties?

The 1960 tax roll contains 39 assessments for the Africville area. The total tax levied on these 39 properties amounted to $1,598.68. The total taxes owing on properties assessed in the Africville area as at August 29, 1962 amounts to $6,392.24. Tax arrears in the Africville area are, therefore, approximately four times the 1962 tax levy.

The services provided by the City for the Africville area fall into two main categories. These are:

Welfare

Schools

Other services are provided on a much more limited basis.

The Commissioner of Health and Welfare indicates that the City is paying between $9,500.00 and $10,000.00 to residents of the Africville area by way of welfare assistance. This represents about 10% of the total amount of welfare payments made by the City during the year.

There are approximately 112 youngsters attending City schools from the Africville area. It costs the City approximately $285.93 per pupil per year. The total cost of schooling is, therefore, $32,024.16. In addition, the City provides school buses at an annual cost of $2,850.00.

In summary, therefore, the City levies taxes on the Africville area at the rate of about $1,600.00 a year. In return for that portion of this levy which is collected, the City provides services estimated to cost $44,874.16.

8. Who were the Africville residents who received building or alteration permits in the period immediately prior to 1950?

I am attaching a list of the building permits issued in Africville. This list shows the name of the person to whom the permit was issued and the date of issuance. [To maintain confidentiality, the list is not included in this report on the Africville Relocation.]

9. Why are assessed values not regarded, by the courts, as a basis for compensation upon expropriation?

The valuation of properties for assessment purposes differ from municipality to municipality. In some places, assessments are based upon market value, in other places reproduction value and in still other places rental value. Some municipalities follow the practice of establishing the assessed value at a percentage of one or the other types of value outlined above.

In the City of Halifax, assessed value is defined in the City Charter as market value. Every attempt is made to meet the requirements of the Charter. Nevertheless, it seems almost inevitable that there will be variations between the value for assessment purposes

and the value which a person might expect to receive if his property were offered for sale.

I suppose one of the principal reasons that the courts do not recognize assessed value in determining settlement is the fact that adjustments of assessed values tend to lag behind market conditions. The market value of a property is the value mutually agreeable to a willing buyer and a willing seller. The value is at the date of purchase and could be a somewhat different value at a somewhat different time.

The assessed value is a value placed by the assessor as at a given time. It is adjusted periodically, but certainly not on a daily basis. At the time of adjustment, it would reflect trends in the value of the property. It might not reflect the value placed upon the property by a willing buyer at a given time. The essential purpose of assessment is not to create absolute value, but is to create a reasonable value in relation to all other properties within an area or City.

In other words, assessed value could be less or more than actual market value and still serve its purpose. Assessment valuations are intended to assure equality of treatment in respect to taxes.

It is at least partly for the reasons given that the courts do not recognize assessed value in determining compensation. Because of this, the City compensates on the basis of market value as determined by independent real estate appraisers.

10. <u>What is the minimum rent paid in City-owned multiple-housing developments</u>?

The answer to this question is partially given in the answers to questions 2 and 3.

Public housing projects are managed by the Housing Authority of Halifax. The rents chargeable by the Housing Authority are laid down in a schedule to an agreement between the Federal-Provincial Partnership and the Housing Authority. A copy of the rental scale is attached to this letter.

The rents commence on the basis of a minimum family income of $150.00 per month. Persons below this income are required to pay as if they were in receipt of this income. You will see from an examination of

the scale that rents vary depending upon income and depending upon the number of children. You will also note that when incomes exceed $325.00 per month, rents are charged at the rate applicable to $325.00 per month plus 30% of the income over this amount.

The rental scale covers shelter rental only. Where the tenant provides all services as at Bayers Road, no additional charge is made. In Mulgrave Park, heat, hot water, water, stoves, refrigerators, etc. are supplied to the tenant by the Authority. At Mulgrave Park, tenants pay an additional 38% of their shelter rental to cover the cost of the services provided.

11. Is all of the land area of Africville designated for industrial purposes? If not, could Africville residents be relocated on land in the vicinity of Africville?

With one small exception, the land occupied by structures designated on the plan with which we provided you previously, is required for use for street improvements or is planned for industrial re-use. There is a very tiny area on the southern boundary which might be considered a residential re-use.

The difficulty of re-establishing the community in the area would appear to hinge more on the financial capabilities of the community rather than on the availability of land.

A new single family house built to the minimum standards required by the City of Halifax could not be put in place for less than $8,000.00. This I think is the absolute minimum price and the probability is that construction and land costs would go somewhat higher.

If the new house were constructed under the provisions of the National Housing Act, and the best terms were obtained, a down payment of $800.00 would be required to be made by the new owner. The remainder of the cost could be financed by a mortgage over 35 years. Monthly payments to repay this mortgage would be as follows:

Principal & Interest	$ 43.05
Taxes	15.00
TOTAL	$ 58.05

This example illustrates the best possible financial terms for home ownership. The probable monthly costs and down payments would be considerably higher.

In the answer to one of the earlier questions, I dealt with the question of a subsidized rental project for Africville residents only. In my previous answer I indicated that it would be necessary for the tenants of such a project to be able to pay an average of $55.00 to $60.00 per month. This would mean that the average tenant in the project would be required to have a family income between $250.00 and $270.00 per month. It is unlikely that such an average income could be obtained.

Integration of the Africville group in other public housing projects would not create the same problem. If the incomes of Africville are below the average required, and I believe that this is so, admissions of other families at higher incomes would permit the project to attain the required average rental.

12. Will special provision be made for the accommodation of unemployable widows and pensioners who are unable to pay the full amount of minimum rents?

This question has already been answered in part.

It is a requirement of the City's agreement with its Federal and Provincial Partners that a minimum rent be charged for any apartment or housing unit within a public housing project. This minimum rental is based upon a family income of $150.00 per month.

A review of the rental scale attached will indicate that the minimum shelter rental ranges from $24.00 to $32.00 per month depending upon the size of the family. The cost of services is, of course, additional to this. If an occupant is unemployed and is unable to pay his rent, assistance is available to him from the City Welfare Department. The applicant for assistance must, of course, be able to prove to welfare authorities that help is needed and justified.

13. Will the City include, in the terms of expropriation, a clause to the effect that if expropriated lands are not sold for industrial use by a specified date, the people from whom they were expropriated will retain a right to re-acquire the lands for an amount not greater than the amount for which they were expropriated?

I suppose it would be possible for the City to include a buy-back provision in its terms of acquisition. I would think personally that the inclusion of this clause is unlikely.

The City is proposing to acquire the properties primarily to remove the blighted structures and to create a situation whereby the owners can realize a cash return on their properties. If the City was not prepared to acquire the properties, it could still order removal of the properties and let the owners or apparent owners attempt to dispose or re-use the lands. The chaotic state of title would make this virtually impossible.

The City realizes that acquisition of the lands will mean an out-of-pocket expenditure that may not be realized upon by the City for many years. A large portion of the land for example is required for the limited access Shore Drive, but actual construction of this street at this point could be postponed for many years. It seems apparent that it will be needed ultimately.

It may be that at some time in the future, the balance of the lands will be required for other than industrial purposes. Industry may not be attracted to the site and the land may be required for purposes not now foreseen.

The City proposes, and is in fact required, to pay market value for properties acquired. In this case, it is proposed that the owners be fully compensated under law. It is further proposed that some recognition be given to those who have no legal claim.

In view of all the circumstances, I think it would be unlikely that the City would be prepared to agree to a buy-back arrangement between the present owners and the City.

14. Would it be feasible to organize a co-operative housing project on land in the vicinity of Africville?

I think the possibility of establishing a co-operative housing project would be best investigated with the Nova Scotia Housing Commission. All co-operative housing projects in Nova Scotia are financed through this Commission.

The first requirement for a co-operative housing project would be, of course, the provision of a satisfactory site. Undoubtedly, sufficient land of a residential nature could be assembled in the northern portion of the City for a small project. The Nova Scotia Housing Commission do I believe, have certain restrictions on land costs and these restrictions might be a limiting factor.

Co-operative housing projects have been successful in Nova Scotia and have certainly been responsible for providing homes for many people. Some savings in the total construction cost are possible, but it is usually at the expense of considerable personal labour by the home owner.

I had some experience of co-operative housing in Newfoundland. It was largely agreed in Newfoundland, that a reduction of $1,000 to $1,500 in cost could be attained by co-operative effort. It was also their experience that this cost saving was attained by almost two years of constant work by the members of the co-operative group. The usual hours worked in Newfoundland would be every evening and on Saturdays for the two year period.

I hope that my remarks may be of use to you. It would, of course, be possible to go on at much greater length on any of the questions asked, but I hope my answers have been sufficiently clear to permit your further consideration.

At our last meeting it was agreed that we would meet with the residents of Africville in the fairly near future. Unfortunately the pressure of other work has not permitted this meeting to this time. However, the pressures have eased somewhat and we would be prepared to meet with the Africville group at a mutually convenient time.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) R. B. Grant
Development Officer

RBG/jl
Enclosures

APPENDIX E

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN

THE HALIFAX HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

AND

HIS WORSHIP THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN
CITY OF HALIFAX

SEPTEMBER 6, 1963

The first requirement for a co-operative housing project would be, of course, the provision of a satisfactory site. Undoubtedly, sufficient land of a residential nature could be assembled in the northern portion of the City for a small project. The Nova Scotia Housing Commission do I believe, have certain restrictions on land costs and these restrictions might be a limiting factor.

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Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) R. B. Grant
Development Officer

RBG/jl
Enclosures

Halifax
Nova Scotia
September 6, 1963

His Worship the Mayor
and Aldermen
City of Halifax
Nova Scotia

Your Worship,
Madam, and Gentlemen:

The Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights submits for consideration by City Council the following statement prepared in the interests of the residents of Africville, whose future has been for some time a concern of City Council.

The Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights is a volunteer non-delegate group consisting of residents of Africville and citizens living elsewhere in Halifax and its vicinity. The Committee was formed in August 1962, at the invitation of several residents of Africville, to advise in matters related to an anticipated clearance of the Africville land area for industrial use. A list of the Committee's eighteen members is appended.

The Committee has met approximately sixteen times on its own, including two meetings at which City staff members were present; once at City Hall, with representatives of City Council or City staff; and five times at Africville, where public meetings were conducted by the Chairman of the Committee and at which, on one occasion, City staff members were present.

It is clear that residents of Africville have a strong sense of community. A survey which the Committee conducted, through personal interviews, with one adult member in each of sixty-nine of the approximately eighty families living in Africville, indicates that the average adult has lived in Africville for thirty-five years. In reply to the question, "If Africville is expropriated, what kind of housing would you like to have, and <u>where</u>?", most respondents indicated that they would prefer to live in the north end of the City and definitely in single-family dwellings with low down-payments and low monthly repayments.

It is clear, also, that residents of Africville vary in their ability to provide acceptable housing accommodation for themselves. The Committee submits that there are at least

two possible means by which acceptable housing might be made available:

(1) By the formation of a limited-dividend housing company on a non-profit basis (under Section 16 of the National Housing Act) for the advantage of Africville residents financially able to benefit from such a formation:

(2) By the construction of high-density housing on the upper slopes of Africville, provided by the City of Halifax in agreement with a corporate body (under provisions of the Municipal Corporation Supplementary Powers Act, 1954) to be made available to persons displaced through the redevelopment program anticipated for the Africville area and, regardless of race, to other citizens of Halifax.

