



# A REDEVELOPMENT STUDY OF HALIFAX NOVA SCOTIA • 1957

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A Redevelopment Study  
of Halifax, Nova Scotia  
1957

## FOREWORD

by HIS WORSHIP, LEONARD A. KITZ

Mayor of the City of Halifax

**I**N PRESENTING our Halifax Planning Charter we hope that people outside the City will find it as interesting as we have. We are fond of Halifax with its history, the Citadel surrounded by the broad sweep of the ocean. Two centuries of living, however, have worn our City fabric thin, and many of our streets are unsuitable for modern needs.

This thoughtful programme is as good as its implementation, and for it to be effective it is necessary that we citizens should ensure an early start.

This should not be too difficult. The National Housing Act makes large-scale financial assistance available to the City and this, with expected help from the Government of Nova Scotia, should lighten the burden for Halifax. Indeed, this survey itself was largely paid for by the Government of Canada. We were responsible for only one quarter of the cost.

We have been fortunate in having Professor Gordon Stephenson, with his skill and broad experience, to give us this outstanding and comprehensive report.

*Keep the young generation in hail  
And bequeath them no tumbled houses . . .*

*Meredith*

City Hall, Halifax

L. A. KITZ  
Mayor

## PREFACE

IN JULY, 1956, the author was engaged by the City Council, acting with the Provincial Government and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, "to investigate and study housing conditions in the City of Halifax for the purpose of ascertaining: (a) the areas which require development and the order in which such areas should be redeveloped; (b) the best methods for re-housing families living in the areas planned for redevelopment; and (c) the recommended uses for the land when redeveloped; and to prepare a report upon the results of such investigation and study."

One year earlier, City Council had appointed an advisory committee to survey an area comprising fifty-six blocks, consisting largely of old residential development. Under the chairmanship of Mr. G. S. Black, and with the technical assistance of administrative officials of City Hall, the Committee and its subcommittees worked expeditiously, and reported at the end of 1955 to the Slum Clearance and Housing Committee of the City Council. As a result of the recommendations, and after their discussion in Council and in public, the decision was made to extend the scope and nature of the survey. This Report, therefore, continues the work of the Advisory Committee.

The present study incorporates material from the previous report. If the conclusions differ in regard to specific recommendations it is largely because of two new factors. First, the terms of reference were wider, enabling the author to take a broader view of redevelopment problems. Second, the National Housing Act was amended in 1956 to introduce an important new principle. Formerly it was specified that Federal assistance in redevelopment could be given only if land was to be used after clearance for low-rental housing or for public purposes. Under the new arrangement land may be redeveloped for its "highest and best use", whether that be low-rental, high-rental, public, commercial, or industrial. The Act, being concerned with housing, specifies that areas selected for redevelopment must be substantially residential either before or after redevelopment. In other words, a project must either subtract obsolete housing or add new housing. In addition, satisfactory arrangements must be made to provide decent, safe and sanitary accommodation for any families displaced by a redevelopment project.

This widening of the National Housing Act allows the City to take a more comprehensive view, not only because the Council may take steps to redevelop areas for any purpose, but also through the increased financial assistance offered. The Minister of Public Works is now authorised to enter into an agreement with the City, when it wishes to redevelop a blighted or sub-standard area, under an arrangement which may provide for the payment of contributions of up to one half the gross cost of acquiring and clearing the area. It follows that in such a financial partnership, the Dominion Government would share in any revenues from the land as well as in any losses.

The new policy implied in the National Housing Act, as amended in 1956, was clearly stated by Mr. J. S. Hodgson, Director of the Development Division of C.M.H.C., in an address to the 19th Annual Conference of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, on August 21st, 1956. In summing up the legislation, he said "... the Federal

Government will carry half the immediate and ultimate cost of an approved redevelopment project, quite apart from any Federal contribution to the capital costs of rehousing and apart from its share of preliminary surveys. The new legislation is not expected to produce dozens of redevelopment projects within a few months. We do believe, however, that it will rapidly be recognised as a highly important instrument in promoting the healthy growth and transformation of cities."

Halifax is one of the oldest cities in Canada, also one of the most beautiful, being especially favoured by its site and some accidents of history. Its recent substantial growth must by now be evident, even to those who would disbelieve it. In part, the growth is healthy and includes some of the finest residential development in North America; in part, it is a story of spreading blight through the overcrowding of worn housing. There is also that confusion of uses on the fringe of the central area which comes with commercial expansion, but inevitably accelerates the decline of inner residential neighbourhoods.

Because of its age and economic history there are substantial parts of Halifax which should be transformed, and in which healthy new growth should be promoted for the immediate benefit of the people of the City and Province and to the ultimate benefit of Canada. The Report now submitted is a redevelopment study. It draws conclusions from evidence already available, and from the Survey which was commenced in the summer of 1956 and forms part of it.

Although the Report does not pretend to be a comprehensive planning study, its preparation required understanding the essentials in the growth of the city and region in order that conclusions might be drawn. It is designed to give guidance to the City Council, and to serve as evidence for co-operative action by the City, Provincial, and Dominion Governments. Furthermore, it is presented in a way which could promote understanding amongst the citizens of Halifax. For this last reason it is not loaded with complicated statistical tables and it should be found free of useless sentiment. The objective from the beginning has been to reach practical proposals.

Many persons, whether they spoke or wrote as individuals or as members of an organisation, have contributed to the work. Their views and information are gratefully acknowledged, although in saying this it is not the intention to commit or pledge them in any way. The responsibility for all that is presented is carried by one person.

There are some special acknowledgments which must be made. In the City administration, His Worship the Mayor and the Housing Committee of the Council have offered encouragement and help from the beginning, and every official approached has freely offered his time, knowledge, and real assistance. Mr. De Bard, the City Manager, was always ready at the shortest notice to bring his mind to bear on a problem. Mr. Romkey, the Commissioner of Finance, and several officers in his Department gave help whenever it was demanded. Mr. West, the Commissioner of Works, and Mr. Snook, the Town Planning Engineer, have been in continuous touch with the work from its inception and were always of assistance in matters large or small. Dr. Morton, the Commissioner of Health and Welfare, whose responsibilities in the field of housing are great, was able to free himself

from his many duties on several occasions to discuss problems, supply material, and make introductions. The Public Health Nursing Staff lent their assistance as did Mr. Jones, the Welfare Officer, and Dr. Service who supplied information from the research project in the Tuberculosis Hospital. The Chief of Police, Mr. Mitchell, discussed the work of his Department in relation to physical and social problems in the City, and supplied statistical material. Mr. MacGillivray, Chief of the Fire Department, not only gave his well reasoned views about the striking relationship between fire hazard and inadequate housing, but also, through Captain Tobin and the Fire Prevention Division, undertook a good deal of work. The Housing Committee and the Advisory Committee, through Mr. Gordon Black the chairman, were always available for discussion.

The School Commissioners, through Dr. Marshall, gave information about schools and educational requirements. Judge Elliot Hudson, of the Juvenile Court, was most helpful, not only in supplying facts about juvenile delinquency through the Probation Officer, but also in giving sound advice about the needs and behaviour of young persons in various parts of the City. Dr. Ira Macnab, General Manager of the Public Service Commission, who has for long been keenly interested in planning, gave a clear view of water supply problems in the County and City. He also presented general views as a member of a special Board of Trade Committee. Mr. Bird, the County Planning Officer, described the way development was taking place within the County. The views of Dr. Macnab and Mr. Bird were complementary. The Report of Canadian-British Engineering Consultants, prepared for the City and County, forecasts the problems of growth within the metropolitan region.

Of all the organisations in the City which should be deeply concerned with its economic, social and physical development, probably the two most important are the Board of Trade and the Trades and Labor Council. Both showed real interest in the Study. The former appointed a special committee to develop ideas and discuss points which were presented to it. The latter called a special meeting of the Executive Committee, at which matters concerning redevelopment were discussed, and supplied views and material on housing, rents, and wages. On housing there must be general agreement between the two bodies. The Report by the Housing Committee of the Halifax Junior Board of Trade, 1943, might well have been written by the Trades and Labor Council.

Persons or organisations with particular interests who were consulted included: the Rev. W. P. Oliver; the Gottingen Street Merchants Association; the Gottingen, Cogswell North Park, Cornwallis Area Property Owners and Tenants Protective Association; and the Halifax Welfare Council which, through its executive secretary, Miss Shand, presented views of individuals and voluntary associations.

The Institute of Public Affairs of Dalhousie University has made a direct contribution to the work as a consultant. The resulting material is in a supplementary volume prepared by Mr. John McVittie. At the beginning of the Survey valuable advice was given by Dr. Chester Stewart, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine in the University, and by Mr. Hancock, Director, Maritime School of Social Work in King's College. Access to historical material

in the Provincial Archives was facilitated through the help of Dr. Ferguson and Miss Phyllis Blakeley. Although this is not a study of history it would be shallower and less realistic if an appreciation of historical development had not been obtained. Some knowledge of the past is essential if one is to attempt to look into the future. Census material has been of importance in this process, and the offices of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in Halifax and Ottawa gave assistance. We may have used historical and census material in too simple a way. For this, in particular, no one can be held responsible other than the author.

There are national policies which have had, and will continue to have, tremendous effect in Halifax. They relate to National Defence, and the further development of the Harbour and the railway system. It would seem certain and inevitable that there will continue to be an expansion of facilities in the Naval Dockyard and at H.M.C.S. *Stadacona*, and that the growth of the port will require additional harbour facilities with new railway arrangements to serve them. Mr. Belliveau, Manager-Civil Engineering, Atlantic Coast, in the Naval Service of the Department of National Defence, was able, in general terms, to show the considerable physical expansion which has taken place since the Second World War at the Dockyard, at H.M.C.S. *Stadacona* and across the Harbour. It was relatively easy to deduce that this expansion must continue in areas where very little land is immediately available. Mr. Mitchell, Port Manager of the National Harbours Board, as a member of the Board of Trade Special Committee offered most useful views on the general development of the metropolitan region, and was as specific as he could be at this stage about port expansion. The Canadian National Railways assisted informally by suggesting railway requirements which would relate to additional port facilities.

Finally, mention should be made of the Liaison Committee which acted in an advisory capacity and has been informed of the progress of the work month by month, and of the various assistants who have contributed to the survey and the final report. The Liaison Committee consisted of Mr. Borland, Regional Supervisor of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Mr. Moseley, Deputy Minister in the Department of Municipal Affairs, and Mr. De Bard, City Manager. During the summer of 1956 the survey team consisted of Miss M. E. MacLean, Mr. D. E. MacLeod, Mr. Alan Yeadon, and for some time Mr. Peter Dovell and Flora C. Stephenson. They could not have completed their tasks without the considerable help of officers in the Fire Department, and officers in the Health and Building Departments. In Toronto some assistance has been given by Mrs. B. Dovell, Mr. P. Cohen, and Mr. M. A. P. Harminc.

My grateful thanks are especially due to those who came together to form a hard working group, and to the City of Toronto Planning Board which agreed an arrangement enabling Mr. Dovell, an experienced and highly skilled professional planner, to assist in the work. It may be said we took on more than we had bargained for. It may be added that the Report would not have been completed within the year without the encouragement and continuous help of my wife and Peter Dovell.

*June, 1957*

GORDON STEPHENSON

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Nova Scotia Film Bureau. All the photographs in the Report were supplied by the Bureau, and some were specially taken. The aerial view on the cover is by Pulsifer Brothers and was supplied by the Halifax Board of Trade. The base map of the City was prepared for the Report. The base map of the Study Area is taken from the map compiled by photogrammetric methods from aerial photography of December, 1955, under the direction of Canadian-British Engineering Consultants Ltd., Toronto and Halifax, and Canadian Aero Service Ltd., Ottawa.*

*A second volume, prepared by the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, contains material which is complementary to the contents of this Report.*



FRONTISPIECE. Symbolic of the City of Halifax, and erected jointly by garrison and town in 1803, the Town Clock is in a dominant position below the Citadel and at the head of George Street. It is a reminder of the gay and exciting period when there was a large garrison in Halifax which was frequently visited by H.R.H. Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, Commander-in-Chief of the troops in British North America. The Town Clock was erected at his request. The view is indicative of the problems in a growing metropolis. Immediately below the Town Clock, in a central and important civic position, are some of the most decrepit buildings in Halifax—and patches of vacant land. In the distance the large-scale post-war growth across the Harbour may be seen.

## I. HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE CITY

**H**ALIFAX was founded in 1749, following a plan of action which had been long considered. At that time Nova Scotia and Hudson's Bay were the only parts of Canada subject to British occupation, and Annapolis Royal was the capital of Nova Scotia.

Chibuctou with its fine harbour was a tiny fishery and trading station at the end of the seventeenth century. Early in the eighteenth century its future was being discussed, but several schemes for settlement failed to materialise.

Louisburg, a massive fortified place built by the French, was besieged and captured by New England militia in 1745, with a loss of 1,000 men. The following year a French Admiral, the Duc d'Anville, with a large squadron under his command, occupied Chibuctou. The retaliatory expedition ended in disaster. Fever took a tremendous toll of the men, ships were sunk as unseaworthy, the Admiral died, the Vice-Admiral killed himself. Instead of recovering Louisburg and bombarding Boston and the New England coast, the decimated fleet of warships and transports returned to France.

In New England, vigorous demands were made for decisive action. In 1748 the Crown approved the establishment of a Royal City to take the place of the relatively inaccessible Annapolis Royal. In June, 1749, the City of Halifax was born when the Chibuctou expedition arrived under the command of Colonel, the Hon. Edward Cornwallis, a member of parliament and a twin brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury. There were more than 2,500 men, women and children in the party, the settlers having responded to generous terms which had been advertised. They were given land and a year's allowance. To found the new town as expeditiously as possible, the thirteen transports of the fleet had been loaded with materials of all kinds, and the first settlers were a cross-section of society. Within weeks tents and huts had been erected in the framework of the original town plan. Within five years the British Government had invested some £700,000 in the City, a considerable sum of money two centuries ago. Although the purposes are very different, the establishment of Halifax can be compared, as an operation, with the building of a government-sponsored new town at the present time.

In October, 1749, at the first onshore meeting of

the Governor and Executive Council, the name "Halifax" was adopted for the City. In the next few years the original settlers were joined by American fishermen and traders, and different groups of German, French, and Swiss immigrants. At the first census taken in 1752 the population was 5,134, having doubled in the first three years.

The site chosen for the original settlement is now largely occupied by the central area of the modern city. The street layout has been little changed in 200 years. Military strategy governed the choice of site. The hill immediately above the town was a strong defensive position. The harbour below was open for navigation all year round and provided excellent anchorage. On the north, a narrow passage connected the harbour with a large deep water basin. As site for a naval base and shipping post, Halifax is unrivalled in North America. The Grand Parade, Citadel Hill, and the open land about it are a fine legacy of the days when the City was a fortress.

Before the new town of Halifax was established, it was the New England colony of Massachusetts which had been largely instrumental in persuading the government in London to found a base and settlement at Chibuctou. The timbers of St. Pauls, the oldest Protestant church in Canada, were shipped from Boston in 1749. It was erected by Royal Command. Trade with Boston and New England was important from the beginning.

In 1775, a revolt against rule from London began in Massachusetts and spread to the other New England colonies. Trade was immediately cut off causing want and suffering in Halifax. Years of confusion followed. Some New Englanders who had settled in Nova Scotia were in sympathy with the revolt and, in 1776, eleven thousand troops and refugees came to Halifax from Boston, but few remained permanently. In 1783, after the evacuation of New York, it was estimated that twenty-five thousand Loyalists had moved to Nova Scotia from neighbouring colonies, particularly from Massachusetts. They scattered about the province, most of them settling in that region which became the province of New Brunswick a year later. Many, however, settled permanently in Halifax, and being an energetic and ambitious group, greatly stimulated the activities of the city.

By 1800 the population of the City had reached

9,000. The fishing industry was prospering and a brisk trade was being carried on with the British West Indies. During the Napoleonic wars shipbuilding was increased. Many privateers were made in Halifax, and numerous French ships were captured by them and brought into the port.

In 1812 war broke out with the United States, and Halifax continued to be a busy seaport. There was a lucrative increase in privateering, and business was further helped by the influx of service personnel. Again the City became a haven for refugees, particularly for negroes from the south who had escaped from their American masters. British warships brought the negroes to Nova Scotia and many settled in and about Halifax. They were almost as numerous then as they are now. Of a civilian population of 11,000 in the city during the war, 700 were negroes.

The financial prosperity resulting from the Napoleonic wars and the war of 1812 greatly increased building. The total number of houses was doubled in a relatively short time, and there was speculation in land. Southward the City was extended to South Street, northward beyond Cogswell Street. In effect the first suburbs were begun and they form part of the area studied in detail in the Report. In 1819 Province House was completed. It is one of the most important historic buildings in Canada, being of an elegant renaissance design in stone, and comparable to some of the finest British architecture of the period.

Shortly after the completion of Province House the boom years began to give way to a long depression which lasted from 1822 to 1839. There were several reasons for the changing economy. The withdrawal of military and naval forces had an adverse effect; there were marked changes for the worse in trade with the United States; with a surplus of shipping, there was little shipbuilding; a reduction of activity in the naval dockyard further decreased employment. Families began to emigrate, many buildings became unoccupied, business was rapidly contracting. In 1833, slavery in the West Indies was abolished. This had a further effect on the economy, as plantation owners in the southern islands suddenly had their labour reduced. The United States had also entered the British West Indian trade which gave Halifax more competition. Goods continued to be exchanged but in much smaller amounts, and Halifax could no longer pay wages in rum. It is sad to reflect that wars and slavery were of great economic benefit to

Halifax, and that peace and the freeing of a people should hit it hard.

In an age when the sailing ship was still almost universal on all the seas, an event of great significance took place. Samuel Cunard, a citizen of Halifax, signed a contract with the British government in 1839 to run a regular steamship line for mail service. This venture proved most successful, and in two years' time the service was doubled. It marked the beginning of the climb from depression.

In 1845 there were two events of importance. A railway line to Windsor was begun. The United States signed a treaty of reciprocity with the British North American colonies which reduced customs barriers, and trade was much increased. Shipbuilding once more boomed. A mutiny in India, the gold rush to California, and the gold rush to Australia, all demanded ships. With the rebirth of activity, there followed a substantial increase in population and new building, which caused further expansion of the City.

Civil War in the United States brought the British Navy to Halifax in greater strength. In 1862 it was composed mostly of steam ships, which looked ominous for the Halifax shipbuilding industry. By the end of the war, in 1865, the steamship had been proved more worthy than the sailing ship in all respects. Lacking cheap and plentiful iron, Nova Scotia was unable to take advantage of the change. A second blow fell at the end of the war, because with it ended the Reciprocity Treaty under which Nova Scotia had built up profitable and natural business with New England.

1867 was Confederation year in which the Dominion of Canada was born. Most Nova Scotians were uneasy if not directly opposed to Confederation. They felt that their province did not need to rely on the rest of Canada for protection or for business. The natural trading areas were abroad.

In 1876 the Intercolonial Railway was completed from the Great Lakes to the heart of Halifax. It caused a rearrangement of the street layout. Upper Water Street was blocked, Barrington Street was cut through several blocks north of Jacob Street. In the years that followed warehouses were erected in this area at the railhead. But the great hopes which followed the completion of the railway were not fulfilled. Where Halifax had hoped for customers from central Canada, the railway brought salesmen from the other parts of the Dominion. The large and growing industries of Central Canada, with their cheap power and rich

resources, were too much for the Atlantic provinces. Ontario and Quebec had little use for Nova Scotia goods.

In the nine years between Confederation and the coming of the Intercolonial railway Halifax had lost a good deal of its international trade, because of rising tariffs in the United States and the decline of wooden ships. It was to suffer further setbacks because of its disappointing trade with the rest of Canada. In the 1870's the population was over 30,000 and a number of industries which had been established during the prosperous years after 1839 were still flourishing. In "Halifax and Its Business", published in 1876, a description of the population is given: "hundreds of absolute paupers, and thousands of comparatively poor men, but the city unquestionably very wealthy in proportion to its population". This picture might have been drawn in any of the great trading ports of the world at that time. Poverty begets the worst housing conditions. Economic well-being makes it possible to remove them. Wages and housing are closely related. The present legacy of bad housing dates from the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Until 1900, Halifax was virtually at a standstill in the economic sense, but despite the long, poor period, the population increased to 46,619 by 1911. It had increased by 50 per cent in forty years. It was to increase by 100 per cent in the next forty. In the years immediately before the First World War much traffic was flowing through Halifax. Thousands of immigrants passed through on their way to the prairies. Halifax was an outpost connecting Ontario with world markets. 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. Although interrupted by the war, the work has continued ever since, making Halifax a most modern port for all classes of ocean-going vessels. It is anticipated that substantial extensions of port facilities will be required in the future. The Report suggests that they will have considerable effect on the development of the northern end of the City.

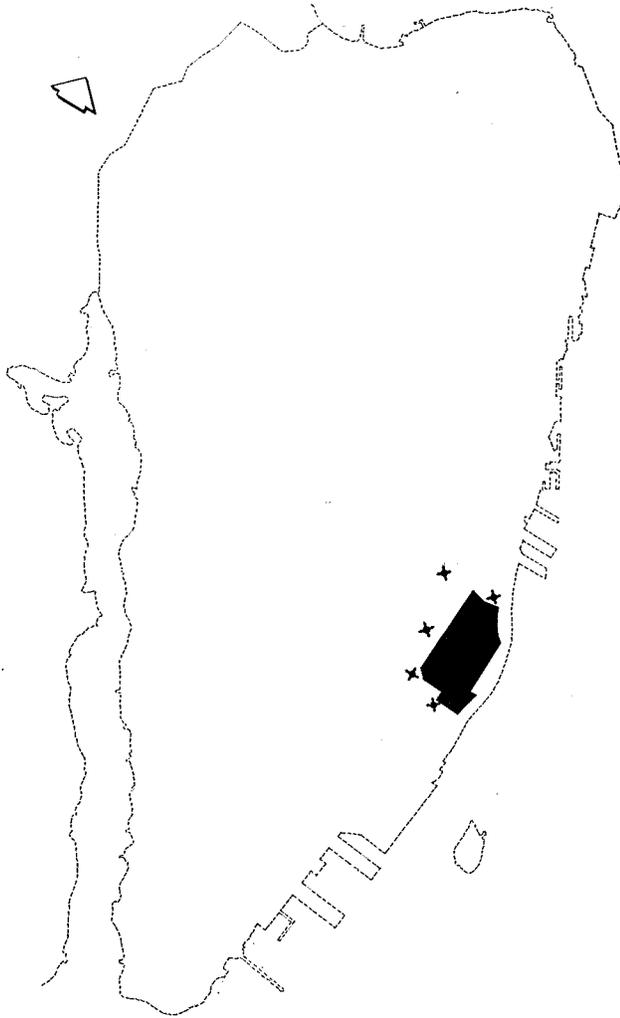
In 1914 the City became the principal base for the Royal Canadian Navy and an important embarkation point for troops. Once more war was to provide a tremendous economic stimulus. The built-up area pushed out towards Armbridge, the former scattering of houses on the outskirts became thriving suburbs. Business enjoyed a similar

growth. Where exports had totalled 19 million dollars in 1915, they jumped to 78 millions in 1916, and to 142 millions in 1917.

In December, 1917, tragedy hit the City when a French munitions ship carrying picric acid and T.N.T. was grazed by another ship in the Narrows. A fire was started and the resulting explosion killed some 1,800 citizens and seamen. The injured numbered thousands and there were 8,000 homeless people in mid-winter. It is estimated that the damage to buildings totalled more than 20 million dollars. In the north end, 325 acres of the Richmond district was completely devastated and extensive damage spread well beyond this. Harbour facilities were partially destroyed, including the drydock. In 1918 reconstruction was begun. The devastated area came under the aegis of the Halifax Relief Commission, under the statutory provisions included in the Halifax Relief Act. One of the most important fragments of layout in the history of Canadian Town Planning resulted. Centred on the small hill where Fort Needham had been erected in 1778, the scheme contained an area for over 300 rental houses and apartments. These became known as the "Hydrostone" houses, after the material used to construct their walls. Nearly forty years later the housing group stands as a memorial to those whose lives were lost or radically changed by the explosion, and also to the forethought and skill of the designers and administrators of the Relief Commission.

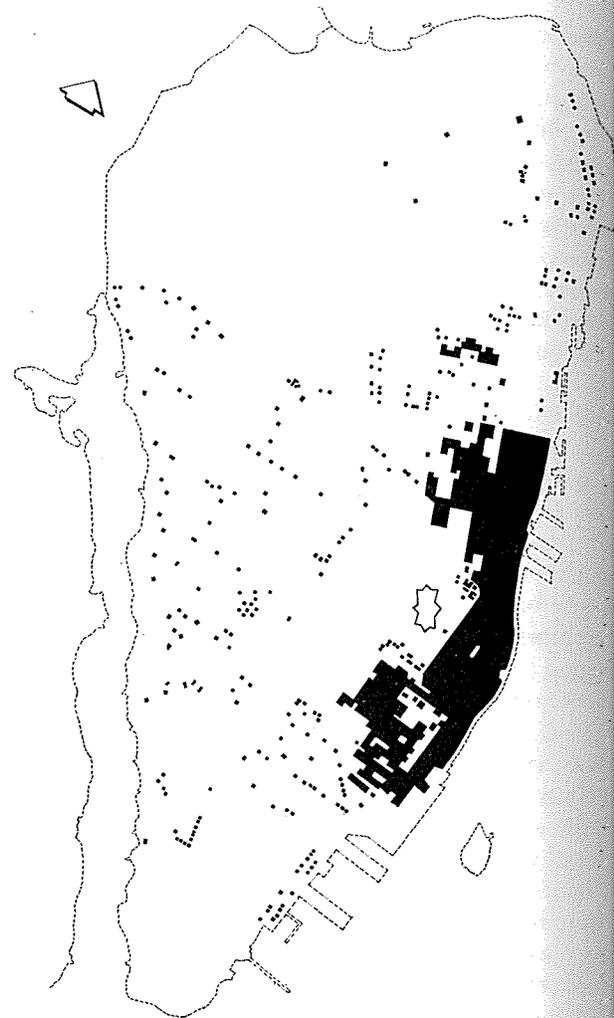
To mitigate the disaster, Halifax continued to enjoy prosperity for three years after the war ended in 1918. The new shipyards were busy building steamships. In 1921, however, the inflation bubble broke, and with the rest of Nova Scotia, Halifax was in the throes of a deep depression. Families began drifting to the United States. By 1925, there was a general exodus across the border, where better opportunities and higher wages were offered. The great spate of building had ceased.

Nova Scotia had always tended to blame Confederation for the decline of its prosperity. In 1925 a delegation from the Maritimes went to Ottawa demanding "Maritime Rights". Ottawa appointed a commission to investigate the situation, which later published the "Duncan Report". Among other recommendations, the report advised a national development of the port of Halifax. Accordingly, in 1928 the plans of 1911 were being completed. The modern system of port facilities has brought greater stability and expanding trade. From 1931



1762

Ia. The first settlement. A fortified new town, in a strong defensive position, lying between the harbour and the hill. There were five wooden forts, a palisade, and three shore batteries encircling the town.



1865

Ib. The City at the end of the Civil War in the United States and shortly before Confederation. The built-up area, embracing a 'northern' and 'southern suburb', corresponds approximately to the Study Area.

onward, there has been a steadily increasing amount of business. In 1910, the in and out ocean-going tonnage was only a seventh of that using the port thirty years later. In the same period the tonnage of freight increased sixfold.

In 1939, when Canada entered the Second World War, Halifax again became a busy embarkation port, and an active naval city. The naval force, including the Dockyard workers, soon increased from the hundreds to 20,000. The air force personnel in Eastern Passage, together with their families, numbered 5,000. Despite the building of many prefabricated houses in the northern part of

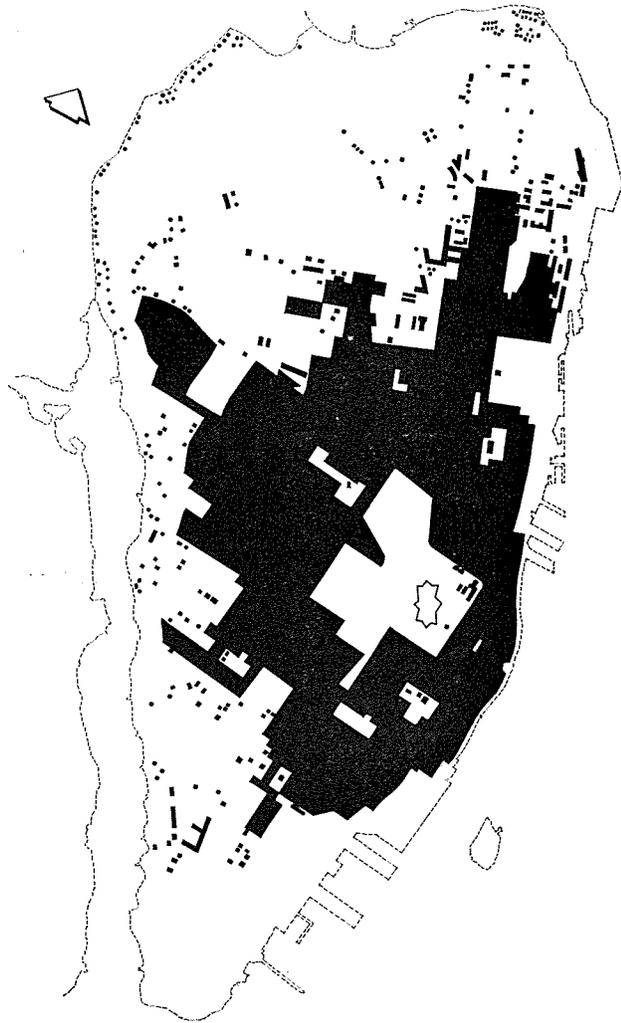
the City, there was abnormal overcrowding. Families from all the provinces followed their servicemen husbands to the port city. Skilled civilian personnel came from all parts of Canada to perform wartime jobs. By the end of the war the City occupied most of the peninsula, and suburbs stretched along Bedford basin and the North West Arm.

