

Was Toronto Misled?

Misinformation and false accusations behind the
decision to rename Dundas Street

“Historians have the right to interpret facts
differently but not to knowingly misrepresent
them” – Professor Angela McCarthy

**Report of the Henry Dundas Committee of Ontario based on documents obtained through
Freedom of Information requests and additional investigations.**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Overview: This Report from the Henry Dundas Committee of Ontario is being submitted to the Mayor and Councillors of the City of Toronto with a request that Council hit the “pause button” on the decision to rename Dundas Street. Drawing on documents received from FOI requests, published scholarship, and other sources, the Report reveals that Staff presented Council with misleading facts based on now-discredited research, defied instructions to consult with the public, and made false allegations concerning Henry Dundas’s impact on Indigenous peoples. Staff also dramatically, and inexcusably, understated the real cost of changing the street name, which is likely \$20-\$30 million. We are therefore asking the Mayor and Council to send the matter back to the City Manager with directions to provide accurate historical research, and to collect the information about the costs of renaming Dundas Street that should have been provided the first time.

1. City Staff presented historical facts based research now exposed as profoundly deficient

A leading journal of the University of Edinburgh Press has revealed egregious flaws in the research of a Scottish historian who guided Staff in their findings about Henry Dundas. The paper by Dr. Stephen Mullen blamed Henry Dundas for delaying abolition of the slave trade. Last month, the journal *Scottish Affairs* published an exposé that identified critical errors in Dr. Mullen’s research, and called the integrity of his published work into question. Professor Angela McCarthy exposed Dr. Mullen’s failure to describe the work of other scholars accurately, and his refusal to address the enormous obstacles to abolition, and said: **“historians have the right to interpret facts differently but not to knowingly misrepresent them.”** City of Toronto Staff wholly adopted Dr. Mullen’s findings in their statement of facts regarding of Henry Dundas.

Toronto Metropolitan University Professor Patrice Dutil recently revealed the degree to which Staff were misled by Dr. Mullen. He called the Staff summary of facts an act of “historical distortion.” Other eminent scholars in Canada and Scotland have also stepped forward to dispute the version of history accepted by Staff.

2. City Staff made unfounded allegations that Dundas subjugated Indigenous peoples

Professor Dutil had further harsh words regarding the novel allegation that Dundas contributed to the subjugation of Indigenous peoples. In a paper published in the *Dorchester Review*, he said the allegations showed a “stunning lack of interest in context.” He found the Staff summary to be “mere ‘fact collecting’ in support a predetermined position.” Professor Dutil was especially critical of the refusal of Staff to address Dundas’s defence of Indigenous peoples in Canada, and his orders to protect the traditional hunting grounds of Indigenous peoples from hostile attacks by American border raiders.

Staff made other obviously incorrect statements in support of their allegation that Dundas Street “erased Indigenous presence in the landscape.” They alleged that Dundas Street assumed the route of an Indigenous trail which they implied was in Toronto. **In fact, historical maps show that no part of Dundas Street covered an Indigenous trail, and the Indigenous trail they were concerned about ran between Hamilton and London.** The allegation that the location of Dundas Street “erases Indigenous presence from the landscape” is entirely false and contrary to the historical record.

Staff also overlooked the fact that Dundas Street provided a safe route into Upper Canada for Black freedom seekers who had escaped slavery in the southern US on the Underground Railroad. Without this path to safety, they would have remained vulnerable to bounty hunters at the Canadian/US border towns.

Overall, the version of history presented by Staff has grave implications for the validity of Council’s decision rename Dundas Street. Council voted to rename the street on the basis of seriously flawed research into Henry Dundas’s legacy and a misapprehension of the facts regarding his impact on Indigenous peoples.

3. (a) Staff defied instructions from Council to conduct public consultations

In a motion passed on September 30, 2020, Council directed staff to pursue full public consultations regarding the proposed name change. **Staff defied this mandate.** They dispensed with full public consultations on the advice of an Ottawa consultant with ultra-leftist politics and an innate distrust of public surveys. They then confined community consultations to 25 invited representatives of Black and Indigenous groups. They also failed to alert Council to their revision to the consultation plan before making their recommendation to rename Dundas Street.

The public consultation process had been mandated by a vote of Council. When staff defied their instructions, they undermined the will of Council and subverted the democratic process.

3. (b) Staff chose an understaffed, inexperienced Ottawa agency with a radical political agenda to lead the community consultation process

Staff hired QuakeLab Inc., an inexperienced Ottawa agency that was in the midst of a staffing crisis. QuakeLab’s role was to lead consultations with equity-seeking groups, and provide advice on public consultations. QuakeLab’s advisory work is founded on Critical Race Theory. It supports “abolishing” the police, and encourages others to “revolt against the system.” Its 28-year-old CEO had no discernable experience with public consultations, and was opposed to the use of public surveys for decisions affecting marginalized minorities. She has publicly promoted the illegal destruction of historic monuments and encouraged “all cities” to rename their streets. She has also declared that QuakeLab is not accountable to its clients, and that QuakeLab’s mission is to “shake sh*t up” and to cause “earthquakes” in society.

QuakeLab had an inordinate influence on the recommendation to rename Dundas Street. It advised Staff to jettison the plan for full public consultations, and recommended the complete renaming of the street without broad public input. When Council voted to rename Dundas Street, the CEO exclaimed “We did it, Joe” – alluding to Vice President Kamala Harris’s celebratory phone call with President Joe Biden after they won the last US election.

FOI documents reveal other reasons to be concerned about QuakeLab’s role. Black participants told QuakeLab they were uncomfortable with choosing complete renaming, fearing that it would cause division in the community. The agency appeared to give this concern little weight. Overall, the hiring of an Ottawa consultant on a mission to “shake sh** up” raises serious questions about the process behind the Staff recommendation to rename Dundas Street.

4. Staff drastically underestimated the costs of renaming Dundas Street

Staff reported to Executive Committee that renaming Dundas Street would cost the City \$5.1-6.3 million. Our information points to substantial additional costs.

Early in the review process, Staff gathered information about a wide range of direct costs to businesses and residents that would be triggered by renaming Dundas Street. They decided, however, not to disclose those costs in their final report on June 18, 2021. They only reported the direct costs payable by the City, and even that estimate was incomplete. Staff appear to have ignored fees of \$1 million or more payable to Service Ontario to process address changes. An even larger omission was their failure to refer to subsidies to address rebranding and other costs to businesses and residents on Dundas Street, which could exceed \$20 million.