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's recommendation is submitted for the reasons intimated above and, also, in the knowledge of an outstanding report published in 1958 by Dr. Albert Rose, Professor of Social Work, University of Toronto, of Canada's first extensive experiment in slum-clearance and urban redevelopment: Regent Park, Toronto. Dr. Rose's report, a record of

social and administrative significance, impresses the Committee that a study of like calibre would yield similar far-reaching solutions for Africville. A biographical statement about Dr. Rose is appended.

Yours very truly,

THE HALIFAX ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON HUMAN RIGHTS

(Signed) H. A. J. Wedderburn
CHAIRMAN

(Signed) Donald F. Maclean
SECRETARY
5787 Ogilvie Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia

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DR. ALBERT ROSE

Professor of Social Work
University of Toronto

Dr. Albert Rose graduated in 1939 as a gold medallist in the Honours Political Science and Economics course at the University of Toronto, and he received his Ph.D. three years later from the University of Illinois. From 1943 to 1945 he served with the Canadian Army, after which he held the post of Research Director of the Welfare Council of Toronto until, in 1948, he joined the staff of the School of Social Work, University of Toronto, where he is now Professor of Social Work.

Dr. Rose has been associated with the Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, the Canadian Welfare Council, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and the Community Planning Association of Canada.

Dr. Rose has published a number of significant reports on various aspects of housing and metropolitan planning, including An Experimental Study of Local Housing Conditions and Needs, submitted to Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation in 1953, and his principal study, Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance, published in 1958.

APPENDIX F

REPORT OF A VISIT TO HALIFAX WITH PARTICULAR RESPECT TO AFRICVILLE

NOVEMBER 24-26, 1963

DR. ALBERT ROSE
PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL WORK
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

APPENDIX F

REPORT OF A VISIT TO HALIFAX WITH PARTICULAR
RESPECT TO AFRICVILLE

NOVEMBER 24-26, 1963

DR. ALBERT ROSE
PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL WORK
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

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 Committe 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 Conditions 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) Mr. Donald F. Maclean)	-	Institute of Public 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 Maclean's 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 replanning 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 the 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 25-30 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 interest 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 Civil 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 of Halifax 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 re-development. 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.) Dr. Albert Rose.

University of Toronto,
December 6, 1963.

APPENDIX G

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN
THE HALIFAX HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

AND

HIS WORSHIP THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN
CITY OF HALIFAX

JANUARY 10, 1964

Halifax,
Nova Scotia
January 10, 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 <u>further</u> 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 the 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
5787 Ogilvie Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia

APPENDIX H

CITY OF HALIFAX

DOCUMENT OUTLINING THE BUREAUCRATIC FRAMEWORK
FOR THE AFRICVILLE RELOCATION

INTRODUCTION

On January 16, 1964, City Council approved of the recommendations contained within a Staff report, dated July 23, 1963, and a report prepared by Doctor Albert Rose in respect of the relocation of the Africville community. In essence, the City in approving the reports committed itself to compensate the residents of the area for all legal and moral claims to ownership of the property, to provide alternative housing at reasonable rentals, and to provide guidance to the residents on matters of employment and education.

In order to insure that the City's commitments to the residents were fully met, the City accepted Doctor Rose's recommendation to appoint a full time Social Worker to be responsible for all aspects of the movement of the community. In addition, City Council appointed a Sub-committee of Council to assist in the relocation programme. The full time Social Worker, Mr. Peter J. MacDonald, was appointed to City Staff with effect June 1, 1964. In the intervening time, Mr. MacDonald has been familiarizing himself with City procedures and with background information which led to the actions taken by Council.

This report will attempt to set forth a detailed course of action which should lead to the orderly relocation of the Africville community by December 31, 1966, the date established by Council as the completion date for the move.

THE FUNCTION OF THE COUNCIL SUB-COMMITTEE

The Terms of Reference of the Council Sub-committee have not been established.

The original motion of Council which preceded the appointments suggested that a committee consisting of Members of Council, Staff, and the Advisory Committee on Human Rights should be established. It was apparently the intention that this Committee would be a working committee dealing with all aspects of each particular case. If this suggestion is carried through, it would almost mean that the Committee would meet on a daily basis. Certainly, it would have to be a very active committee to achieve results. It would place very heavy burdens on the Members of Council and Members of the Advisory Committee appointed to it.

Since only Council Members were appointed to the Sub--committee, the principal function of the Sub-committee mighht be to advise Council and Staff on policy and procedural mattters. From time to time, the Sub-committee might meet with Stafff and with the Advisory Committee on Human Rights and indeeed with individual residents of the community. Generally speahking, however, these meetings could be on broad issues rathaer than specific cases. Otherwise, the Sub-committee would find itself involved in almost daily discussions.

TTHE FUNCTION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The Advisory Committee on Human Rights has been very closely associated with the Africville situation since the original recommendations for the movement of the community were made to City Council in July, 1962.

Members of the Advisory Committee on Human Rights represent a broad segment of the total community. The Committee itself has worked hard and have a real appreciation of the problems of the community and the desire of the City to improve the lot of the average Africville resident. During the detailed studies which followed the original Staff recommendations, the Committee spent many hours with the residents of Africville and with Staff and others explaining the proposals and investigating possible alternative solutions. The Committee was instrumental in recommending the appointment of Doctor Albert Rose, who subsequently confirmed the Staff recommendations and added procedural recommendations of his own.

It appears essential that the Advisory Committee on Human Rights continue to occupy a prominent position during the gradual relocation of the Africville community. The committee can insure that the City's commitments to the community are carried out and, at the same time, can assist the City in explaining to the residents the implications of and the actions which will be carried out by the City.

It is suggested, therefore, that the position of the Advisory Committee on Human Rights be fully recognized and that Staff be authorized to contact this Committee at any time for information purposes and for purposes of explaining any proposal. It is further suggested that all settlements which are effected with individual residents of the community be processed through the Sub-committee of Council and from there to the Advisory Committee on Human Rights before submission to City Council for formal ratification. There may be instances where the residents would not wish their affairs to be dealt with by the Advisory Committee and, of course, in these cases, it would not be possible to follow the suggested procedure.

THE ACQUISITION OF PROPERTIES AND COMPENSATION TO OWNERS

There are a number of instances in the Africville community where residents have a reasonably clear title to their properties either by deed or by possession. It has been generally agreed that in these instances, the City will recognize title, will attempt to remove or circumvent any clouds on title, and will compensate the owner to the full value of the property. In instances where clear or reasonably clear title to the property is obvious, the price paid for the properties can best be determined by independent appraisals with appropriate adjustments where necessary to recognize individual circumstances of a particular family.

In the great majority of cases, it appears that clear or reasonably clear title cannot be established. City Staff recommended in the report of July, 1962, that compensation to these persons, who did not possess title but were the apparent owners of property, should be established at a flat $500. Doctor Rose suggested that this $500 would not recognize the circumstances of many families and suggested that compensation be based upon the size, marital status, and individual circumstances of each family. This flexible approach to compensation may create some difficulties in administration but can be worked out as each case is thoroughly investigated. Compensation to the residents of the Africville area, whether it applies to properties with clear title or reasonably clear title or to properties where no title is evident, will, in fact be of two types. There will be compensation for land and buildings and there will be allowances made to assist in the relocation of the family. It has been suggested that compensation of the latter type might best be in the form of regular payments for a period of time or specific payments for such items as refrigerators or furniture rather than a lump sum payment at the date of settlement. It is felt that this proposal has merit and it is suggested that negotiations should be directed towards this approach with each family.

It has been agreed that on obtaining vacant possession of a property, the City will arrange for and accept the cost of demolition. The Commissioner of Works has indicated that these demolitions can be undertaken by City forces.

GUIDANCE TO FAMILIES WHO HAVE MOVED

The responsibility for the relocation of the Africville community has been placed with the Development Department

and iin order to insure that all of the City's commitments are met, a full time Social Worker has been employed. At the same time,, some residents of the Africville community are now receiiving welfare assistance through the City's Welfare Department..

In order to avoid overlapping of responsibilities and to avvoid the establishment of precedents which could be difficult to deny at a later date, it is suggested that the Welfare Departtment accept responsibility for continued assistance to the AAfricville community until such time as individual properties are acquired. Immediately upon acquisition of each particular property, responsibility for all forms of assistance and guidarance should become the responsibility of the Development Departtment and should remain the responsibility of that Department ffor as long as the commitment to the individual family existss.

Generally speaking, the City appears to have committed itself to a programme of assistance and guidance for a minimum period of six months from the date of movement of the family. It is, however, anticipated that the total movement of the communinity will take place over a period to December 31, 1966 and it seems logical that guidance should be given for such a period as appears necessary. At the end of the guidance period, the resesponsibility for any assistance would be returned to the Welfarere Department.

In addition to the question of compensation and social assistarance and housing, the City has accepted a responsibility to assisist on matters of employment and education. Many residents of the Africville community are now employed in regular jobs. Others depend for their livelihood on casual employment and some in fact depend upon the City dump for their principal source of livelelihood. Some initial contacts have been made with firms to deterermine if jobs can be obtained and the response has been reasonabably favourable.

It has also been suggested that consideration should be given to the establishment of a co-operative salvage company among reresidents of the Africville community. Such a co-operative salvage company could be established and the Company could be licensed to salvage on the dump thus creating a source of livelihood on a a legal basis after the residents have been moved from the area.a. This suggestion appears to be worthy of further investigagation.

No attempts have yet been made to investigate the need for or the possibility of educational assistance to families

in the area. City commitments in this respect can probably best be dealt with on a case basis as circumstances indicate.

HOUSING

The City has committed itself to offer decent, safe, and sanitary rental housing to all families from the Africville area. It has made no commitment to providing homes for individuals.

The pattern of action taken by families in the Africville area will undoubtedly parallel the patterns of action which have taken place within redevelopment areas. Some families will wish to obtain their settlement and make their own arrangements for housing. In these cases, the City can only make an offer for alternative accommodation and, if the individual family chooses to refuse it, then the City is no longer responsible for this matter. Other families will wish to accept the City's offer of alternative accommodation and the City will then be responsible for providing this accommodation.

The Advisory Committee on Human Rights has expressed concern about families seeking their own accommodation permitting themselves to become involved in very disadvantageous contracts. It has been suggested that both the Advisory Committee on Human Rights and the City should do all possible to advise and assist these people to avoid costly mistakes. In view of the overall commitments of the City to assist in the orderly relocation of families from Africville, it is considered that this suggestion is reasonable and the City should be prepared to provide such guidance and advice as is reasonable in each circumstance.

Families who wish to take advantage of the City's offer of decent rental accommodation can be housed in either public housing projects or in City-owned properties within redevelopment areas. An additional supply of public housing will not be available until 1965 but, in the meantime, vacancies do occur from time to time and it is hoped that some of these vacancies will be available to Africville residents. A direct liaison has been established with the Housing Authority of Halifax insuring maximum co-operation in this regard.