During the war wholesale concerns handled a tremendous amount of business. Retail trade flourished despite the scarcity of many goods. With all the other activities, Halifax had never known such financial prosperity. The great problem of



1918

Ic. The City shortly after the explosion which devastated the northeastern part. The built-up area had encircled the Commons. Reference to Map 1 will show this to be the area now in multi-family use.



1934

Id. The City of twenty years ago. Growing but slowly at that time it was to cover the peninsula during and after the Second World War. The maps have been composed from a series in the Nova Scotia Archives.

overcrowding and bad housing remained, it is true, but it was considered that both might be reduced considerably with a return to "normal". There were many who expected the usual post-war slump and a great exodus of people. Even with the departure of service personnel and skilled workers, population continued to increase. Despite dismal forecasts, the economy is working at a higher level than ever before. The increased population is a good omen for the future. Since the early days of the Second World War metropolitan Halifax has gained an additional 60,000 persons—in the last fifteen years it has added more people than the

total living in the region in 1911. There was an increase of some 26,000 in the five years between 1951 and 1956.

It should be fair to assume that the fast-growing metropolitan region has now reached such a size that the economy is in better balance. With the continued growth of Canada, the port will go on increasing the scope and scale of its operations. The Royal Canadian naval establishments provide a solid economic base, and have increased greatly since the war. In an age of rapidly advancing technology, there would seem to be many reasons why they should continue to be developed.

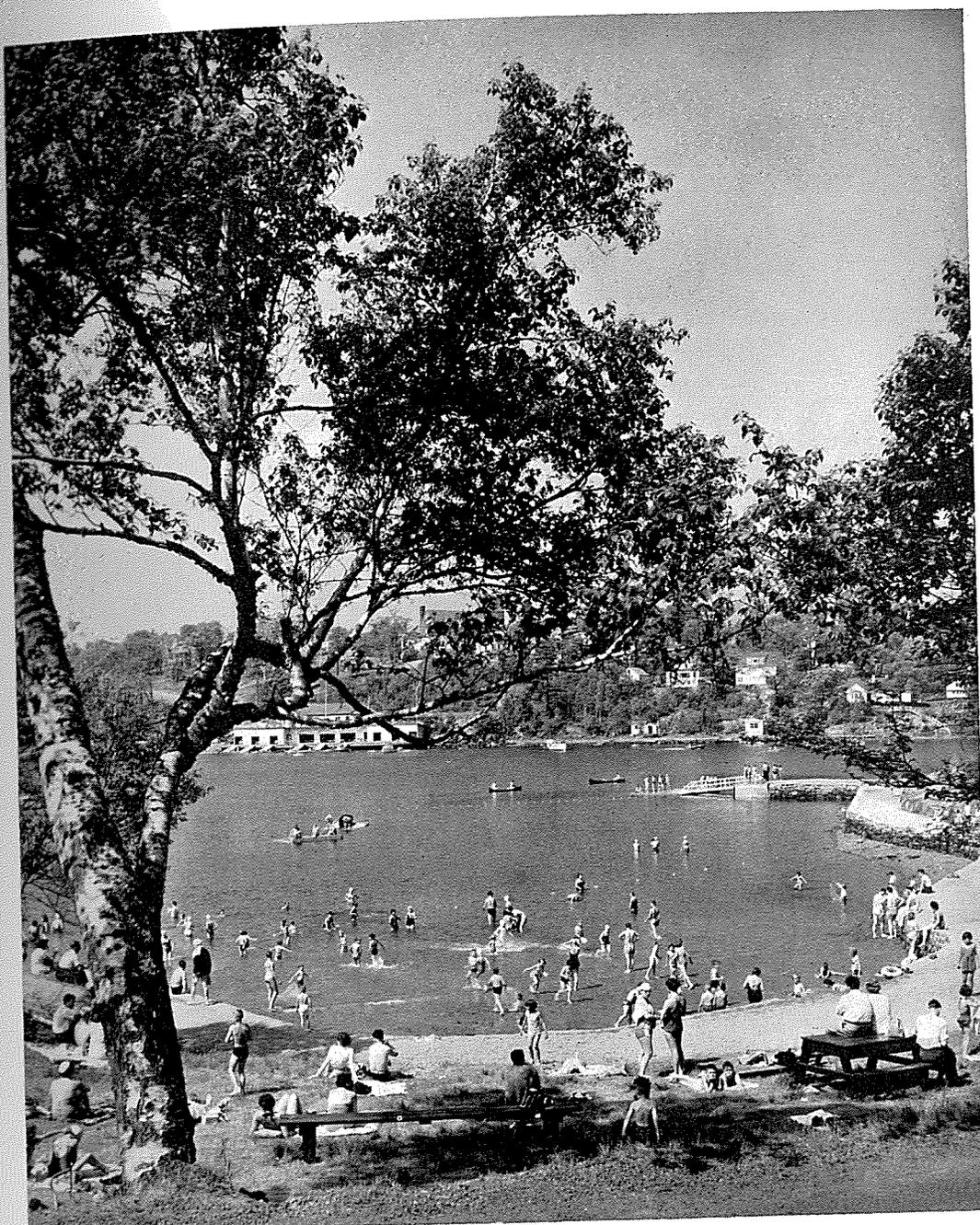
In the last ten years the City Council has carried out many improvements suggested in the Master Plan of 1945, and contained in the Official Plan for 1950. Many new schools have been built for the growing number of children. Private and public housing schemes, factories, office buildings, stores, a large office building for the Dominion Government, have all been erected since the war. Citadel Hill and the Citadel are being extensively renovated as a national monument. With nearly all the land of the City now in urban use, there can be some stocktaking. The time is ripe for urban redevelopment and improvement, in which many of the bad results of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century vicissitudes may be removed. New healthy growth

in place of the old which has decayed, will add economic strength, give far better living conditions and increase both the efficiency and the beauty of the City.

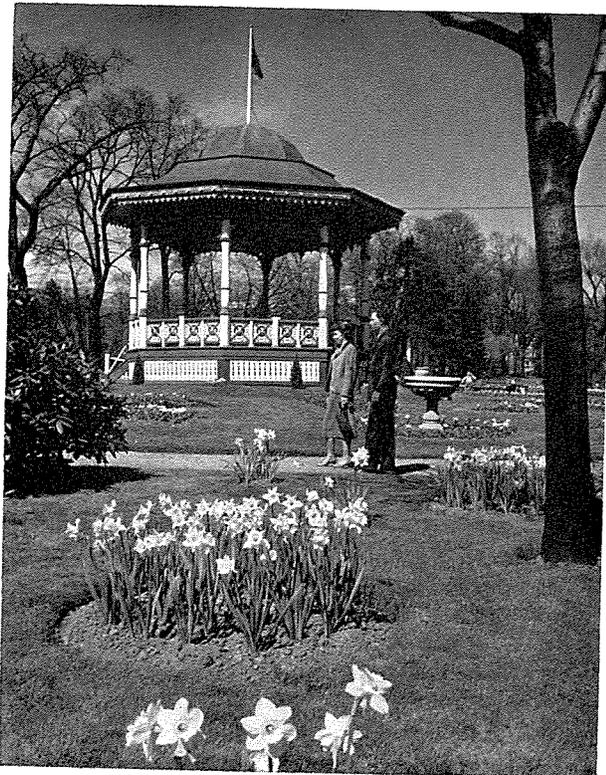
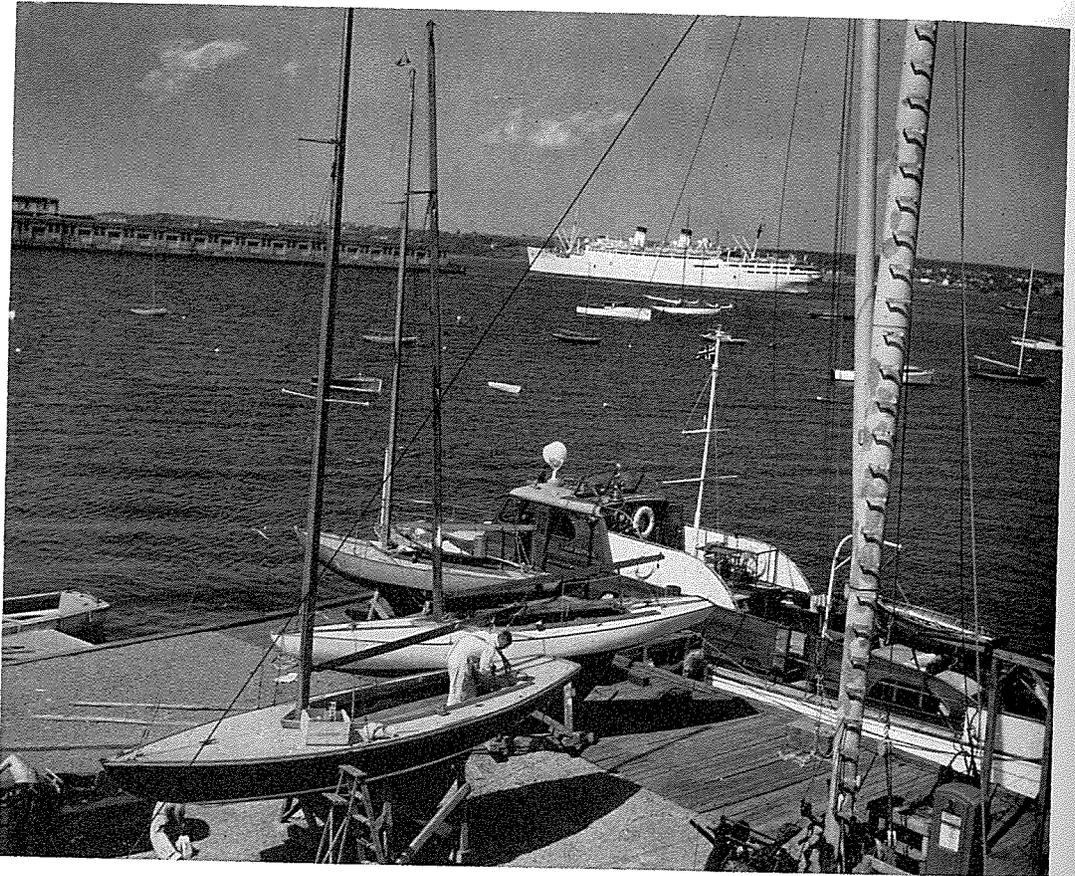
In the eighteenth century, Halifax was a *new town*, conceived and executed by government in an unusual and somewhat spectacular way. From the beginning it has been a seat of government, a port, and a naval and military base. Its fortunes have fluctuated in marked degree. It has flourished more during war than during peacetime, but since the last war it has proceeded to follow a much steadier course. It must be assumed that this will reach far into the future. With further substantial growth there is opportunity.

## II. A PICTORIAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY

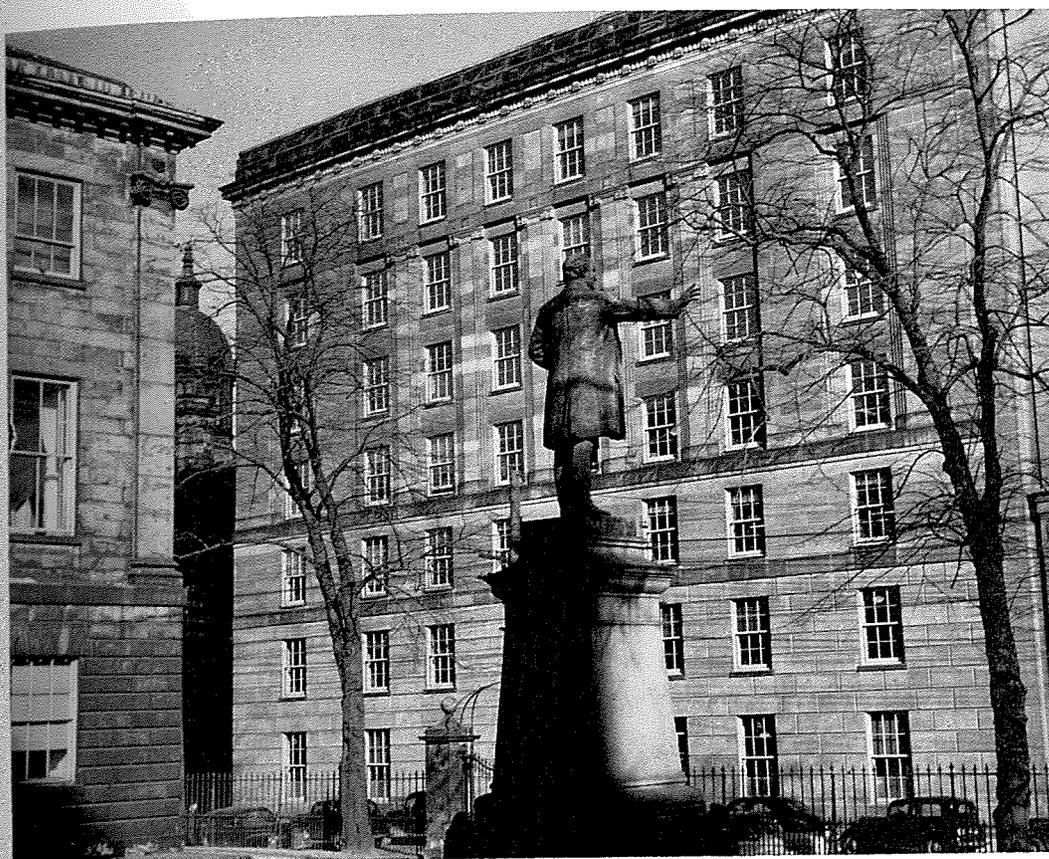
In the part beginning on the facing page various aspects of the city are shown and described. The emphasis in the Report is on the problems of the inner residential areas with their worn out houses and tenements. But it would be misleading to give only one view of Halifax. A synoptic, if somewhat brief, impression of the city as a whole suggests that Halifax has great natural advantages, physical charm—and potentialities.



1. THE DINGLE AND THE NORTH WEST ARM. There are few cities in North America which enjoy such a delightful setting as the Halifax peninsula and its surrounding waters. The Harbour on the east provides the drama with its ships, large and small, entering and leaving port. On the western side there is the long inlet known as the North West Arm. Its rocky banks are lined with fine residences, club houses in spacious grounds, and public parks. The most popular is Fleming Park, a large city-owned recreational area. The bathing beach within the park is in the Dingle, and behind it rises the Memorial Tower, built to commemorate the beginnings of parliamentary government in Canada, which is generally accepted as the Nova Scotia general election of 1758.

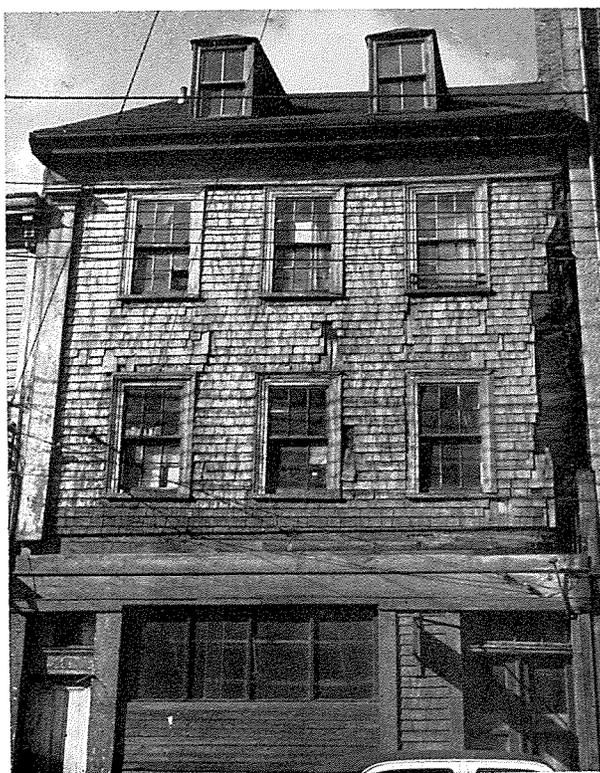


**2. THE MAGNIFICENT HARBOUR OF HALIFAX.** The approach to the Port of Halifax as seen from Point Pleasant Park. In the foreground are boats of the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron. In the background a liner is nearing its berth at the Ocean Terminal. Immediately to the south are bathing beaches in the park, an area of natural woodland, edged on three sides by a rocky coastline which juts towards the Ocean. **3. THE PUBLIC GARDENS IN THE HEART OF THE CITY.** A source of enjoyment to a multitude of citizens, and centrally placed at the end of the Spring Garden Road Shopping Centre, the Public Gardens, are a delightful example of Victorian landscape design. About seventeen acres in extent there is great variety in the layout. The Gardens are the most highly developed public open space in the City and part of the legacy of common land, which has proved to be of increasing advantage with the passage of time.



#### 4. PROVINCE HOUSE AND THE PROVINCIAL BUILDING.

In the heart of central Halifax. Province House was completed in 1819 at a cost of £52,000, replacing the former Government House. It is set in a space surrounded by some of the best buildings in Halifax, including that of the Provincial Government — seen beyond the statue of the Hon. Joseph Howe, an outstanding Nova Scotia statesman in the early days of the Province. In the expanding city centre every effort should be made to maintain the existing high urban quality. 5. OLD HOUSE IN THE CITY CENTRE. On Lower Water Street, this vestige of former times is a reminder of functional changes which take place as a city grows. Located in what is now a backwater caused by the first railway blocking Upper Water Street, this house and others would be replaced by modern buildings if the backwater were brought to life by the proposals in the Report.





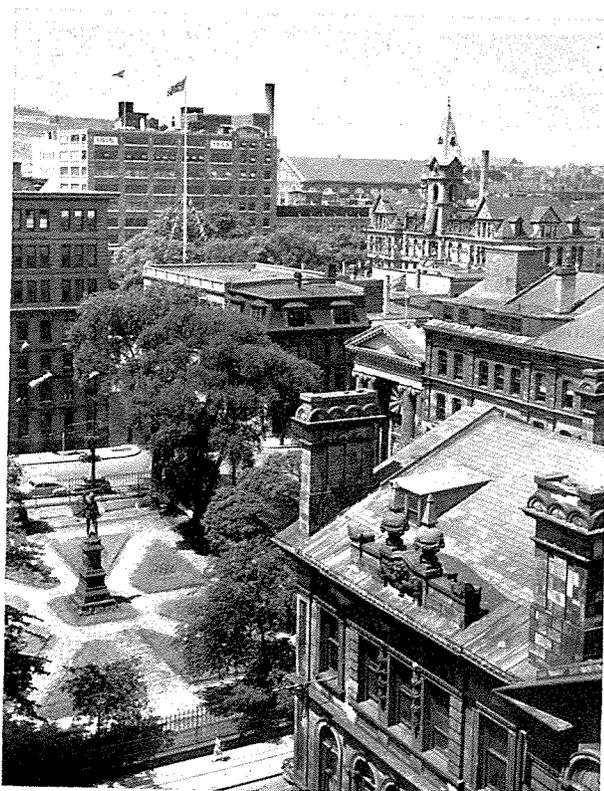
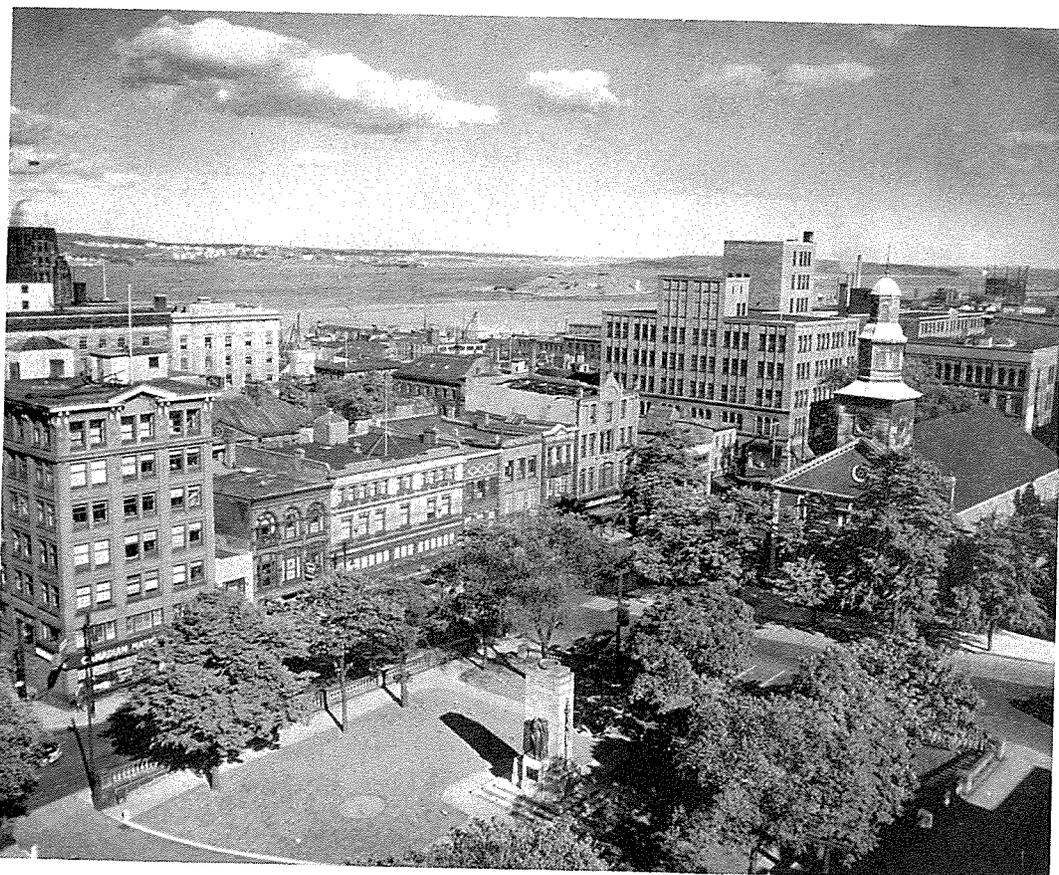
6. AIR VIEW OF THE CITY CENTRE TOWARDS THE SOUTH WEST. The view is right across the peninsula to the mainland beyond the North West Arm. The fine residential area stretching across the North West Arm is in the upper part of the picture, where Dalhousie University is to be seen in the right-hand corner. In the upper middle portion, from right to left are: the remarkable Citadel Hill, dominating the City; the Public Gardens and the large hotel adjacent to them; the Victoria General Hospital in the medical centre; and an educational area, including St. Mary's University. The compactness of the central area in the left half of the photograph is to be remarked. The poorness of development immediately adjacent to the old Town Clock and stretching northwards (right-hand side) is discussed in the Report, and proposals are made for its

redevelopment. In the left centre foreground is the group of old frame buildings cluttering the ferry approach. They occupy a vantage point in the City at the lower end of George Street. Their clearance and the redevelopment of the site would ensure that the Harbour remain as part of the urban scene and the provision of parking space would meet a real need. The panoramic view as a whole gives a good impression of the character and great potentialities of the Halifax peninsula. There are few cities in the world so well endowed by nature, and a series of historic accidents which have resulted in urban development of a pleasant scale, contrasted with different kinds of park land and open development. In passing, it should be noted that the well wooded, but ageing residential areas immediately beyond Citadel Hill should be redeveloped in the next decades as apartment areas of quality.



7. AIR VIEW OF THE CITY CENTRE TOWARDS THE WEST. In this is to be seen most of the layout of the original settlement of 1749. The strategic location is evident. Lying between the hill, now surmounted by the fourth citadel, and the extensive deep water harbour, the site provided a strong defensive position. Two of the three shore battery sites are now occupied by Dominion Government buildings in the right and left foregrounds, and Citadel Hill is now being extensively landscaped by the Dominion Government. This will add to its attractiveness and ensure that it will be visited by increasing numbers of citizens and tourists. The George Street axis, leading from the government and financial centre, at its lower end, to the old Town Clock on Citadel Hill is in the centre of the left-hand side of the view. In the right centre may be seen the worn-out and under-

developed area between the City Hall and Jacob Street. Below the Town Clock, at the upper end of the George Street axis, is a similar worn-out area. Both would provide a natural and easily encouraged extension of the central area. A remodeling of the waterfront in the vicinity of the ferry slips and before the Federal Government buildings would greatly enhance the lower end of the George Street axis in providing a fitting and useful terminal development, and it would make for great economic improvement to the north of the redevelopment. In the upper right hand corner may be seen the stretch of common which is greatly used for games. The geographical location of the housing near to this, the north common, is excellent. It is in an area which could attract private redevelopers if they received encouragement, assistance and, perhaps, some inducement.



8. THE GRAND PARADE, A CIVIC SQUARE. The upper picture is of the Grand Parade with St. Paul's Church, the oldest protestant church in Canada, at the southern end. The main shops are on Barrington Street which flanks the civic square on the east. The George Street axis crosses the square as a pedestrian way (once the cause of dispute between civil and military authorities). 9. THE GOVERNMENT AND FINANCIAL CENTRE. The left-hand picture shows one of the two small squares (unfortunately, now a car park) adjoining Province House. The tower of City Hall, facing the Grand Parade, and the large factory of one of the oldest firms in Canada are in the upper part of the view. Further expansion of the factory could be into a redevelopment area. Within a stone's throw of the factory and City Hall is to be found derelict land and bad housing. The study showed these are in an area which, on several counts, is the worst in the city.



10. THE LOWER PART OF THE GEORGE STREET AXIS. In the oblique aerial view are buildings of the Dominion and Provincial Governments which, with the main banks, form the finest group in the City. Beyond them, as a terminal feature of the George Street axis, are old, inflammable structures at the ferry approach which block the view of the Harbour. 11. THE FERRY APPROACH. With economic and aesthetic advantage to the City the old structures (right) might be cleared away. In one scheme on the site, parking for 300 cars could be provided in conjunction with a public promenade, a new ferry terminus, a new hotel, shops and restaurants. A proposal is shown in Section 14. It is related to that for an improved Water Street. It is suggested, this should be connected to a re-aligned Jacob Street.





12. THE TOWN CLOCK AT THE HEAD OF GEORGE STREET. The Duke of Kent could never have dreamed that the Town Clock, built at his wish, would close a vista as mediocre as that of upper George Street. The buildings along Brunswick Street, below the Clock, are also unworthy of their position. This is clearly emphasized in the upper photograph. 13. TENEMENT BUILDING IN MARKET STREET. The tenement building on the left is almost within a stone's throw of the Town Clock and the City Hall. It is neither better nor worse than its neighbours, which are also packed with adults and children. The surroundings are unkempt streets and vacant lots. It is proposed that the area should be redeveloped before any other. It is evident in the maps, and is referred to in several places in the Report.



14. VIEW OF HARBOUR FROM THE GLACIS, CITADEL HILL. A southeasterly view across the central area to the magnificent panorama of Harbour and mainland. The poor development of the upper part of the city centre is seen in the left-hand foreground, where it is proposed there should be an office building or hotel—adjacent to the large city-owned car park which may be triple-decked in the future. 15. WASTE LAND IN MARKET STREET. For many years there has been a proposal for a diagonal street to run across Market Street. The only result is that old tenements have been pulled down here and there, and valuable land is lying idle in a dirty patchwork. It is suggested the whole area should be cleared at one time, and the land made available for commercial development.