Using projections based on the renaming of a major thoroughfare in a US municipality, **a realistic estimate of the total cost to the City of renaming Dundas Street is \$20-30 Million.**

5. 81% of business owners and residents on Dundas Street oppose the renaming

We have discovered the existence of a private survey of Dundas Street residents and businesses. A business owner on Dundas Street commissioned a call centre to survey residents and businesses with addresses on Dundas Street. The results show that **81% of residents and business owners on Dundas Street oppose the name change.** This finding starkly contrasts with the City Manager's account of consultations with Business Improvement Areas and representatives of the business community. It took a private businessperson to do what staff failed to do – survey the people who would be most affected. He discovered that 81 per cent opposed renaming the street.

The evidence that supports our analysis and conclusions is set out in this Report under five broad categories of key findings.

KEY FINDING #1: THE CITY WAS MISLED BY FLAWED RESEARCH

1) Staff relied on a historian whose research has been discredited

A leading journal of the *University of Edinburgh Press* recently published a damning exposé concerning the research at the heart of the City’s condemnation of Henry Dundas. The article **“Bad History: The Controversy over Henry Dundas and the Historiography of the Abolition of the Slave Trade,”**¹ exposes the false claims that prompted the original petition to rename Dundas Street, and serious flaws in the research that the City of Toronto relied on.

The target of the exposé was a paper written by Dr. Mullen, a research associate at the University of Glasgow, and the historian on whom City of Toronto City Staff relied as they assembled their historical summary of the legacy of Henry Dundas. In the peer-reviewed journal *Scottish Affairs*, Professor Angela McCarthy dissected Dr. Mullen’s research and revealed it to be inaccurate and unreliable. An expert in Scottish history, she was particularly critical of Dr. Mullen’s representations of the works of other scholars. She called into question the integrity of his research:

“Historians have the right to interpret facts differently but not to knowingly misrepresent them.”

FOI documents show that Dr. Mullen provided advice to staff from September 2020 to July 2021. The City Manager’s recommendation to rename Dundas Street quoted Dr. Mullen prominently, and their description of historical facts tracked his analysis. Dr. Mullen also made an influential presentation to the Executive Committee on July 6, 2021, two days after meeting privately with the head of the working group.²

Dr. Mullen is Scotland’s leading anti-Dundas historian, and once commented that the name of Dundas Street in Toronto was “polluting the landscape.”³ He also recently generated international controversy over his denunciation of the life-long abolitionist and African explorer David Livingstone. In a report for the City of Glasgow, he tied Livingstone to slavery because at the age of 10, Livingstone started working in a cotton mill that “likely” imported cotton produced by slaves.⁴ Dr. Mullen revealed himself to be a scholar who will dismiss a lifetime of service to the public good over a single unproven claim.

Professor McCarthy’s central criticism is that Stephen Mullen misrepresented the historical record regarding the obstacles to abolition in Henry Dundas’s time. The abolition

¹ <https://www.eupublishing.com/doi/abs/10.3366/scot.2022.0404>, published April 21, 2022, in *Scottish Affairs*. ²

FOI documents: Email from S Mullen to C Blackman July 2, 2021

³ Twitter, June 19, 2020, 9:51 a.m. GMT.

⁴ Smith, M., “Dr. Livingstone’s cancelled, I presume?” *The Times*, 31 March 2022. Dr. Mullen also slated statues of abolitionists William Gladstone and Robert Peel Jr for possible removal because of the actions of their fathers.

<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/dr-livingstones-cancelled-i-presume-dddp2357t>

movement faced the entrenched opposition of King George III and the House of Lords, the eruption of a world war with France, widespread fears of revolution, and massively powerful economic interests. Numerous scholars have identified these obstacles as virtually insurmountable. Professor McCarthy reviewed Dr. Mullen’s assessment of the obstacles, and the views of the scholars he quoted in relation to those obstacles. She concluded that his analysis was so deficient that she was compelled to act on the professional duty of all historians to call out colleagues who fail to: “deal faithfully with the primary sources, misrepresent secondary works, overlook important bodies of work, misunderstand context or violate principles of historical interpretation.” In a passage that is especially appropriate to the Toronto context, she said:

“Such high standards are especially crucial when the past is so often invoked – but often distorted, manufactured, or misrepresented – to justify the politics of the present.”

We note that the obstacles that Dr. Mullen ignored or minimized are precisely the obstacles that Henry Dundas addressed in his plan for gradual abolition. If his plan had been implemented, nearly half the slave trade would have been shut down within the year, with the rest eliminated by 1800. As many as 300,000 slaves would have been saved from trafficking by the British. By failing to seize the one opportunity they had to achieve real progress before the onset of war, abolitionists doomed their cause to 15 years of delay. Even when they finally succeeded in having legislation passed in 1807, immediate abolition was elusive. Just as Dundas had predicted, slave traders went underground and found ways around the new laws.⁵

Professor McCarthy also sharply criticized the City of Edinburgh for approving a controversial plaque at the Melville Monument (a statue of Henry Dundas). The plaque, *which Staff repeatedly quoted*, blames Dundas for a 15-year delay in abolition and the enslavement of more than half a million people. Professor McCarthy called the text on the plaque “patently absurd, erroneous, and bad history” and said:

“Edinburgh City Council have the urgent moral duty to remove it. Otherwise, the city faces the grave charge and international opprobrium of falsifying history on a public monument.”

⁵ Sherwood, Marika, *After Abolition: Britain and the Slave Trade Since 1807*, (I.B. Tauris, 2007), p. 18 – 21; Sherwood, M., “The British Illegal Slave Trade, 1808-1830.” *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31.2 (2008): 293–305 at 294; HC Deb 05 March 1811 vol 19 cc 233-40, remarks of Sir Henry Brougham upon introducing the *Slave Trade Felony Act 1811*: <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1811/mar/05/slave-trade-felony-bill>; David Eltis, “The British contribution to the nineteenth-century trans-Atlantic slave trade”, *Economic History Review*, 32/2 (1979), p 211

Scotland's most eminent historian and the editor of *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past*, Professor Emeritus Sir Tom Devine, assessed Professor McCarthy's exposé, and described it as: "a tour de force of forensic historical research."⁶

2) City Staff relied heavily on Dr. Mullen's fatally flawed research

Dr. Mullen's research had a profound impact on the facts set out in the Report for Action that recommended renaming Dundas Street. FOI documents show that the head of the Staff working group consulted with Dr. Mullen on at least three occasions, including Sunday, July 4, 2021, two days before Dr. Mullen's public presentation to the Executive Committee – an unusual intervention for a senior manager.⁷ It is apparent from a comparison of his research and the Staff report that Staff unquestioningly accepted Dr. Mullen's version of history. After Dr. Mullen's presentation, the head of the working group offered her grateful thanks, and the city historian later promoted Dr. Mullen's now-discredited article on his Twitter feed:

From: Cheryl Blackman s. 14(1)
Sent: 07 July 2021 12:13
To: Stephen Mullen <Stephen.Mullen@glasgow.ac.uk>
Subject: With Thanks!