If housing is not immediately available in a public housing project, it is anticipated that sufficient vacancies will occur in City-owned properties in redevelopment areas to permit an orderly move of the family from the Africville area. Families can remain in these City-owned housing units until public housing can be made available to them or until the family of its own volition decides to obtain alternative accommodation on its own.

In order to assist in the movement of families from Africville to other housing, it is suggested that the City should accept responsibility for the movement of furniture from Africville to any point within five miles of the present City Limits.

CONCLUSION

During the past few weeks, numerous discussions have taken place with residents and/or apparent owners of property in the Africville area. As anticipated, these discussions have revealed a very complex social and legal situation. It is obvious that, with few exceptions, each case will necessitate very detailed examinations. The final decisions in each case will undoubtedly differ to a considerable degree depending on individual circumstances.

The residents of the Africville area have, on many occasions, indicated their concern that the City carry forward its commitments. There is a feeling that the City has in the past failed to meet its obligations. This feeling may or may not be justified but in any case it is suggested that all agreements with families in the Africville area must be thoroughly documented both as to timing and to extent in order that there may be no misunderstanding in future. Thorough documentation should provide the measure of confidence to the residents which will insure greatest co-operation.

It has been indicated that each case will have to stand on its own merits. It is felt, however, that approval of these guidelines set forth within this report will permit City Staff to proceed with negotiations with the Africville residents. Some negotiations are now in process and, while many details have yet to be worked out, a final settlement will best be concluded when the general approach has been agreed to.

If Members of the Sub-committee agree to the contents of this report, it is suggested that the report itself be submitted to the Advisory Committee on Human Rights for consideration prior to submission to Council.

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RELOCATION OFFICIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

June 25, 1969

AFRICVILLE RELOCATION STUDY

QUESTIONNAIRE 1: FOR RELOCATION OFFICIAL

Instructions:

1. Answer each open-ended question with as much detail as possible. Questionnaires for husband and wife are together and questions about the "family unit" should be answered on one questionnaire.

2. If a question cannot be answered because you do not know the answer, indicate by writing "DON'T KNOW" beside the question.

3. If the question cannot be answered because you are uncertain or cannot recall the answer, indicate by writing "UNSURE" beside the question.

4. If the question does not apply to the relocatee, leave it blank.

QUESTIONNAIRE CHECKED BY .....

CODE NUMBER .....

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. (CODE NUMBER _____

2. MARITAL STATUS

_____Married	_____Separated
_____Single	_____Common-law
_____Widow(er)	_____Cohabitation
_____Divorced	

3. IF FEMALE, WHAT WAS HER MAIDEN NAME?

4. NUMBER OF CHILDREN_____

5. IF RELATIONSHIP WAS COMMON-LAW OR COHABITATION, HOW WAS THE RELATIONSHIP VIEWED FOR PURPOSES OF SETTLEMENT?

6. EDUCATION

_____Last grade completed in shcool
_____Trade training
_____Other (specify)_____

7. ESTIMATED AGE

_____ 16 - 25
_____ 26 - 30
_____ 31 - 40
_____ 41 - 50
_____ over 50

8. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION _____

9. BORN IN AFRICVILLE?

_____Yes _____No

10. HOW MANY YEARS DID RELOCATEE LIVE IN AFRICVILLE PRIOR TO RELOCATION?

11. IF NOT NATIVE-BORN AFRICVILLER, WHAT IS THE COMMUNITY OF BIRTH?

12. FOREFATHERS BORN IN AFRICVILLE (Indicate by "yes", "No", or "D.K.")

_____ Mother	_____ Grandfather
_____ Father	_____ Great Grandmother
_____ Grandmother	_____ Great Grandfather

13. RESIDENT STATUS

_____ Permanent
_____ Sporadic (occasional geographic movement in and out of Africville)

14. SOURCE OF INCOME (Check as many items as necessary)

_____ Welfare
_____ Pension
_____ Full-time job
_____ Part-time job
_____ Other (specify) _____

15. TYPE OF WORKER

_____ Steady
_____ Sporadic

16. TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT (List various types of jobs; specify if full-time or part-time)

_____ _____
(major type of employment

17. NAME OF MAJOR EMPLOYER, IF ANY _____

18. HOW MANY MILES FROM AFRICVILLE DID THE RELOCATEE HAVE TO TRAVEL TO WORK? _____

19. PRIOR TO THE TIME YOU BECAME THE RELOCATION OFFICIAL, WAS THE RELOCATEE -

_____ Often on welfare assistance
_____ Sometimes on welfare assistance
_____ Never on welfare assistance

20. IF ON WELFARE ASSISTANCE PRIOR TO THE TIME YOU BECAME THE RELOCATION OFFICIAL, SPECIFY THE TYPE OF ASSISTANCE THAT WAS RECEIVED AND WHY IT WAS RECEIVED

21. WHILE RESIDING IN AFRICVILLE, DID THE RELOCATEE HAVE ANY HEALTH PROBLEMS?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If Yes, what type of health problems?

22. WHILE RESIDING IN AFRICVILLE, WHAT TYPE OF "SOCIAL PROBLEMS", IF ANY, WERE CHARACTERISTIC OF THIS RELOCATEE?

23. WHILE RESIDING IN AFRICVILLE, WHO WERE THE RELOCATEE"S THREE CLOSEST FRIENDS THAT HE/SHE INTERACTED WITH ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS? (Don't include relatives.)

24. WHAT WERE THE IMPLICATIONS (ADVANTAGES, DISADVANTAGES, RECIPROCITIES) OF THE ABOVE FRIENDSHIPS IN QUESTION 23?

25. WHILE RESIDING IN AFRICVILLE, WHO WERE THE RELOCATEE'S THREE CLOSEST RELATIVES THAT HE/SHE INTERACTED WITH ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS? (State name and relationship.)

26. WHAT WERE THE IMPLICATIONS (ADVANTAGES, DISADVANTAGES, RECIPROCITIES) OF THE ABOVE FRIENDSHIPS?

27. WHILE RESIDING IN AFRICVILLE, WAS THIS RELOCATEE INVOLVED IN ANY MAJOR FEUDS OR CLEAVAGES?

_____ Yes _____ No

If Yes, briefly explain _____

RELOCATION PROCEDURE

28. HOW WILLING WAS THIS RELOCATEE TO MOVE?

_____ Very willing _____ Unwilling
_____ Willing _____ Very unwilling
_____ Somewhat willing

29. HOW EASY WAS IT TO RELOCATE THIS INDIVIDUAL?

_____ Very easy _____ Difficult
_____ Easy _____ Very difficult

30. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU BELIEVE THE RELOCATION IMPROVED THE OVERALL LIFE CONDITIONS AND LIFE STYLE OF THE RELOCATEE?

_____ Quite a lot _____ A little
_____ Some _____ None

31. IF LIFE CONDITIONS AND LIFE STYLE DID IMPROVE AS A RESULT OF THE RELOCATION, PLEASE SPECIFY WHAT CONDITIONS AND LIFE STYLE IMPROVED AND HOW THEY IMPROVED.

32. TO WHAT EXTENT DID YOU BELIEVE THE RELOCATION HARMED THE OVERALL LIFE CONDITIONS AND LIFE STYLE OF THE RELOCATEE?

_____ Quite a lot _____ A little
_____ Some _____ None

33. IF LIFE CONDITIONS AND LIFE STYLE WERE HARMED AS A RESULT AS A RESULT OF THE RELOCATION, PLEASE SPECIFY WHAT CONDITIONS AND LIFE STYLE WERE HARMED AND HOW THEY WERE HARMED.

REWARDS AND COSTS OF RELOCATION

ANY MOVE INVOLVES "COSTS" AND "REWARDS". ON THIS PAGE WE HAVE LISTED SOME OF THESE COSTS AND REWARDS. FROM YOUR POINT OF VIEW AS A RELOCATION OFFICIAL, WOULD YOU PLEASE RANK NUMERICALLY (FROM HIGHEST TO LOWEST) THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THESE FACTORS FOR THE RELOCATEE. FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES, IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT YOU OUTLINE ANY OTHER COSTS AND REWARDS IN THE SPACE PROVIDED AND RANK THEM WITH THE FACTORS YOU CHECK. (DO NOT CHECK FACTORS WHICH DO NOT APPLY.)

34. C O S T S

_____ Financial

_____ Loss of home ownership

_____ Changes in household composition

_____ Loss of "contact" and "nearness" to friends and relatives

_____ Grief (emotional attachment to area)

_____ Emotional stress generated by disruption of daily life routine

_____ Emotional stress generated by adjustment to new community

_____ Loss of status in Africville organizations and/or voluntary associations

_____ Distance to travel to work

_____ Other

35. R E W A R D S

_____ Financial

_____ Better housing conditions

_____ Better employment conditions

35. (continued)

_____ Closeness to services

_____ Changes in household composition

_____ "Escape" from friends and relatives

_____ Better neighbourly relations

_____ Improved educational facilities for children

_____ Improved "moral" standards of the new community

_____ Other

36. ON HOW MANY SEPARATE OCCASIONS DID YOU DISCUSS THE RELOCATION WITH THE RELOCATEE? (PLEASE ESTIMATE AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE.)

37. WHO INITIATED THESE DISCUSSIONS?

_____ Mostly the Relocatee
_____ Mostly the Relocation Official

38. IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE, LIST THE FACTORS WHICH HINDERED RELOCATION FOR THIS RELOCATEE:

39. IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE, LIST THE FACTORS WHICH FACILITATED RELOCATION FOR THIS RELOCATEE:

40. DID THIS RELOCATEE HAVE PROBLEMS FINDING HOUSING BEFORE HE/SHE MOVED?

_____ Yes _____ No

Explain why you checked "Yes" or "No" _____

41. WHAT TYPE OF ASSISTANCE DID OTHERS (HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE, YOUR ASSISTANT, ETC.) GIVE THIS RELOCATEE IN FINDING HOUSING?

42. WHO WAS MAINLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE HOUSING FOUND BY THE RELOCATEE:

_____ The relocatee
_____ Your assistance
_____ Human Rights Committee
_____ Real Estate agent
_____ Other (specify) _____

43. FOR THIS RELOCATEE, HOW WAS THE SETTLEMENT VALUE DETERMINED?

44. FOR THIS RELOCATEE, HOW WAS THE FURNITURE ALLOWANCE DETERMINED?

45. DESCRIBE THE TYPE OF HOME THE RELOCATEE MOVED INTO AFTER THE RELOCATION.

46. WHILE YOU WERE THE RELOCATION OFFICIAL, DID YOU ARRANGE FOR ANY TYPE OF WELFARE ASSISTANCE FOR THE POTENTIAL RELOCATEE?

_____ Yes _____ No

If Yes, what type of welfare assistance?