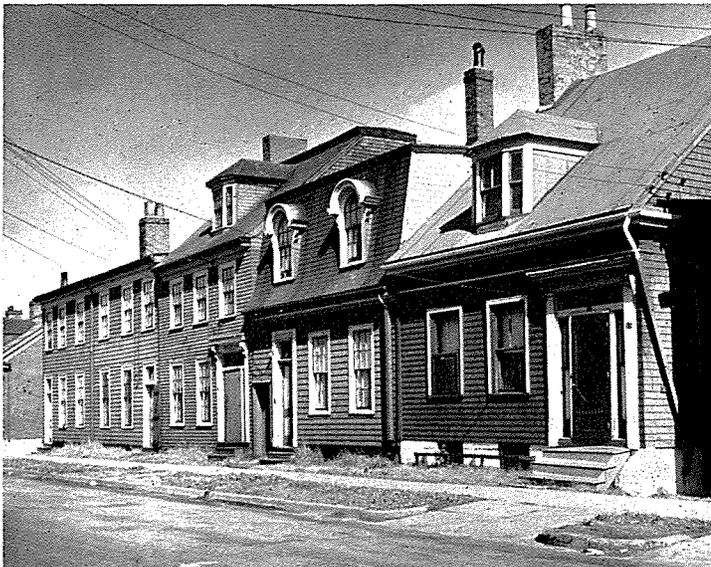
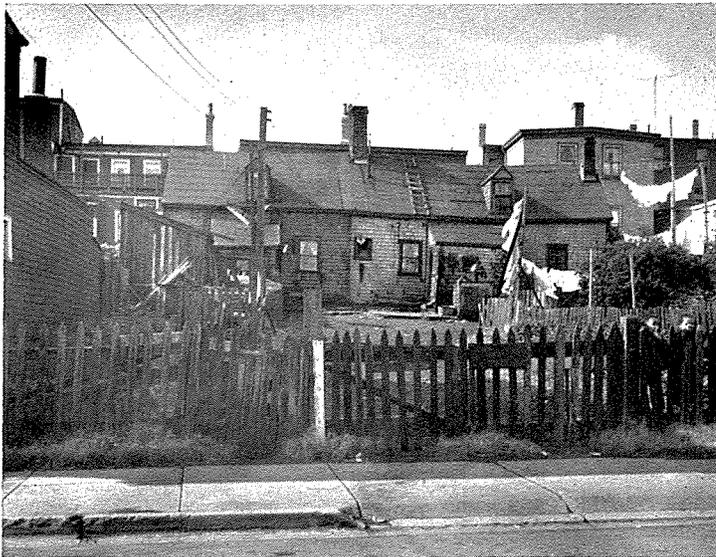


16. DOMINION GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS AND HARBOUR FRONT. In the eighteenth century, the Governor's Battery stood in the centre foreground of the above view. The site has since been used for various purposes by the Canadian Government, and is now partly occupied by important buildings. The waterfront could, however, be greatly improved by a promenade, and a car park more adequate than the old wooden pier. On the landward side of the cable ship pier, the improvement could link with the scheme for the George Street terminus. 17. A FORGOTTEN PART OF THE CITY. The left-hand view is of an important part of the city centre which has been standing still. An improved Water Street, and a connection from it to Cogswell Street would revivify the area, which suffers from access difficulties.



18. THE BRIDGE AND NAVAL DOCKYARD. The bridge is new, the Naval Dockyard has occupied its site for two centuries. But since the war it has been subject to continuous expansion and building activity. It is now congested and hemmed in by the railway. When the railway was built a strip of housing, now obsolete and obsolescent, was left between the railway and Barington Street. It is proposed that this should be cleared progressively, and that the strip should be occupied by buildings related to Harbour activities. 19. DOCKYARD, HARBOUR AND OLD NORTHERN SUBURB. The "old northern" suburb is in the foreground of the view on the right. The post-war housing development across the Harbour provides a contrast. There are several proposals for redevelopment in the "old northern suburb".

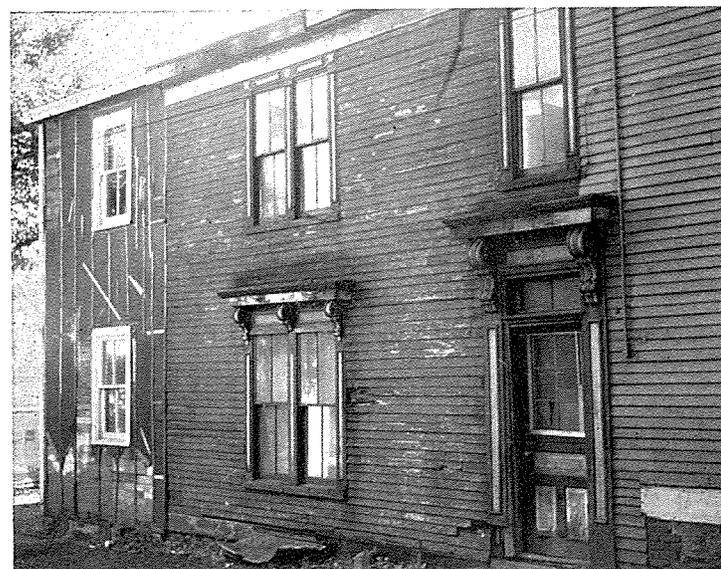
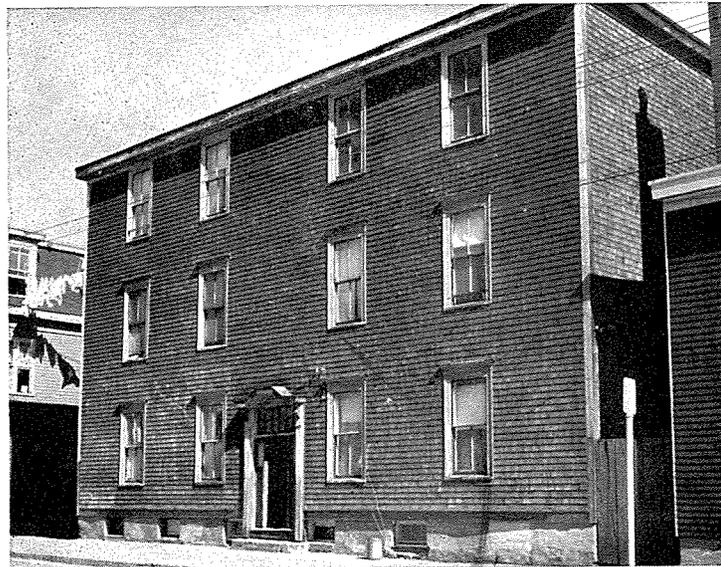
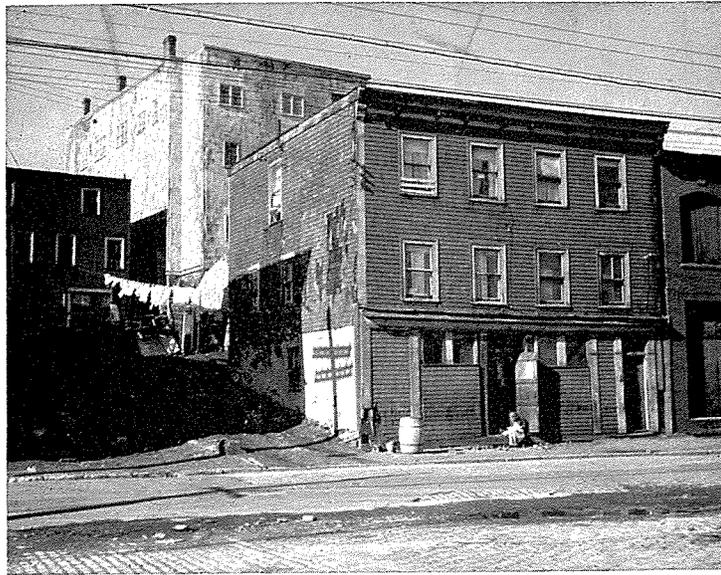


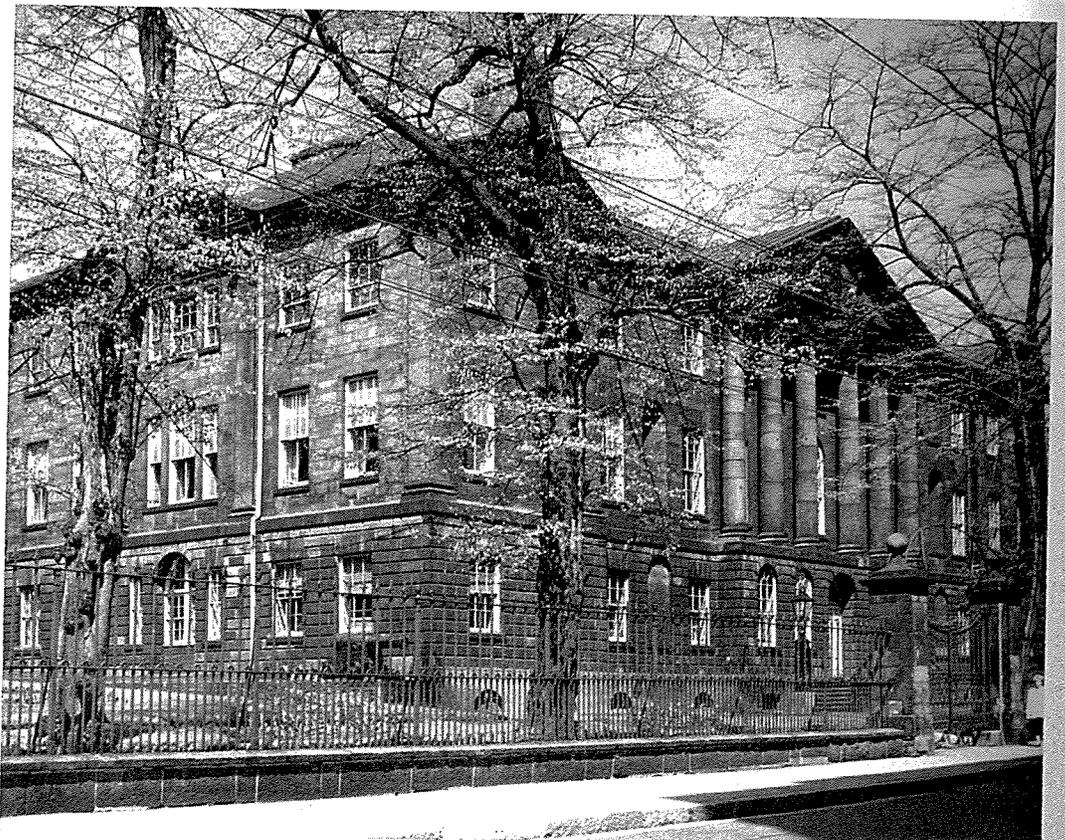
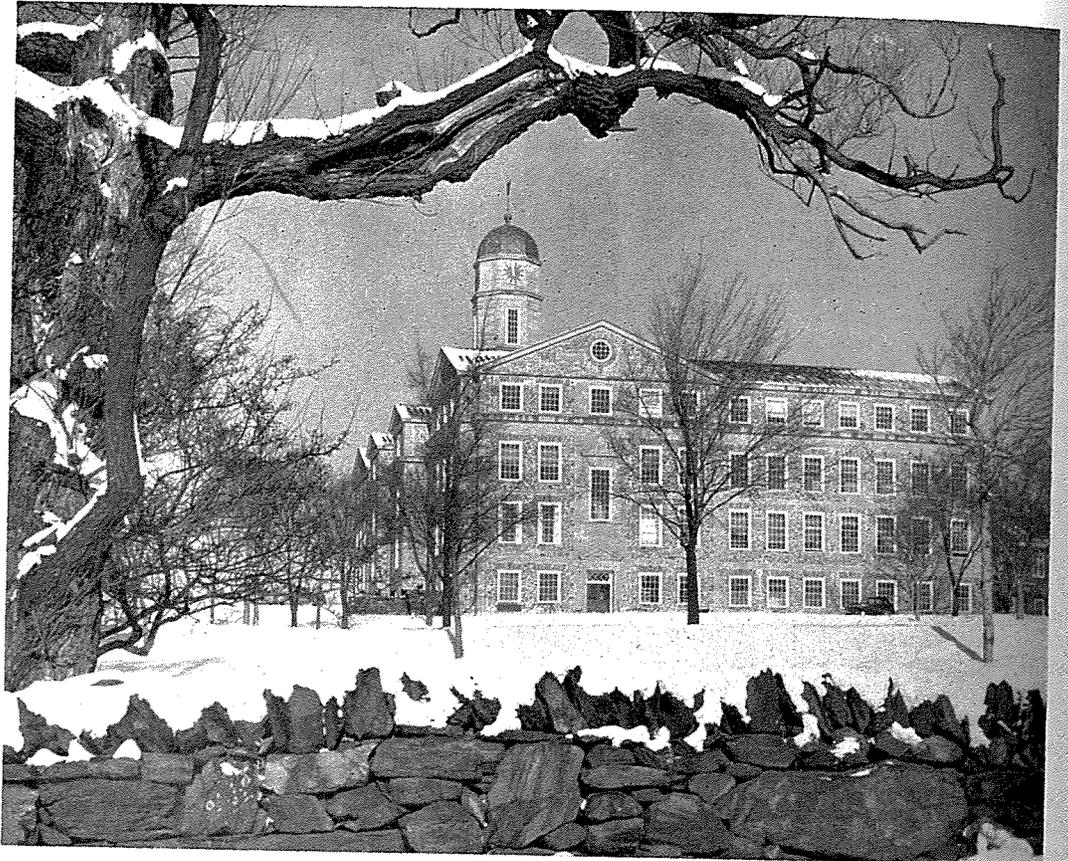


The six photographs on these two pages show fragments of the old "northern suburb" which must be subject to radical change in the next twenty-five years. On this page the examples are in the area above and below the Gottingen Street shopping centre. On the facing page they are adjacent to, or immediately above, the harbour and railway installations. In the expanding city, both areas are, and must continue to be, under pressure. The need is to forecast the growth of the non-residential elements, and their land requirements, and through planning to make a clear cut distinction between land for residential and non-residential uses. Uncertainty leads to confusion and further deterioration.

20. VIEW LOOKING SOUTH DOWN CREIGHTON STREET. Above and below the Gottingen Street shops, are two streets, Creighton and Maitland, which serve all purposes and at times are filled with shoppers' parked cars. Yet there are many poor dwellings over and behind the shops, and there has not been commercial intrusion into the blocks above and below the shopping blocks. The view shows a section of Creighton Street for which it is proposed that the dwellings and other old structures on the left should be removed to make way for the expanding shopping centre; particularly for parking spaces and service access roads to the backs of shops. Creighton Street would then become the firm dividing line between commercial and residential uses. 21. BEHIND THE SHOPS OF GOTTINGEN STREET. The photograph (centre left) was taken on Maitland Street, looking towards the backs of the shops lining Gottingen Street. The tumble-down "cottage" and its "garden" occupy valuable land which will be needed in the expansion and improvement of the shopping centre. In physical terms, it would be relatively easy to develop this strip of land (as has been shown by one of the old established stores) to provide service access and parking space for the shopping centre; and so to relieve Gottingen Street that it becomes a more efficient public transport route and a safer parade for numerous pedestrians. (See sections 13 and 14, scheme 8.) 22. A GROUP OF OLD HOUSES. Compactly developed, and originally well designed and detailed, there are many old houses in the western (or upper) part of the "old northern suburb" which make charming urban groups. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they were town houses for families who were *town dwellers*. Some families,

who could desert the ageing ship, stay on. Others will return, at least to those parts of the Study Area which could once more be made shipshape through private improvement and redevelopment schemes. 23. TENEMENT BUILDINGS IN UPPER WATER STREET. On any dock road in any city, there remain buildings beyond hope of repair which are crowded with families. Gradually they are cleared away and their sites occupied by new commercial structures. There are a number in Halifax, on Upper Water Street, which are ripe for demolition. Near to the view in the top right photograph, is a new builders' supply showroom and warehouse which demonstrates how the Upper Water Street-Barrington Street sites could properly be redeveloped, if the land were made available in lots of appropriate size. Living conditions are now so bad on Upper Water Street, it is impossible to contemplate its continued use as a residential street. 24. TENEMENT BUILDING IN BARRINGTON STREET. In the centre right photograph is shown a large timber structure which, at the time of the Survey provided "living" space for 48 adults and 33 children (81 persons) in 32 rooms and 15 kitchens. Twenty-four persons, including 9 children, were in the basement which contained four bedrooms, one without a window of any kind. There was one bathroom in the building (on the third floor) and five W.C.'s in various states of repair. It is proposed that the strip of land containing the tenements of which this is one, should be cleared of residences and redeveloped, in accordance with the present zoning by-law and map, for uses ancillary to the harbour and commercial-industrial uses. 25. HOUSES ON COURT, BARRINGTON STREET. The photograph at the bottom right shows the end of what may have been a pleasant group of nineteenth-century houses in a small court overlooking the railway and the Naval Dockyard. It is now in a shocking condition. Of the dwellings which have outlived their usefulness, are overcrowded and insanitary, a high proportion are in the strip between Barrington Street and the railway, an eminently suitable place for non-residential development. In all cities there are decaying fringes and strips adjacent to central commercial and industrial areas. In them the physical and human problems are interwoven. Orderly redevelopment only comes through public programmes for action on the part of private and public enterprise.





Halifax, a Centre. 26. DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY. 27. PROVINCE HOUSE.

### III. PROBLEMS AND PROPOSALS

**I**N THE NEXT twenty-five years the population of metropolitan Halifax may increase from the 1956 total of 160,000 to some 300,000. During this period there will be a fundamental change in the disposition of the population. The City of Halifax has hitherto contained a majority of the people living in the metropolitan area. At the end of 1956 there were about 91,000 in the City, and in the Town of Dartmouth and the suburban parts of the County, 86,000. In 1981 it is probable that only one-third of the population, or some 100,000, will be living in the City, with two-thirds or about 200,000 living in Dartmouth and the suburbs.

This radical transformation in terms of growth is in large part explained by the four maps showing the history of development (pages 4, 5). There are now only a few acres of undeveloped land in the City. It is in the suburbs that the major residential growth will take place. From now on, the redevelopment in the City and the development of the metropolitan region are inextricably related. What takes place in the region will have repercussions in the City. Action by the City Council will more than ever determine whether or not the City should become firmly established as the hub of the metropolis. This is its historic role.

The City will certainly continue to fulfil central functions. It is the seat of the Provincial, City and County Governments, and an important centre of Dominion Government administration. As a naval and military command headquarters it is of great significance. One half of the present naval strength of Canada is located in the Halifax-Dartmouth area. As a port it has of recent years shown steady growth in contrast with some violent fluctuations in previous decades. In commerce and administrative business there is increasing activity. Although there are some important industries in the City of Halifax it is not primarily an industrial centre. Its economic well-being will not depend on the establishment of new industries within the civic boundaries.

It is in the metropolitan region as a whole that industrial development will be of first importance. Here there is land on an adequate scale for modern manufacturing establishments. The majority of people will live and should work in the suburbs without complicated and costly journeys to and from work. This is not to say there should be no

further industrial building in the City. The continued development of the port will demand this, and the growing Naval Dockyard is a hive of industrial activity. Allowance for industrial expansion has been made in the planning proposal for the northern edge of the City, where it is related to probable harbour improvements.

If there is to be an orderly and continued expansion of the City as the hub of a metropolitan region, which at present is increasing in terms of population at the rate of 3.5 per cent per annum, it is important that the City Council determine planning policy for the central and older areas. Here the main problems of redevelopment are posed. Here many of the worst dwellings are to be found, and with them social and economic difficulties.

In all cities decay takes place most rapidly on the fringe of the centre. Halifax is no exception. Deterioration and overcrowding of worn-out houses, now interspersed with small businesses and industries, and unkempt vacant lots, are most evident in the ring along the western and northern edges of the city centre. Beyond the northern and southern edges there are streets bordered by houses in various stages of obsolescence, some of them in a very bad state. In these same areas there are also houses which are well looked after by owners and landlords. It is surprising at times to find what perseverance and fortitude citizens display in the face of seemingly impossible odds.

The survey has shown that the central fringe areas are not only obsolescent but are also the most costly for the City to service and administer. Although it is impossible accurately to estimate costs in relation to revenue, and the considerable losses which must occur, a series of maps illustrate the point. A great deal of the police and fire department work is concentrated in the older residential districts. The City is involved in the heavy costs of dealing with the mental and physical ill-health of young and old, which can to a considerable degree be attributed to bad housing conditions. There is an amazing concentration of juvenile delinquency and welfare cases immediately to the north of the central area.

What of the inhabitants? They are of all kinds. There is still a cross-section in terms of social and economic well-being, although there is a high proportion in the lowest income group, and it is

here we find the greatest difficulties. In terms of living space those with low incomes have two main alternatives. They must find accommodation in old houses, or must somehow save or borrow \$400-\$500 to purchase a piece of land in an area, at some distance beyond the City boundary, on which they may erect a dwelling of some kind without the advantage of a loan insured by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. These are poor alternatives.

#### *Income and the Housing Problem*

The economic law of supply and demand, if it is not modified by a system of rent control, often leads to the poorest families in the City having to pay the highest price for accommodation, if we measure it in terms of rooms and space. This is without considering the kind or quality of space. Yet if rents are high, tax returns to the City are low. Because rent weighs so heavily in family budgets, other necessities have to be bought in small quantities and cost more than they should. Poor accommodation, food, clothing, and heating make for a miserable family life, ill-health, juvenile delinquency; all are costly to the community.

The alternative for a large section of the population is to leave worn-out, high-cost accommodation in the central city to try to establish a home, however primitive it may be, in the suburban countryside. There are some who fail in the attempt and land back in the City in an even worse plight than before. There are many who succeed. But as may be witnessed in several suburban areas about Halifax, the problems of the public authorities are now beginning to multiply. There are schools to provide. There is contaminated drinking water, caused by private sewage disposal arrangements that will not dispose of sewage. There are street lighting, fire fighting, police and health requirements to be met. As such suburbs grow, the money required to put them right will mount inexorably. It is estimated that it will cost \$5,000-6,000 per house in some places, to provide water and sewers to cheap houses which are now laid out in sprawling fashion on rocky land. It was cheap land—but it will be very costly land by the time the community as a whole has paid the price.

Land is often cheap because it is unsuitable for economical servicing and development. It may be developed at low density with poor buildings to serve an immediate need. But in a rapidly growing suburb this is an extravagance which eventually

causes financial regret. The report by Canadian-British Engineering Consultants indicates the areas in metropolitan Halifax which could be developed in a relatively economical manner. Without a regional plan and a positive housing policy, ensuring methodical growth in the right places, there will be continuing attempts to find cheap land for house building which cannot be serviced except at great cost. In its role as insurer of mortgages, the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation has already demanded that a housing lot on difficult terrain, which has to be serviced by both well and septic tank, should be at least 15,000 square feet in area. This is sensible and reasonable. But such lots are only suitable for low cost housing in *rural* areas. In an urban or suburban community, when used for such a purpose, they are detrimental to the economy and will prove costly to all the inhabitants.

The need for a metropolitan regional plan, and with it a regional housing policy, is implicit. Without using forethought and well-considered policies, the growing metropolis will pay an ever-increasing price to cure its growing pains. Preventive medicine is now generally accepted as more effective and less costly than remedial. Clearance and redevelopment in the City will undoubtedly increase the efficiency of the hub of the metropolitan region, and remove some of the worst slums in the older parts. It will also provide new accommodation for a proportion of families now housed in bad conditions. It will not remove the causes which bring slums into being. Amongst these, and without doubt most important, is overcrowding of dwellings through a shortage of housing accommodation whose cost, in terms of purchase price or rent, must be within reach of the lower and lower-middle income groups.

#### *Overcrowding*

In the 1941 census it was disclosed that there were 3,527 crowded households in Halifax. In 1951 there were 4,510, or an additional 983. It is true that the war years are included in this period, but it is also true that houses were built for war workers. The situation has not improved, rather it has deteriorated. This is not surprising considering the rapid expansion of Halifax and the metropolitan region, and the general housing situation.

More than half the families needing housing cannot afford to buy a new house. Of these there would be a proportion who could find monthly payments, but not a down payment other than

through borrowing at an exorbitant rate. This might turn their purchase into something of a mockery in that they would never own the house they believed they were purchasing.

#### *Housing Needs in the Future*

It would be as well once more to set down some figures for the metropolitan region. In 1941 the population was about 99,000; in 1951 it was 134,000. In 1956 there were some 160,000 persons in the region, and at some time shortly after 1980 there will probably be 300,000. If new houses are not built for half or more of the continuously increasing population it can only mean: (1) a gradual and substantial spread of overcrowding in older houses; (2) doubling-up in the smaller new houses (which is overcrowding of accommodation approved for mortgage loans on the basis of standards for one family occupation); or (3) bigger, and ultimately very costly, Spryfields.

If civic redevelopment is put in its regional context it should dispel thoughts, held by many, that it will solve the housing problem. It will not. Through redevelopment, slums may be removed with federal financial assistance, but in Halifax some of the obsolete housing areas should not again be occupied by housing. To improve the efficiency of the City, and to increase the economic well-being of the community, in places obsolete housing should give way to other uses. Some of the cleared areas should again be used for housing at a greater density of building, but not necessarily with a greatly increased population. That is, if it is accepted that families now occupying one, two, or three poor rooms, should have adequate dwellings.

#### *New Housing and the Abatement of Overcrowding*

To relieve overcrowding in the City several hundreds of families will have to be rehoused. This is quite distinct from any move which involves tearing down premises. In such moves further hundreds of families will have to be rehoused. There are thus two distinct aspects in the abatement of bad housing conditions. The first could take place without the second necessarily following. A reduction of overcrowding will in fact take place if the City applies appropriate health and building by-laws, prescribing housing standards in terms of physical space and arrangement, and sanitation. But it will not necessarily make sense to demand such standards everywhere unless reasonable alternative accommodation is available, and this is not

at present in being. The problem can not be solved without removing the reasons for its existence.

So far as the City is concerned there are two major housing decisions for the Council to take. The first involves the provision of new housing either on cleared or new land. The second demands application of a housing code to require and maintain physical and sanitary standards. The first would lead to a frontal attack, however limited it might be. The second, once reasonable standards had been attained, would be a defensive action against the recurrence of overcrowding and the deterioration of property. The application of Ordinance No. 50 of the City, a minimum standards code for housing, will be a step, but only a step, in the right direction. Extracts from the ordinance are included as an appendix.

So far as the frontal attack is concerned the City will be restricted in its action by the relatively small amount of land within its boundaries which is available or could be made so. It might operate beyond its boundaries, but this would be unreasonable unless there were a regional plan and regional housing policy.

So far as defensive action is concerned the City should first abate conditions, and then prevent an inflow or increase of population which is always tending to overcrowd premises in the older parts of town. It would then transfer the problem to Dartmouth and the County if there were no adequate policy for the provision of economical and low rental housing on new suburban land. From the purely short term financial viewpoint the City would, without doubt, gain by a frontal attack and a defensive action combined in one housing policy. This is the policy advocated in the Report. It is within the terms of reference. It is not necessarily a correct long-term policy for metropolitan Halifax.

#### *The Metropolitan Region*

The metropolitan region is an economic unit. The ill-health of any one part will in time affect the others. New housing for lower income groups must be provided on an extensive scale in the areas beyond the City boundary. New housing for all income groups should be encouraged and speeded up not only to match the pace of regional growth, but also to abate overcrowding and to allow bad houses to be torn down. For an additional population of 140,000 some 40,000 housing units of all kinds should be built in the next twenty-five years. The great majority will have to be built beyond

the City's boundaries. The task within the City is that of redevelopment, whether it be through public action, a combination of public and private action, or entirely private action, within the framework of a City Plan.

#### *Low Rental Housing*

In February, 1949, the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, gave an address on housing after inspecting the Regent Park scheme in Toronto. He said:

"It is the deliberate policy of the government to encourage house building by private and local enterprise so that as much of our housing needs as possible can be provided without making the national government the landlord of too many voters. That does not mean that we do not recognise the need for housing units at low rent. With today's costs, it must be obvious that low-rental housing cannot be provided without some kind of financial assistance. Our legislation provides for slum clearance grants, and also for loans to limited dividend companies for construction of low rental housing. It may be that experience will show that other forms of federal assistance will be desirable."

By the end of 1949, the Dominion Government had enacted Section 35 of the National Housing Act, whereby a system of subsidies became the basis for federal-provincial partnerships in housing and redevelopment. The provisions were further enlarged in 1956. Very substantial federal assistance is now available not only for housing, but also for general improvement through redevelopment if it accords with an approved plan.

This then is the general picture. There are considerable areas in the City of Halifax which should be redeveloped in a comprehensive way during the coming years. They should be considered as parts of a general development plan with a series of objectives.

#### *General Housing Objectives*

A first objective for housing in the City should be to give private enterprise every encouragement to increase the stock. This it should be able to do for the middle and upper-middle income groups, in the future chiefly through apartment building and not necessarily in the redevelopment areas. In providing apartments for the lower-middle and middle income groups, it should take advantage of the favourable investment terms under the limited dividend provisions of the National Housing Act. It would also be wise for the City to consider acting through a housing authority under the limited

dividend provisions. In direct relation to slum clearance it will almost certainly be necessary to provide some housing through federal-provincial partnership agreements under the National Housing Act.

The Report suggests a series of housing development or redevelopment schemes, and makes proposals for a programme in the early years. As a first stage it would seem inevitable and logical that new housing should be built on the Manning Pool site and on part of the City Prison Land, to relieve overcrowding and to provide alternative accommodation for those displaced by clearance operations. If it is accepted that the first area to be cleared is immediately to the north of City Hall, and that this land is needed for commercial expansion and road improvements, it follows that a project for housing on the Manning Pool site should precede the clearance, and that the scheme should be on the basis of a federal-provincial-city partnership.

#### *The General Improvement of the City*

Town planning to many people is synonymous with housing and zoning. The first is a major element in any City, the second is a legal device which seeks to bring about an orderly arrangement of uses and buildings. These are only parts of the planning process, which should in fact ensure that all development, whether it be private or public, should benefit the community as a whole. It is obviously necessary that actions taken by the City and by private enterprise should be related. Two examples of many may be taken to illustrate the point. First, privately developed housing should fit into a city-wide arrangement of streets and services, including schools and playgrounds. Secondly, in an area which has grown into a commercial centre on an old street system, the City should improve the layout and provide off-street parking. Such action is of benefit not only to shopkeepers but also the public at large. Strangled vehicular and pedestrian circulation is relieved, and public service vehicles may proceed at a proper pace. In short, the efficiency of the centre is increased, its value enhanced, and shopping is less of a chore for shoppers coming to the centre by trolleybus, car, or on foot.