Dear Stephen,

Thank you for defending evidence based, peer reviewed scholarship.

The team is profoundly grateful that you were present to set the record straight.

Please know that we look forward to working with you as we advance this effort to lead decision making with professionals from academia on behalf of building a stronger Toronto.



⁶ <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/absurd-sir-henry-dundas-plaque-must-fall-says-historian-fnkxjsglv>.

See also: page 11 below.

⁷ FOI documents: Meeting notes, Feb 18, 2020; Email from C Blackman to S Mullen Mar 29 2021; Email from S Mullen to C Blackman July 2, 2021

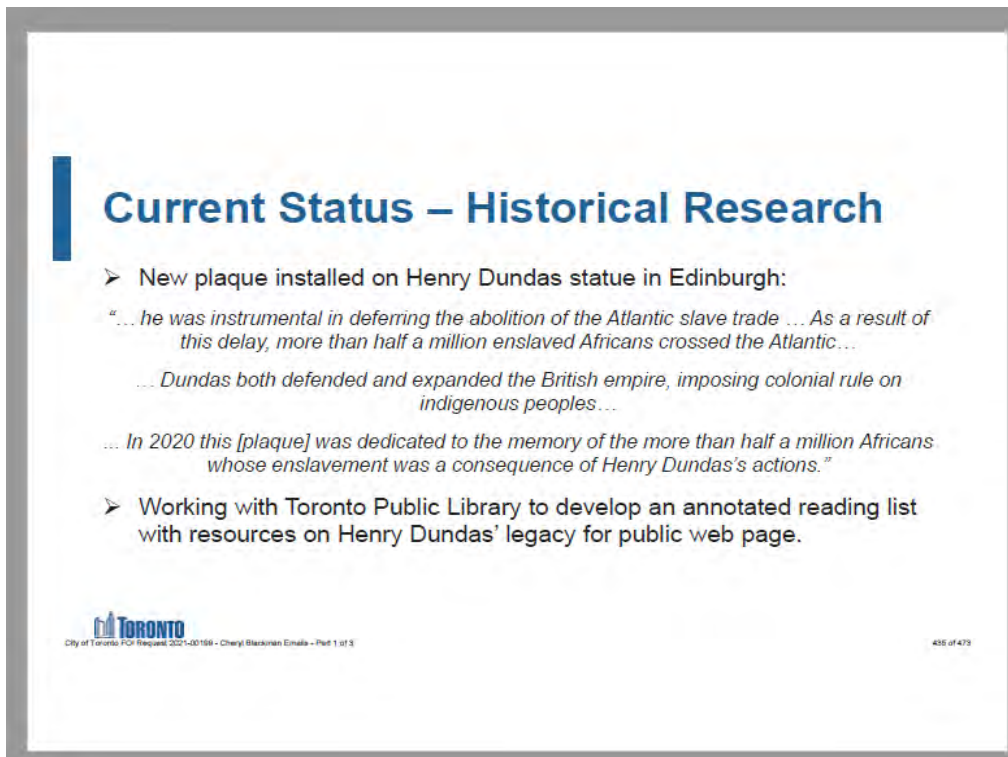
The notoriously incorrect text on the Edinburgh plaque also affected the views of Staff. The text was set out in full in the City Manager’s letter to Council in August, 2020. Its accusations are found in several city documents, including the background information in the City’s contracts with QuakeLab Inc. for community engagement and advice on a public consultation:

Background

Discussions on racial injustices, inequality and anti-Black racism have included scrutiny of the origins and history of monuments, street names, parks and buildings in Toronto and around the world. In June 2020, an [online petition](#) was presented to City Council requesting that Dundas Street be renamed because it was named after Scottish politician Henry Dundas, who was involved in delaying the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade, causing more than half a million more Black people to be enslaved in the British Empire. The petition to rename Dundas Street argues that street names and monuments should “reflect our values and priorities.”

In response to the petition, Toronto City Council unanimously [recommended](#) holding inclusive public consultations with Torontonians and community members representing Black, Indigenous, Accessibility and other equity-seeking groups to raise awareness, educate and gather feedback on four options to rename Dundas Street:

An internal presentation in March 2021 to the working group again repeated the text:

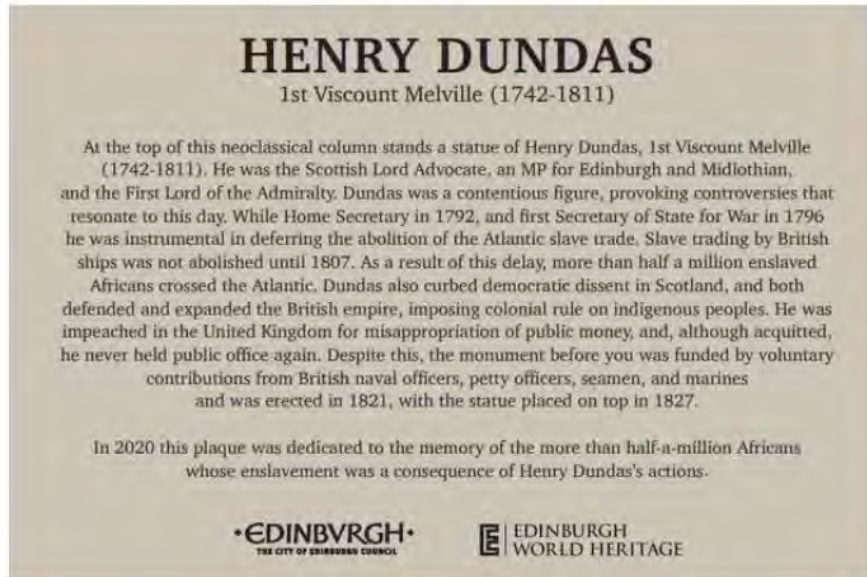


The city historian even suggested using the text on the plaque as the basis for a statement of historical facts, asking: “Is this the type of language you were hoping for?”