47. WAS THE HEAD OF THE RELOCATEE'S HOUSEHOLD

_____ A male _____ A female

48. DID YOU FIND THAT THE OPERATING CONDITIONS OF YOUR WORK WERE SUCH THAT YOU SPENT MOST OF YOUR TIME DISCUSSING THE RELOCATION WITH:

_____ The male of the household
_____ The female of the household
_____ Roughly equal discussion with both male and female of the household

49. WHO WAS THE EFFECTIVE DECISION-MAKER IN THE RELOCATEE'S HOUSEHOLD WITH RESPECT TO RELOCATION NEGOTIATIONS? (Elaborate)

RELOCATION STRATEGIES

50. THERE ARE MANY "STRATEGIES" THAT A RELOCATION OFFICIAL CAN USE WHILE ASSISTING A POTENTIAL RELOCATEE. WOULD YOU CHECK WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING STRATEGIES YOU MAY HAVE USED WITH THE RELOCATEE—ALSO PLEASE LIST ANY OTHER STRATEGIES IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

_____ Myths or misinformation to overcome

_____ Granted appeals by relocatee for special benefit

_____ Emphasized apparent gains the relocatee might get from relocation; e.g., better conditions for children

50. (continued)

_____ Comparing relocatee's potential settlement with the settlement of other relocatees

_____ Third parties called in to facilitate the settlement

_____ Using individuals in Africville favourable to relocation to encourage the relocatee to move

_____ Persuasive argument used to convince the relocatee to move

_____ Legal techniques used to convince the relocatee to move

_____ Other

51. DESCRIBE THE STRATEGIES USED BY THE RELOCATEE IN THE RELOCATION NEGOTIATIONS:

52. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

Name _____ Relationship _____

53. KINSHIP RELATIONSHIPS IN AFRICVILLE (Name the relatives living in Africville prior to the relocation)

CIRCLE ANY IRREGULAR RELATIONSHIPS; e.g., Stepfather, Half-brother, etc.

Paternal Grandfather _____	Paternal Grandmother _____
Maternal Grandfather _____	Maternal Grandmother _____
Mother _____	Father _____
Sisters _____	Brothers _____
Daughters (not residing at home) _____	Sons (not residing at home) _____
Aunts _____	Uncles _____
Nephews _____	Nieces _____
Cousins _____	

HOUSING IN AFRICVILLE

54. DID RELOCATEE LIVE IN HOUSE AS

_____ Owner
_____ Renter of home
_____ Boarder
_____ Guest
_____ Other (Specify)_____

NOTE: DO NOT ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ON HOUSING FOR BOARDERS OR GUESTS

55. TYPE

_____ Single detatched
_____ Two story
_____ One and one-half story

56. WHEN BUILT

_____ Before 1920
_____ 1920 - 1945
_____ 1946 - 1959
_____ 1960 - 1965

57. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN HOUSE

_____ Less than 1 year
_____ 1 - 2 years
_____ 3 - 5 years
_____ 6 - 10 years
_____ 11 - 20 years
_____ more than 20 years

58. NUMBER OF ROOMS _____

59. NUMBER OF BEDROOMS _____

60. NUMBER OF PEOPLE LIVING IN THE HOUSE _____

61. DID HOUSING HAVE (Check all items that apply to the house)

_____ Full foundation with basement
_____ Foundation without basement
_____ Neither foundation nor basement
_____ Brick chimney
_____ Pre-fabricated chimney
_____ Shingles or permanent siding

62. WHAT WAS THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE?

_____ Brick
_____ Wood
_____ Tarpaper shack
_____ Other (specify)_____

63. WAS THERE RUNNING WATER IN THE HOUSE?

_____ Yes
_____ No

64. WAS THERE A WELL ON THE PROPERTY?

_____ Yes
_____ No

65. DID THE HOUSE HAVE INSTALLED TUB OR SHOWER?

_____ Yes
_____ No

66. WHAT WERE THE TOILET FACILITIES?

_____ One flush toilet
_____ Two or more flush toilets
_____ Chemical toilet
_____ Outside privy
_____ None

67. WHAT TYPE OF SEWAGE DISPOSAL WAS USED?

_____ Septic tank or cesspool
_____ Other (specify)____

68. WHAT TYPE OF HEATING EQUIPMENT WAS USED?

_____ Steam or hot-water furnace
_____ Hot-air furnace
_____ Heating stove
_____ Cook stove
_____ Space heater
_____ Other (specify)____
_____ None

69. DID THE HOUSE HAVE ELECTRICITY?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If No, how was the house lighted?

70. WHAT WAS THE PRINCIPAL HEATING FUEL?

_____ Coal
_____ Coke
_____ Wood
_____ Oil
_____ Bottled Gas
_____ Electricity

71. WAS THERE A TELEVISION RECEIVING SET IN THE HOUSE?

_____ None
_____ One
_____ Two or more

72. WAS THERE A RADIO IN THE HOUSE?

_____ None
_____ One
_____ Two or more

73. WAS THERE A TELEPHONE IN THE HOUSE?

_____ Yes
_____ No

74. WAS THERE A REFRIGERATOR IN THE HOUSE?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If No, what means was used for storing perishable foods?

75. WHAT WERE THE HOUSEKEEPING STANDARDS OF THE HOUSE?

_____ Excellent
_____ Very neat
_____ Neat
_____ Poor
_____ Very poor

76. WHAT WERE THE MAINTENANCE STANDARDS OF THE BUILDING?

_____ Excellent
_____ Very neat
_____ Neat
_____ Poor
_____ Very poor

77. WHAT WAS THE MAJOR MEANS OF PERSONAL TRANSPORTATION?

_____ Car
_____ Truck
_____ None

78. DID THIS INDIVIDUAL OWN:

_____ The land on which the house was located
_____ The house
_____ House and land

79. IF THIS INDIVIDUAL DID NOT OWN THE PROPERTY, WHO DID?

80. WAS DEED TO THE PROPERTY AVAILABLE?

_____ Yes
_____ No

81. WAS THIS INDIVIDUAL LIVING ON A PIECE OF PROPERTY WHERE OWNERSHIP WAS UNCERTAIN?

_____ Yes
_____ No

82. DID THE INDIVIDUAL'S FOREFATHERS HAVE A DEED?

_____ Yes
_____ No

APPENDIX J

AFRICVILLE RELOCATION QUESTIONNAIRE

C O N F I D E N T I A L

September 1969

AFRICVILLE RELOCATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Relocatee _____

Address _____

Code Number _____

Name of Interviewer _____

Date interview was completed _____

PRE-LOCATION

FIRST OF ALL I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT THINGS BEFORE THE RELOCATION. THIS WOULD HELP US TO BETTER UNDERSTAND SOME OF THE EFFECTS OF THE RELOCATION

1. WERE YOU BORN INTO AFRICVILLE?

_____ Yes _____ No

If No, where were you born?

_____ _____
City Province

IF NOT BORN IN AFRICVILLE ASK:

HOW LONG DID YOU LIVE IN AFRICVILLE? _____

WHERE DID YOU LIVE BEFORE MOVING TO AFRICVILLE? _____

ABOUT HOW MANY DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES DID YOU LIVE IN FOR MORE THAN A YEAR BEFORE MOVING TO AFRICVILLE? _____
(Number)

WHY DID YOU MOVE TO AFRICVILLE?

WHAT ABOUT ANY OF THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

Married someone living in Africville	Yes___	No___
Low-cost housing available in Africville	Yes___	No___
Had relatives living in Africville	Yes___	No___
Had friends living in Africville	Yes___	No___
Faced discrimination elsewhere	Yes___	No___
Easier to make out in Africville	Yes___	No___

2. SINCE YOU LIVED IN AFRICVILLE DID YOU MOVE AROUND AT ALL IN AND OUT OF THE COMMUNITY?

_____ Yes _____ No

If Yes, ask:

WHERE WERE THE PLACES AND HOW LONG DID YOU STAY

Place _____ Length of residence _____

IN GENERAL, WHY DID YOU LEAVE AFRICVILLE? _____

DID YOU LEAVE AFRICVILLE FOR ANY OF THE FOLLOWING REASONS?

To get better housing and facilities	Yes____	No____
To seek employment elsewhere	Yes____	No____
To join relatives/friends elsewhere	Yes____	No____
Because of a dislike for some of the Africville neighbours	Yes____	No____

IN GENERAL, WHY DID YOU RETURN TO AFRICVILLE?_____

DID YOU RETURN TO AFRICVILLE FOR ANY OF THE FOLLOWING REASONS?

Needed low-cost housing	Yes____	No____
Homesick for life in Africville	Yes____	No____
Because couldn't get along financially elsewhere	Yes____	No____
Disliked the people elsewhere	Yes____	No____

3. WHAT TYPE OF WORK DID YOUR FATHER DO MOST OF HIS LIFE?

WERE ANY OF YOUR FOLLOWING RELATIVES BORN INTO OR LIVED IN AFRICVILLE?

	Born into Africville	Not born into but lived there
Mother	_____	_____
Mother's father	_____	_____
Mother's mother	_____	_____
Mother's grandmothers	_____	_____
Mother's grandfathers	_____	_____
Father	_____	_____
Father's mother	_____	_____
Father's father	_____	_____
Father's grandmothers	_____	_____
Father's grandfathers	_____	_____

INTERVIEWER NOTE

FOR ALL THE ABOVE RELATIVES WHO WERE NOT BORN INTO AFRICVILLE BUT WHO LIVED THERE, ASK THE RESPONDENT THE SUPPLEMENTAL QUESTIONS. IF THERE ARE NO SUCH RELATIVES, PROCEED WITH THE INTERVIEW.

SUPPLEMENTAL SHEET - NUMBER ONE

RELATION TO RESPONDENT _____

WHERE DID THE RELATIVE COME TO AFRICVILLE FROM? _____

WHY DO YOU THINK HE OR SHE CAME TO AFRICVILLE?_____

WHAT ABOUT ANY OF THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

Married someone living in Africville	Yes____	No____
Low-cost housing available in Africville	Yes____	No____
Had relatives living in Africville	Yes____	No____
Had friends living in Africville	Yes____	No____
Faced discrimination elsewhere	Yes____	No____
Easier to make out in Africville	Yes____	No____

4. WHAT DID YOU LIKE BEST ABOUT LIVING IN AFRICVILLE?

WHAT ABOUT ANY OF THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

Lots of space, the view, closeness to water	Yes____	No____
Low-cost housing	Yes____	No____
The friendly people	Yes____	No____
Freedom to do what you wanted	Yes____	No____
Could make out through fishing, salvaging	Yes____	No____

5. WHAT DID YOU DISLIKE MOST ABOUT LIVING IN AFRICVILLE?

WHAT ABOUT ANY OF THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

The cold in the winter, the (geographical) location	Yes____	No____
The lack of facilities	Yes____	No____
Some of the people who lived there	Yes____	No____
Outsiders who visited or drove through the community	Yes____	No____
The dump	Yes____	No____
The stigma	Yes____	No____
The segregation	Yes____	No____

6. SOME PEOPLE SAID AFRICVILLE WAS A SLUM. WHAT DO YOU THINK? (Record as closely verbatim as possible)

7. HOW DID YOU FEEL WHEN YOU LIVED IN AFRICVILLE?

_____ Did you feel that you really belonged there?

_____ Did you feel you didn't belong there as much as some other people?

_____ Did you feel that you didn't belong there at all?

8. HOW OFTEN DID YOU ATTEND THE SEAVIEW CHURCH IN AFRICVILLE?

Regularly _____ Occasionally _____

Hardly ever, or not at all _____

WERE YOU BAPTIZED?_____

DID YOU EVER SEE A BAPTISM IN AFRICVILLE? Yes____ No____

DID YOU EVER SEE THE SUNRISE SERVICE? Yes____ No____

9. WE KNOW THAT SOME OF THE PEOPLE IN AFRICVILLE HAD LONG ROOTS THERE AND THAT OTHERS MIGRATED WITHIN THE PAST 25-30 YEARS TO AFRICVILLE. ALSO, PEOPLE LIVED IN DIFFERENT AREAS IN AFRICVILLE SUCH AS "AROUND THE TURN" AND "DOWN IN THE BASIN". CONSIDERING ALL THE DIFFERENCES LIKE THESE, DID YOU THINK OF OTHER AFRICVILLE RESIDENTS AS BEING PRETTY MUCH LIKE YOURSELF IN THEIR FEELINGS AND THOUGHTS? (Record as closely verbatim as possible)

10. BEFORE THE RELOCATION DID YOU EVER THINK ABOUT MOVING OUT OF AFRICVILLE?

_____ Yes _____ No

If Yes to above question, ask:

HOW OFTEN DID YOU THINK ABOUT MOVING?