It is of importance to the City of Halifax, and to inhabitants of the metropolitan region, that the City Centre, which is a symbol as well as a main meeting place and focal point, should expand and grow in an orderly way. History has given the

present generation a City Centre of great character. Despite complaints to the contrary, its compactness and intimate scale is of considerable advantage. The human being is not overwhelmed by a chaotic arrangement of buildings and wide streets full of vehicles. Remove the overhead wires and parked cars, and the civic scene by Province House on George Street is as fine as any to be found in North America. The walk along the main shopping parade, Barrington Street, is enlivened at every crossing by a view across the Harbour. How many are there who consciously appreciate these views? Yet they would surely feel the loss immediately if the views were blocked. The City Centre, the settlement of 1749, and the Harbour, its *raison d'être*, have been as one from the beginning.

Assuming the Centre grows to twice or three times its present size, in terms of volume of building, by the end of the century (and it should be encouraged to do so through planning), it is easy to envisage the waterfront immediately below the office buildings as a splendid promenade park, enjoyed by citizens and visitors. It is already an obsolescent part of the port system—with the modern piers largely to the south, and with new facilities being developed to the north—and it has no real economic future except for one or two special purposes.

#### *The Harbour in the Central Area*

A proposal is made that the ferry approach to the City—a water gateway dating from 1749—should be transformed. Except for the unworthy group of buildings by the ferry, lower George Street is of admirable quality. The suggested improvement of the ferry approach brings the Harbour right into the urban scene. It also provides parking for about 300 cars and is conveniently placed to contain central restaurants and shops. Because there is bad housing in the area it is probable that the project would attract federal assistance under Section 23 of the National Housing Act.

Immediately to the south, there is waterfront property of the Dominion Government, including a new laboratory. An old wharf is used for a car park and there is general untidiness. It would be relatively easy to clean up and rearrange the area to incorporate a car park and, overlooking the harbour, a public promenade.

#### *The Main Axis in the City Centre*

George Street below the Grand Parade is an architectural and financial asset to the City. It is

a Bay Street or Wall Street in miniature—and much more attractive than either. The Grand Parade, an historic open space with the oldest protestant church in Canada at one end and the City Hall at the other, is a fine Civic Centre. George Street above the Grand Parade leads to the famous Town Clock and Citadel Hill, which dominates the Halifax skyline. Large-scale works are in progress on Citadel Hill. The glacis is being landscaped at considerable expense by the Dominion Government. The Citadel itself is an historic monument now almost entirely repaired and housing attractive museums. The whole is a marvellous feature in the heart of the City. In the summer, cars from all over North America are to be seen within the Citadel walls. The stretch of George Street between the Grand Parade and the Town Clock is quite unworthy of its important place as the upper part of the main civic axis.

In the growing Centre of the City it should be relatively easy to encourage redevelopment on this axis, and that part of Brunswick Street which skirts the lower edge of the glacis. Already the City owns the whole block between Grafton and Market Streets, which is used as a car park, and the site could very readily be developed as a three deck parking garage with access to each deck from an adjoining street, and offices over the garage on the George Street frontage. The block between Market and Brunswick Streets is an admirable site for an hotel or office building, with a car park on one side and Citadel Hill on the other. The block on Brunswick to the north of George Street is equally well placed and very suitable as a site for a public building. Given these improvements, the George Street axis might have the County building and an hotel at the top, the civic square and City Hall in the centre, and the Provincial and Dominion Government buildings at the Harbour end.

Brunswick Street as a whole presents a problem which is capable of solution once redevelopment were in train. It could become a handsome avenue having a fine park, Citadel Hill, on its western flank. The City land fringing Citadel Hill should not be used for car parking. Indeed, it is a shame to see car-parking biting into the edge of Citadel Hill at other points as well.

#### *The Worst Part of the Central Area*

In almost every sense, the worst part of the Central area lies between the City Hall and Jacob Street. With the exception of the blocks between

Barrington and Argyle Streets, it is in a generally deplorable condition. Here are some of the worst tenements, and dirty cinder sidewalks merge with patches of cleared land littered with rubbish. It is suggested that the clearing of this area should have high priority. It will provide well placed and needed sites for commercial premises. In its present state of decay and stagnation it is repelling to good commercial development. Alternative accommodation must be provided elsewhere for those now living in the remaining sub-standard dwellings.

Incorporated in the redevelopment proposal is a new four-lane highway joining Cogswell Street to Water Street. This is intended to serve two main purposes. Firstly, it provides the missing link in the most efficient cross-town route to the office district. It flanks the central area proper and does not, therefore, disrupt it. By bringing Hollis and Water Streets into more effective use, and by leading to a large car park at the Ferry entrance, it should stimulate the further development of the office and downtown commercial district. Secondly, the Cogswell Street extension will greatly increase the attractiveness of the cleared land above Barrington Street and, as a consequence, speed redevelopment.

#### *Barrington Street: Main Entrance to the City*

Barrington Street was cut through several blocks north of the City Centre when the Intercolonial Railway made the northern end of Water Street into a cul-de-sac. This changed the structure of the City Centre. In time, Barrington Street became the main shopping street. Hollis and Granville Streets tended to atrophy at their northern extremities.

Running north from the City Centre, Barrington Street and its vicinity developed with wholesale businesses and warehouses. Beyond these there are dwellings of poor quality. The housing area to the east of Barrington Street was severed by the railway, and is now a strip between the railway sidings and main street.

Before the building of the Angus L. MacDonald Bridge, Barrington Street was of principal importance as a road for commercial vehicles serving the harbour, although it also provided a connection to the northern residential areas overlooking the water. It is now the major connection to the City Centre from the bridge.

As the Dartmouth side of the harbour develops extensively, which it must, the traffic along Bar-

ington Street will grow in intensity. Nearly all visitors to the City coming from Dartmouth approach the Centre via Barrington Street. It is a depressing journey. Although the street is of adequate width for most of its length between the bridge and the central area, it is lined with old housing, including some of the worst in the City. It is proposed that Barrington Street should become an approach road worthy of the City, and that there should be extensive clearance of old housing along its length, with new housing replacing the old on the western side, and with new buildings ancillary to the harbour or naval dockyard on the eastern side.

#### *The Old Northern Suburb*

In the early nineteenth century the City commenced to expand northwards beyond Cogswell Street. During the century the northern suburb spread beyond the naval establishment, now H.M.C.S. *Stadacona*, advancing along the axis of Gottingen Street. The development was mixed. Brunswick Street was lined with fine houses and splendid churches which still dominate the skyline. Gottingen, as a main way to the north, developed as a local shopping street. On the slope above it the streets and houses were smaller in scale.

Many parts of the "old northern suburb" are now obsolescent. A high proportion of the houses contain two or more families. Brunswick Street still retains an air of grandeur, despite the fact that a number of the big houses have been meanly converted into flats and rooming houses. It is, perhaps, saved by the churches, schools, and religious buildings which occupy considerable space along the street. In the architectural sense Brunswick Street is the most interesting in Halifax. It demands sympathetic and careful treatment as it is renewed in places. It could be attractive to private development taking the form of three-storey apartment houses. There are only small-scale commercial buildings and they are few and far between. Redevelopment on Barrington Street would have a beneficial effect on Brunswick Street.

There should be little difficulty in the gradual improvement of the area between Brunswick and Gottingen Streets. The several schools, and the park-like setting of the School for the Deaf, give it a spacious air. Much will depend on the growth and improvement of the Gottingen Street shopping unit, which now serves a considerable part of the City. It will be important to have clear-cut zoning

to distinguish the shopping and commercial development from the residential, educational, and ecclesiastical.

Above Gottingen Street, the problems of re-development are more numerous. In several of the blocks commercial development has displaced some of the old residences. An intermixture of this kind always presents severe obstacles to healthy growth. Further scattered commercial development should be prevented. There should be ample room for commercial expansion in a series of well-defined commercial zones. It will be well nigh impossible to revive the extensive and excellently placed residential area lying between Gottingen and Robie Streets, and within easy reach of the North Common, if it is broken up by small factories, truck parking lots, and other commercial developments. It is suggested that with the initiative taken by the City, private developers could gradually rebuild a large part of the area north of Gottingen Street.

#### *Gottingen Street*

The main shopping centres in Halifax vary in character. The southern end of Gottingen Street serves the extensive northern part of the City, and is also attractive as a popular shopping centre. Since the war it has grown considerably. There are new and expanded premises to be seen. The building of the bridge to Dartmouth has emphasised its strategic location on an important route, with fairly frequent public transport vehicles using it. The shopping centre is a slowly extending ribbon along Gottingen Street. The process of growth could be facilitated if a scheme were prepared by the City with the agreement of the Gottingen Street Merchants. The Report proposes a scheme which it is believed is practical and acceptable. It is based on the principle that there should be adequate car-parking space and service access at the backs of the shop premises, leaving the street clear of obstructing vehicles.

Many of the shops are in, or under, old and dilapidated buildings. With a more efficient layout, and a substantial increase in business, it is envisaged that there will be great activity in rebuilding and remodelling. The whole scheme would be enhanced in value if there were substantial clearing and rebuilding in the residential area immediately to the west. With the assistance of government, the Merchants might well be persuaded to form a limited dividend housing company which could take part in the residential rebuilding.

#### *Spring Garden Road*

Originally part of the common land and subdivided in the nineteenth century on 999 years' leases, the Spring Garden Road shopping centre is now in a state of transition. Its strategic advantage is that it lies between the southern end of the central shopping area and the most attractive residential parts of the City. The shopping and commercial centre is well defined, with a group of handsome public buildings at one end and the very lovely public garden and a principal hotel at the other.

It is likely that the Spring Garden Road centre will develop functionally as the "Fifth Avenue" of Halifax. It will also attract administrative and professional offices. Because of the limitations in lateral expansion along the road it will expand in depth. This development is already under way. A scheme for its growth according to a plan is presented in the Report.

#### *The Northern End of the City and Africville*

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 slopes between the shacks.

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

A solution which is satisfactory, socially as well as economically, will be difficult to achieve. Afric-

ville 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.

#### *Slum Clearance and Redevelopment*

There is some bad housing in Halifax. This cannot be denied. The investigation into living conditions and the physical fitness of housing has disclosed little that was not previously recorded. The comprehensive sheets for each building, which were used in the Survey, brought together data which were already in the files of the Health, Fire and Building Inspector's Departments. Previous Reports of this century have drawn attention to conditions in the old, overcrowded, residential districts. Many houses have been pulled down, but the majority that were previously recorded have remained. There has never been a concerted attack on bad housing conditions in the older parts of the City.

In the long run such an attack must be complemented by the building of low cost and low rental dwellings in the suburbs. Within the City it must take place through combined offensive and defensive actions.

With the broadened concept of redevelopment in the National Housing Act, the City may now enlist considerable financial assistance from the Dominion Government in order to clear worn-out areas which, in financial as well as social terms, are deficient in

every way. It may now redevelop the land for its highest potential use. In rehousing it may be assisted through federal-provincial partnership agreements, and by using the provisions of the National Housing Act which would allow it to establish a limited dividend housing company. With judicious timing of redevelopment schemes private developers may be induced to participate in redevelopment for all purposes. Finally, under the revised Section 23 of the Act, major City improvements may be financially assisted by the Dominion Government if they form part of a redevelopment scheme. The proposed Cogswell Street extension is an example.

#### *Priorities in Redevelopment*

In general terms, the Report suggests a programme for the redevelopment of some of the inner urban areas, and for the development of land at the northern end of the City. It makes specific recommendations on priorities. Financial and other considerations may affect the pace of redevelopment. Experience will be gained as work proceeds. In drawing up and recommending a programme, an ever-present thought in the author's mind was that the City should become a more adequate, and an even more vital, hub of the growing metropolitan region. Richly endowed by nature, and with a wealth of historic associations and buildings, Halifax could become the most attractive City in Canada.

## THE SURVEY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the following 31 pages the results of the Study are expressed in a series of maps and tables with accompanying written matter. It is hoped that the reasons for the recommendations will become apparent as the sections are examined. The material collected during the survey was voluminous. It has been greatly simplified, particularly in the maps. Basic data for several of the sections came from the forms which were completed in the field. There was a standard form for each building entered. The standard was established for the more limited survey conducted by the advisory committee in 1955.

PART IV, which includes six sections, examines the city as a whole in order to establish a relationship between the study area and the city.

PART V, also comprising six sections, deals with the study area in some detail. The blocks were taken as the units for measurement. To get a clear general picture from a description of individual buildings would be difficult, if not impossible, and the block will be the significant unit in any redevelopment scheme.

PART VI, includes proposals and recommendations in two sections. It was necessary to relate redevelopment proposals to a wider area than that which was studied in detail. A programme for redevelopment in an expanding metropolitan area is more difficult if there is not new land available for rehousing families displaced through schemes. Fortunately, there is still a small amount of land in Halifax which is available and in public ownership. It will have a vital role in the complicated process of redevelopment.

There is a key map at the end of the Report which unfolds to be available as a reference when other maps are examined.

The City of Halifax is on a rocky peninsula, joined to the mainland in the north-west by a neck of land which is only one and a half miles wide. The peninsula is less than five miles in length and, generally, about two miles in width. Near the edge of the surrounding waters, the land rises fairly sharply. The interior of the peninsula undulates from east to west.

The sheltered, deep-water harbour to the east and north of the peninsula has played a major role in the growth of the City and the Town of Dartmouth. To the Indians it was known as Chebucto, the great long harbour. In 1607 it was visited by Champlain, who described it as "a very safe bay, seven or eight leagues in circumference". It was used only by Indians, traders and fishermen until 1749, when the first permanent settlement was established. The site for the fortress town was well chosen. It lay between the harbour and a hill which has been crowned by four successive citadels. Each was the innermost keep and chief land defence of the Halifax fortress. The present Citadel was built, between 1828 and 1854, on a platform made by cutting away the hilltop to a level of 225 feet above the sea.

Visually, Citadel Hill dominates both City and Harbour. Physically, it forced early extensions to the north and south of the original settlement. It did not stand alone as a barrier. To the north, west and south were extensive public or common lands. Originally they were clearings surrounding the Citadel on the landward side. In part, they remain as valuable recreational areas. Early in the nineteenth century the area to the south was subdivided on leases running for 999 years. This is the Spring Garden Road area, where a fragment of less than 20 acres remains as that remarkable and delightful example of Victorian landscape design, the much frequented Public Gardens. To the west, the commons have gradually been occupied by public buildings and other uses. The process of nibbling away at the commons has continued to the present day. It is time to call a halt. They are a most valuable asset, and their recreational value will increase as metropolitan Halifax grows.

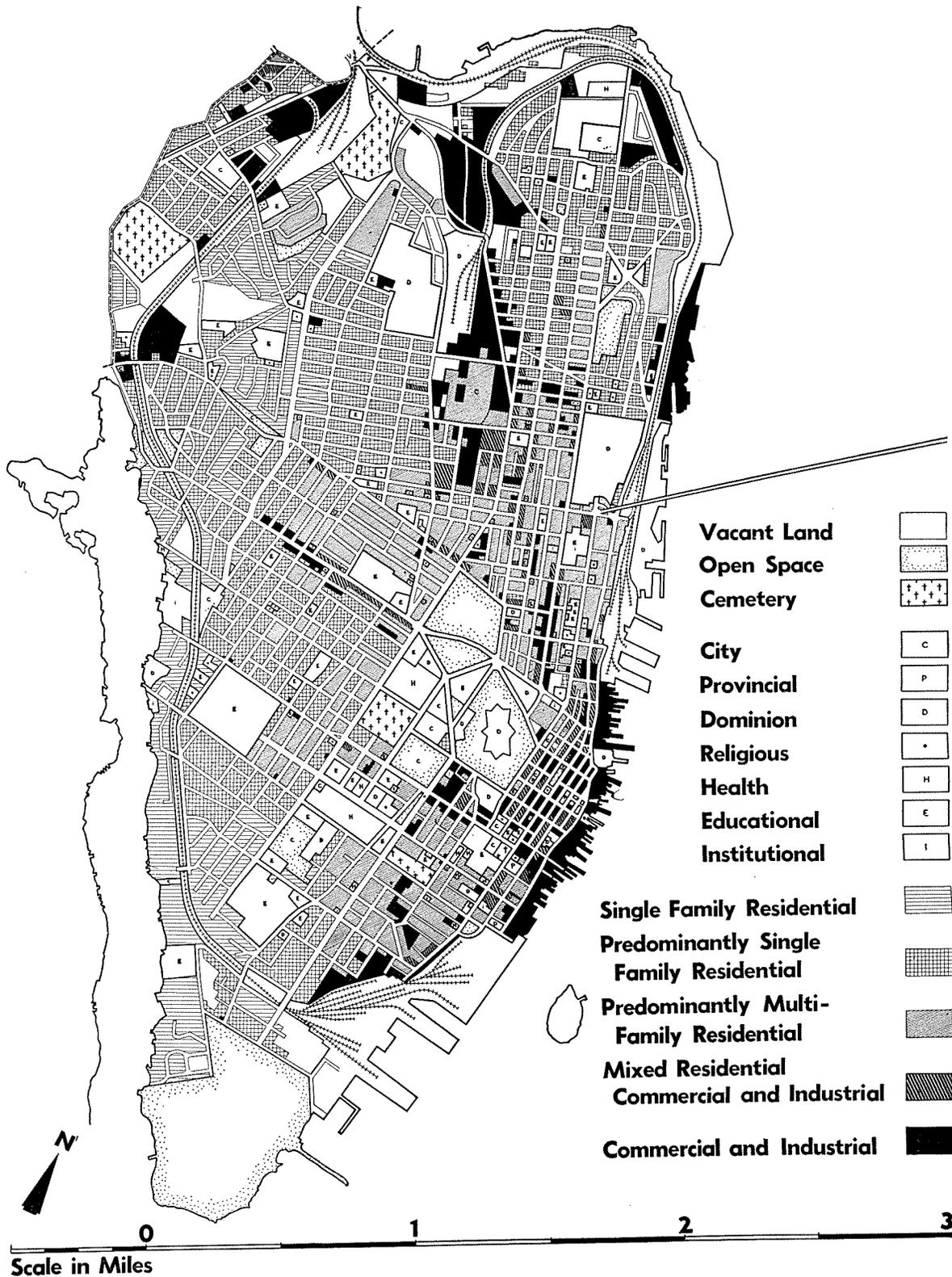
Between the North Common and the Harbour is an extensive district, described in this Report as the "old northern suburb", a major part of the Study Area. The tiny "Dutch" Church on Brunswick Street, dating from 1755, suggests that in the first years of settlement it may have been peopled by a few Hanoverian and Swiss families, who

cultivated market gardens before moving to Lunenburg and other parts of Nova Scotia. In the centre of the "old northern suburb" is the Gottingen Street shopping centre, now an important appendage to the central area. Spring Garden Road to the south is the other important appendage. The strategic location of the Gottingen Street shopping centre has been emphasised by the completion of the Angus L. MacDonald bridge across the Harbour. The Spring Garden Road commercial centre has the advantage of lying on that edge of the central area through which people come and go to the beautiful southwestern residential districts reaching to the Northwest Arm, one of the finest stretches of water for urban enjoyment in Canada. In recent years a third shopping centre of importance has developed along Quinpool Road. This serves the residential districts in the west and north-west. Since the war a large department store has been erected in a strategic position at the neck of the peninsula, near an important entry to the City from the western suburbs.

The main commercial concentration is, of course, in the central area, where the framework of the original settlement remains. The older wharves are immediately below the central area and the large modern piers are to the south and north of them. The Naval Dockyard, already an important establishment in the eighteenth century, now stretches under the bridge, and beyond it to the north is the shipbuilding yard. In the north-centre of the peninsula, an extensive area is occupied by industries and bases for the Defence Services. The newest industrial development is towards the north, and it is in this part of the City, overlooking Bedford Basin, where a planned extension of port, rail facilities and industrial development could take place.

The present structure of Halifax embraces the old and the new. Apart from the area adjacent to Bedford Basin there is hardly any unused land available. Major demands for new sites must be met in the region. In the City there should be an intensification of development, particularly at the hub, or historic centre, and in those old and worn-out blocks near the centre. Nearly all the main problems of redevelopment are within the Study Area.

The map on the opposite page shows the general structure of the City as expressed by predominant land uses and the roads and railways. It is the first of a series. The next five maps establish a relationship between the Study Area and the City as a whole.



MAP 1. The structure of the City expressed by land usage and the road and rail systems. Reference to the four historical maps will show that the multi-family residential are within the limits of the late nineteenth century built-up area. Source: 1956 Survey.

The map shows that the Study Area has the greatest concentration of population in the City. This is not because of a high density of buildings, but rather because of the crowding of families into old residences. Despite the displacement of some of these, through commercial and industrial expansion, there are at present almost as many persons living in the Study Area as there were in 1941. The population was at its peak in 1951, not in 1941 as might have been expected.

As the population of the City increased from 70,000 to 90,000 in the last fifteen years, the already built-up areas remained fairly static. Nearly all the increase was in the newly developed areas in the north-east, the north-west, the south and south-west. The totals for the metropolitan area show quite clearly that the major population increases are now beyond the civic boundaries. In the next fifteen years nearly all the metropolitan increase is likely to be in the suburbs. If there is more than a modest increase in the City it will almost certainly result from the spread of overcrowding to the north, south, and north-west of the Study Area. This trend is already discernible and it will be difficult to arrest if low cost and low rental housing is not made available in sufficient quantity in the suburbs. Yet it would increase costs to the City as will be evident from an examination of subsequent maps which show the results of overcrowding and blight.

In 1951, the residents of the Study Area were mostly of the lowest income groups. The median earnings of wage-earner family heads were about \$1,800. In no other part of the City was this median below \$2,200. From figures obtained during the survey of 1956 it may be assumed that there has been no change in the relationship. It should, however, be noted that within the Study Area there was a high proportion of families near the poverty line, with incomes well below \$1,800, and that about one-third of the wage-earners had salaries ranging from \$2,000-\$5,000, the majority being in the lower part of this range.<sup>1</sup>

In occupation groups, half of those classed as "labourers", 1,013 of a total of 2,044, lived in the Study Area; and more than a third, 2,635 of 6,978,

<sup>1</sup>In 1956, rents in the Study Area were generally paid weekly and, on average, were nearly \$8.50 per week for a single room, \$12-15 per week for two rooms, and \$15 per week for three rooms. There were, of course, great variations. In general terms, ascertained monthly ranges could be expressed as follows: \$10-35 for a single room; \$15-82 for two rooms; \$20-130 for three to five rooms. With a take home pay of \$40 in a full week, rent bit deeply into the family budget of the unskilled worker.

were in the "service" occupation group. The female labour force for the Area was large, some 3,600 or more than one-third of the total for Halifax as a whole. Yet the median earnings for female workers in the Area were only some \$800 per year. There is a real need for increased female employment in Halifax. There are industries requiring female labour which could, with advantage, locate in the City.

The proportion of owner occupied dwellings is about 10 per cent in the Study Area as compared with more than 40 per cent for Halifax as a whole. The proportion would be a little lower if it were not for the high owner-occupancy rate in the section where there is a concentration of negro families. Many of these families have become home owners, after decades of struggle, in order to obtain some security. It is only in certain parts of the Study Area, and not elsewhere in Halifax with the exception of Africville, that negro families can find housing accommodation. There may be nearly 500 negro families in the City with sixty to seventy in Africville.

POPULATION GROWTH IN THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS

Census Tract No.	1941	1951	1956	
South	1	2,171	2,281	2,366
	2	5,883	5,855	6,493
	9	1,207	1,726	2,126
West-Centre	10	4,937	4,683	4,936
	11	4,274	4,072	4,306
	12	8,552	8,021	7,871
	15	2,361	3,347	3,408
Commons	13	2,136	2,385	1,238†
North-East	6	5,705	7,379	5,988
	7	4,532	5,432	5,351
	8	1,301	5,014	6,377
North-West	14	4,702	7,929	7,703
	16	534	2,384	3,709
	17	343	2,637	4,617
Study Area	3	4,398	4,238	3,755
	4	7,121	6,267	6,097
	5	10,331	11,939	10,279
*City Totals	70,448	85,589	90,871	
Metro. Totals	98,636	133,931	159,678	

\*Including hospitals and other establishments not taken in enumeration areas.

†Excluding hospitals and military establishments.

Note: The table is intended to show the movement as well as the growth of population within and without the City. The figures in detail are for the seventeen census tracts within the City. The Study Area embraces tracts 5 and 4, and the major part of tract 3 (excluding some residential accommodation on South Park and Morris Streets). Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census of 1941, 1951, 1956.



MAP 2. The distribution of population in the City shown diagrammatically according to the 1951 census. The 1956 census figures were received after the map had been printed. The main change in the five-year period was a population increase in the northwestern area. *Source: Census of Canada, 1951.*

High costs are imposed on a community where there is a large percentage of sub-standard housing with its attendant overcrowding, insanitary conditions and lack of public amenities in the form of playgrounds for children, decently paved and lit streets, and a general atmosphere of good standards. These costs can be measured in human terms in a study of records of juvenile delinquency, the public health services, and the fire and police records. Repeatedly the story seems to follow the same pattern. In the areas where the worst housing conditions prevail are to be found the highest incidence of crime, poor health, and dangerous fires. Halifax is not alone in following this pattern of urban decay. There is certain to be a large but incalculable loss to society caused by the human discomfort and social misery of the present housing conditions. Apart from this, however, the City is inevitably involved in higher expenses for public health and welfare services, police and fire protection, in those areas of the City where the worst blight and obsolescence exist today and have existed for generations.

There is probably no other group in Halifax more familiar with the daily lives and surroundings of the population of the Study Area than the devoted women of the Nursing Division of the Public Health Service. On their regular visits to homes and families in the Area they penetrate into some of the most pitiful and often squalid dwellings. For some years the Nursing Division have kept records of the families which they have visited regularly. Complete records which show family composition, family earnings, condition and number of rooms occupied, rents paid, have been kept only where one or more members of the family has been suffering from tuberculosis. However, the records serve to show where there is most overcrowding, and where rents are often exorbitant for the types of rooms available. The high rents help to make the family budget short for food, clothing, and other services, and in such families as these are to be found the most persistent cases of ill health of all kinds.

The Family Folders of the Nursing Division reveal the details of all their cases, but a description of a few of these families and their circumstances will serve to illustrate the struggle which they are constantly facing. There is first perhaps a rather extreme example of a family living, when first visited, in one of the famous "barracks" buildings. The family consisted of father, mother, grandfather, and ten children, all of whom lived in four rooms, one of which was a kitchen. They shared a W.C.

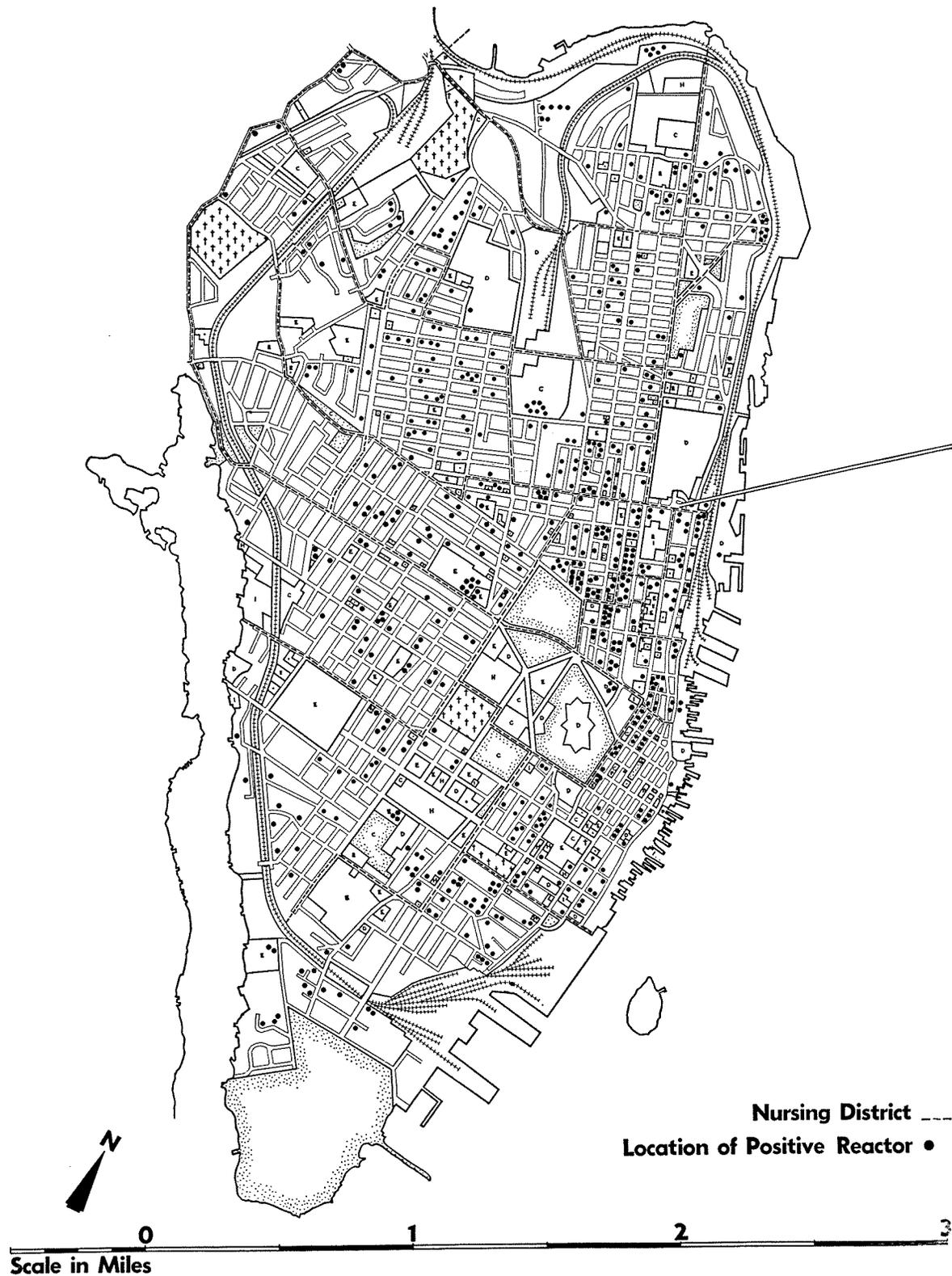
with nine other families, but the low rent of \$20 per month could perhaps be considered some compensation for their discomforts. They have since moved to one of the "Courts" in the Study Area where they pay \$48 per month for four rooms. Here they have a W.C. to themselves, but no bath. In this family, the father, grandfather, and one child have died of tuberculosis. The second husband and three of the children now show positive T.B. patches. The father is unemployed a good part of the time, and alcoholism and school attendance difficulties complicate the picture.