From: Richard Gerrard
Sent: March 19, 2021 10:13 AM
To: Ben Macintosh; Tara Bowyer; Cheryl Blackman
Subject: New Text for Edinburgh's Dundas Statue

Hi All,

This is from the Edinburgh News giving the new Council approved text to contextualize the Dundas Monument. Is this the type of language you were hoping for?



<https://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/heritage-and-retro/retro/an-enormous-victory-for-edinburgh-and-the-people-of-scotland-reaction-to-melville-monument-slavery-plaque-3169619>

It's short, simple, and direct. (And has no footnotes.)

Richard

Staff continued to accept the plaque in the City Manager's Report for Action in June, 2021, which set out the entire text shown above, and recommended renaming Dundas Street. They compounded the error by quoting the original promoter of the plaque, Sir Geoff Palmer, and an outrageously incorrect comment he made to the Edinburgh Evening News:⁸

Commenting on the approval of the plaque, Sir Geoff Palmer said:

"This is the public's victory, that the governing body of Edinburgh has looked at the evidence, looked at the evidence very carefully, and decided that slavery should be on this plaque, and that some recognition should be given to the suffering of the people, who not only endured slavery as whole, but of the 630,000 people [Dundas] was responsible for transporting into slavery."¹⁴

Professor McCarthy exposed this claim as patently false.

⁸ City Manager's "Report for Action" to Executive Committee, June 18, 2021, released publicly June 28, 2021, p. 13 of 24. <https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2021/ex/bgrd/backgroundfile-168523.pdf> This quote is one of several examples of staff departing from their claim that they relied on peer-reviewed scholarship.

3) Dr. Mullen misled staff about the use of slaves by the British military

The City Manager's report incorrectly accused Dundas of being the "key architect" of a British policy to purchase slaves for its army starting in 1795. The report attributed the information to the late Professor Roger Buckley, but FOI documents show that Staff obtained their information from Dr. Mullen. Dr. Mullen had advanced this allegation on the basis of purportedly "long-forgotten" research by Professor Buckley, informed the media in Scotland, and then reached out to Staff to tell them about the news story:

On Mar 29, 2021, at 6:15 AM, Stephen Mullen
<Stephen.Mullen@glasgow.ac.uk> wrote:

Dear Cheryl,

I hope you are doing well.

I am writing with an update about my ongoing research on Henry Dundas, which has now been peer-reviewed and accepted for publication in the *Scottish Historical Review*, Scotland's premier historical journal. This will be published in October 2021.

The national media in Scotland have taken an interest and have reported on the work in the *Herald on Sunday*, one of Scotland's leading daily newspapers. Link here: [Dundas "key" to Britain's slave army, investigation finds | HeraldScotland](#)

From: Cheryl Blackman <Cheryl.Blackman@toronto.ca>
Sent: 29 March 2021 13:08
To: Stephen Mullen <Stephen.Mullen@glasgow.ac.uk>
Subject: Re: Henry Dundas

Hello Stephen,

Thanks for this update. The team has been monitoring the progress of your peer reviewed publication.

Can we book a follow up chat?

Dr. Mullen's research on the use of slaves in the British military constituted a further distortion of history. Claiming that the ground-breaking research of this eminent Black scholar was "long forgotten,"⁹ he then cherry-picked from that work and ignored important contradictory evidence, some of which was cited by Professor Buckley:

⁹ Describing this research as "long forgotten" was an insulting and incorrect description of the scholarship of the ground-breaking publications of Professor Buckley, an eminent Black scholar and a widely-published historian of Black-American history, who published two authoritative books and numerous scholarly articles concerning the creation of the Black regiments. David Brion Davis, Roger Anstey, and David Geggus, all eminent scholars of the Atlantic slave trade, have cited his work. The New York Public Library's Lapidus Centre gives credit to Dr. Buckley for their materials on the Black Regiments. The British Library has an extensive collection of reference material on these events, as does the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council in its "Africa's Sons under Arms" project. In the face of such a substantial body of scholarship, it was incorrect to describe Professor Buckley's publications as

- i. Home Secretary William Grenville – a fervent abolitionist who later oversaw enactment of the *Anti-Slave-Trading Act* in 1807 – authorized the purchase of slaves for military service five years earlier.¹⁰
- ii. After Dundas became the War Secretary in 1794, General Sir John Vaughan repeatedly asked him to authorize the purchase of slaves for Black regiments.¹¹ Each time, Dundas refused.¹²
- iii. General Vaughan proceeded against Dundas’s orders, and began putting together regiments comprised of slaves and free Black men in 1794.¹³
- iv. In February 1795, Dundas ordered a halt to this recruitment.¹⁴
- v. On 17 April 1795, Dundas wrote to Vaughan again, and this time told him that “the king’s confidential servants,” *i.e.* cabinet, had approved his requests.¹⁵
- vi. When Dundas conveyed the news to Vaughan, he described the measure as “politic but unprincipled.”¹⁶
- vii. Commenting on the Cabinet decision, Professor Buckley said: “The emergency in the West Indies had impelled them to sanction a measure that under other circumstances would never have received their endorsement.”¹⁷

Dr. Mullen and Staff thus made a flagrant error when they accused Dundas of being a “key architect” of the plan. The opposite is true. Dundas opposed the plan but was overruled by Cabinet.

This allegation that Dundas was the “key architect” comprised a foundational reference point for the Staff recommendation to rename Dundas Street. This further invalidates their recommendation to rename Dundas Street under Option 4.¹⁸

“widely-forgotten,” or to imply that the facts regarding the Black regiments in the West Indies had been obscured by the passage of time.

¹⁰ Buckley, Roger N. (2008) "The British Army's African Recruitment Policy, 1790-1807," *Contributions in Black Studies*: Vol. 5 , Article 2.

¹¹ See, e.g. Commander-in-Chief, West Indies. Vaughan to Dundas ‘Secret No 6’ Martinique, National Archives, London, WO1/83, cited by Lockley, T., “Creating the West Indian Regiments,” *British Library*, 16 Nov 2017.

¹² Roger Buckley, *Slaves in Red Coats: British West India regiments, 1795–1815* (New Haven and London, 1979) pp. 16-18.