A lot _____ Rarely _____

Sometimes _____

WHY DID YOU THINK ABOUT MOVING OUT _____

11. WE UNDERSTAND THAT JUST BEFORE THE RELOCATION IN 1964, MANY PEOPLE IN AFRICVILLE HAD MANY RELATIVES LIVING IN THE COMMUNITY. AT THAT TIME, HOW MANY OF THE FOLLOWING BLOOD RELATIVES DID YOU HAVE LIVING IN AFRICVILLE?

(Note to Interviewer: Stress that these are respondent's blood relatives. If the respondent cannot give the exact number, ask for the closest guess, but first, always ask for the exact number.)

Brothers_____ Sisters_____ Parents_____

Children_____ Aunts_____ Uncles_____

Nieces/nephews___ Grandmothers_____ Grandfathers_____

(Record the number of relatives beside each kinship category)

12. IF RESPONDENT HAD BLOOD RELATIVES IN AFRICVILLE PRIOR TO 1964, ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTION:

WHEN YOU LIVED IN AFRICVILLE, HOW DID YOU AND YOUR BLOOD RELATIVES HELP ONE ANOTHER?

DID YOU HELP ONE ANOTHER IN ANY OF THE FOLLOWING WAYS?

Looking after one another's children for long periods of time	Yes ____	No ____
Providing housing accommodations	Yes ____	No ____
Share food with one another	Yes ____	No ____
Loaned money to one another	Yes ____	No ____

13. ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ONLY TO THOSE <u>WITH NO</u> BLOOD RELATIVES IN AFRICVILLE.

WHAT KIN(SHIP) GROUP DID YOU <u>MOSTLY</u> HANG AROUND WITH?

WHAT ABOUT THE FOLLOWING FAMILIES?

the Carverys	Yes ____	No ____
the Howes	Yes ____	No ____
the Flints	Yes ____	No ____
the Byers	Yes ____	No ____
the Dixons	Yes ____	No ____

<u>IF RESPONDENT INDICATES JUST ONE OR TWO KINSHIP GROUPINGS ASK:</u>

HOW DID YOU HELP ONE ANOTHER? _____

DID YOU HELP ONE ANOTHER IN ANY OF THE FOLLOWING WAYS?

Looking after one another's children for long periods of time	Yes ____	No ____
Providing housing accommodations	Yes ____	No ____
Share food with one another	Yes ____	No ____
Loaned money to one another	Yes ____	No ____

ASK THE QUESTIONS ON THIS PAGE ONLY UPON INSTRUCTION FROM THE RESEARCH OFFICE

14. HOW MANY OF YOUR (WIFE'S) (HUSBAND'S) BLOOD RELATIVES LIVED IN AFRICVILLE PRIOR TO THE RELOCATION IN 1964?

(Note to Interviewer: If the respondent cannot give the exact number, ask for the closest guess, but first, always ask for the exact number.)

Brothers _____ Uncles _____

Sisters _____ Nieces/Nephews _____

Parents _____ Grandmothers _____

Children _____ Grandfathers _____

Aunts _____

(Record the number of relatives beside each kinship category)

15. IF RESPONDENT'S (WIFE) (HUSBAND) HAD RELATIVES IN AFRICVILLE PRIOR TO 1964, ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTION:

WHEN YOU LIVED IN AFRICVILLE HOW DID YOU AND YOUR (WIFE'S) (HUSBAND'S) BLOOD RELATIVES HELP ONE ANOTHER?

DID YOU HELP ONE ANOTHER IN ANY OF THE FOLLOWING WAYS?

Looking after one another's children for long periods of time Yes____ No____

Providing housing accommodations Yes____ No____

Share food with one another Yes____ No____

Loaned money to one another Yes____ No____

16. WHO WERE YOUR THREE CLOSEST FRIENDS (NOT RELATIVES) THAT YOU MET WITH DAILY IN AFRICVILLE?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

WHAT KIND OF HELP DID YOU GIVE ONE ANOTHER?

DID YOU HELP ONE ANOTHER IN ANY OF THE FOLLOWING WAYS?

Looking after one another's children for long periods of time Yes____ No____

Providing housing accommodations Yes____ No____

Share food with one another Yes____ No____

Loaned money to one another Yes____ No____

17. HOW FRIENDLY DID YOU FIND MOST PEOPLE IN AFRICVILLE TO BE?

Very friendly _____ Unfriendly _____

Somewhat friendly _____ Quite unfriendly _____

18. HOW TRUSTWORTHY DID YOU FIND MOST PEOPLE IN AFRICVILLE TO BE?

Very trustworthy _____ Untrustworthy _____

Somewhat trustworthy ____ Quite untrustworthy _____

RELOCATION PROCESS

THESE NEXT FEW QUESTIONS ASK ABOUT THE RELOCATION FROM AFRICVILLE

1. HOW DID YOU FIRST HEAR ABOUT THE RELOCATION?

2. BEFORE YOU FIRST HEARD ABOUT THE RELOCATION PROGRAM HAD YOU EXPECTED TO BE MOVED FROM AFRICVILLE BY THE CITY?

_____ Yes _____ No

IF YES TO THE ABOVE QUESTION, ASK:

WHY DID YOU EXPECT TO BE MOVED BY THE CITY?

DID YOU EXPECT YOU MIGHT BE MOVED FOR ANY OF THE FOLLOWING REASONS?

The city had expropriated some of the Africville land in 1957 Yes____ No____

Knew the city needed the Africville land Yes____ No____

Some of the Africville residents were trying to get the city to relocate the people Yes____ No____

3. WHAT WAS YOUR REACTION WHEN YOU REALIZED THAT RELOCATION WAS GOING TO TAKE PLACE?

4. WHAT WAS YOUR REACTION WHEN THE FIRST FAMILIES STARTED TO MOVE OUT?

5. HOW WILLING WERE YOU TO BE RELOCATED FROM AFRICVILLE?

Very willing _____ Unwilling _____

Willing _____ Very unwilling _____

Somewhat willing _____

6. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING WOULD BEST DESCRIBE HOW YOU ACTED ONCE YOU KNEW FOR CERTAIN THAT AFRICVILLE WOULD BE RELOCATED:

_____ I knew I couldn't do anything about it and went along with being relocated.
_____ I didn't care much one way or the other.
_____ I fought hard against the whole idea of relocation.
_____ I figured relocation would take place so I tried hard to get the best deal for myself and my family.

7. BEFORE THE FIRST FAMILIES STARTED TO MOVE OUT OF AFRICVILLE, WERE THERE ANY GENERAL MEETINGS HELD IN AFRICVILLE TO DISCUSS THE RELOCATION?

_____ Yes _____ No

IF YES TO THE QUESTION ASK:

PURPOSE OF MEETING	DID YOU ATTEND?
_____	_____ Yes _____ No

IF RESPONDENT ATTENDED ANY MEETINGS ASK:

WERE THESE MEETINGS OF ANY HELP TO YOU?

IF IRESPONDENT DID NOT ATTEND ANY MEETINGS ASK:

WHY DIDN'T YOU ATTEND ANY OF THESE MEETINGS?

DID YOU NOT ATTEND FOR ANY OF THESE REASONS?

Did not feel you could buck the ciity government ____Yes ____No

Did not feel you really belonged too Africville ____Yes ____No

Did not feel you had anything to prrotect ____Yes ____No

8. WHENN THE CITY RELOCATED AFRICVILLE DID IT PROVIDE ANY OF THE FOLLOWING SERVICES FOR THE PEOPLE WHO MOVED?

Type: of Service	If Yes, did you use them?
Legall services before reloocation	
_____ Yes _____ No	_____ Yes _____ No
Legall services after reloccation	
_____ Yes _____ No	_____ Yes _____ No

Real estate appraisals

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Yes _____ No

Help in finding housing

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Yes _____ No

Help in obtaining employment

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Yes _____ No

Providing transportation from Africville

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Yes _____ No

Welfare assistance

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Yes _____ No

Family counselling

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Yes _____ No

9. WHO WAS ALBERT ROSE?

DID YOU EVER HEAR OF THE ROSE REPORT?

_____ Yes _____ No

DID YOU EVER HEAR OR SEE ALBERT ROSE?

_____ Yes _____ No

WHAT DID HE HAVE TO DO WITH THE RELOCATION?

10. WHAT DID PETER MACDONALD HAVE TO DO WITH THE RELOCATION?

ON HOW MANY SEPARATE OCCASIONS DID YOU MEET WITH PETER MACDONALD TO DISCUSS RELOCATION?

_____ Number of occasions

DID PETER MOSTLY COME TO SEE YOU OR DID YOU MOSTLY GO TO SEE HIM? (Interviewer: Check the answer below)

Peter mostly went to respondent _____
Respondent mostly went to Peter _____

IN DISCUSSING YOUR SETTLEMENT WITH PETER MACDONALD AND THE CITY HOW STRONGLY DID YOU FEEL YOU COULD CONVINCE PETER OR THE CITY OF THE MERITS OR STRENGTHS OF YOUR CLAIMS?

_____Very strongly
_____Only somewhat strongly
_____Not very strongly at all

11. WHO WAS BOB GRANT?

WHAT DID HE HAVE TO DO WITH THE RELOCATION?

WHAT WAS HIS RELATIONSHIP TO PETER MACDONALD?

DID YOU EVER SEE OR MEET WITH BOB GRANT ABOUT THE RELOCATION?

_____ Yes _____ No

12. WHAT WAS THE HALIFAX HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE?

INTERVIEWER NOTE

IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW THIS COMMITTEE, THEN, AFTER RECORDING HIS "DON'T KNOW", TELL HIM THAT THIS COMMITTEE WAS FORMED AROUND 1962 AND THAT ITS MEMBERS INCLUDED GUS WEDDERBURN, DON MACLEAN, GEORGE DAVIS, REVS. COLEMAN AND BRYANT, LEON STEED AND HARRY CARTER.

WHAT DID THIS COMMITTEE HAVE TO DO WITH THE RELOCATION?

DID YOU EVER MEET WITH MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE TO DISCUSS THE RELOCATION?