Another family with five children occupies a basement flat with four rooms. Here they have their own bathroom, but the rooms are dark, damp, and overcrowded, while the rent for them is \$15 per week, or one-third of the father's income of \$45 per week.<sup>1</sup> The mother is a long-standing tuberculosis case, and two of the children already show positive T.B. patches. The mother is pregnant and unable to help add to the family income. Living in such conditions, which is all they can afford and still leave some margin for food and clothing and fuel, it will not be surprising if the family health record shows no improvement. Indeed, they are more likely to become an increasing financial burden to the city public health services.

While not all the records kept in the Family Folders of the Nursing Division deal with such large or such unfortunate family groups, the story of poor health aggravated by overcrowding and dirty, insanitary housing, for which relatively high rents are often charged, recurs again and again. In 1946, M. Allen Pond, writing in the United States Public Health Reports, had this to say of the relationship between housing and health:

"It has been impossible up to the present to prove many specific relationships between housing and health. Creditable studies conducted in recent years have shown that people who live in good housing are, in the main, healthier than those who live in sub-standard dwellings. For certain diseases, notably the enteric infections and tuberculosis, morbidity and mortality rates for those who live in sound sanitary structures are significantly lower than for families and individuals living in sub-standard housing. Sharp differences in respiratory disease rates have been demonstrated as being related to the degree of room crowding."

<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that in a Basement Apartment Survey conducted by the City at the end of 1956 it was found that of 575 apartments visited there were 472 without building permits and 557 without occupancy permits. Moreover less than half could be made to conform with Ordinance 50 without considerable alteration.



MAP 3. The distribution of school children who have been or are infected by tuberculosis. This is a simplified version of one of two maps in the Tuberculosis Hospital. The other map is concerned with tuberculosis amongst adults. The map also shows the sixteen nursing districts of the City. Sources: *Tuberculosis Hospital*, and the *Public Health Clinic*.

Health and welfare have a close relationship. It is more difficult to show how human welfare is affected by housing. That there is a relationship is obvious if only because the poorest families live in the poorest quarters. What is less obvious, but nevertheless true, is that the poorest families have to pay more, if we measure in a quantitative way, for the basic necessities of life. In terms of living accommodation they pay more for space, irrespective of the kind of space which is available to them. They pay more for fuel by buying it in small quantities for inefficient heating appliances in houses which do not retain heat—or they do without adequate heat. They heat water in a primitive and expensive way or do without hot water. Because they are forced to do without, it is more difficult to keep houses clean and to ward off diseases caused by dirt. In any case dilapidated premises are not easy to clean, nor is it easy to keep them free of vermin. There are many dwellings in the Study Area which cannot be made fit for families to enjoy well-being.

There is a prevailing theory, or perhaps it could be more aptly described as a dream, which suggests that, in a free market economy, houses will be built in such quantities that nearly every family will have a ranch-type bungalow in the near future. Those who are not so lucky will have an older house which comes to them through a "filtering down" process. There is no evidence in Canada, or in any part of the world, that such a dream may be realised; and in Canada there is a difficulty not encountered in some older countries. The existing stock of houses is small in relation to a rapidly expanding population, and for many years few houses have been built which are within the economic reach of the lower income groups, or about half the families. The net result is the subdivision of older—and newer—houses. For the least affluent, this kind of accommodation is all important. If they are to live in a city—and the full economic force of industrialisation is drawing people to the cities—rooms and flats will provide a major source of accommodation.

In the past the stock of older houses has been allowed to deteriorate through crowding and neglect. The first item in any housing policy should be to prevent this happening. It can be done through the strict enforcement of an ordinance which sets minimum standards in regard to structure, accommodation and equipment. But the late application of standards, however low they may be

(and they are low in Ordinance 50) creates an unavoidable problem.<sup>1</sup> It means that many families should be removed from inadequate quarters.

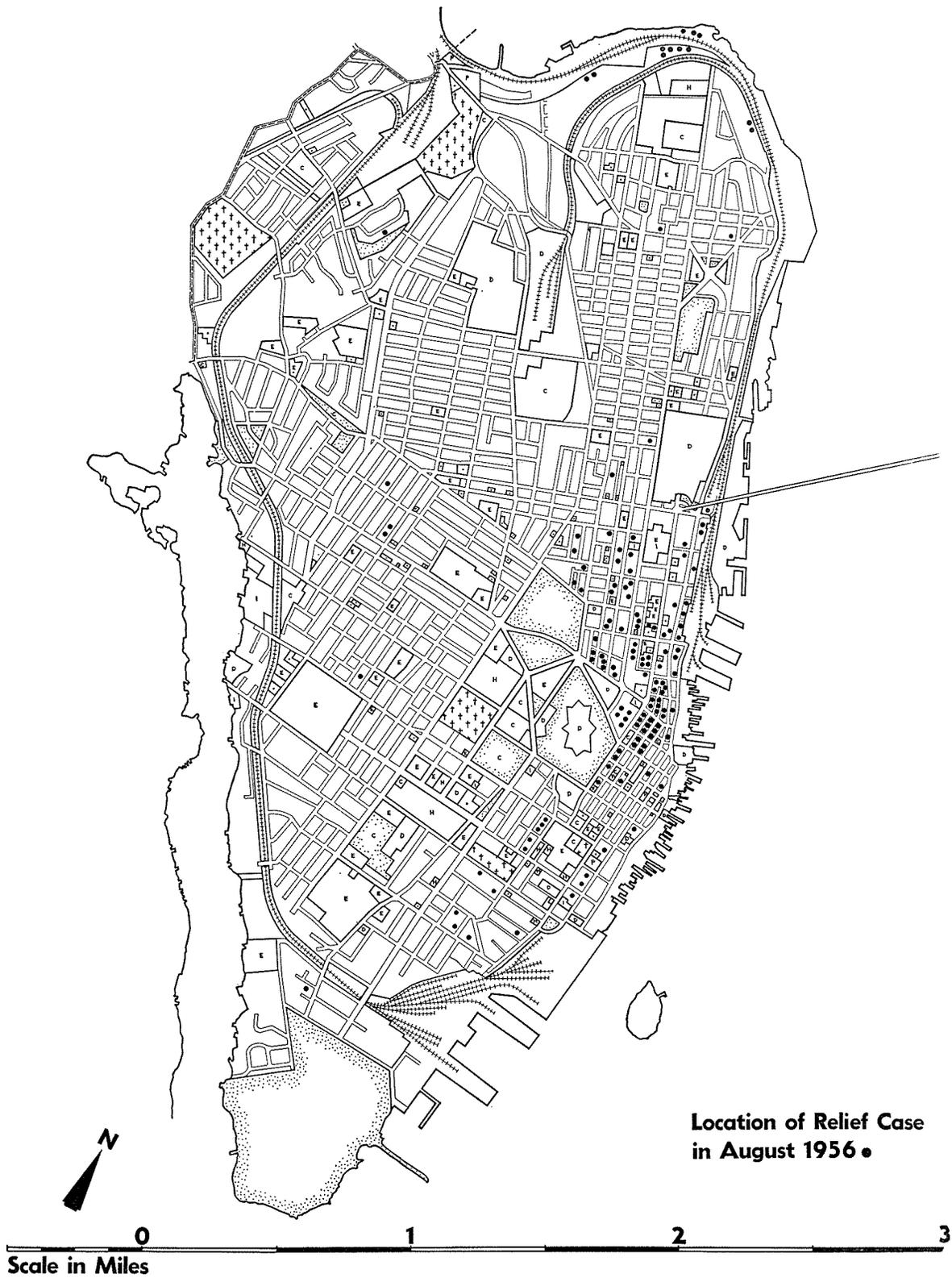
If the assumed metropolitan population increase of some 140,000 in the next twenty-five years is reasonably correct, about 1,600 houses per year will have to be built in the suburbs. In the City it must be assumed that conservation and redevelopment should be the major tasks. In general terms this means holding and improving standards in older neighbourhoods, and building new dwellings to replace the old in certain parts of the City. But as has been shown, older dwellings meet an important need for a large section of the population. Redevelopment can not be a hit or miss affair.

Human welfare must be considered in every step taken to bring about improvement. Taking the meanest view the well-being of the lower income groups is important if only because the costs to the community of ill-being are high. This will be clearer as later sections of the Report are examined. The difficulties to be encountered will be numerous. In the Study Area, perhaps, the greatest will result from the very low levels of income prevailing. Perhaps, in an ideal world the community should wait patiently for the low incomes to double or triple. But it is far from an ideal world. In order to ensure more healthy growth in the city and, incidentally, to cut costs, new housing will have to be provided, and subsidised, at least for part of the period during which it will last.

The Map on the facing page underlines the financial problem. It indicates that the Study Area contains the great majority of the impoverished families of the City. The pattern changes but little from year to year. The dots may shift but the concentration is in or near the City centre. It may well be that the poorest families will have to remain in old housing, and that the City Council and other governments will take this into account as schemes are developed.<sup>2</sup> It is another reason for the enforcement of standards. It also suggests that rents should be controlled in some parts of the City or accommodation, much cheaper than that in the City Home, should be made available.

<sup>1</sup>See subsequent maps and the appendices.

<sup>2</sup>Many of the poorest families include a large number of children. On relief in August, 1956, there were twenty families each with seven or more children. Of these, two had thirteen children each, with one of the families living in three rooms and the other in four. It would not be advisable to build extraordinarily large new dwellings (with from five to seven bedrooms) for impoverished large families. It would be more appropriate to have a reserve of many-roomed older dwellings.



MAP 4. The "hard core" relief cases in 1956 comprised 145 families (246 adults, 465 children). The 711 persons lived in 293 rooms (2.4 persons per room), many in basements. About 10% of the wage earners on relief were unemployable through heart trouble, arthritis, or other sickness. *Source: City Department of Health and Welfare.*

In any community there are many children who start life at a disadvantage. Poverty, sickness, bad housing and a squalid environment are all to take their toll. In former times a great number of children failed to survive the various hazards to which they were exposed. In the present day, advances in public health and welfare have enormously reduced the risks. But it is true of many who survive that they suffer throughout their life from physical and mental ill health. Juvenile delinquency is a sign of mental ill health, at an early age. Although it is not confined to one section of a community, it is more readily curable where home conditions are good and the physical environment provides outlets for the enormous amount of energy generated by youth.

The map on the facing page tells a sorry tale about the Study Area. Year after year it provides the main work for the Juvenile Court and the Probation Officer. There is a constantly recurring story of "bad parents" and "bad" children, with a general background of poor living and broken homes. In an important way the map is deceptive. All over the City, children gradually have to learn to distinguish between right and wrong. The tendency to ignore the rules of society is ever present. In the parts of the City where living conditions are congenial the reprimands are made but they are less severe. Even when the police intervene it is nearly always sufficient that the parent is warned.

The child in the squalid neighbourhood is at a grave disadvantage. Sir Cyril Burt has stated this quite clearly.<sup>1</sup> "Of all the various social influences that affect the individual mind, the most important are those obtaining within the patient's home . . . in the earlier days social investigators were inclined to look mainly at material conditions . . . Gradually, however, they have been led to recognise that mental conditions are more potent than the economic. The cultural status of the home, its moral character and most important of all—its general emotional atmosphere, these constitute the crucial factors in nearly every case. Here both social workers and psycho-analysts have been brought independently to the same conclusion; it is the child's reaction to the members of his family, and their reaction to him, that count for most in his mental and moral life."

<sup>1</sup>Sir Cyril Burt was formerly Professor of Psychology, University College, London, and Chairman of the Psychological Committee of the Industrial Health Board (Medical Research Council) in the United Kingdom.

If the home is overcrowded, dirty, cold and miserable it does not make for good family life. In the Study Area such conditions are common. If they are coupled with poverty it is not impossible to imagine that it is extraordinarily difficult for a man, his wife and their children to live in harmony. Poverty is not as prevalent as it was before the war. Poor physical conditions are—or so it would seem from the statistics. Poverty is receding. Fuller employment and higher wages are now generally accepted as essential in a civilised society. Wretched living conditions can only be alleviated by concerted action on the part of the community. The housing problem remains more or less as it was before the war and as recorded in previous reports.

Children living two, three and four to a bedroom have no place to call their own. Even a corner of the living room will be denied them in an overcrowded dwelling. Without hot water in the house they will be dirty. Without space in the house they will be roaming the streets at all hours and in all seasons, and as most streets are now parking lots they have lost their play-grounds of years ago. It would seem inevitable that sooner or later, they should get into serious mischief. Yet the great majority of parents and children display courage and resourcefulness in overcoming home and environmental disadvantages.

On the whole the children on the streets near the city centre are very cheerful. They play well together, seemingly without any sign of racial, social or religious intolerance. But their homes are crowded and inhospitable and, as may be judged from Section 6, they are exposed to sights and examples which must badly affect some of them.

It is not surprising that Judge Elliot Hudson of the Juvenile Court was the chairman of the committee which recommended the City Recreation Commission. He strongly advocates that there should be a playground easily accessible to children in every residential area of a well-organised city, and he believes the time has come when public and school playgrounds should be in an integrated system under one controlling body.

In improved and new neighbourhoods, arranged with as much thought for the needs of children as those of automobiles, children will not so easily get into trouble. As the City and Province share the cost of some \$500 per annum for a delinquent child, or a child taken from bad parents, there are good financial as well as the more important social reasons for keeping children out of trouble.



MAP 5. Parents as well as children are summoned to appear in the Juvenile Court. Every year a considerable majority of the cases involve persons from the Study Area, where the concentration of dots is constant. In all there were 132 cases in 1955, some involving persons living outside the City. *Source: Juvenile Court.*

The Study Area is a small part of the City, but the most thickly populated, as Map 2 shows. It contains the centre, a concentration of offices, shops, government buildings, warehouses, industries and the oldest wharves of the port. In any city the work of the police is hardest where there is a juxtaposition of important buildings, most of which are closed at night, and crowded, obsolete living quarters. It is, perhaps, especially true of ports. Seamen and other transients sometimes add to the problems.

The Study Area provides living space for more than a fifth of the population, in a very small part of the whole City. In it are concentrated nearly half the police beats, and the table at the bottom of the page suggests that here the police have to deal with more than half the crimes enacted in the City. If the Morris Beat were added, and the number of incidents brought in to the total, the figures would suggest that 60-70 per cent of the crimes committed in any period might occur in the city centre and the adjacent residential districts.<sup>1</sup> A high proportion of the incidents involving violations of Acts and Ordinances outside the Criminal Code occur in the same small section.

Does bad housing have a direct bearing on the work of the police and add to the cost of policing the City? It is not possible to make an evaluation

<sup>1</sup>The "Morris Street beat" is bounded by Inglis, South Park, Morris, Water, Terminal, Barrington, and Mitchell Streets.

without more evidence than is likely to be available. It is, however, reasonable to surmise that there is a direct, it complicated, relationship. Certainly, most of the young who get into trouble come from the bad housing areas (see Map 5). They are forced on to the streets from overcrowded, objectionable homes. The same conditions break the parents. The man stays away from home. The woman gets into squabbles with neighbours who by the nature of the dwelling invade her privacy.

Many of the incidents recorded may be the result of mental ill-health, the result of living conditions which to the poorer people are well nigh hopeless.

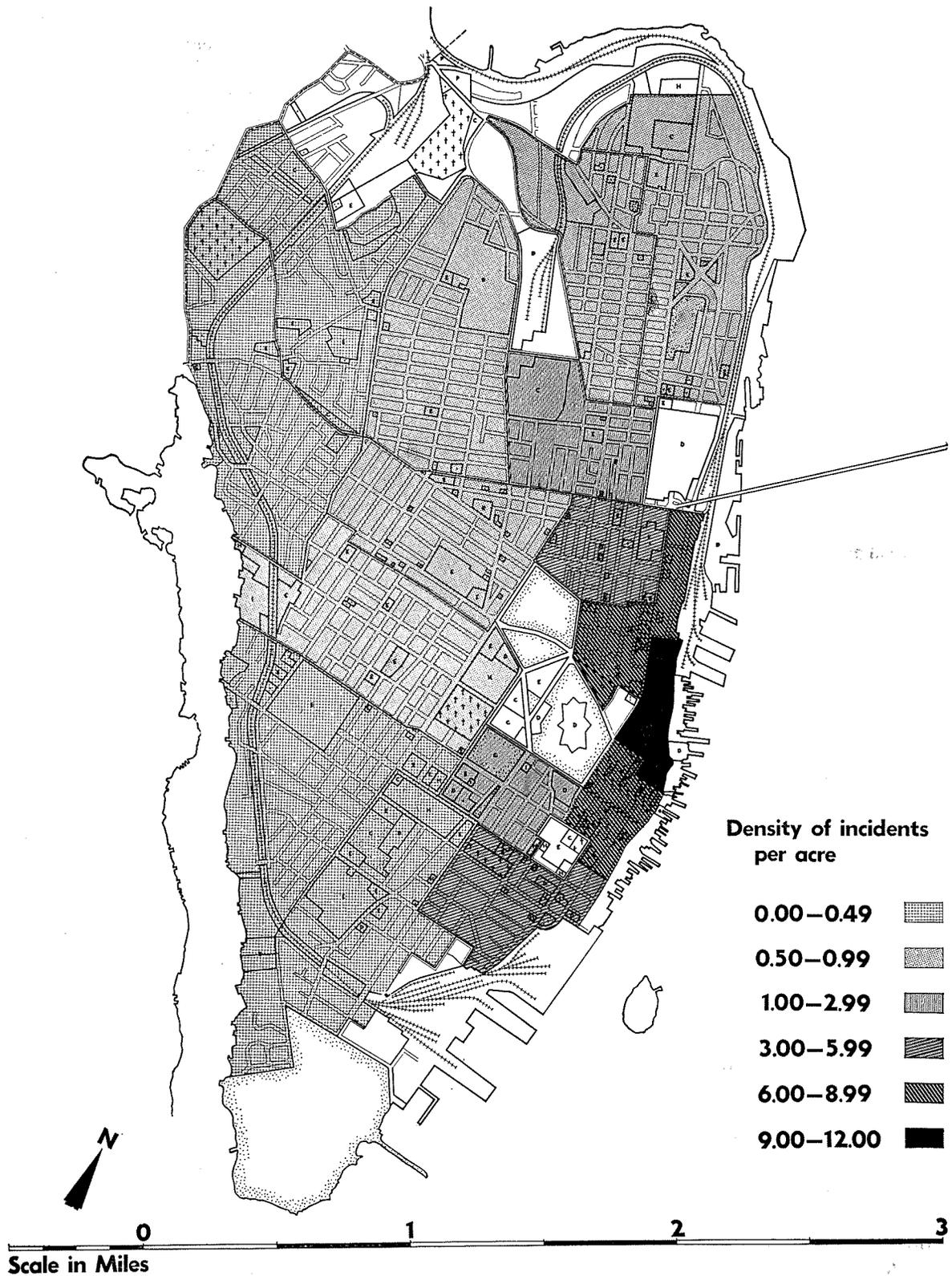
An examination of the table shows that incidents described as disturbances, assaults and causing bodily harm are extraordinarily high in the Study Area. It is true that many will have resulted from street brawls—as they do in a downtown district—but it is significant that they occur throughout the Study Area. Many must be caused by the constant inflammation of relations between neighbours struggling to live in dirty houses, in which they are always sharing poor sanitary equipment. Overcrowding and shockingly bad sanitary conditions must produce strife.

The abatement of overcrowding, the enforcement of tolerable standards of sanitation, and the clearance of the worst housing should reduce the work and the costs of the police force.

DISTRIBUTION OF INCIDENTS UNDER THE CRIMINAL CODE (1ST JANUARY TO 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1953) IN EIGHT POLICE BEATS COVERING THE STUDY AREA COMPARED WITH CITY AS A WHOLE

Police Beat Areas	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Study Area	Whole City
Disturbances	138	146	145	120	121	91	80	30	871	1,394
Assaults	10	13	54	41	15	7	3	6	149	209
Molesting and Indecency	4	11	5	4	7	4	3	9	47	113
Break and { Business	11	23	14	14	5	4	10	4	85	174
Enter { Dwelling	1	5	7	1	2	1	1	1	19	50
Theft	47	78	88	48	6	50	46	78	441	1,081
Miscellaneous	5	22	17	12	13	17	5	11	102	170
Damage	38	62	46	45	30	34	29	21	305	714
Hold-up and Robbery	3	6	3	2	8	6	0	4	32	40
Motor Vehicle Thefts	3	15	7	4	5	5	6	12	57	100
Bicycle Thefts	1	16	29	1	5	7	10	17	86	202
Arson	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
Bodily Harm	0	0	2	3	4	3	1	0	13	15
Totals	261	398	417	295	221	229	194	193	2,208	4,266

NOTES.—Information supplied by the Chief of Police and contained in his Report to the Mayor and Members of the Safety Committee, November 19th, 1953. The police beat areas are as follows: A, blocks 2-9; B, blocks 11, 12, 13 (half), 14, 20-22, 26-28, 32-38, 44-53; C, blocks 13 (half), 15-19, 23-25, 29-31, 39-43; D, blocks 6, 10, 54, 55, 81-85; E, 56-64, 86-94; F, blocks 65-74, 95-106; G, blocks 75-79, 108-110, plus Government House block; H, blocks 107, 111-119, plus area bounded by University Avenue, Summer and Sackville Streets (containing the Public Gardens). The number of incidents to occur in those parts of police beat areas G and H which are outside the Study Area is not likely to have been many. They would not make any significant change in the figures. There are nineteen police beats in the City, of which eight cover the Study Area.



MAP 6. Distribution of Incidents under the Criminal Code shown as densities in each of the nineteen police beats (eight of which cover the Study Area). Unhatched areas are covered by constables on adjoining beats. The Morris Street beat is immediately south of the Study Area. *Source: Chief of Police.*

The map on the facing page should be read with the maps which follow in this Part. It will also be useful as a reference when photographs and diagrams are being examined. It was prepared to show the three main use groups in the Study Area and the way the buildings are arranged in the various blocks.

The city centre, lying between Citadel Hill and the Harbour, is immediately apparent as the most intensively developed part. Almost unchanged in layout it is on the site of the original settlement. On all sides of Halifax peninsula, the land rises fairly steeply from the old waterline. In the city centre, the slope increases gradually as it approaches Citadel Hill, where it suddenly rises quite abruptly to the Citadel on the summit. It is a dominating and remarkable physical feature; a barrier to the westerly expansion of the central area. On the eastern flank the Harbour, with its earliest wharves, provides an even more effective barrier. History has determined the form and arrangement of the central area.

The original settlement was restricted by the Citadel and Commons on the west, the Harbour on the East, and its roads parallel to the water's edge were, generally, level. The first suburbs were to the north and south, with the northerly one the most important, as roads through it led to the hinterland. The coming of the railway accelerated northerly growth, but it closed Water Street, the original road to the north. The much more important railway terminal in the south, with its great harbour works and facilities, is a product of the period following the First World War.

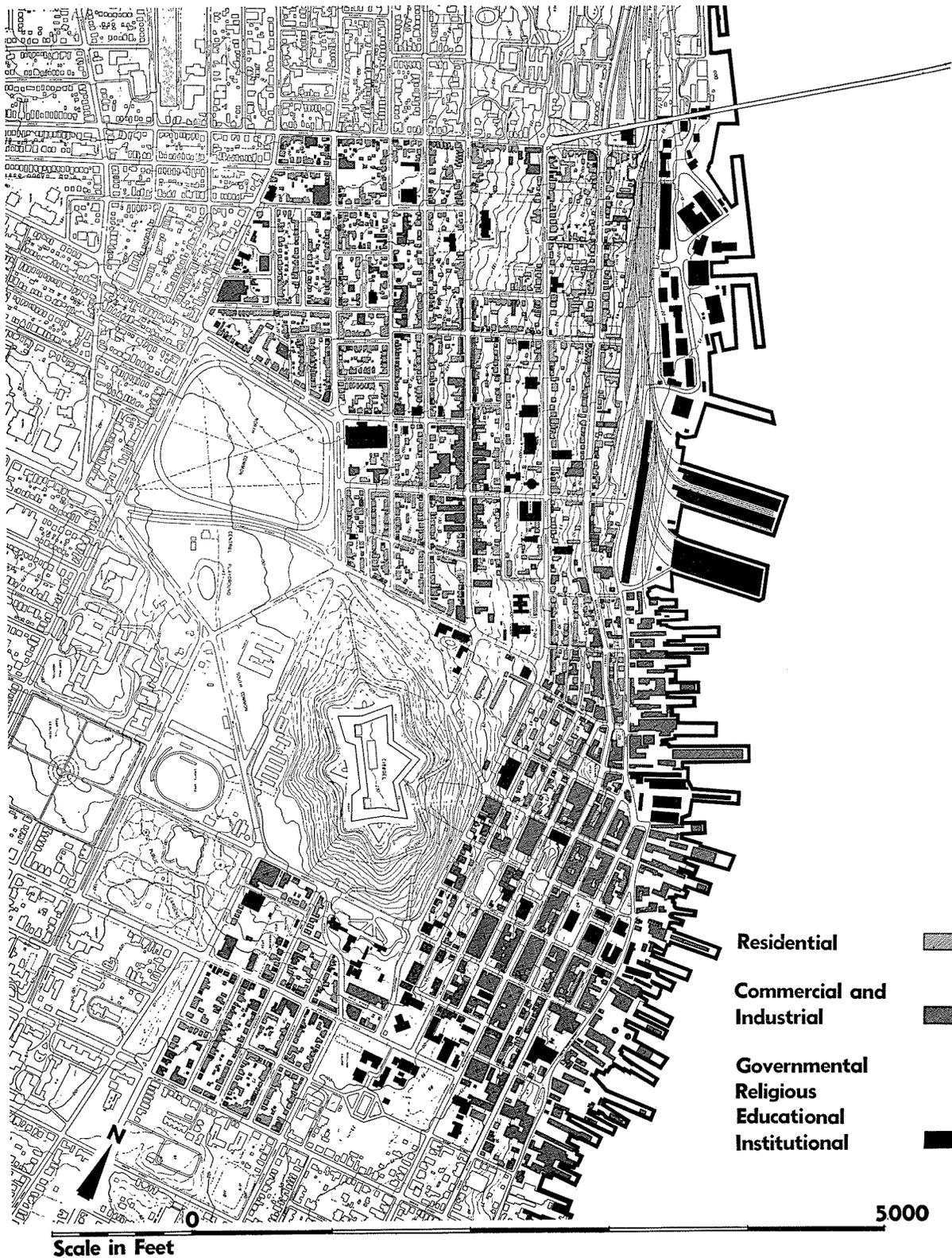
The "old northern suburb", forming a large part of the Study Area, must be rich in history. Very evidently Brunswick Street, offering a magnificent prospect across the water, was a street inhabited by wealthy merchants in the nineteenth century. They would hardly notice the meaner development of Barrington Street, well below their gardens. They had an easy journey to the city centre, which is skirted by Brunswick Street, and the wholesale warehouses on Barrington Street between the new railway terminal and the city. Brunswick Street still has an air of grandeur, and could be revived, through the building of apartments with splendid views. There are other parts of the "old northern suburb" which should prove attractive to re-developers, notably those near the Commons.