¹³ Buckley, *Slaves in Red Coats*, pp. 16-17, 26,

¹⁴ Lockley, T. (2020) *Military Medicine and the Making of Race: Life and Death in the West India Regiments, 1795-1874*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 41.

¹⁵ Buckley, Roger N. “Slave or Freedman: The Question of the Legal Status of the British West India Soldier, 1795-1807.” *Caribbean Studies*, vol. 17, no. 3/4, 1977, pp. 83–113. Lockley, *supra*, at 43.

¹⁶ Buckley, *Slaves in Red Coats*, p. 20

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ See Appendix C for a description of the four options identified by staff as possible responses to the petition to rename Dundas Street.

4) Eminent scholars reject the distortion of the historical record

Professor Emeritus Nick Rogers, a scholar of British history at York University, has publicly criticized the version of history presented by Staff:

“The decision to erase the name of Dundas from the streets, squares and subway of Toronto is disappointing and based on erroneous historical evidence.”

“[...]it is **incorrect to scapegoat Dundas for the half a million Africans who were sent into slavery until 1807. Such an interpretation is simple, reductive and contextless.**”¹⁹

Professor Joseph Martin, scholar of Canadian business history at the University of Toronto, also challenged the Staff version of history:

“Martin Luther King said the arc of the moral universe bends toward justice; he didn’t say it takes a right turn toward justice – because it seldom does. **History needs to understand the difficulties faced by reformers** who must confront political and social realities as they persist toward their ends, albeit, in the terms of Dundas’ amendment, gradually. Given our uncertainty surrounding what went on 230 years ago and the humility and respect we should always have for our forebears, who faced challenges easily the equal of our own, the status quo for Dundas St. has a lot to recommend itself.”²⁰

Professor Patrice Dutil, Professor of Politics and Public Administration, Toronto Metropolitan University, examined the Staff summary of historical facts, and wrote:

“The potted history does not give any overview of Dundas’s life and times. Instead it focuses entirely on one position he took at one moment in time, **based on select and biased readings, presented without context, and egregiously illogical.** “

“That the 1792 motion had absolutely no hope of passing has been acknowledged by the most severe critics. Even Dr. Stephen Mullen, the historian most relied upon by the City of Toronto staff, has admitted that the “1792 bill had no prospect of passing the Lords.” The hope survives only in the heart of city staff.”

“The resolution of 1792 showed Dundas’s courage in a hostile political environment. He ... knew that Scottish merchants were disproportionately profiting from the trade and that it would take time to persuade them that there was a more enlightened and perhaps profitable way to run their affairs without slaves.”²¹

Professor Ron Stagg, a Canadian historian at Toronto Metropolitan University, says:

“In a situation where a decision could cost the taxpayers of Toronto, and the businesses located on Dundas Street, millions of dollars, **I believe it is incumbent upon Council to**

¹⁹ <https://documentcloud.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:83c9efbf-bfe8-3d39-b317-cab0ca8a5204>

²⁰ <https://financialpost.com/opinion/joe-martin-let- Dundas-street-remain- Dundas-street>

²¹ <https://www.dorchesterreview.ca/blogs/news/ Dundas-hoax>

revisit the renaming issue, with a full range of evidence to consider, even if just in a summary form. I note that Mississauga City Council, which had the Dundas material to consider, came to an opposite conclusion.”²²

Professor Emeritus Sir Thomas Devine, Kt OBE DLitt HonDLitt HonDUniv FRHistS FRSA FSAScot HonMRIA FRSE FBA, University of Edinburgh.²³ Scotland’s most eminent historian, and the editor of the landmark book *Recovering Scotland’s Slavery Past* (one of 40 books he has published on Scottish history), called Professor McCarthy’s exposé of Dr. Mullen’s research: “**a tour de force of forensic historical research.**”²⁴ According to Sir Tom:

“...even if Dundas had never existed as an individual or high-ranking politician,” the slave trade would have continued through the 1790s because “**forces political, economic and military were so potent that there was no way a British government would want to get abolition over the line.**”²⁵

See also: “Henry Dundas was playing long game to abolish slavery, historian suggests.”²⁶

(FOI documents show that Sir Tom offered to assist staff in with their research into Henry Dundas, and later sent the head of the working group an article that the *Herald Scotland* had commissioned him to write: “Did Henry Dundas prolong the slave trade in the British Empire?” She did not follow up.”²⁷)

Professor Jonathan Hearn, Political and Historical Sociologist, University of Edinburgh, has observed how important it is to note the historical context:

“There is plenty of evidence to suggest that **Dundas’s gradualist approach to abolition** – however unsatisfactory it may seem to us in the present day – **was the only approach which would be politically successful at the time**, and as a skilled political operator, Dundas was very aware of this. Ironically, it was the abolitionist revisions to his bill that led to it being killed it and delayed any progress to abolition.”²⁸

²² <https://documentcloud.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:c84deba4-a376-323c-a81f-71bf85045af0>

²³ Sir Tom is the author or editor of some 40 books, including *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection*, published by Edinburgh University Press. He has also written close to 100 articles on topics as varied as Caribbean slavery and Scotland, emigration, famine, identity, Scottish transatlantic commercial links, the economic history of Scotland, stability and protest in the 18th century, and the global impact of Scottish people.

²⁴ <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/absurd-sir-henry-dundas-plaque-must-fall-says-historian-fnkxjsglv>

²⁵ Mackay, Neil, “Academics go head-to-head over Scotland’s ugly legacy of slavery.” *The Herald*, 31 January 2021, 34-35, 64.

²⁶ <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/henry-dundas-was-playing-long-game-to-abolish-slavery-historian-suggests-wchzsr6r>

²⁷ <https://acrobat.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:21bd9bbc-3ab2-314e-b4c0-0fe8fe4ecaf8>

²⁸ <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/what-edinburgh-s-slavery-review-gets-wrong>

Professor Guy Rowlands, Historian of the French Revolutionary Wars, University of St. Andrews, examined the big picture of Dundas’s political life:

“As we examine Dundas, empire and slavery we need to bear his pre-1792 track record firmly in mind, as even Mullen’s recent work does not do. We should not be judging Dundas on the basis of a couple of letters, a few parliamentary manoeuvres, the views of often-deluded and self-interested West Indies lobbyists, and one intractable situation he tried to unjam.”