_____ Yes _____ No

13. WHAT WAS THE ADVISORY SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICVILLE?

INTERVIEWER NOTE

IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW THIS COMMITTEE, THEN, AFTER RECORDING HIS "DON'T KNOW", TELL HIM THAT THIS COMMITTEE WAS FORMED AROUND 1964 AND ITS MEMBERS INCLUDED ALDERMEN O'BRIEN, CONNOLLY, RICHARDS, SULLIVAN, DOYLE, GEORGE DAVIS, GUS WEDDERBURN AND REVS. COLEMAN AND BRYANT.

WHAT DID THIS COMMITTEE HAVE TO DO WITH THE RELOCATION?

DID YOU EVER MEET WITH MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE TO DISCUSS THE RELOCATION?

_____ Yes _____ No

14. DID ANY LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS AND LEADERS, NOT CONNECTED WITH THE GOVERNMENT, PROVIDE ANY ASSISTANCE TO YOU DURING THE RELOCATION?

15. DID ANY OF THE FOLLOWING ORGANIZATIONS OR PEOPLE PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO YOU DURING THE RELOCATION?

Neighbourhood Centre	Yes_____	No_____
Rev. Dr. Oliver	Yes_____	No_____
Buddy Daye	Yes_____	No_____
Harry Carter	Yes_____	No_____
Leon Steed	Yes_____	No_____
Joe Skinner	Yes_____	No_____
Mr. Borovoy	Yes_____	No_____
Mr. Sullivan	Yes_____	No_____

16. APPARENTLY, WHEN THE CITY WAS CONSIDERING THE RELOCATION MANY PEOPLE HAD DIFFERENT IDEAS ABOUT WHAT SHOULD BE DONE IN AFRICVILLE. DID YOU HAVE ANY SUGGESTIONS?

_____ Yes _____ No

IF YES TO THE ABOVE QUESTION ASK:

WHAT WERE YOUR SUGGESTIONS?

DID YOU THINK OF ANY OF THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS?

Co-operative housing in Africville	Yes_____	No_____
Bargain collectively with the city	Yes_____	No_____
Get the city to put in facilities and help people who needed it to repair their homes	Yes_____	No_____

IF RESPONDENT INDICATES HE HAD ANY SUGGESTIONS OR CHECKS YES TO ONE OR MORE OF THE PRE-CODED SUGGESTIONS ASK:

DID YOU GET (THIS) (THESE) SUGGESTIONS TO WORK?

_____ Yes _____ No

If Yes, how did you get them to work?

IF IN THE ABOVE QUESTION THE RESPONDENT DID NOT GET THE SUGGESTIONS INTO ACTION, ASK:

WHY DIDN'T YOU TRY?

WHAT ABOUT THE FOLLOWING REASONS FOR NOT GETTING YOUR SUGGESTIONS INTO ACTION?

A feeling you can't buck the government ____ Yes ____ No
A feeling that people in Africville would not co-operate ____ Yes ____ No
A feeling that you didn't belong in Africville and shouldn't make suggestions ____ Yes ____ No

17. HOW DID THE CITY GO ABOUT TRYING TO RELOCATE THE AFRICVILLE PEOPLE? FOR EXAMPLE, WHAT THINGS DID THE CITY DO?

DO YOU THINK THAT THE CITY TRIED ANY OF THE FOLLOWING THINGS TO GET THE PEOPLE TO RELOCATE?

Used Peter MacDonald to convince the people to move out ____ Yes ____ No
Threatened to take away land by expropriation ____ Yes ____ No
Offered the people a good price if they would move ____ Yes ____ No
Tried to divide the people so they couldn't fight relocation ____ Yes ____ No

18. HOW DID PETER MACDONALD TRY ANY OF THE FOLLOWING WAYS TO GET YOU TO RELOCATE?

Helped you to get a "better deal" from the city ____ Yes ____ No
He made you promises about rent and housing accommodations ____ Yes ____ No

He showed you pictures of Uniacke Square and Mulgrave Park _____ Yes _____ No

He showed you a home you could move into when you relocated _____ Yes _____ No

He got relatives to urge you to relocate _____ Yes _____ No

He threatened you with expropriation _____ Yes _____ No

19. WHO IN AFRICVILLE WAS THE MAIN PERSON WHO LOOKED AFTER GETTING THE AMOUNT OF MONEY YOU RECEIVED AS A SETTLEMENT? (Interviewer: Be sure you ask the main person in Africville.)

_____Yourself _____ Your wife

_____Your husband _____ Other person

(If other person, ask the name and the connection to the respondent)

_____ _____

Name Connection

HOW DID YOU GO ABOUT TRYING TO GET THE BEST DEAL FOR YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY? FOR EXAMPLE, WHAT THINGS DID YOU DO?

20. DID YOU DO ANY OF THE FOLLOWING THINGS TO GET A BETTER DEAL FOR YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY?

Contact lawyer _____ Yes _____ No

Contact real estate to appraise your land/building in Africville _____ Yes _____ No

Claim special circumstances such as old age, disability _____ Yes _____ No

Resisted being relocated until a better offer was made _____ Yes _____ No

Got others to resist location along with yourself until a better offer was made _____ Yes _____ No

Work out arrangements with relatives/ friends about land and/or buildings _____ Yes _____ No

Depend on Peter MacDonald _____ Yes _____ No

Take advantage of relocation to form a new separate household rather than the one you lived in Africville _____ Yes _____ No

Tried to make sure relatives got a good deal from the city _____ Yes _____ No

21. MANY THINGS PROBABLY DETERMINED THE AMOUNT OF THE SETTLEMENT THAT PEOPLE FROM AFRICVILLE RECEIVED. WAS WHAT YOU GOT DEPENDENT ON WHAT OTHERS DEMANDED AND RECEIVED OR WAS WHAT YOU GOT JUST THE RESULT OF YOUR OWN DISCUSSIONS WITH PETER MACDONALD AND THE CITY?

(Interviewer: Check the answer in the responses below.)

_____Settlement dependent on others
_____Settlement dependent on own discussions with Peter MacDonald and the city

IF SETTLEMENT WAS DEPENDENT ON OTHERS, ASK:

WHO WERE THESE OTHERS?

WERE YOU ABLE TO GET TOGETHER WITH THESE OTHER PEOPLE TO TALK ABOUT WHAT TO ASK FOR FROM THE CITY?
_____ Yes _____ No

22. HOW DID YOU ARRIVE AT THE AMOUNT YOU REQUESTED AT FIRST FROM THE CITY?

DID YOU GET MORE, ABOUT THE SAME, OR LESS SETTLEMENT THAN YOU ASKED FOR AT FIRST?

_____More _____About the same _____Less

IF LESS, ASK:

HOW IDID PETER MACDONALD OR THE CITY CONVINCE YOU TO ACCEPPT LESS SETTLEMENT THAN YOU FIRST REQUESTED?

DID YYOU TALK WITH OTHER PEOPLE IN AFRICVILLE ABOUT WHAT PEOPLLE WERE GETTING FROM THE CITY?

_____ Yes _____ No

HOW DDID OTHER PEOPLE IN AFRICVILLE KNOW WHAT YOU GOT FROM THE CCITY?

23. ABOUT HOW MUCH MONEY DO YOU THINK THE CITY SPENT ON THE AFRICVILLE RELOCATION?

INTERVIEWER NOTE

IF THE RESPONDENT HAS TROUBLE GIVING AN AMOUNT OF MONEY, EXPLORE BY READING THE FOLLOWING LIST AND WRITE THE ESTIMATE IN THE PROVIDED SPACE.

About $ 80,000.
About $ 100,000.
About $ 300,000.
About $ 600,000.
About $1,000,000.

_____
Estimated Cost

24. DO YOU THINK THAT THE CITY DISTRIBUTED THIS MONEY "FAIRLY" AMONG THE PEOPLE WHO LIVED IN AFRICVILLE AT THE TIME OF RELOCATION?

_____ Yes _____ No

25. WHAT THINGS DO YOU THINK THE CITY USED IN DETERMINING WHY ONE PERSON GOT A LARGER SETTLEMENT THAN ANOTHER?

26. WHAT THINGS DO YOU THINK THE CITY DIDN'T DO BUT SHOULD HAVE IN DETERMINING WHY ONE PERSON GOT A LARGER SETTLEMENT THAN ANOTHER?

27. IN YOUR SETTLEMENT DID YOU GET A FAIR DEAL?

_____Yes _____ No

IF NO, ASK:

SPEAKING IN MONEY TERMS, HOW MUCH MORE MONEY WOULD YOU HAVE TO RECEIVE IN ORDER TO CONSIDER YOUR SETTLEMENT A FAIR DEAL? (Note to interviewer: It is important here that we get a money figure. If a respondent says something like, "I wanted a house for a house," ask him how much more money would have enabled him to get a house.)

_____
Amount of money

28. WHO GAINED THE MOST FROM THE RELOCATION?

_____the city _____the people of Africville

29. AMONG THE PEOPLE OF AFRICVILLE, DID ANY GROUP OF PEOPLE GET A BETTER DEAL THAN OTHERS?

_____ Yes _____ No

IF YES, ASK:

WHY DID THIS GROUP OF PEOPLE GET A BETTER DEAL THAN OTHERS?

30. WHO LOST THE MOST FROM THE RELOCATION?

_____ the City _____the people of Africville

AMONG THE PEOPLE IN AFRICVILLE, DID ANY GROUP OF PEOPLE LOSE MORE THAN OTHERS?

_____ Yes _____ No

IF YES, ASK:

WHY DID THIS GROUP OF PEOPLE LOSE MORE THAN OTHERS?

31. DIFFERENT PEOPLE HAD DIFFERENT GAINS AND LOSSES BECAUSE OF THE RELOCATION. WHAT ABOUT YOU? WHAT DO YOU THINK ARE YOUR THREE MOST IMPORTANT GAINS BECAUSE OF THE RELOCATION?

WHAT ARE YOUR THREE MOST IMPORTANT LOSSES BECAUSE OF THE RELOCATION?

32. BETWEEN THE TIME YOU WERE RELOCATED AND NOW, WHAT ARE THE IMPORTANT THINGS THAT CAUSED YOU TO CHANGE YOUR MIND ABOUT WHETHER THE RELOCATION WAS A "BAD" OR A "GOOD" THING?

33. LOOKING BACK, DO YOU THINK THAT PETER MACDONALD AND THE CITY GAVE YOU ENOUGH INFORMATION AT THE TIME OF RELOCATION?

DO YOU THINK YOUR FRIENDS AND RELATIVES GAVE YOU ENOUGH RIGHT INFORMATION AT THE TIME OF RELOCATION?

WHAT OTHER INFORMATION DO YOU WISH FRIENDS AND RELATIVES HAD GIVEN YOU AT THE TIME OF RELOCATION?

34. SOME PEOPLE FELT THAT RELOCATION WAS A PERSONAL CRISIS. DID YOU THINK IT WAS IN YOUR OWN CASE?

FOR YOU, DID RELOCATION BRING ANY OF THE FOLLOWING DIFFICULTIES?

Job problems	Yes ____	No ____
Changes in your household	Yes ____	No ____
Strained relations between husband and wife	Yes ____	No ____
Money worries	Yes ____	No ____
Hard feelings among your relatives	Yes ____	No ____

SOME PELPLE TELL US THAT RELOCATION INTERFERED WITH THEIR DREAMS AND LIFE PLANS; OTHERS TELL US THAT RELOCATION, AT LEAST AT FIRST, GIVE THEM GREAT HOPES AND A CHANCE TO GET THINGS THEY HAD WANTED. HOW DID YOU SEE THE RELOCATION?