Between Gottingen and Brunswick Streets the blocks, to a surprisingly large extent, are occupied

by schools and religious establishments with considerable spaces between them. Visually they divide the area. Below, on fairly steep slopes falling to the Naval Dockyard and Harbour, there are large blocks which are but lightly covered with buildings. The dwellings are overcrowded, not the land. To the west, above Gottingen, smaller blocks are fairly closely developed. Superficially, it is a more attractive area than that near Barrington Street. The survey showed it to be a mixture, relatively good in some parts, relatively bad in others. It is a pity that it has been broken into by scattered commercial and industrial establishments. The present zoning map defines unrealistically large areas for non-residential use. Without revision of the use boundaries, deterioration will continue.

The Gottingen Street shopping centre and that on Spring Garden Road are discussed in another part of the Report. Outside the city centre, both fulfil important central functions. Gottingen Street is growing as a popular shopping centre with a variety of stores and shops. Originally it would be a neighbourhood centre for the "old northern suburb". Spring Garden Road, between the Technical College and the Public Gardens, will continue to grow as an attractive shopping and office area. It is on a level site at a key point in the City. Contiguous to the central area, it is on the main route to the western residential districts.

The city centre may be described as almost symmetrical about two axis, Barrington Street and George Street, with the Grand Parade as fulcrum. Barrington, the main shopping street, shows clearly on the map. It is well arranged, with the long sides of the blocks giving a maximum of shop facades along the street. It peters out to the north of the City Hall, as it runs into an area which has seen better days. To the south the Barrington Street shops terminate at a handsome section of the City, in which are to be found two fine churches, an historical burial ground, Government House and the Technical College. The cross axis is George Street, with a remarkable contrast between the westerly and easterly parts of the street. Much could be done to improve the upper part of the street, and it will have to be done with the active co-operation of the old-established industrial concern above the Grand Parade. Immediately north and south of upper George Street is an under-developed area containing much bad housing, with a concentration in the north-west corner or the central area which is the worst in the City.



MAP 7. The land uses in the City as a whole were shown in Map 1. The buildings and their uses (in three general categories) are shown in this map. There is a high land coverage in the City Centre, where buildings are also higher. Note the low coverage on the western fringe of the Centre. *Source: 1956 Survey.*

If it were not for a highly efficient Fire Brigade, there could be a disastrous fire in almost any except the most central blocks of the Study Area. The great majority of the aged residential buildings are of timber construction, and they are ill-arranged to contain the numbers of families that they do. Many of the buildings are without insulation. Because of this and the prevailing use of stoves in rooms, there is a constant hazard. In any year half the calls received by the Fire Department are concerned with chimney fires, flooded oil burners, defective and overheated stoves and furnaces.

Five thousand six hundred and nine fires occurred in buildings in the City during the six-year period, 1950-55, inclusive. Of these 2,228 or almost one half, were in the relatively small Study Area which contains one-fifth of the population. In the six years, 33 persons lost their lives by burning and suffocation. Of these 24 were in the Study Area. The number of citizens injured was 64, with 31 in the Study Area. Of 150 firemen injured to various degrees in the six years, 49 were hurt in the Study Area.

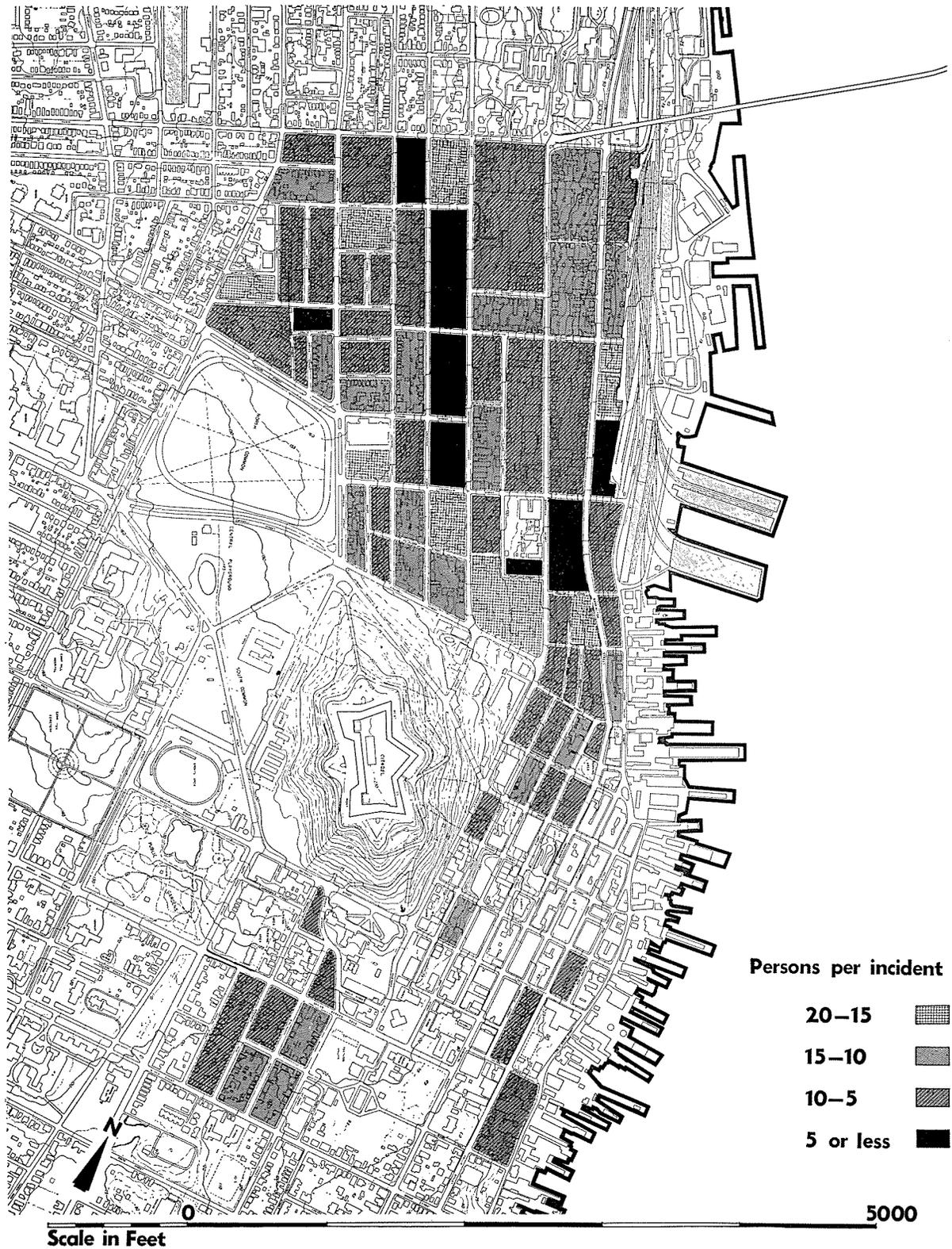
All fires in recent years involving heavy loss of life or serious injury have occurred either in the Study Area or on the fringe. In 1948 a fire on Creighton Street killed seven, including one entire family, and seriously injured two others. In a fire on Smith Street in 1949 there was a death toll of eight, with two seriously injured. A row of tenements on Barrington Street (in Block 7) burned suddenly in 1953. Eight persons lost their lives and one man survived after receiving near-fatal burns. In statistical terms the Study Area has a sad record. Through experience, officers of the Fire Department are more conscious, perhaps, than any other citizens of the hazards—human, physical and financial—which result from conditions in buildings and equipment in such a relatively small section of the city.

With half the work of the Fire Department in the Study Area, it offers the greatest fire hazards to citizens. Even though the principal cause of the thousand fires per year in the City is human carelessness, as it is with all accidents, there would be a drastic reduction of the number of hazards if old, inflammable and overcrowded dwellings were to be swept away and replaced by modern fire-proof buildings. In the interim, prevention can be aided by the application of Ordinance No. 50 and a continuance of the good work of the Fire Prevention Division.

FIRE FREQUENCY IN STUDY AREA BLOCKS DURING SIX-YEAR PERIOD (1950-55) INCLUSIVE

Block	Res. & M.	Com.	Cas.	Block	Res. & M.	Com.	Cas.
1	3	46	24	61	2		
2	46	4		62	5	8	1
3	25		1	63	2	13	
4	23			64	2	2	
5	28	1		65	2	20	16
6	30	5		66	No Fires		
7	33		13	67	2		
8	31			68	No Fires		
9	68		2	69	No Fires		
10	39	4		70	No Fires		
11	23			71	2	10	
12	17	2		72		6	
13	17	1		73	20	1	
14	26	2	1	74	14		
15	20	8		75		4	
16	No Fires		1	76	26	11	
17	14	6		77	5	8	
18	18		1	78	4	9	
19	8	4		79	12	2	
20	19	2		80	25	1	
21	78	2		81	28		1
22	47	6	1	82	10	3	
23	24	10	1	83	29	1	2
24	11	6	1	84	9		
25	21	3	1	85	10	12	
26	15	1		86	48		2
27	38	1		87	34	2	4
28	15			88	20	6	1
29	49	2	1	89	11	6	1
30	27			90	Car Park		
31	31			91		1	
32	20	1		92	7	1	1
33	16	1		93	22	12	3
34	18	1		94	6	6	
35	9			95	17	3	
36	16	1	4	96		1	
37	19			97		2	
38	16		1	98		1	
39	Armouries			99	1	1	1
40	6	1		100	Car Park		
41	20	2		101	1	5	
42	32			102	St. Pauls Church		
43	18	1		103	8	1	
44	12			104	10	2	
45	12	5		105	4		1
46	2	1		106	13	3	
47	4	7		107	No Fires		
48	22	3		108	5	1	
49	18	3		109	8		1
50	46	1	1	110	2	8	3
51	25	2		111	1	1	
52	11		1	112	12		
53	28			113	9	2	2
54	16	5		114	18	2	
55	21	4	1	115	40	3	
56		1		116	21		
57	No Fires			117	27		2
58	2			118	17	2	1
59	16	11		119	21		
60	2	3	5				
				Total 1,881 347 104			

Notes: In the heading: Res. & M. = Residential buildings (1634) and mixed residential and commercial buildings (247); Com. = Commercial, industrial and other non-residential premises (347); Cas. = Casualties (of which 24 were fatal and 80 non-fatal). The non-fatal casualties included 31 civilians and 49 firemen. The deaths included: 1 in block 1, 8 in block 7; 1 in block 18, 1 in block 22; 10 in block 65; 2 in block 86; 1 in block 93. Source: Fire Prevention Division.



MAP 8. Fire risk is very high in the Study Area. The relative degree of risk in blocks where there are dwellings is expressed by relating the number of persons in the block to the number of fires in dwellings. The fire incidents were recorded for a six-year period (1950-1955 inclusive). *Source: Fire Department.*

Of all the factors contributing to the making of slums, overcrowding is generally the most decisive. It has been suggested in Part IV that many of the human problems which abound in the Study Area may be related to domestic life in accommodation which is far too small for the real needs of a family.

Overcrowding in a city is due primarily to an overall shortage of housing accommodation. The supply of housing is affected by various economic factors.

In the past decade, relatively little rental accommodation has been built, and that which has is beyond the means of the majority of families. This is true in regard to Halifax and, in particular, to those families in the Study Area. Home ownership is also beyond their reach. Even if it were possible for them to accumulate money for a down payment, and this is an impossibility for the majority, the carrying charges are heavy and the lending institutions demand that a home owner should have a much higher family income than that generally prevailing.

Because of its history and function, Halifax has a high percentage of families living in rented accommodation. In the Study Area there are a number of blocks in which there are no owner-occupied dwellings. For long-standing social reasons, the highest owner-occupancy rate is in that part in which there is a concentration of Negro families.

In order to determine the extent of overcrowding in the Study Area it was necessary to establish a standard. Ordinance 50 is not helpful in this respect. Sections 1 and 2 of clause 4 define space standards, but they are miserably low. They would allow a family of four, for example, husband and wife with an eleven-year-old boy and a ten-year-old girl, to be squeezed into two rooms with a combined area of 160 square feet. Their total accommodation would fit into the living-room of a normal small house.

The standard taken for measurement is that used by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Map 13 of the Housing Atlas, 1944, showed percentages of wage-earner households living in dwellings with fewer rooms than there were persons in the household. Kitchens counted as rooms, but bathrooms, hallways, unfinished cellars, and attics did not. At first glance the picture presented by the present survey seems to be an improvement. But in the fifteen years there has been further subdivision of some of the larger old houses, and there is a fairly wide-spread occupancy of cellars and attics which may not have been included in 1944. It should also

be noted that many families live in two or three rooms, one a kitchen which could not be described as habitable.

The percentages in the table are based on a room count and an occupancy count. All rooms, even those below the space requirements of Ordinance 50, were included. The percentages of overcrowding resulted from figures for each block in the following fraction:

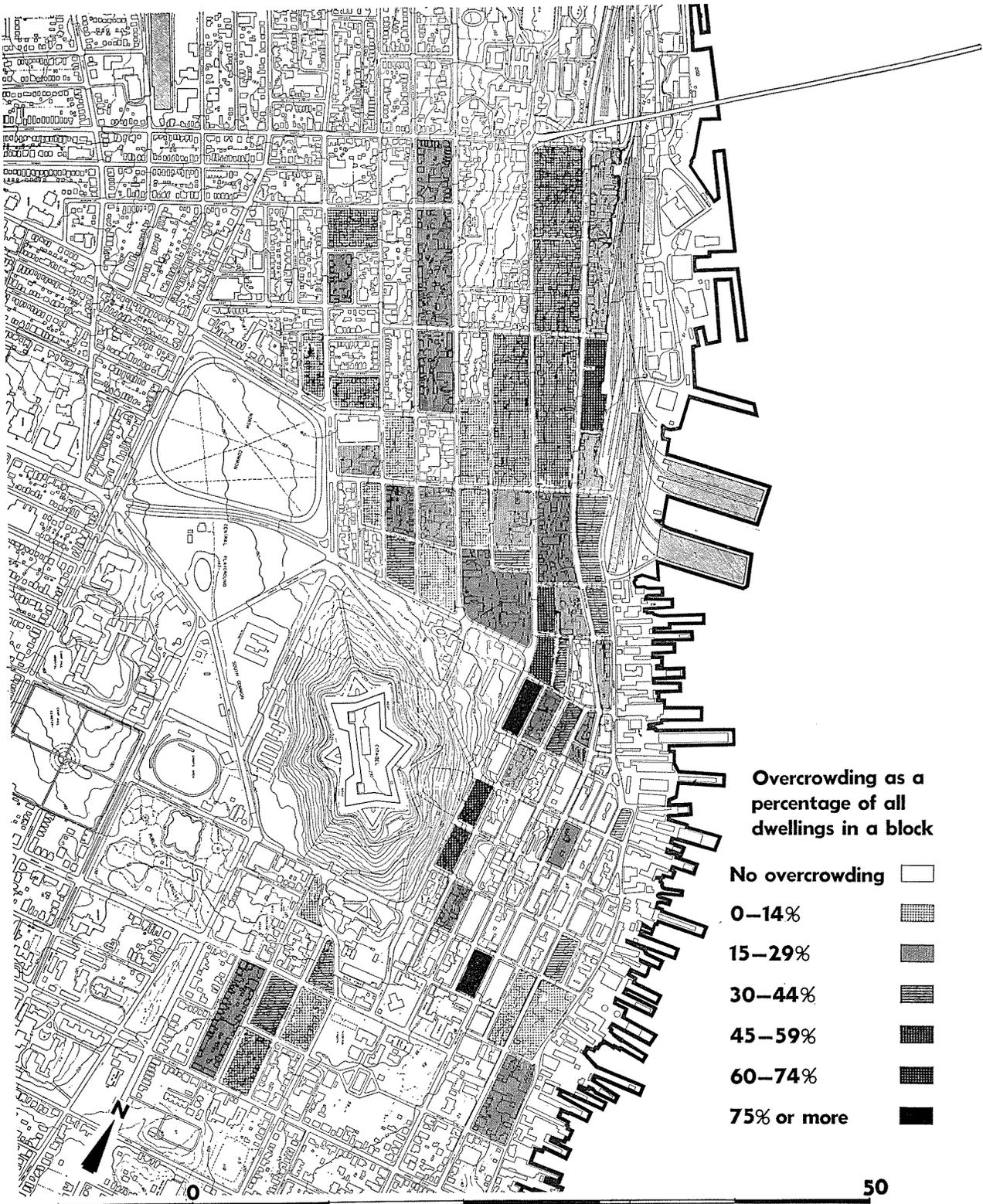
$$\frac{\text{number of persons} - \text{number of rooms} \times 100}{\text{number of persons}}$$

There are, of course, blocks which showed small minus percentages. They could be described as undercrowded. But that would be a charitable interpretation of the true situation. They are recorded as not overcrowded even though some dwellings within them may be.

OVERCROWDING  
PERCENTAGES BY BLOCKS INDICATING DEGREE TO WHICH DWELLINGS ARE OVERCROWDED

No.	Percent.	No.	Percent.	No.	Percent.
1	26	41	nil	81	52
2	29	42	6	82	7
3	24	43	nil	83	69
4	60	44	nil	84	30
5	15	45	nil	85	nil
6	31	46	nil	86	76
7	7	47	nil	87	24
8	14	48	nil	88	44
9	12	49	2	89	17
10	15	50	nil	90	NR
11	nil	51	nil	91	NR
12	nil	52	nil	92	23
13	12	53	17	93	nil
14	nil	54	30	94	nil
15	9	55	21	95	63
16	25	56	NR	96	NR
17	4	57	nil	97	NR
18	37	58	NR	98	NR
19	19	59	NR	99	45
20	16	60	NR	100	NR
21	16	61	30	101	33
22	21	62	12	102	NR
23	1	63	NR	103	33
24	11	64	nil	104	27
25	3	65	NR	105	NR
26	nil	66	NR	106	NR
27	nil	67	NR	107	NR
28	nil	68	NR	108	nil
29	11	69	NR	109	nil
30	20	70	NR	110	100
31	30	71	NR	111	nil
32	nil	72	NR	112	2
33	11	73	37	113	nil
34	21	74	nil	114	21
35	nil	75	NR	115	24
36	nil	76	2	116	34
37	nil	77	6	117	nil
38	5	78	nil	118	5
39	NR	79	25	119	nil
40	18	80	14		

NOTE.—The table is based on a standard requiring one room per person in the block as a whole. Kitchens count as rooms but bathrooms, hallways, unused cellars and attics do not. In those blocks where the number of persons exceeds the number of rooms the deficiency is shown as a percentage. Where there is no deficiency "nil" is inserted. "NR" signifies that there are no dwellings in the block.



MAP 9. The table on the facing page has been expressed in a broader way by the map. Note that overcrowding is most severe on the fringe of the City Centre, and nearest the Harbour and the shopping centres. The most serious overcrowding is immediately to the north of the City Hall. *Source: 1956 Survey.*

The map and table in this Section result from a direct comparison of the actual provision of basic sanitary equipment in dwellings with the standards demanded by Ordinance 50. Such a comparison is helpful in two ways. Firstly, it indicates the amount of work which will have to be done to bring equipment up to the minimum standards. Secondly, it shows the relationship between blocks.

The percentage deficiencies are lower than they might be as the standard determining them is low. The desirable minimum standards, which no reasonable person would question, are that there should be one W.C., one lavatory basin and sink, and one bath tub or shower for each household. In other words standards should be more than three times as high as those required by the Ordinance. In the near future it would be impossible to demand and achieve such standards in the older parts of the City. The raising of standards must be a gradual process. If overcrowding is abated this will have an immediate effect in bringing many dwellings within the limits set by Ordinance 50. In other dwellings plumbing work will have to be done to make them conform.

It might well be in the economic interest of the City, owners and landlords to write off, or condemn, the worst dwellings. But such action would pose human problems of some magnitude. Many families would be faced with the impossible task of finding alternative accommodation.

In order to solve this dilemma the first and most important step to be taken is to provide economical housing on available sites within the City. In this way overcrowding might be relieved and the provision of sanitary equipment, in general terms, would approach if not come within, the minimum standards required by Ordinance 50. There would remain a considerable number of dwellings in which plumbing work must be undertaken. Even in a twenty-year programme of clearance and improvement many are likely to remain standing and in use. Maps 10, 11 and 12, pin-point the worst housing. Maps 13 and 14, in outlining a twenty-year programme for redevelopment, suggest the blocks of housing which will have to be improved through the initiative of private enterprise, and through the application of Ordinance 50 and, it is to be hoped, subsequent ordinances which, in sequence, demand higher standards.

The table, and the map on the facing page, show the degree of deficiency in the provision of sanitary equipment. Only the first two sections

of clause 8, Ordinance 50 were taken into account. The percentage deficiencies would be higher if the generally prevailing lack of hot water facilities (clause 8, section 3) had been in the calculation.

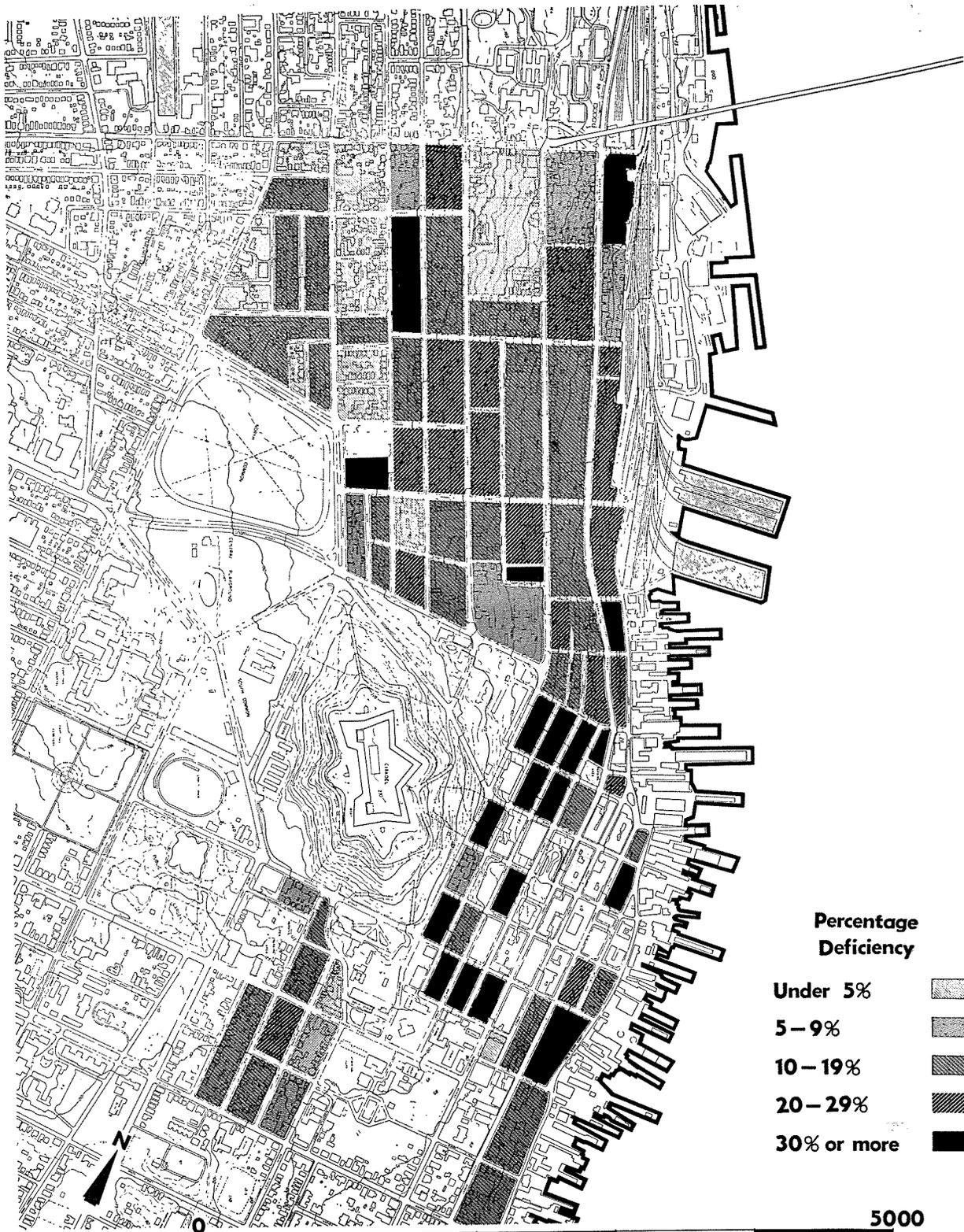
In each building the number of persons was related to the number of each kind of sanitary fitting. One point was scored against each building which failed to reach the standard in respect to any of the three fittings. The points were multiplied by the number of persons in the building. In each block the fraction giving the percentage was as follows:

$$\frac{\text{number of points against} \times 100}{\text{number of persons in block} \times 3}$$

SANITARY EQUIPMENT  
PERCENTAGES BY BLOCKS INDICATING DEGREE OF  
DEFICIENCY IN SANITARY EQUIPMENT

No.	Percent.	No.	Percent.	No.	Percent.
1	23	41	7	81	25
2	31	42	19	82	11
3	8	43	19	83	14
4	28	44	4	84	11
5	28	45	14	85	25
6	27	46	nil	86	43
7	8	47	nil	87	33
8	25	48	12	88	33
9	19	49	11	89	45
10	12	50	12	90	NR
11	5	51	15	91	NR
12	11	52	nil	92	40
13	19	53	14	93	36
14	21	54	40	94	18
15	28	55	29	95	47
16	21	56	NR	96	NR
17	20	57	23	97	NR
18	35	58	NR	98	NR
19	6	59	NR	99	9
20	23	60	NR	100	NR
21	16	61	20	101	33
22	28	62	nil	102	NR
23	21	63	NR	103	33
24	17	64	33	104	16
25	17	65	NR	105	NR
26	9	66	NR	106	NR
27	32	67	NR	107	NR
28	13	68	NR	108	33
29	28	69	NR	109	33
30	1	70	NR	110	33
31	25	71	NR	111	9
32	1	72	NR	112	14
33	1	73	29	113	13
34	1	74	18	114	4
35	2	75	NR	115	19
36	19	76	13	116	29
37	1	77	31	117	13
38	6	78	nil	118	4
39	NR	79	16	119	7
40	34	80	15		

NOTE.—The percentage deficiency is related to Ordinance No. 50 which, in clause 8, prescribes that every building used as a dwelling shall be provided with one W.C., one lavatory or sink and one bath for every fifteen persons, or fraction thereof, living therein. Where there is no deficiency "nil" is inserted. "NR" signifies that there are no dwellings in the block.



MAP 10. Using Ordinance 50 as a basis for measurement, the facing table and the map show where there are serious deficiencies in the provision of sanitary equipment. Note again how bad conditions are near the City Centre, particularly in the vicinity of Jacob Street, and in and near the shopping centres and Barrington Street. *Source: 1956 Survey.*

In the preceding sections, dealing with overcrowding and the provision of sanitary equipment, there were objective bases for judgement. Classification was a mathematical exercise. In this section judgement is, in part, subjective.

During the field surveys, notes were made indicating the type of construction and the condition of each building. The general classification was in three categories: *Good*, *Fair*, or *Poor*. Details were recorded about the following: (a) the use, floor area and height of rooms; (b) the sizes of windows in the rooms; (c) vermin, if they were present; (d) dampness in basements or through leaking roofs; (e) the condition of sanitary equipment; (f) the provision of hot and cold water; (g) the form of heating. The requirements of Ordinance 50 provided a standard for measurement. An infraction of the Ordinance was taken into account as a major or a minor deficiency. Each dwelling was given a score according to the following system:

- 0 GOOD, with no infraction, or with only minor ones which could easily be corrected.  
 FAIR, with no infractions.
- 1 GOOD, with major infraction, or with minor ones difficult to correct.  
 FAIR, with one or two minor infractions.
- 2 GOOD, with two or more major infractions.  
 FAIR, with one major, or several minor infractions.
- 3 FAIR, with two or more major infractions.  
 POOR, without further qualification.

The worst buildings had a score of 3, the best buildings had no score. In order to bring the points in relation to occupants, the score for each dwelling was multiplied by the number of occupants. The degree of inadequacy in the block was determined as follows:

$$\frac{\text{number of points against} \times 100}{\text{number of persons in block} \times 3}$$

This percentage is recorded to indicate the degree of inadequacy. It should be remembered that it is in general terms and for whole blocks. There are dwellings in many of the blocks that have no score against them.

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics prepared map 16 in the Halifax Housing Atlas, 1944, to show, by census sub-districts, six levels of housing. In this broad classification virtually all the blocks in the study area were in the two lowest categories, and there were no blocks in the three highest groups. As might be expected the houses with the highest rating were in the western half of the city, and they would show no inadequacy if the scoring system were applied. The percentage deficiencies

of blocks shown in the table and on the map are not high if taken in a city-wide context.