“So, what did Henry Dundas stand for? In matters of religion – a key concern of the era – Dundas sought to break the bigoted confessionalism of Scotland and Ireland: he failed in his efforts to ease discrimination of Catholics and Episcopalians at the end of the 1770s, but he did get it through for Scotland by 1792-93, even if he was defeated in his efforts to do the same for Irish Catholics, for whom he had deep sympathy to the point of supporting Catholic emancipation. He also eased the severe post-’45 restrictions on highland dress and on proscribed Jacobite families in the early 1780s. Furthermore, Dundas was no supporter of the clearances, and in the 1790s was concerned just as much with keeping a lid on populist conservative disorder as on squelching homegrown revolutionaries.”

“On judicial and political reform, on religion and on the slave trade, **Dundas supported change but was scarred by witnessing or personally feeling repeated defeats at the hands of unenlightened, diehard, change-blocking, vested interests who needed to be persuaded to give way over time.** This obduracy came too often from within the ranks of the royal family.”

“It is ironic that the hardline abolitionists, Wilberforce and his ilk, inspired a very different 19th-century sense of empire: a view that heathen (and yes, slaving) nations elsewhere in the world required “civilising” through a moral crusade and, if necessary, rule by superior Britons. Dundas, however, did not think this should be British policy. **Who, here, is the real progressive?**”²⁹

SEE ALSO: John Lloyd, *Prospect Magazine*: “Enlightened advocate, or the great delayer? Henry Dundas’s complex relationship with slavery” – a balanced overview of the controversy in Scotland over Henry Dundas’s legacy.³⁰

²⁹ <https://historyreclaimed.co.uk/injustice-the-casting-of-blame-in-history-the-melville-monument-and-edinburghs-confrontation-with-its-imperial-past/>

³⁰ <https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/society-and-culture/henry-dundas-slavery-statues-blm-edinburgh-scotland>

5) Decision first, research afterwards

As early as July 15, 2020, shortly after receiving the petition Staff prepared a background document³¹ that revealed their implicit acceptance of the allegations against Henry Dundas in an FAQ page on the city's website:

CITY ASSETS & IMPACTS

14. If Dundas is renamed, what are the potential impacts? How much will it cost to change the street name?

Renaming Dundas Street would help to demonstrate the City's commitment to addressing the wrongs of the Transatlantic Slave Trade on Black lives in Toronto and would have a positive impact on Black policies, practices and programs in the City. However, further work is required to estimate the costs that would be incurred by businesses, organizations, property owners and residents with a street address on Dundas as well as any service or directory that maps or shows addresses. We

(Highlighting added.)

In the same document, staff made a commitment to conduct “sound historical research and analysis” regarding Henry Dundas,³² although the co-chair of the working group had already stated that Dundas “embedded racism” in the urban landscape.³³

While the FOI documents contain a few references to Staff compiling historical research, by September 2020 the other co-chair of the working group had decided she did not want her staff to be in the position of resolving the question of whether Dundas was guilty of the allegations against him. To her credit, in an email to the City Manager she noted the controversy over Henry Dundas and said that it would be difficult to resolve. She then asked the City Manager to get authorization from Council to reframe the underlying issue differently:

The item that I would ask for your support on is an encouragement to Council that we avoid reducing our role as staff and council to one of judge and jury. As a team we were not tasked to put Henry Dundas on trial as **this is a losing proposition.**

[...]

We truly want Council to understand that academics and interested parties 50 years ago could not come to an agreement on Dundas so **if we make this petition about Dundas we will have missed the real concern which is that citizens are unhappy with the idea that anything in the public space could be named after someone who doesn't share their values.**

(Highlighting added.)

The head of the Staff working group appears to have remained concerned about resolving the conflicting interpretations of Henry Dundas's actions for several months. In mid-March, 2021, she had a meeting with the Mayor's Office. FOI documents reveal that Staff had decided by that time not to prepare a summary of historical facts. What they had prepared was an annotated

³¹ <https://acrobat.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:2de28082-3f3f-3023-9cb4-3b011347c54b>

³² See, e.g., Renaming Historical City Streets: Dundas Street Report to Executive Committee, Sept 4, 2020

³³ https://www.thestar.com/news/city_hall/2020/08/26/dundas-not-the-only-toronto-street-that-embeds-racism-in-the-landscape-says-city-official-in-charge-of-reviewing-thousands-of-local-place-names.html The co-chair has since retired from his position in Heritage and Museum Services.

reading list so that readers could “draw their own conclusions.”³⁴ The Mayor, however, was concerned that there was no “clear message about the story of the man:”

From: Cheryl Blackman
Sent: March 15, 2021 4:42 PM
To: Ben Macintosh <Ben.Macintosh@toronto.ca>
Subject: City Manager's Weekly update

Hi Ben,

Completed the updated for the Mayor and his team. We can move forward with our plan to report back in June and the immediate next step of an email from Chris. MO wants to ensure that a report back to council is clear about the history related to the recognition. We should be clear about the academics and the consensus of academics in the June report. While he appreciates the reading list, he is clear that it does not point to a clear message about the story of the man. With regard to name change, if this is the will of council, he would like to see the team be ready with a full roll out plan as there will be an expectation that the consultation rolls out quickly/efficiently along with any changes if name change is the direction. We also need to ensure the policy for the framework for naming and the consultation plan is fully loaded and ready to go for June.

Shortly after that meeting, in March of 2021, Dr. Mullen’s research into Henry Dundas was accepted for publication and became the subject of a news article in the Herald Scotland. Staff prepared a narrative that fully accepted Dr. Mullen’s analysis and the notoriously incorrect text on the Edinburgh plaque.

³⁴ Minutes, Recognition Review working group, February 8, 2021

KEY FINDING #2: ALLEGATION OF SUBJUGATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IS BASELESS

1) Historical evidence contradicts allegation of subjugation of Indigenous peoples

The City Manager’s report alleged that Dundas played a role in the “subjugation of Indigenous peoples” mainly because the military road named after him covered an Indigenous trail and thereby allegedly erased Indigenous presence from the landscape, and because he was the Home Secretary responsible for British colonies.³⁵

This novel accusation was recently discredited in a wide-ranging critique by Professor Patrice Dutil in the *Dorchester Review*.³⁶ Professor Dutil wrote that the Staff summary of historical facts as a whole constituted a “wilful act of historical distortion,” but he had especially harsh words for the accusations concerning subjugation of Indigenous peoples. That part of the analysis, he said, showed a “stunning lack of interest in context,” and amounted to “mere ‘fact collecting’ in support a predetermined position.”