35. PLACES LIKE BEECHVILLE AND PRESTON ARE NOT BEING RELOCATED BUT ARE BUILDING HOUSES CO-OPERATIVELY AND SO FORTH. WHY WASN'T THERE COLLECTIVE ACTION LIKE THIS IN AFRICVILLE?

DO YOU THINK PEOPLE IN BEECHVILLE AND PRESTON LEARNED FROM THE AFRICVILLE EXAMPLE?

_____ Yes _____ No

IF YES, ASK:

HOW DO YOU KNOW THAT BEECHVILLE AND PRESTON LEARNED FROM THE AFRICVILLE EXAMPLE?

36. WHEN DID YOU FINALLY DECIDE TO MOVE OUT OF AFRICVILLE?

WHY DID YOU FINALLY DECIDE TO MOVE OUT OF AFRICVILLE?

POST-RELOCATION

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO CHANGE THE TOPIC AND ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW THINGS ARE GOING NOWADAYS?

1. IN GENERAL, HOW HAVE THINGS BEEN GOING FOR YOU SINCE YOU MOVED?

2. OVERALL, HOW PLEASED ARE YOU WITH THINGS SINCE YOU MOVED FROM AFRICVILLE?

_____Very pleased _____Somewhat pleased _____Not at all pleased

3. SINCE MOVING OUT OF AFRICVILLE HOW MANY DIFFERENT HOUSES HAVE YOU LIVED IN?

_____ Number

IF MORE THAN ONE HOUSE, ASK:

DO YOU MIND TELLING ME THE STREET OF THESE PLACES?

(Interviewer: Also list city)

Street City

4. HOW DID YOU COME TO SELECT THE FIRST HOUSE YOU LIVED IN AFTER LEAVING AFRICVILLE?

DID YOU SELECT THIS HOUSE FOR ANY OF THE FOLLOWING REASONS?

Friends and relatives lived around there	Yes ____	No ____
Couldn't get into public housing	Yes ____	No ____
Nothing else available	Yes ____	No ____
It was a good place to raise kids	Yes ____	No ____
There were good recreational facilities available	Yes ____	No ____

5. HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD?

_____ Length of time

6. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD?

_____ Do you feel that you really belong here?
_____ Do you feel that you didn't belong here as much as some other people?
_____ Do you feel you don't belong here at all?

CAN YOU COUNT ON YOUR NEIGHBOURS AROUND HERE FOR HELP WHEN YOU REALLY NEED IT?

_____ Yes _____ No

ROUGHLY, HOW MANY FRIENDS HAVE YOU MADE AROUND HERE SINCE MOVING INTO THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD?

_____ Number

HOW FRIENDLY HAVE YOU FOUND MOST PEOPLE IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD?

_____ Very friendly
_____ Somewhat friendly
_____ Unfriendly
_____ Quite unfriendly

HOW TRUSTWORTHY HAVE YOU FOUND MOST PEOPLE IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD?

_____ Very trustworthy
_____ Somewhat trustworthy
_____ Untrustworthy
_____ Quite untrustworthy

HOW FAMILIAR ARE YOU WITH THE AREA AROUND HERE? FOR EXAMPLE, HOW WELL DO YOU KNOW THE STREETS AND THE LOCATION OF THINGS IN THE AREA?

_____ Well
_____ Not too well
_____ Not at all well

SINCE MOVING OUT OF AFRICVILLE HAVE YOU HAD MORE, ABOUT THE SAME, OR LESS TROUBLE MAKING ENDS MEET?

_____ More
_____ Less
_____ About the same

IN GENERAL, DO YOU FEEL THAT LIVING IN YOUR PRESENT NEIGHBOURHOOD IS BETTER, THE SAME, OR WORSE THAN LIVING IN AFRICVILLE?

_____ Better
_____ The same
_____ Worse

7. SINCE BEING RELOCATED HAVE YOU EVER GONE BACK TO THE OLD AFRICVILLE SITE?

_____ Yes, quite often _____ No
_____ Yes, a few times

IF YES, ASK:

DID YOU GO BACK FOR ANY OF THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

Sightseeing	____ Yes	____ No
Picnic	____ Yes	____ No
Swimming	____ Yes	____ No
Fishing	____ Yes	____ No
Salvaging	____ Yes	____ No

8. SINCE BEING RELOCATED HOW MUCH HAVE YOU MISSED AFRICVILLE?

_____ Very much _____ A little
_____ Some _____ Not at all

9. WHAT DO YOU MISS MOST ABOUT AFRICVILLE?

10. NOWADAYS DO YOU STILL OFTEN SEE YOUR CLOSEST FRIENDS YOU HAD WHILE YOU WERE IN AFRICVILLE?

_____ Yes _____ No

IF NO, ASK:

WHY DON'T YOU SEE THESE FRIENDS?

11. IS YOUR HOUSEHOLD THE SAME AS IT WAS BEFORE RELOCATION?

HAS YOUR HOUSEHOLD CHANGED IN ANY OF THE FOLLOWING WAYS SINCE RELOCATION?

The same children are still at home	____ Yes	____ No

DO YOU HAVE THE SAME NUMBER OF BOARDERS, MORE BOARDERS, OR LESS BOARDERS?

_____Same number of boarders
_____More boarders
_____ Less boarders
_____ No boarders before or after relocation

DO YOU HAVE THE SAME NUMBER OF RELATIVES, MORE RELATIVES, OR LESS RELATIVES, LIVING IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD?

_____Same number of relatives
_____More relatives
_____Less relatives
_____No relatives before and after relocation

12. ALL IN ALL WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOU OR YOUR FAMILY HAD MUCH TROUBLE WITH SICKNESS SINCE YOU LEFT AFRICVILLE?

_____ Very much
_____ Quite a bit
_____ A little
_____ None at all

IF THERE HAS BEEN ANY SICKNESS, ASK:

HAS THE RELOCATION CAUSED ANY OF THIS SICKNESS?

13. SINCE THE RELOCATION I GUESS A LOT OF THINGS HAVE HAPPENED TO CHANGE YOUR LIFE AND YOUR THINKING ABOUT THINGS. HAVE ANY OF THE FOLLOWING HAPPENED TO YOU?

IF NOT PENSIONED, HAVE YOU CHANGED JOBS?

_____ Yes
_____ No
_____ Question does not apply: respondent is pensioner

IS YOUR PRESENT INCOME MORE, ABOUT THE SAME, OR LESS THAN WHEN YOU WERE IN AFRICVILLE?

_____ More _____ About the same _____ Less

HAVE YOU JOINED ANY NEW CLUBS OR ORGANIZATIONS?

_____ Yes
_____ No

IF YES TO ABOVE QUESTION, WHAT ARE THESE CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS?

14. HAVE THE FOLLOWING HAD ANY INFLUENCE ON YOUR THINKING AND FEELING ABOUT THINGS? (Interviewer: If respondent answers by "yes" or "no", ask how the organization changed his thinking and feelings.)

The organization of the Black United Front

The developments in Beechville

15. I WOULD LIKE TO GET YOUR REACTION TO A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS. COULD YOU TELL ME IF YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING: (Interviewer: Read the five items exactly as stated on this page.)

THERE IS LITTLE USE IN WRITING TO PUBLIC OFFICIALS BECAUSE OFTEN THEY AREN'T REALLY INTERESTED IN THE PROBLEMS OF THE AVERAGE MAN.

_____ Agree _____ Disagree

NOWADAYS A PERSON HAS TO LIVE PRETTY MUCH FOR TODAY AND LET TOMORROW TAKE CARE OF ITSELF.

_____ Agree _____ Disagree

IN SPITE OF WHAT SOME PEOPLE SAY, THE LOT OF THE AVERAGE MAN IS GETTING WORSE, NOT BETTER.

_____ Agree _____ Disagree

IT'S HARDLY FAIR TO BRING CHILDREN INTO THE WORLD WITH THE WAY THINGS LOOK FOR THE FUTURE.

_____ Agree _____ Disagree

THESE DAYS A PERSON DOESN'T REALLY KNOW WHOM HE CAN COUNT ON.

_____ Agree _____ Disagree

16. SINCE THE RELOCATION HAVE YOU HAD ANY CONTACT WITH GOVERNMENT OR SOCIAL AGENCIES?

_____ Yes _____ No

IF YES, ASK:

WHAT GOVERNMENT OR SOCIAL AGENCIES DID YOU CONTACT?

WHAT ABOUT ANY OF THE FOLLOWING GOVERNMENT OR SOCIAL AGENCIES:

Social Planning Department	_____ Yes	_____ No
Red Cross	_____ Yes	_____ No
Seaview Credit Union	_____ Yes	_____ No
Manpower Department	_____ Yes	_____ No
City Welfare Department	_____ Yes	_____ No
Provincial Welfare Department	_____ Yes	_____ No

17. HAVE YOU ATTENDED ANY MEETINGS ABOUT THE RELOCATION SINCE YOU MOVED FROM AFRICVILLE?

_____ Yes _____ No

IF YES, ASK:

WHEN AND WHAT WAS THE PURPOSE OF EACH MEETING YOU ATTENDED?	
When	Purpose

18. DO YOU THINK IT IS STILL POSSIBLE TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT YOUR RELOCATION SETTLEMENT?

19. DO YOU THINK THE FORMER RESIDENTS OF AFRICVILLE WILL GET ANYTHING IF THE VALUE OF THE AFRICVILLE LAND INCREASED IN THE NEAR FUTURE?

SUPPLEMENTAL SHEET NUMBER 2

OVER THE YEARS QUITE A NUMBER OF PEOPLE MOVED FROM AFRICVILLE. IF ANY OF YOUR BROTHERS, SISTERS, SONS OR DAUGHTERS WERE BORN OR RESIDED IN AFRICVILLE AND THEN PERMANENTLY MOVED FROM THE COMMUNITY BEFORE THE RELOCATION, COULD YOU TELL ME WHERE THEY LIVE, THE TYPE OF WORK THEY DO, AND IF YOU HAVE CONTACT WITH THEM?

(Note to Interviewer: Stress only relatives born or resided in Africville.)

	Present Location City and Province	Type of Work (If unemployed, ask usual type of work)	Contact (Yes or no)
Brothers			
Sisters			

(Interviewer: Only ask sons and daughters in the labour force.)

Sons			
Daughters			

WHAT ABOUT OTHER SONS AND DAUGHTERS WHO WERE BORN OR RESIDED IN AFRICVILLE, WHO WERE EITHER WORKING AND LIVED IN AFRICVILLE OR STARTED TO WORK AFTER YOU MOVED FROM AFRICVILLE? WHERE ARE THEY NOW AND WHAT TYPE OF WORK DO THEY DO?

	Location City and Province	Type of Work (If unemployed, ask usual type of work)
Sons		
Daughters		

SUPPLEMENTAL SHEET NUMBER 3

DO NOT ASK THE QUESTIONS ON THIS AND THE FOLLOWING PAGE UNLESS INSTRUCTED BY THE RESEARCH OFFICE.