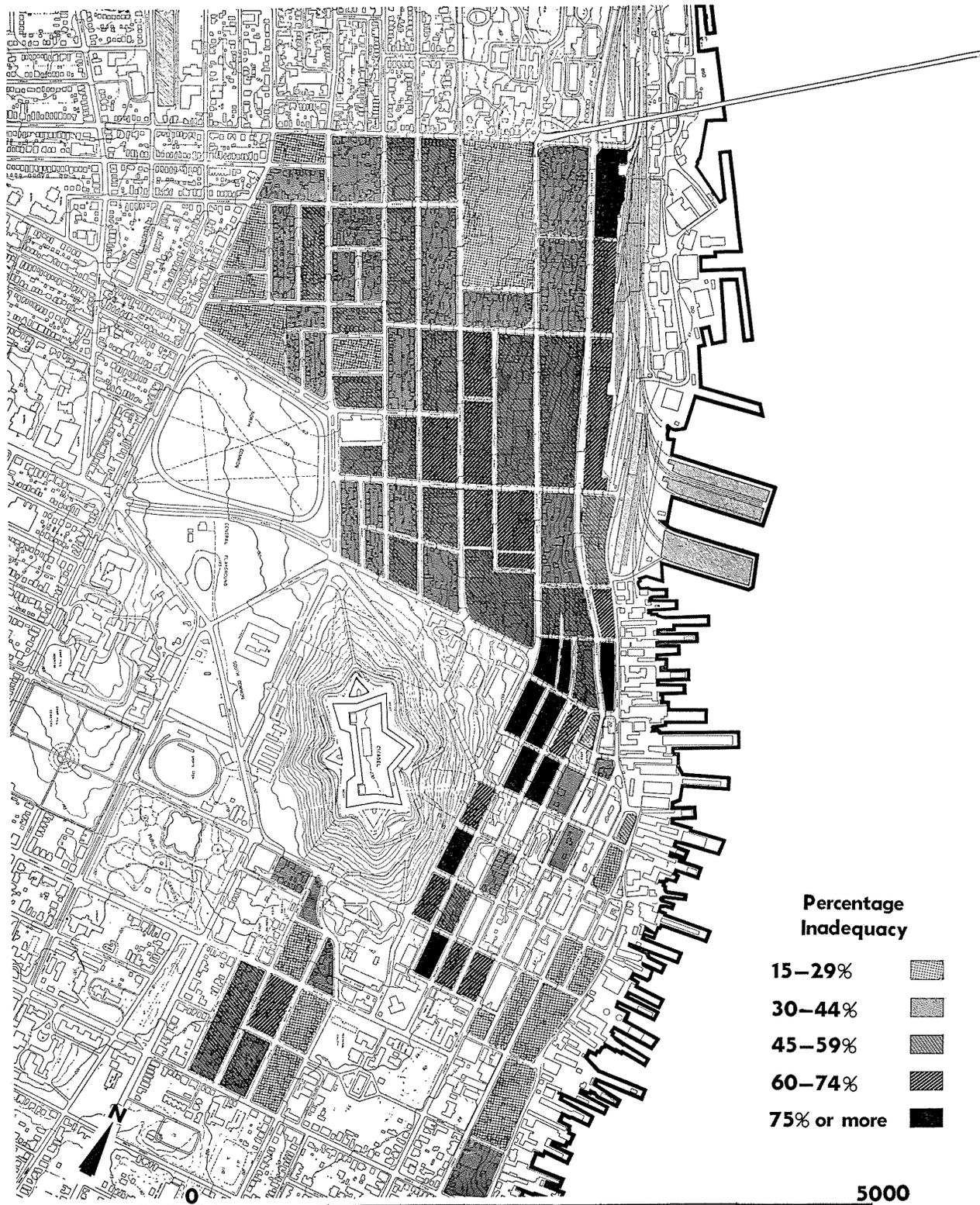
There will be many problems arising from the application of Ordinance 50. Some may readily be solved. A habitable room with a floor area of less than 60 sq. ft. can be closed or, by the removal of a partition, added to an adjoining room. There are numerous rooms in all blocks with windows below the required standard, and some without windows or ventilation. A number of dwellings are infested with cockroaches, bedbugs and rats.

From sections 9, 10 and 11, the conclusion may readily be drawn that it will be well nigh impossible to raise the standard of some blocks of dwellings to the minimum standards required by Ordinance 50.

GENERAL CONDITION OF BUILDINGS  
 PERCENTAGES BY BLOCKS INDICATING DEGREE OF  
 INADEQUACY IN STRUCTURE, SPACE, LIGHT AND VENTILATION

No.	Percent.	No.	Percent.	No.	Percent.
1	34	41	38	81	44
2	75	42	37	82	49
3	60	43	39	83	77
4	73	44	18	84	76
5	67	45	33	85	55
6	56	46	23	86	84
7	41	47	22	87	76
8	43	48	42	88	61
9	54	49	47	89	46
10	41	50	24	90	NR
11	25	51	38	91	NR
12	32	52	32	92	81
13	50	53	41	93	75
14	67	54	62	94	33
15	61	55	77	95	62
16	66	56	NR	96	NR
17	60	57	38	97	NR
18	71	58	NR	98	NR
19	48	59	NR	99	79
20	45	60	NR	100	NR
21	42	61	58	101	40
22	56	62	31	102	NR
23	62	63	NR	103	64
24	49	64	17	104	58
25	42	65	NR	105	NR
26	52	66	NR	106	NR
27	47	67	NR	107	NR
28	33	68	NR	108	78
29	58	69	NR	109	73
30	38	70	NR	110	77
31	49	71	NR	111	36
32	38	72	NR	112	38
33	34	73	17	113	21
34	41	74	19	114	43
35	36	75	NR	115	51
36	48	76	25	116	68
37	21	77	26	117	56
38	48	78	22	118	28
39	NR	79	22	119	29
40	46	80	33		

NOTE.—The percentage inadequacy is related to Ordinance No. 50 which, in clauses 3, 4 and 5, prescribes minimum standards for structural condition, space requirements, light and ventilation. There are no blocks in which all dwellings are in conformity with the Ordinance. "NR" signifies that there are no dwellings in the block.



MAP 11. Ordinance 50 provides the basis for measurement. The facing table and the map show inadequacy of buildings as percentages. The worst buildings are in the vicinity of Jacob Street, on Barrington Street and in or near the Gottingen and Spring Garden Road Shopping Centres. Source: 1956 Survey.

PART V: SECTION 12. PROPERTY VALUES

Even if the high Cleminshaw values have to be accepted in the acquisition of residential buildings which fall well below the minimum standards, clearance and redevelopment would not necessarily be a costly process. In general, there would have to be some write-down of initial costs, but with a carefully prepared scheme for commercial development, the worst area in the City, immediately to the north of City Hall, might not show an initial loss. It would certainly show a tax revenue gain.

ASSESSED VALUE OF PROPERTY BY BLOCKS

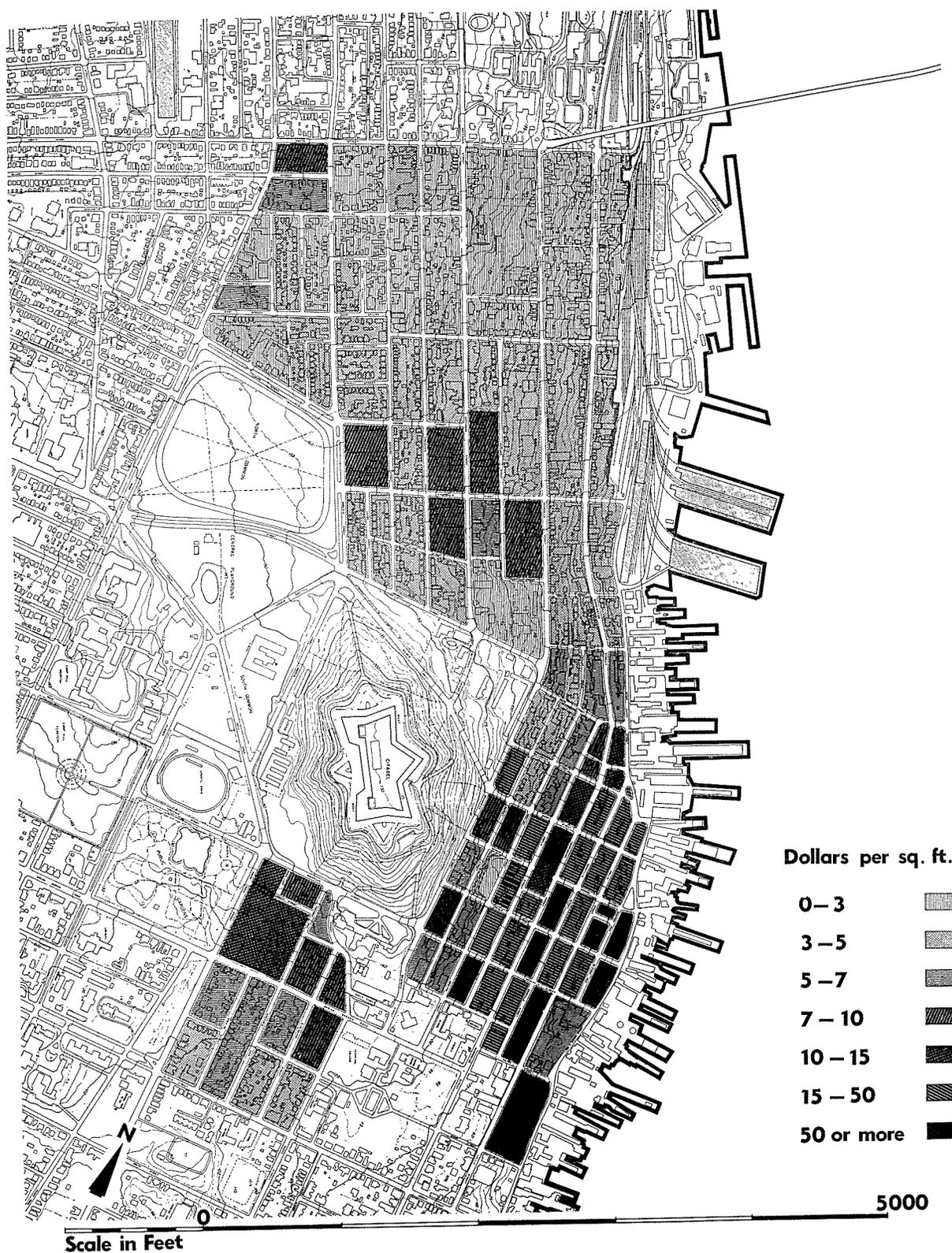
Block number	Block area in thousands of sq. ft.	Assessed value in thousands of dollars			Block value per sq. ft. in dollars
		Land	Buildings	Combined	
1	<i>Scattered dwellings to the East of Water Street</i>				
2	126	67	245	312	2.5
3	106	54	137	191	1.8
4	148	204	626	830	5.6
5					
6	111	142	286	428	3.9
7	232	114	430	544	2.3
8	219	121	357	478	2.2
9	304	171	1,027	1,198	3.9
10	163	137	345	482	3.0
11	538	225	856	1,081	2.0
12	120	78	260	338	2.8
13	281	150	1,111	1,261	4.5
14	90	118	285	403	4.4
15	118	266	640	906	7.5
16	127	127	960	1,087	8.5
17	82	155	335	490	6.0
18	<i>combined in this table with block No. 16</i>				
19	267	229	536	765	2.9
20	115	61	259	320	2.8
21	215	131	485	616	2.9
22	143	183	396	579	4.1
23	113	241	603	844	7.5
24	101	180	665	845	8.4
25	101	124	335	459	4.5
26	97	49	281	330	4.1
27	172	101	253	354	2.1
28	120	72	320	392	3.3
29	91	71	213	284	3.1
30	69	58	193	251	3.6
31	70	43	168	211	3.0
32	171	98	322	420	2.5
33	96	56	187	243	2.5
34	56	40	144	184	3.3
35	48	34	106	140	2.9
36	62	55	175	230	3.7
37	76	46	220	266	3.5
38	78	71	189	260	3.5
39*					
40	123	149	1,053	1,202	9.8
41	70	54	209	263	3.7
42	39	28	133	165	4.1
43	35	31	103	134	3.8
44	73	61	613	674	9.2
45	95	62	471	533	5.6
46	87	72	157	229	2.6
47	56	53	284	337	6.0
48	110	54	285	339	3.1
49	109	79	239	318	2.9
50	196	100	464	564	2.9
51	42	28	126	154	3.7
52	31	15	103	118	3.8

53	67	46	223	269	4.0
54	43	73	85	158	3.7
55	46	92	166	258	5.6
56*					
57	41	107	329	436	10.8
58*	2	7	46	53	22.4
59*	39	221	506	727	18.6
60*	33	141	469	610	18.5
61	17	68	217	285	16.5
63	39	358	524	882	22.6
63*	39	227	1,347	1,574	40.1
64	40	175	559	734	21.1
65*	40	613	1,430	2,043	52.0
66*	40	258	483	741	18.5
67*	8	63	431	494	60.9
68*	25	138	2,758	2,896	114.8
69*					
70*	35	168	2,432	2,600	73.8
71*	39	787	2,181	2,968	75.3
72*	40	235	678	913	22.8
73	40	175	559	734	18.2
74	42	122	281	403	9.6
75*	39	670	1,039	1,709	43.8
76	69	281	469	750	10.8
77	124	251	433	684	5.5
78	23	260	824	1,084	46.2
79	163	231	957	1,187	7.3
80	124	161	435	596	4.8
81					
82	101	100	236	336	3.3
83	43	70	159	229	5.3
84	27	32	70	102	3.8
85	56	99	231	330	5.8
86	50	81	82	163	3.3
87	52	76	108	184	3.6
88	44	86	174	260	5.9
89					
90*	34	100	136	236	7.0
91*	39	87	236	323	8.3
92	41	73	130	203	4.9
93	41	94	169	263	6.4
94	47	206	425	631	13.6
95	40	87	236	323	8.2
96*	39	85	249	334	8.5
97*	41	102	1,092	1,194	29.1
98*	68	400	462	862	12.7
99	40	94	181	275	6.8
100*	40	83	12	95	2.4
101	35	141	451	592	16.9
102*	22	266	133	399	18.1
103	44	105	346	451	10.2
104	40	110	121	231	5.7
105*	39	179	791	970	24.6
106*	47	676	999	1,675	35.9
107*	53	96	242	338	6.4
108	40	115	113	228	5.7
109	39	164	257	421	10.9
110	46	608	589	1,197	25.8
111	47	65	309	374	8.0
112	23	27	104	131	5.8
113	75	183	336	549	7.4
114	42	121	241	362	8.6
115	164	203	624	827	5.0
116	82	171	246	417	5.1
117	86	70	258	328	3.8
118	81	158	419	577	7.1
119	87	74	324	398	4.6

NOTE.—The value of land and buildings and the combined value of land and buildings per block is shown to the nearest thousand. The value per square foot is an average for land and buildings in the block. It is based on the complete figures and is shown to the nearest decimal point.

There is no residential accommodation in blocks marked with an asterisk. In several other high value blocks there is little residential accommodation.

Source: Cleminshaw valuation of all property in City, 1955.



MAP 12. The Cleminshaw valuation of property in the City is the basis for the facing table and the map. The range in values is great. Developed blocks with the lowest value are at the northern end of Barrington Street, where conditions generally are bad, and in the relatively better northwestern part of the Study Area. *Source: Cleminshaw Valuation.*

The Study has confirmed the findings of previous committees and reports concerned with housing in Halifax. For the past sixty years they have shed light on the problems and have made recommendations. In that period the condition of dwellings in the Study Area must have worsened in general terms, and there has been no concerted scheme for clearance and rehousing.

The main planning has been through a zoning by-law. A glance at the zoning map is sufficient to show that the by-law must have a bad effect on housing in the "old northern suburb" and the Spring Garden Road area. It allows the entry of non-residential uses in such a way that there are only bits and pieces left for housing. No sensible redeveloper, whether governmental or private, would want to take action if a housing redevelopment scheme is to be surrounded by scattered non-residential fragments. A first step in redevelopment is a revision of the use districts to which the zoning by-law applies. In regard to blocks designated for residential use there should be protection as rigorous as that applied in the western parts of the City. Although it is far from ideal, as it takes into account existing scattered uses, Map 13 suggests a modified and better arrangement of use districts.

The second great need in the Study Area is the forthright application of Ordinance 50. Belated and inadequate as it is, Ordinance 50 should ensure some improvement in conditions and prevent further deterioration of domestic life for thousands of families. There are no good reasons why Ordinance 50 should not be applied. Even the worst housing in the Study Area is highly profitable real estate.

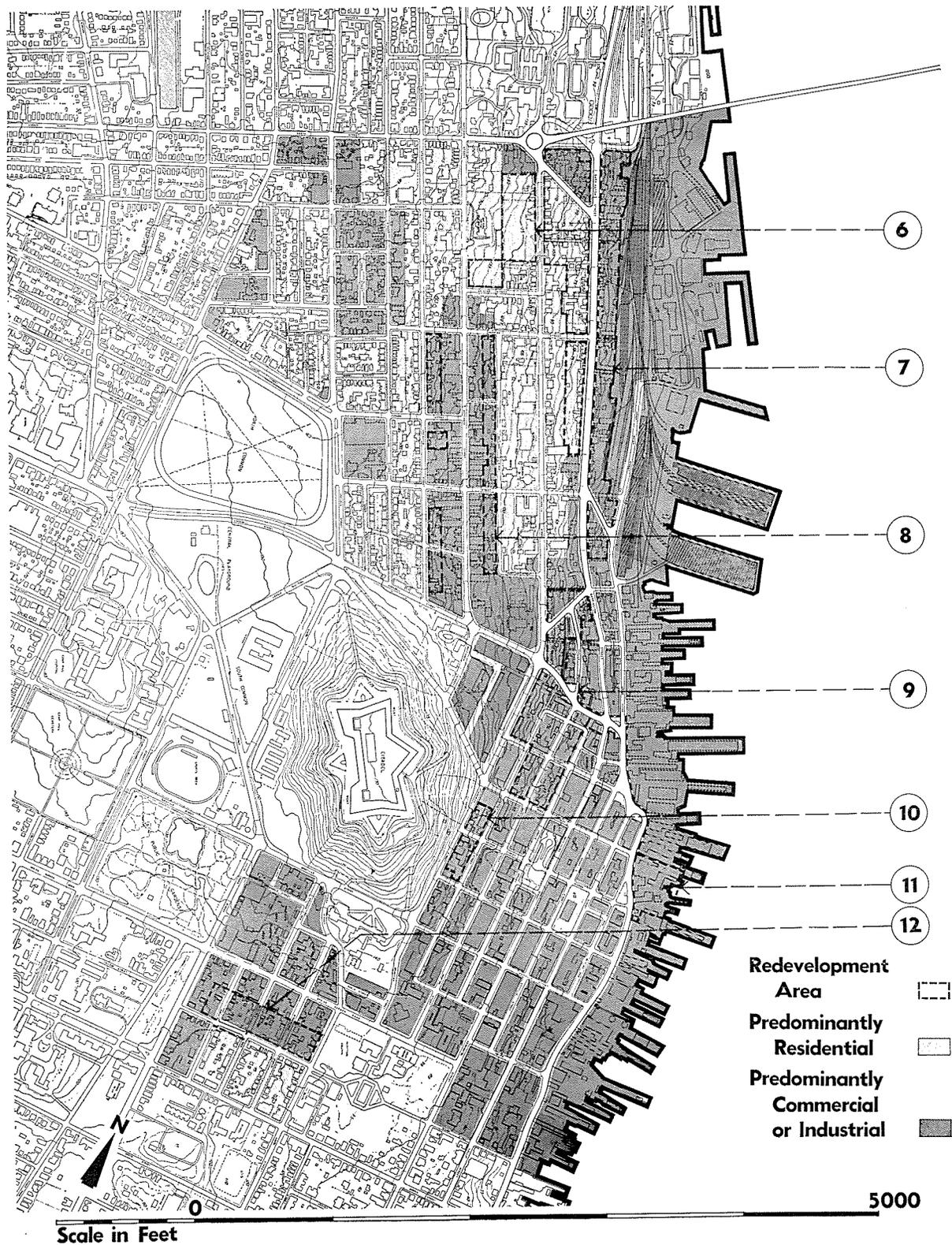
The third important requirement is that land should be cleared in an organised way for commercial expansion and non-residential improvements which will benefit the economy of the City. In the prevailing hit or miss method of expansion, developers either seek to jump away from the City Centre, as witness the recent demands for land on the Commons by the Board of Trade and the County Council, or they find sites in places which may not be entirely suitable, often to the further detriment of housing in the vicinity. Proposals 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 involve the clearing of land for non-residential use. Each is designed to improve the efficiency and attractiveness of the City. Each would involve a loss of housing accommodation. The implication is that alternative accommodation must be made available on other sites.

Within the Study Area redevelopment is proposed in seven major schemes which should be initiated by the City. The general concept is that they would stimulate further redevelopment, initiated by private developers, in other parts of the Study Area. The preceding sections show that the worst parts of the City are on the fringe of the Central Area, along Barrington and Upper Water Streets, and in the vicinity of the Gottingen Street and Spring Garden Road Shopping Centres. In general terms, and relative only to the Study Area, better conditions prevail in the north-western part.

The schemes are not conceived simply as slum clearance projects. They embrace a series of planning ideas, including the improvement of the physical and economic efficiency of the City. Barrington Street, for example, is an all-important connection from the new bridge to the City Centre, and it is proposed that it should be improved along its length through an area in which buildings and conditions are generally bad. Moreover, there are pressures for changes of use through redevelopment in this area. With remodelling of the bridgehead approach, north- and south-bound bridge traffic would use Barrington Street.

There are three proposals for the City Centre. The first involves sweeping away the worst housing in the City, which is in the vicinity of Jacob and Market Streets. This would provide excellently placed commercial sites, and a much needed road improvement by connecting Cogswell Street to Water Street on a new alignment. The other two aim at the improvement of the George Street axis. At the upper end, an organised start could stimulate rebuilding along Brunswick and Market Streets. Map 7 shows how underbuilt this area is. At the lower end, the proposal involves the clearing of decrepit waterfront property, in order to complete the fine governmental and financial centre by a fitting and multi-purpose terminal development overlooking the Harbour.

There are proposals for the Gottingen Street and Spring Garden Road Shopping Centres. Both are shown in more detail in Section 14. At the northern end of the Gottingen Street Shopping Centre it is suggested that part of the School for the Deaf site should be acquired for a small park and playground, containing a branch library at the corner of Uniacke Street. It was assumed that the lower part of the extensive School for the Deaf site could be used for housing families displaced in the process of carrying out other schemes.



MAP 13. As a result of the Study it is suggested that seven redevelopment schemes should be initiated by the City Council as part of a general programme in which private initiative can play a part. The map also suggests zoning changes, to differentiate clearly between residential and commercial uses.

In this concluding section there are drawings illustrating proposals for the upper and lower ends of George Street, the Cogswell Street extension, and the shopping centres on Gottingen and Brunswick Streets. The table relates the twelve schemes and, broadly, shows the effect they would have in terms of population redistribution and the changes in the use of land. Map 15 shows the site of each scheme in the City.

No attempt has been made to draw up a financial statement, nor has a period of time for carrying out the schemes been suggested. There are many unforeseeable factors which could affect the cost and the scheduling of any programme. For example, it is too early to predict what effects the application of Ordinance 50 might have on building values. It could bring about reductions in some areas and increases in others. There may also be changes in regional housing policies to stimulate low cost and low rental house-building on new land within the region, and this would tend to reduce pressures in the Study Area. Finally, time will bring changes. The prediction in the Report is that there will be steady growth in the metropolitan region, with the population rising from 160,000 to 300,000 in some twenty-five years. There will be considerable industrial development in the region, but most of it should be outside the civic boundary. Various major policy decisions will have to be made by the City Council as growth takes place. In the long term it may be far wiser to encourage in every way the growth of the City Centre and harbour ancillaries rather than attempt to introduce industry into what are now residential areas.

That is one reason why the most important short-term proposals relate to the expansion of the central area, and other proposals are concerned with growth near the Naval Dockyard and Bedford Basin.

It might be said that the various schemes, if adopted as part of a comprehensive programme, could be carried through in a twenty-year period. But the programme would be speeded up if the City were to concentrate on redevelopment, and commercial interests were anxious to be established in or near the City Centre and harbour facilities. The limiting factor might prove to be the lack of land, within the City's jurisdiction, which is essential to the provision of alternative and new housing accommodation. Schemes 1, 3 and 5 are very necessary elements in the redevelopment process. If the three sites are developed at fairly high densities they would accommodate about

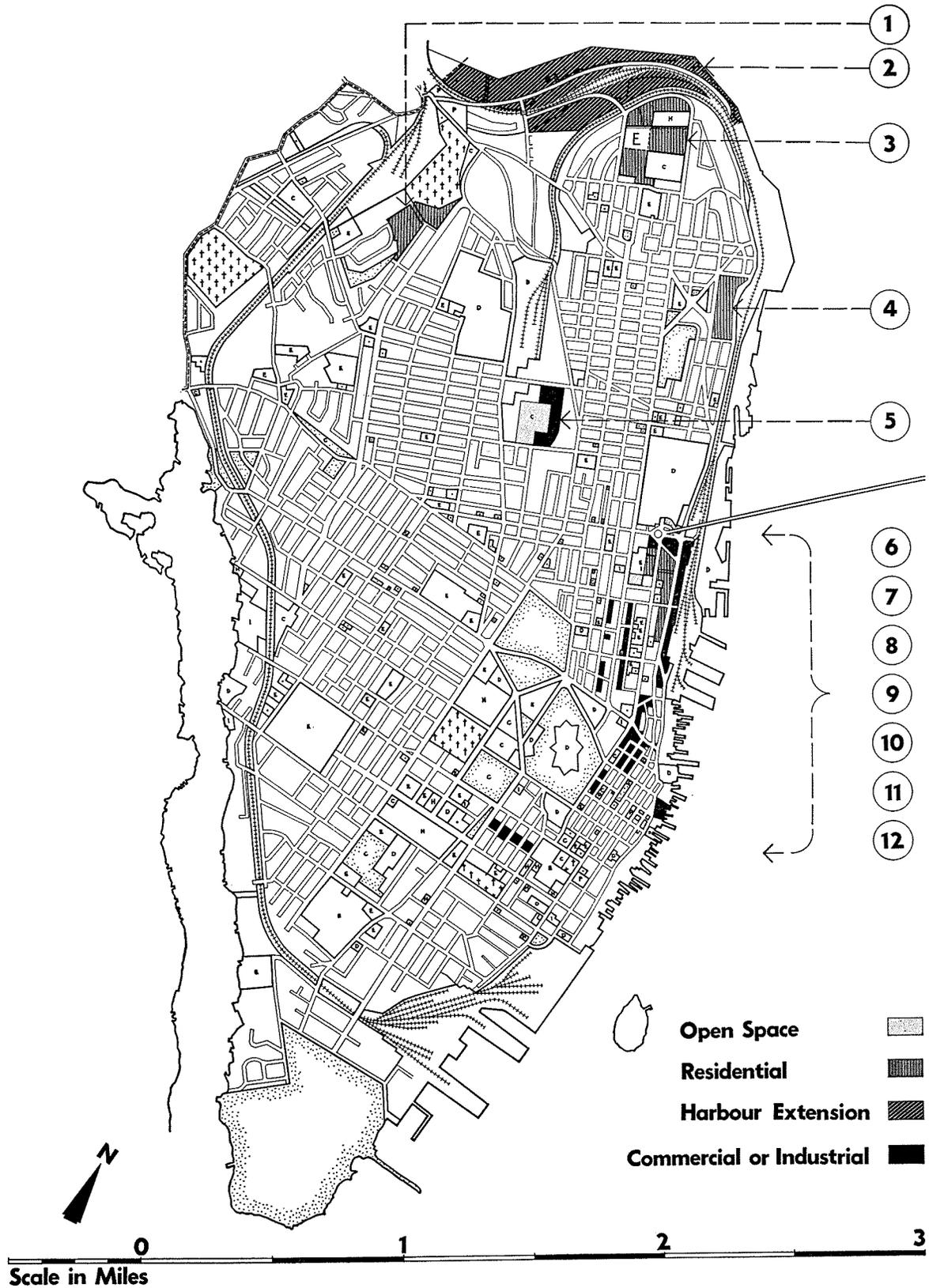
COMPARATIVE DATA: 12 SCHEMES  
IN THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME

Scheme	Predominant Land Use	Proposed Land Use	Acres	Present Population	Proposed Population
1.	Vacant (Federal)	Residential	15.4	nil	1,200
2.	Vacant and Africville	Industrial and Harbour	150.0	300	nil
3.	Vacant (City)	Residential	26.3	nil	2,100
4.	Mostly vacant (Federal)	Residential	11.6	170	1,200
5.	Temporary Housing	Industrial and Stadium	19.3	500	nil
6.	Mainly School for Deaf Grounds	Residential, Library, Open Space	5.8	40	600
7. East	Residential	Commercial Industrial	10.6	1,420	nil
7. West	Residential	Residential Commercial	11.2	1,050	1,100
8.	Residential	Commercial	7.1	660	nil
9.	Residential	Commercial	8.8	1,620	nil
10.	Residential Commercial	Commercial	1.4	170	nil
11.	Residential Commercial	Commercial	2.0	100	nil
12.	Residential	Commercial	3.3	450	nil

NOTES.—Schemes 1 to 5 are outside the Study Area. They include three sites (in schemes 1, 3, and 5) on which housing should be built in order to facilitate redevelopment in the Study Area. Scheme 2 is being studied in the City Planning Office. It will require considerable work and the further co-operation of various agencies of government before details are precisely established. In the immediate future, some of the land, by a decision of Council, will be prepared for industrial development. Within scheme 2, Barrington Street should be built at an early stage as a major through (and level) route from the northwestern boundary to the City Centre. Scheme 5 is a proposal for the future use of the Exhibition Grounds. It includes some land for industrial buildings, and some for a major sports centre adjacent to the existing grandstand. The geographical location is excellent for a sports centre. Being in an industrial area traffic and parking would not create a disturbance.