Professor Dutil noted important evidence that was ignored by city staff, which showed that Henry Dundas sought to ensure that Indigenous interests were protected. In the decades leading up to the War of 1812, American border raiders frequently made hostile forays into Upper Canada, and specifically targeted Indigenous lands.³⁷ In 1791, in one of his first acts as Home Secretary, Dundas ordered Lord Dorchester, the Governor of Canada, to “*to show every consistent mark of attention and regard to the Indian Nations.*”³⁸ He also ordered him to secure for Indigenous peoples “*the peaceable and quiet possession of the Lands which they have hitherto occupied as their hunting Grounds, and such others as may enable them to procure a comfortable subsistence for themselves and their families.*” At that time, Indigenous peoples needed the protection of a military road as much as the settlers did.

³⁵ The blog post that staff relied on was neither comprehensive nor peer-reviewed (nor did it claim to be), its use conflicted with the City Manager’s claim that the findings regarding Dundas’s impact on Indigenous peoples were based on peer-reviewed scholarship. [Report for Action, page 9: “**Staff have reviewed published peer-reviewed academic research prepared by professional historians** on Henry Dundas to understand his legacy and how it may impact Black and Indigenous communities in Toronto.”]

³⁶ Dutil, P., “L’Affaire Dundas in Toronto: Falling for a Hoax,” *The Dorchester Review*, Apr 27, 2022

³⁷ “Native American History: The chessboard of empire: the late 17th to the early 19th century / The American Revolution,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Native-American/The-American-Revolution-1775-83>

³⁸ “Right Hon. Henry Dundas to Lord Dorchester” #36. (Canadian Archives, Series Q., Vol. 52, p. 206.) (№1.) Whitehall, 16th Sept. 1791. Dundas also and respectfully referred to the lands of Indigenous peoples as “their countries,” an implicit recognition of sovereign interest.

According to Professor Dutil, these are the facts that *accurately* reflect Dundas’s approach to the Indigenous peoples of Canada.

Our Committee informed Council and Staff about this evidence early in the review process, and provided links so they could confirm the existence of this evidence. FOI documents show that our research was, indeed, shared among members of the working group:

From: Cheryl Blackman
Sent: September 29, 2020 7:07 AM
To: Brad Ross; Beth Waldman; Meg Shields; Richard Gerrard
Cc: Chris Murray; Wayne Reeves; Mike (EDC) Williams
Subject: FW: Henry Dundas and Abolition - a report and supporting material
Attachments: Henry Dundas and Abolition - 09-28-2020.pdf; JLDundas Letter to TCC.pdf

Good morning Brad et al,

This was received this morning and I am forwarding so that we all have the same information.

Can we chat for 30 min later today if possible. Let me know if you have a preferred time?

Nonetheless, although the staff historian received our evidence, he appears to have ignored it.

2) Staff misled Council about “erasure” of an Indigenous Trail

Staff claimed that Dundas Street covered the route of an Indigenous trail at the “western portion of Dundas Street.” This statement falsely implied that the portion of the trail that concerned them was within Toronto city limits.³⁹ Staff also claimed that naming the street ‘Dundas’ “erased Indigenous presence in the landscape.” The City Manager told Council that the Black and Indigenous participants in community consultations found it “offensive” that Dundas covered an Indigenous trail.⁴⁰

The Staff allegations concerning the location of Dundas Street are incorrect. At least half a dozen historical maps conflict with the claim that Dundas Street covered an Indigenous trail, as does the work of a Toronto geographer who traced the entire history of Dundas Street and its myriad locations.⁴¹ The maps in the blog post cited by staff are inconsistent with their

³⁹ Report for Action, June 18, 2021, page 1: “‘Dundas Street’ refers to Dundas Street (East and West), Old Dundas Street (a local road east and west of the Humber River, south of Dundas Street West), and Dundas Square (a local road south of Yonge-Dundas Square)

⁴⁰ City Manager Chris Murray, Wed. 14 July, 2021 City Council Meeting 35, 05:07:40, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jivQo5j48z8&t=22s>

⁴¹ Marshall, S., The complicated history of Dundas Street,” January 1, 2021. <https://seanmarshall.ca/2021/01/01/dundas-street/>

claims.⁴² The Indigenous routes at issue were nowhere near Toronto. They were between Hamilton and London. More importantly, Dundas Street did not cover any of those trails.

Sean Marshall, a professional geographer in Toronto, has documented the history of the path of Dundas Street. He says that when the Simcoe government decided on the route for the road west of what is now Hamilton, officials were aware of the Indigenous trails in the area but chose not to use them:

Though there were several Indigenous trails connecting Lake Ontario and the Thames River (the western part of Mohawk Road in Hamilton follows one such route), the new British colonial government favoured a straight, direct road.⁴³

Historical maps reinforce Mr. Marshall's observation. Map #1 below shows the starting point of Dundas Street. It runs in a straight line west from the protected headwaters of Cootes Landing (pink box under "Flamborough"). The Indigenous trail in the area began further east, close to the open waters of Burlington Bay, and veered to the southwest. It is marked "A path to the Mohawk Village, and "Governor Simcoe's Route to Niagara." It is readily apparent that Dundas Street did not cover this path.

**Map #1, Military road from Cootes Landing to Woodstock,
"as marked and ready to be opened" (detail)**

<http://activehistory.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Governors-Road-scaled.jpg>



⁴² Peace, T., "So long Dundas: From Colonization to Decolonization Road?" *Active History*, June 17, 2020.

Strangely, the author of the blog post failed to note the separation of the two paths on the maps he used, and confused Dundas Street with the nearby "Governor's Simcoe's Route."

⁴³ Marshall, S., "The complicated history of Dundas Street," January 1, 2021. Staff provided a link to another paper he wrote, "The Many Streets of Dundas," concerning Dundas Street in Toronto, which makes no reference to an Indigenous trail. (Recognition Review Reading List reading list, page 7; Marshall, S., "The Many Streets of Dundas," Oct 15, 2011. <http://spacing.ca/toronto/2011/10/15/the-many-streets-of-dundas/>)

Other maps confirms that Dundas Street followed a straight route clearly separated from the “Path to the Mohawk Village.” Map #2 shows the straight path of Dundas Street between Woodstock and London.⁴⁴ An Indigenous trail is shown running on the south side, roughly parallel to Dundas Street. At the closest point, at the centre of the map below, the two routes were 3-4 kilometres apart. The present-day County Road 25 east of London now follows a portion of the Indigenous trail.