AS YOU MAY KNOW, THERE SEEMS TO BE A PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND POOR-PAYING JOBS AMONG SOME OF THE PEOPLE WHO USED TO LIVE IN AFRICVILLE. WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE CAUSE OF THIS?

DO YOU THINK ANY OF THE FOLLOWING ARE ALSO IMPORTANT REASONS?

Most of the jobs people with this employment problem have or can get are dull, and low-down Yes_____ No_____

Most of the jobs people with this employment problem have or can get don't pay enough to live on Yes_____ No_____

There is discrimination against these people because of their race Yes_____ No_____

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO OVERCOME THIS PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND POOR-PAYING JOBS AMONG SOME OF THE PEOPLE WHO USED TO LIVE IN AFRICVILLE?

DO YOU THINK ANY OF THE FOLLOWING COULD ALSO HELP OVERCOME THIS PROBLEM?

Small group discussions about finding jobs Yes_____ No_____

Small group discussions about attitudes towards jobs Yes_____ No_____

Paying people a decent amount of money while they take some special training over a period of six to ten weeks Yes_____ No_____

Providing services such as child care centres free of charge Yes_____ No_____

SUPPLEMENTAL SHEET NUMBER 3(a)

DO YOU OR ANYONE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD HAVE THIS PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND/OR POOR-PAYING JOBS?

Yes_____ No_____

IF YES, ASK:

WHO _____ PRESENT JOB _____

COULD ANY OF THE FOLLOWING PROGRAMS HELP YOU AND/OR THE OTHER MEMBERS OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD?

Mechanics training Yes_____ No_____
Homeowner training for servicing the elderly and infirm Yes_____ No_____
Landscaping and gardening training Yes_____ No_____

CAN YOU THINK OF ANY OTHER WORK PROGRAMS THAT COULD HELP EITHER YOURSELF OR OTHER MEMBERS OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD?

SUPPLEMENTAL SHEET NUMBER 4

THESE FEW QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT DAILY LIFE IN AFRICVILLE

(a) WERE THERE ANY ACTIVITIES WHICH BROUGHT EVERYONE (OR MOSTLY EVERYONE) TOGETHER IN AFRICVILLE?

WHAT ABOUT THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES?

Parties
Community activities
Church ceremonies
Beach feasts or fish feasts

(b) WERE THERE ANY GENERAL MEETING PLACES IN AFRICVILLE, PLACES WHERE PEOPLE MET TO TALK AND ASSOCIATE?

WHAT ABOUT THE FOLLOWING PLACES?

The "corner"
The "chicken shack"
The stores
The church
The community hall
"Someone's house"

SUPPLEMENTAL SHEET NUMBER 4(a)

(c) WAS THERE ANY COLLECTIVE OR COMMUNITY ACTION TO SOLVE OR PREVENT PROBLEMS?

WHAT ABOUT THE FOLLOWING PROBLEMS?

In the case of wells _____

In the case of fires _____

Petitioning the city for services _____

(d) WHAT ABOUT LIFE IN AFRICVILLE IN THE WINTER AS COMPARED WITH THE SUMMER? WERE THERE MANY DIFFERENCES?

Fewer visitors from outside the community	Yes_____	No_____
Less getting together among the people	Yes_____	No_____
Some people moved to the city in winter	Yes_____	No_____
Harder to make out in the winter	Yes_____	No_____

(e) WERE THERE ANY IMPORTANT CHANGES IN AFRICVILLE OVER THE YEARS THAT YOU KNOW OF?

WHAT ABOUT THE FOLLOWING CHANGES?

Decline of fishing and like activities _____

Land taken away for city/industrial uses _____

Population increases/decreases _____

Type of people moving into Africville were different ____

SUPPLEMENTAL SHEET NUMBER 5

TO BE COMPLETED ONLY UPON INSTRUCTION FROM THE RESEARCH OFFICE

Household Composition

Name	Age	Relation to respondent	Education (last grade completed)	Occupation	Annual income	Weeks per year usually worked

IF MARRIED: WHAT IS YOUR WIFE'S MAIDEN NAME? _____

NOT TO BE ASKED FOR PEOPLE LIVING IN PUBLIC HOUSING

IF HOME OWNER ASK:

WHAT IS THE VALUE OF YOUR HOME? $_____

WHAT ARE THE MORTGAGE TERMS? $_____

WHAT ARE THE TAXES? $_____

DO YOU HAVE AN INCOME FROM BOARDERS? ___Yes ___No

IF YES, WHAT IS THIS INCOME? $_____

IF RENTAL ASK:

WHAT IS THE MONTHLY RENT? $_____

DO YOU HAVE BOARDERS? ___Yes ___No

IF YES, WHAT IS THIS INCOME? $_____

SUPPLEMENTAL SHEET NUMBER 6

TO BE FILLED IN AFTER THE INTERVIEW HAS BEEN COMPLETED AND INTERVIEWER IS ALONE

WHAT ARE YOUR OVERALL IMPRESSIONS OF THE INTERVIEW?

HOW WAS THE INTERVIEWEE'S REACTION TO YOU?

At the beginning of the interview	At the end of the interview
_____ Enthusiastic	_____ Enthusiastic
_____ Warm	_____ Warm
_____ Cool	_____ Cool
_____ Reluctant	_____ Reluctant
_____ Hostile	_____ Hostile

WERE THERE ANY SPECIFIC PROBLEMS IN COMPLETING THE INTERVIEW?

Concerning the housing: DO NOT FILL THIS IN FOR PEOPLE IN PUBLIC HOUSING

Type of structure: Frame_____ Brick_____ Other(specify)____

Type of dwelling unit:

single detached	_____
single attached (row)	_____
semi-detached	_____
apartment in conversion	_____
rooming house	_____

Condition of dwelling:

good	_____
needs some repairs	_____
needs major repairs	_____
unfit	_____

Number of rooms: _____(estimate)

Number of bedrooms:_____(estimate)

SUPPLEMENTAL SHEET NUMBER 6(a)

Does the dwelling contain:

separate bath facilities	Yes_____	No_____
telephone	Yes_____	No_____
television	Yes_____	No_____
refrigerator	Yes_____	No_____

Are the surrounding dwellings

mostly in good condition	Yes_____	No_____
mostly in fair condition	Yes_____	No_____
mostly in poor condition	Yes_____	No_____

WRITE ANY OTHER COMMENTS BELOW

APPENDIX K

QUESTIONS FOR POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE TAPE-RECORDED INTERVIEWS

POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS FOR TAPE-RECORDED INTERVIEWS

KNOWLEDGE OF AFRICVILLE HISTORY

1. When did the original settlers move to Africville?

2. How was the land in Africville originally obtained by the Africville residents?

3. Why did the original settlers move to Africville?

4. What were the names of the five major families with long-standing historical roots, who lived in Africville at the time of the relocation?

5. Were there any major population changes in Africville after the Second World War? If yes, what were these changes and what effect did they have on life in Africville?

6. Would it have made any difference in the way the city relocated the people if documents had been found verifying that the Africville land was granted to the people by Queen Victoria?

COMMUNITY QUESTIONS

1. How familiar are you with Africville as a community? How many years did you deal with the people of Africville?

2. What was your general opinion of community life in Africville?

3. Among the Africville people, whom did you know well? (Are you familiar with their life histories?)

4. Was there a stigma to living in Africville?

5. Some people viewed Africville as a slum. What do you think? What was your perception of this community?

RELOCATION ATTEMPTS

1. Do you know if the city considered relocating Africville prior to 1962?

2. What were the plans for the Africville land as outlined in The Master Plan for the City of Halifax prepared by Civic Planning Commission in 1945?

3. In 1947, a survey was completed for rezoning the City of Halifax. What use was recommended for the Africville land?

4. In 1954, the Halifax City Board of Works made a proposal for the development of an area which could be offered to people now living in Africville. What were the details of this proposal?

5. What use of the Africville land was recommended by the 1957 Stephenson Report?

6. In 1957, the city expropriated part of the Africville land. Why was this land expropriated?

7. Were the Africville residents informed about the 1957 expropriation?

8. What was the recommendation from the 1961 Housing Policy Review Committee concerning Africville?

9. What were the recommendations of the Development Department Report to City Council, 1962? [Halifax Planning Board Development Report]

PRE-RELOCATION QUESTIONS

1. What is your general view of the relocation?

2. Why did the city relocate Africville? (Ask about the change in perception.)

3. During the relocation why didn't the city consider such alternatives as:

   (a) Co-operative housing
   (b) Low-income housing on Africville land
   (c) Fixing up facilities and supplying resources; i.e., water and sewerage.

4. What is your evaluation of the Rose Report? Dr. Rose recommended that the relocation be carried out over a time period of three years. Do you think this was a realistic time period?

5. Prior to the relocation why didn't the city ever supply such resources as water and sewerage in Africville?

6. Ask: Africville Sub-committee Representatives
Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights Members

a) How did you become a member of the Africville Sub-committee/ Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights?

b) Why did you serve on the Africville Sub-committee/ Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights?

c) How was the decision reached to invite Dr. Albert Rose to evaluate the Africville situation?

d) Why didn't any community residents from Africville serve on the Africville Sub-committee?

e) Why didn't the Africville Sub-committee discuss and consider Africville cases where only a furniture allowance was paid the relocatee?

7. Ask: Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights Members

In November 1963, you met with Dr. Albert Rose at the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church. What was discussed? Did you make any recommendations to Dr. Rose?

RELOCATION

1. Many people made decisions concerning the Africville relocation. Who were the following persons and for what type of decisions were they responsible? Would you please rank their importance in general decision-making about the relocation along the following continuum: Very important: Somewhat important: A little important: Not at all important.

Dr. Albert Rose (Professor of Social Work, University of Toronto)

Peter MacDonald (Social Worker, Development Department, City of Halifax)

R. B. Grant (Development Officer, City of Halifax)

H. A. J. Wedderburn (Representative, Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights)

George W. Davis (Representative, Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights)

Rev. Charles Coleman (Representative, Halifax Adivsory Committee on Human Rights)

Rev. Wrenfred Bryant (Representative, Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights)

Mr. Peter Byars (City Manager during the relocation period)

Alderman Allan O'Brien

Alderman Peter Richards

Alderman James Connolly

Alderman Mervyn Sullivan

Alderman Gerald Doyle

Why did members of the Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights join the Africville Sub-committee?

Ask: Africville Sub-committee Representatives

a) In the Africville Sub-committee, how were decisions reached regarding settlements?

b) How were disagreements over settlements among Sub-committee members solved?

c) What role did Peter MacDonald play during the decision-making of the Africville Sub-committee? (Probe: How aggressive was he? Did he change his mind under pressure?)

d) How were settlement amounts reached for the relocatees? What criteria were used in reaching a decision for a settlement amount?

e) Why did the Africville Sub-Committee vote to expropriate the property of some of the Africville residents?

2. What things do you think the city used in determining why one person got a larger settlement than another?

3. What things do you think the city <u>didn't do but should have done</u> in determining why one person got a larger settlement than another?

POST RELOCATION

1. For the relocatees, what do you think have been the greatest "costs" of the relocation? What have been the greatest "rewards"?

2. What use do you think the city will make of the Africville land?

3. After the relocation was carried out, why didn't the city have a "follow-up program" for the relocatees?

4. What is your opinion of the Africville Action Committee that has recently been established?