All the figures in the table are approximate. A density of 80 persons to the acre is recommended for Scheme 1; 80-100 persons to the acre for Scheme 3; and 100-120 persons to the acre for Scheme 4. The density standards include land for children's playgrounds, roads and parking. In each scheme accommodation should be provided for a cross section of the population.

Further studies will be required before the development of any scheme. They will be particularly necessary in regard to cost, financing and physical design. Three levels of government will be involved. In general terms, the cost of the land for schemes 1, 3, and 4, could be established at relatively low figures, as the sites are held by the Dominion Government and the City Council.



MAP 14. It will not be possible to carry out redevelopment schemes in the Study Area without first providing housing on three sites in the northern part of the City (sites 1, 3 and 4). Suggestions are also made for the full development of the northern edge of the City and the Exhibition Grounds (sites 5 and 6).

4,500 persons. But it is suggested that there should be a considerable subtraction of housing from some redevelopment areas, with a consequent displacement of people. There would be some 4,750 persons to be rehoused on other sites from schemes 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12.

In addition about 1,000 of the Study Area total of some 2,000 overcrowded persons should be taken into account (the other 1,000 are in the areas covered by proposed redevelopment schemes). There is also a considerable number of families temporarily housed in barracks on the Exhibition Grounds, the Manning Pool site, and near the Citadel. A new use for the latter site has already been determined, and proposals are made for the other two in schemes 4 and 5. When those temporarily housed in barracks are brought into the calculation, the total to be rehoused in other places approaches 7,000, and schemes 1, 3 and 4 can accommodate, at most, 4,500. This is a serious difference, but it will be found that some families and persons will obtain accommodation on their own initiative either within or without the City. It is, however, evident that the three schemes to be developed on new land are barely adequate.

There should be no rehousing on the eastern side of Barrington Street, and that part of scheme 7 which lies on the western side could be at a density higher than that at present prevailing. But the remodelling of the bridge approach and the setting aside of land for commercial use at the bridgehead will reduce the land available, and there could be only a small gain in population through redevelopment. The only part of the Study Area which could show a substantial gain is in scheme 6, and if the School for the Deaf is not to be relocated elsewhere, the lower part of the site it now occupies may not become available.<sup>1</sup>

The Council should encourage private investors to redevelop some of the blocks above Gottingen Street, under the limited dividend provisions of the National Housing Act. In the geographical sense, this is one of the most attractive areas in the growing City, and it is believed the Gottingen Street merchants would be ready to invest in new housing schemes related to the remodelling of the Shopping Centre. If they made a start others would be more readily persuaded to take part in redevelopment.

<sup>1</sup>The land at the corner of Uniacke and Gottingen Streets should be acquired as a playground and library site.

### *SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS*

1. The boundaries of permitted use districts in the map accompanying the Zoning By-Law should be revised in the Study Area. Map 13 provides a basis for the revision.

2. Ordinance No. 50, and subsequently ordinances demanding higher minimum standards, should be vigorously applied. The Building and Health Inspectorates should be strengthened.

3. The worst housing area in the City is delimited in Scheme 9. It contains about 8.8 acres in blocks 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 91 and 92. It should be acquired as a whole, and in conjunction with small parcels of land to allow the improvement of Jacob Street to Water Street.<sup>1</sup> There are more than 1,600 persons living in the Scheme 9 area. Families should be offered alternative accommodation in Scheme 4.

4. As a first stage in redevelopment, the Manning Pool Site (Scheme 4) should be developed as a project to contain about 330 units in apartments and row houses. This should provide accommodation for 1,200-1,300 persons, and be carried out under a Federal-Provincial-City partnership agreement to build low rental housing. As the housing will be built for sixty years or more, and primarily be for families with children, it should include units in the following proportions: 33 with 4 bedrooms; 200 with 3 bedrooms; 66 with 2 bedrooms; 33 with one bedroom (or combined living and bedrooms for old persons).

5. About 15 acres of land held by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, adjacent to the Bayers Road Housing Development, should be used for the provision of apartments and row house units to be rented to families from the Study Area. The rents should be relatively low and this Scheme, No. 1, might best be developed by a limited dividend company sponsored by the City.

6. The City land adjacent to the City Prison and the Isolation Hospital should be used for housing and educational purposes related to redevelopment (Scheme 3). About 26 acres could be made available for housing and the balance, 6 acres, for a primary school. It is suggested that the school, and housing under the limited dividend provisions of the N.H.A. should be on the western side of the site. Low rental housing under a Federal-Provincial-City partnership agreement should be built on the lower

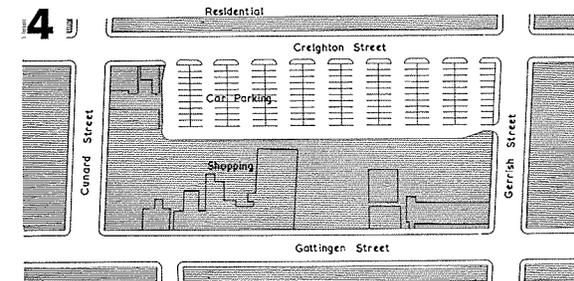
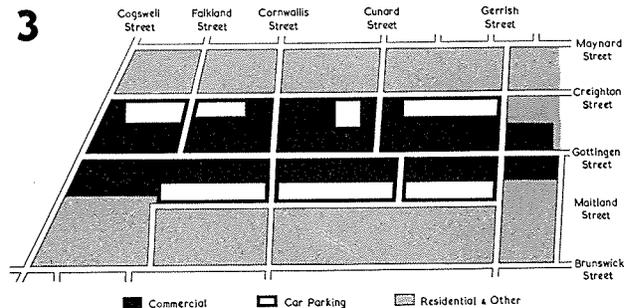
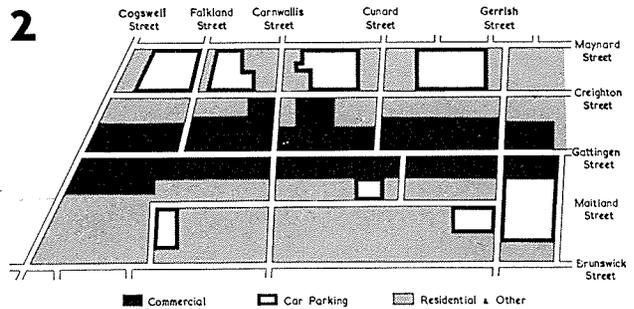
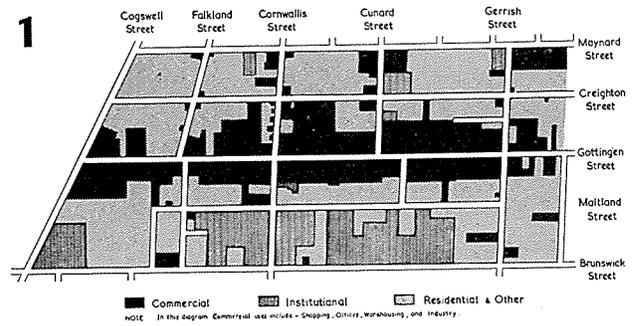
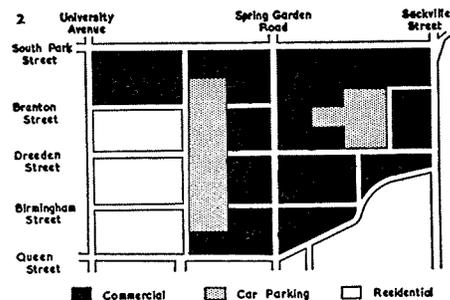
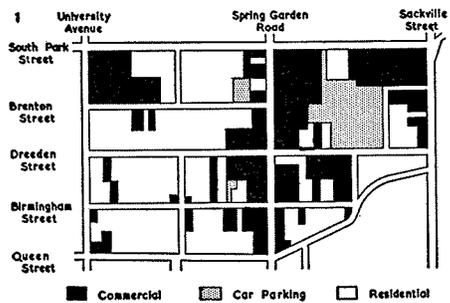
<sup>1</sup>There are one or two substantial buildings which need not be acquired, as they would fit into a revised layout.

slopes to the north and on the field between the two institutions. The land should be developed at a relatively high density in order to accommodate over 2,000 persons. When the Africville area is cleared for industrial and harbour development, families living there should be offered housing on the lower slopes of Scheme 3.

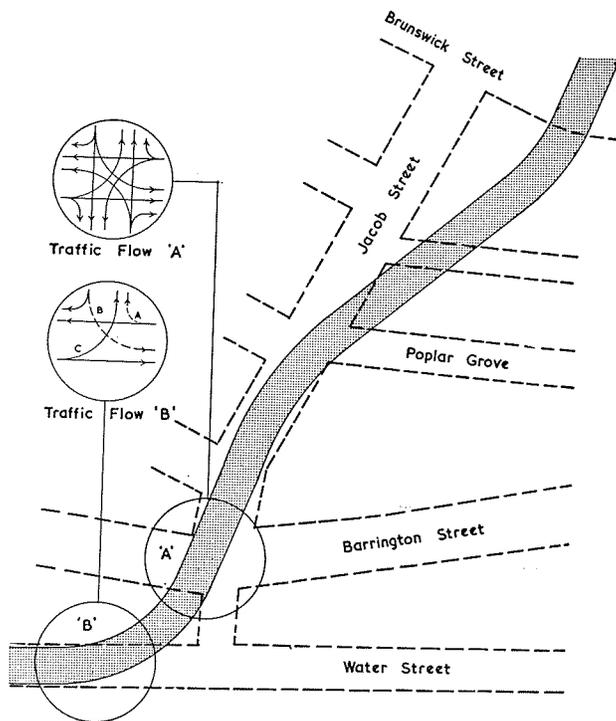
7. In large part dependent on decisions resulting from recommendations 5 and 6, Schemes 7 (at the northern end), 8, and 10, should be started in the early future. That part of Scheme 6 which proposes a branch library site and a public open space, at the corner of Gottingen and Uniacke Streets, could be the subject of immediate negotiation and decision.

8. The several schemes, and Scheme 9 in particular, will demand time and skill of several city officials in working out many details, including those concerned with finance, housing policy, real estate, law, and physical development. It is strongly urged that the planning office should be strengthened, and that an official be appointed within the civic administration to devote the whole of his time to redevelopment matters. He should be able in negotiation, and have a sound knowledge of planning, real estate, law and finance. It may also be necessary to strengthen the Housing Authority.

II. (below) SPRING GARDEN ROAD CENTRE. The upper map shows existing land use; the lower map, the proposed plan for growth. Note the provision of large public car park with access from South Park as well as Queen Street.

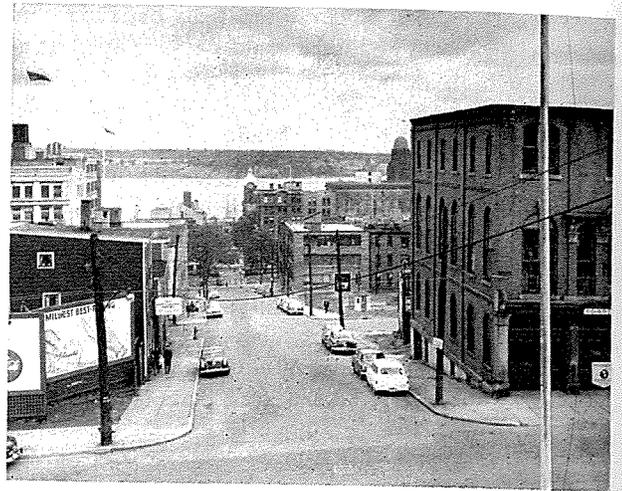


III. (above) GOTTINGEN STREET SHOPPING CENTRE. The diagram shows (from top to bottom): 1, the existing land use with half the shopping blocks occupied by dwellings; 2, a hypothetical scheme providing car parks in an opportunist manner, leaving pockets of poor dwellings in the shopping centre; 3, the proposed plan, with car parks in the shopping blocks, and a clear cut division between the large shopping centre and adjacent residential blocks; 4, a detail showing the proposed car park and service road system for shopping blocks. In the hypothetical (2) and the proposed (3) schemes there is room for the same number of cars—about 1,100

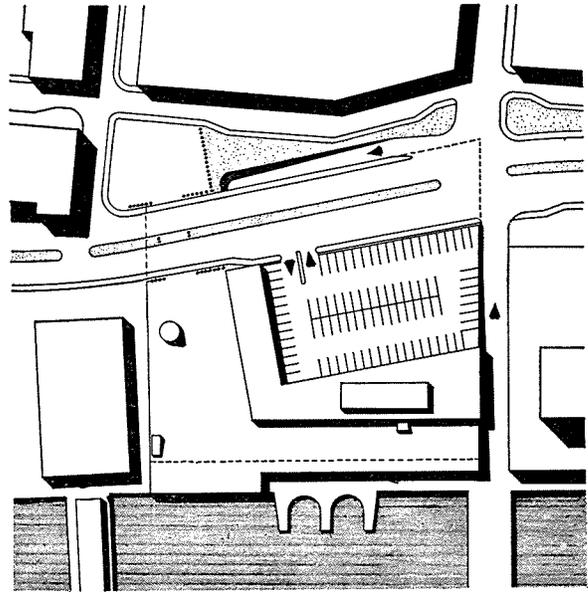
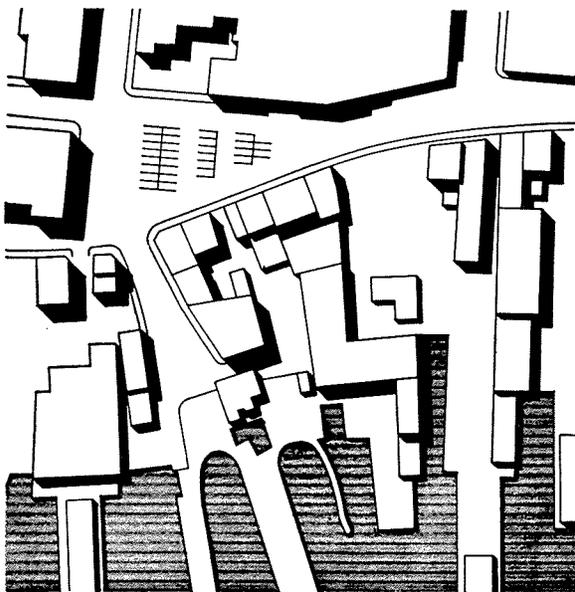
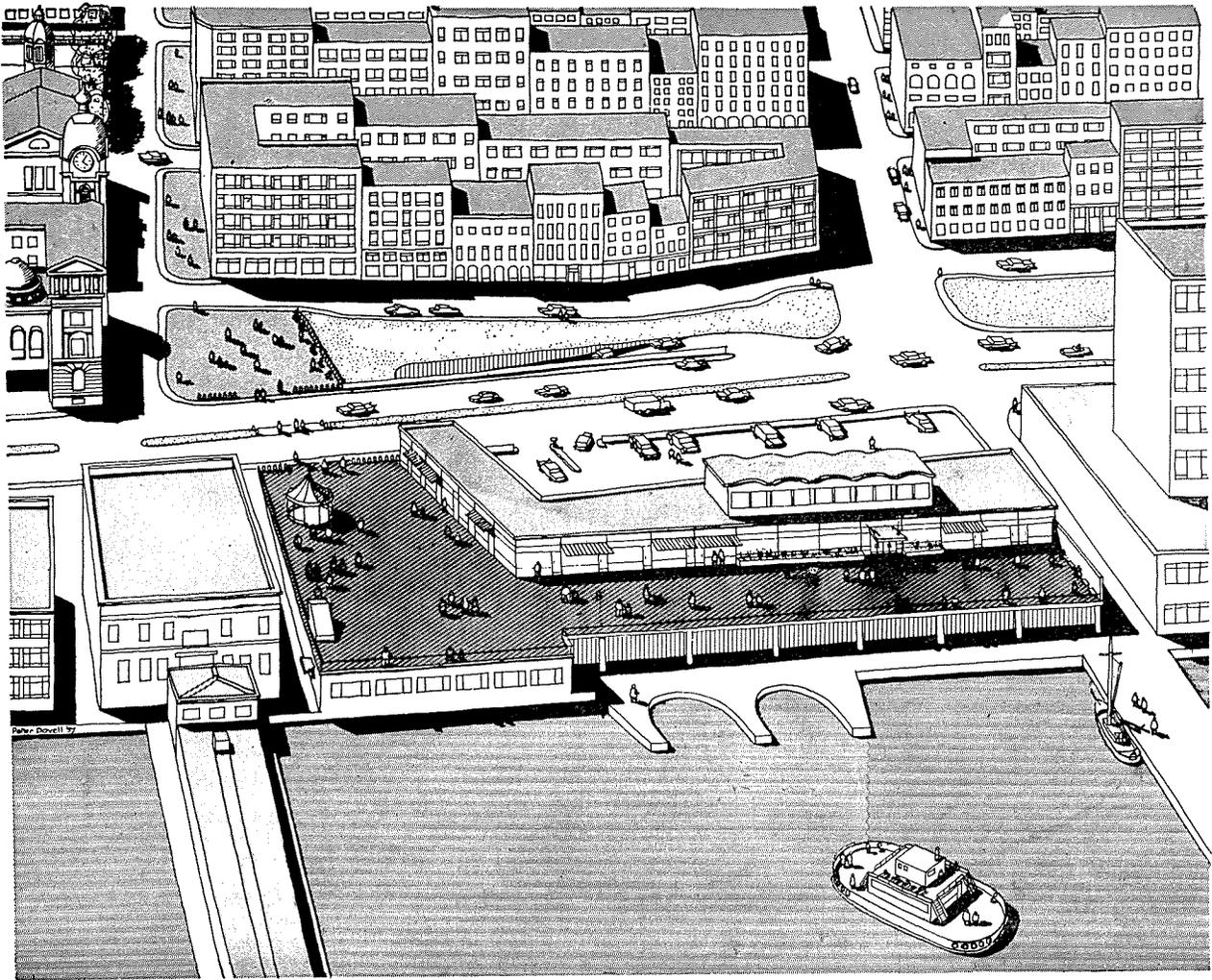


IV. (above) A SUGGESTED REALIGNMENT OF JACOB STREET to provide an adequate four lane connection from Cogswell Street to Water Street. This much needed road improvement is an integral part of scheme 9.

V. (right) THE UPPER PART OF GEORGE STREET is admirably placed within the central area. The drawing suggests that new buildings might line Brunswick Street. Note the excellent view of the Harbour and the proximity of the Grand Parade.



VI. (facing page) LOWER GEORGE STREET AND A NEW FERRY TERMINUS. The map shows the existing confusion of buildings which are unworthy of lower George Street and provide a poor approach to the City from the Harbour. The proposed plan is to the right of the map. It is suggested that a multi-purpose redevelopment scheme should be undertaken. This would provide for: parking 300 cars at two levels; a public promenade along George Street and part of the harbour front; shops and hotel, and other suitable buildings. The perspective sketch gives an impression of the proposal. Note the improvement to Water Street, which should become the most important access route to the central area and harbour if it is adequately connected to Barrington and Cogswell Streets.



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## EXTRACTS FROM ORDINANCE No. 50

Respecting Minimum Standards for Housing Accommodation enacted by the Mayor and City Council of the City of Halifax

1. (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f) and (g) are definitions
2. All dwellings erected prior to the first day of January, A.D. 1945, shall, prior to the first day of January, A.D. 1958, conform to the provisions of this Ordinance.

## 3. STRUCTURAL CONDITION:

The owner and the agent of every dwelling shall maintain the same and every part thereof in a state of good repair and structurally sound and fit for human habitation. For the purposes of this Section "a state of good repair" shall mean:

- (a) That the roof is so maintained as not to leak and all water from the roof shall be so drained and conveyed

therefrom as not to cause repeatedly wet floors, walls or ceilings or to cause a nuisance to adjacent buildings or not to overflow upon abutting or adjoining property:

- (b) That all walls, foundations, basements, cellars, steps, floors, ceilings, stairways and stairwells shall be maintained in a good, sound, safe and usable condition to the satisfaction of the Inspector of Buildings;
- (c) That the exterior shall be maintained in a clean and tidy state to the satisfaction of the Inspector of Buildings.

## 4. SPACE REQUIREMENTS:

(1) No part of a dwelling except a "habitable room" as defined herein shall be used for sleeping purposes. No room shall be used for sleeping purposes unless there is at least 400 cubic feet of air space and 50 square feet of floor area for each adult, and at least 200 cubic feet of air space and 30 square feet of floor area for each child under the age of twelve years occupying such room. No room used for sleeping purposes shall have a floor area of less than 60 square feet.

(2) Rooms, except rooms in basements, shall have the following minimum dimensions:

Room	Floor Area	Minimum Width	Height
(I) Toilet Room (with toilet only)	16 sq. ft.	3 ft.	7 ft.
(II) Toilet Room (with basin)	20 sq. ft.	3 ft.	7 ft.
(III) Toilet Room (with bath or shower and/or wash basin)	35 sq. ft.	4 ft.	7 ft.
(IV) Attic Rooms	60 sq. ft.	7 ft.	7 ft.
(V) All other habitable rooms	60 sq. ft.	7 ft.	7 ft. 6 in.

(NOTE.—In calculating the floor area of any attic room the floor space at points where the sloping walls or ceilings are less than 4 feet 6 inches above the floor in a vertical direction shall not be included.)

(3) BASEMENT ROOMS FOR LIVING QUARTERS: No room in a basement shall be used for living quarters unless:

- (a) The height of such room is not less than 7 feet from the finished floor to the finished ceiling;
- (b) The elevation of the finished floor is not greater than fifty per cent of the height of the foundation below the finished grade outside the building taken at the foundation walls and shall in no case be greater than 4 feet below the average of such finished grade;
- (c) The floors and walls are water tight;
- (d) The basement is dry and has a floor drain which complies with the requirements of the Plumbing Regulations of the Committee on Public Health and Welfare;
- (e) Such room conforms with the space, light and ventilation requirements herein provided.

(4) CELLAR ROOMS FOR LIVING QUARTERS: No room in a cellar shall be used for living quarters; provided, however, that where any building used as a dwelling is located on sloping ground, and the lowest floor of which is on ground level on at least one side of the building, the portion of the building which is in part below ground level may, with the approval in writing of the Inspector of Buildings, and to the extent so approved by him, and subject to such conditions as he may prescribe, be used as living quarters, notwithstanding that more than half of its clear floor-to-ceiling height is below the average of the finished grade outside such building taken at the foundation walls.

## 5. LIGHT AND VENTILATION:

- (1) Every habitable room shall be provided with one or more windows opening directly on a street, yard or court.
- (2) Every bathroom or room containing a toilet or urinal shall be provided with ventilation:
  - (a) by means of one or more windows opening upon a street or court or yard or air-well; or
  - (b) by means of one or more windows opening into a vent shaft which extends to and through the roof or into a court, yard or air-well; or
  - (c) by means of a separate duct of non-combustible and corrosion resistant material, not less than seventy-two

square inches in cross-section, which extends, independently of any duct used for other purposes, to and through the roof; or

- (d) by a ventilating sky-light; or
- (e) by such other approved means of mechanical ventilation approved by the Inspector of Buildings.

(3) Glass Area: The aggregate area of glass in windows required in the rooms hereinbefore enumerated shall not be less than eight per cent of the floor area of such rooms, provided that in habitable rooms such glass area shall not be less than eight square feet and in the rooms referred to in clauses (1), (II) and (III) of subsection (2) of Section 4, not less than three square feet.

(4) All windows required by this Ordinance for purposes of ventilation shall be capable of being opened to an extent of at least thirty per cent of the glass area required for such window. Nothing in this clause, however, shall be deemed to require double windows or storm windows to be installed so as to permit them to be opened as herein provided.

(5) Every building or dwelling in which three or more families reside shall have a minimum of one foot candle of daylight or artificial illumination at all times in all public halls and passageways used in common by the occupants of such building or dwelling.

6. is concerned with the use of electricity in dwellings.

7. is concerned with stoves and ranges in dwellings.

8. PLUMBING REGULATIONS:

(1) Every building used as a dwelling shall be provided with at least one private water closet and one lavatory or sink for every fifteen persons, or fraction thereof, living therein. Such water closet and lavatory or sink shall be within and accessible from within such building.

(2) Every building used as a dwelling shall be provided with at least one bath tub or shower for each fifteen persons, or fraction thereof, living therein.

(3) Every building used as a dwelling shall be supplied with a hot water boiler or other facilities for hot and cold running water by the owner of such building.

(4) No water closet or urinal shall be located within a room used for the preparation, cooking, storing or consumption of food, or within a room used for sleeping purposes. No room in which any water closet or urinal is located shall communicate directly with any such room in any premises in which the same water closet or urinal is available for use to more than one family.

9. SANITATION:

(1) The tenant or occupant of a dwelling shall keep the same in a clean condition. He shall provide adequate receptacles for all garbage, rubbish and ashes which accumulate in the premises occupied by him. Receptacles for garbage shall be made of metal, shall be water tight and be provided with tight fitting covers.

(2) All yards, courts and other areas of the premises upon which any building used as a dwelling stands shall be properly graded and drained and kept in a neat and tidy condition. Every fence shall be kept in a state of good repair by the owner of the premises and shall not be permitted to become unsightly.

10. It shall be the duty of the Inspector of Buildings to enforce the provisions of this Ordinance.

11. (1) Every person who violates or fails to comply with any of the provisions of this Ordinance shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding One Hundred Dollars and, in default of payment, to imprisonment for a period of two months.

(2) Every day during which any such contravention or failure to comply continues shall be deemed a fresh offence.

12. THIS ORDINANCE SHALL BE KNOWN AS ORDINANCE No. 50.

OVERCROWDING: DIFFERENCE IN BLOCKS BETWEEN NUMBER OF ROOMS AND NUMBER OF PERSONS

Block	Rooms	Persons	Diff.	Block	Rooms	Persons	Diff.
1	142	179	37	61	13	17	4
2	283	364	81	62	40	45	5
3	252	312	60	63	nil	nil	nil
4	236	375	139	64	20	17	- 3
5	93	107	14	65	nil	nil	nil
6	199	261	62	66	nil	nil	nil
7	436	467	31	67	nil	nil	nil
8	407	466	59	68	nil	nil	nil
9	514	581	67	69	nil	nil	nil
10	139	160	21	70	nil	nil	nil
11	224	214	-10	71	nil	nil	nil
12	244	233	-11	72	nil	nil	nil
13	144	159	15	73	96	132	36
14	237	225	-12	74	39	34	- 5
15	210	229	19	75	nil	nil	nil
16	110	138	28	76	171	174	3
17	115	120	5	77	17	18	1
18	56	77	21	78	13	12	- 1
19	103	122	19	79	53	66	13
20	262	305	43	80	234	267	33
21	321	372	51	81	149	227	78
22	283	346	63	82	150	161	11
23	116	117	1	83	141	239	98
24	198	220	22	84	55	71	16
25	210	213	3	85	91	91	nil
26	80	74	- 6	86	165	291	126
27	245	242	- 3	87	186	231	45
28	205	180	-25	88	140	202	62
29	270	301	31	89	87	102	15
30	242	290	48	90	nil	nil	nil
31	258	336	78	91	nil	nil	nil
32	194	171	-23	92	65	80	15
33	246	274	28	93	191	182	- 9
34	124	150	26	94	60	54	- 4
35	80	80	nil	95	60	98	38
36	154	123	-31	96	nil	nil	nil
37	212	190	-22	97	nil	nil	nil
38	186	195	9	98	nil	nil	nil
39	nil	nil	nil	99	51	74	23
40	95	112	17	100	nil	nil	nil
41	230	212	-18	101	4	4	nil
42	234	248	14	102	nil	nil	nil
43	152	137	-15	103	76	75	- 1
44	89	80	- 9	104	82	104	22
45	178	164	-14	105	nil	nil	nil
46	36	23	-13	106	nil	nil	nil
47	65	64	- 1	107	nil	nil	nil
48	152	145	- 7	108	38	33	- 5
49	145	147	2	109	20	13	- 7
50	388	269	-119	110	6	12	4
51	128	126	- 2	111	13	7	- 6
52	110	94	-16	112	117	119	2
53	199	232	33	113	64	31	-33
54	68	88	20	114	126	165	39
55	211	257	46	115	183	228	45
56	nil	nil	nil	116	143	192	49
57	25	20	- 5	117	303	295	- 8
58	nil	nil	nil	118	218	229	11
59	nil	nil	nil	119	263	245	-18
60	nil	nil	nil				

NOTES. The figures in the above table are those determined by the house-to-house surveys of 1955 and 1956. When there was no person available to supply data, forms were not completed for the particular dwelling. In the tables and maps on a percentage basis an average was given. In the above table the figures are from completed forms. The figures will therefore be a little lower than they should be. Nevertheless the table

shows that there are some 2,000 persons who should leave the Study Area if only to abate overcrowding. As the data recorded on the maps are shown by blocks, this table should be referred to in order that the picture may fully be appreciated. For example, block 110 shows the worst overcrowding but there are only 12 persons in the block. Block 86 is much more overcrowded with 291 persons sharing 165 rooms.