Map #2: (detail)

“Plan of the River Thames from the Upper Forks to its entrance into Lake St Clair”

<http://activehistory.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/McNiff-Thames-River-Map-1793-Front-scaled.jpg>



The worst that can be said is that Dundas Street was near an Indigenous trail.

It is surprising that Staff were willing to level the devastating accusation that Dundas subjugated Indigenous peoples on the basis of such evidence. Every detail they provided to support their novel theory wilts under scrutiny.

⁴⁴ See also: “A map of the province of Upper Canada describing all the settlements and Townships, 1818”: https://tmhc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/A_map_of_the_province_of_Upper_Canada_describing_all_the_settlements_and_townships_1818.jpg

3) Dundas Street provided a route to safety for Black freedom seekers

In their haste to denounce the location of Dundas Street, Staff missed the significance of the road to Black freedom seekers.

After Upper Canada passed its anti-slavery legislation in 1793, 30-40,000 Black people fleeing slavery in the US sought refuge in Upper Canada on the Underground Railroad, most crossing the border on the Niagara Peninsula or at Windsor. Staying in border towns within the reach of US bounty hunters was, however, unsafe,⁴⁵ and many gravitated to inland settlements:

Although out of their jurisdiction, a few bounty hunters crossed the border into Canada to pursue escaped fugitives and return them to Southern owners.⁴⁶

Geographer Sean Marshall's research into the history of Dundas Street shows that it was the major east-west artery through the region, and opened up access to new settlements well into the 1850s.⁴⁷ Dundas Street thus provided a secure route to inland communities for freedom seekers - via the stretch of Dundas Street extending from Burlington Bay to Toronto, as well as the original stretch between Hamilton and London.

Map #3 – Major routes of the Underground Railroad
© *Canada's History Magazine*, Apr 19, 2022



⁴⁵ <https://www.pbs.org/black-culture/shows/list/underground-railroad/stories-freedom/settlements-canada/>

⁴⁶ Henry, N, "Underground Railroad," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Feb 7, 2006, last edited Mar 17, 2022.

<https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/underground-railroad>

⁴⁷ The complicated history of Dundas Street: <https://seanmarshall.ca/2021/01/01/dundas-street/>

location of Dundas Street that reinforced this incorrect interpretation.

Professor McCarthy's exposé regarding Dr. Mullen's research, Professor Dutil's blistering critique of the Staff research on Dundas's impact on Indigenous peoples, and the obvious errors in Staff research about the location of the street, must be viewed with the utmost seriousness. The entire staff review process relied on a seriously flawed version of the historical facts. The unavoidable conclusion is that the decision-making process – including the limited consultations with Black and Indigenous individuals – was compromised by misleading accounts of historical facts.

5) Unanswered questions

In light of the errors made by staff in their allegations of subjugation of Indigenous peoples, and their refusal to consider whether Dundas Street provided a benefit to Indigenous or Black people, it is fair to ask:

1. Why did Staff focus on a novel claim of “subjugation of Indigenous people” when it had no basis in peer-reviewed scholarship? Did they examine maps that showed the separation of the Indigenous trails from Dundas Street?
2. Why did Staff fail to disclose that the Indigenous trail that concerned them was not in Toronto, but west of Hamilton?
3. Did Staff stop to consider that Indigenous peoples and Black freedom seekers needed the protection against American aggressors that the military road provided?
4. Why did staff ignore evidence that Dundas ordered his officials to protect the interests of Indigenous nations, and to secure for them the lands they needed?
5. Why did Staff fail to acknowledge that Indigenous peoples needed protection from American border raiders, and that the military road served their interests?
6. Did staff present their novel “subjugation” theory to representatives of Indigenous communities with whom they consulted? If so, to what degree did this influence participants who said they would only support Option 4?
7. Why did staff overlook the benefit of Dundas Street to Black Freedom Seekers, who needed a safe route to inland communities beyond the reach of American bounty hunters?

KEY FINDING #3: STAFF DEFIED THE MANDATE FOR PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS

OVERVIEW

- **Staff defied instructions from Council to consult with the general public.**
- **Staff hired an inexperienced and under-resourced consultant with a radical political agenda to run community consultations.**
- **Staff minimized concerns of Black participants about the cost and divisiveness of renaming Dundas Street.**
- **The consultations with Black and Indigenous communities were based on “fake history” regarding Henry Dundas.**

1) Staff refused to allow the citizens of Toronto to have a voice

The central concern we have identified about community consultations is that the Staff working group defied the original mandate from City Council to consult with the public. The City Manager had proposed a plan to Council that would “engage with a diverse group of stakeholders **and the general public.**” A strong majority of Council then voted in favour a motion that mandated staff to engage in broad public consultations that included the following:

1. a speakers’ panel event,
2. two town hall events,
3. meetings with key stakeholder groups,
4. meetings with traditional territory and treaty holders,
5. a public opinion poll,
6. project web page with online survey, and
7. dedicated email and phone line for comments from the public.

Staff proceeded only with items 3 and 4 from the list above, and spoke only with invited members of Indigenous and Black communities. Staff failed to seek Council’s approval for this change of plan. Nor did they inform the public. They simply made the decision not to hold the town hall meetings, not to set up a the website with an email address for public input, not to designate a phone line was set up to receive messages, and not to conduct a public survey.

Nothing in the motion permitted staff to change their mandate. Their decision to jettison the consultations with the general public constituted an *de facto* amendment of the Council motion. The decision exceeded their discretionary authority, and conflicted with the democratic principles that govern the separation of authority between Staff and the Mayor and Council.

The City Manager’s final report in June 2021 skirted the issue of public consultation. It referred to discovery sessions with “BIA representatives and business leaders,” but in a manner that was potentially misleading as it implied that consultations went beyond equity-seeking groups.⁴⁸

Following the initial meetings with community leaders, QuakeLab held additional discovery sessions with representatives of Business Improvement Areas (BIAs) located along Dundas Street, and with Black business owners and entrepreneurs. Findings from these discussions include:

Recognition Review Project Update and Response to Dundas Street Petition

Page 14 of 24

- Similar to the previous discovery sessions, BIA representatives and business leaders agreed that a renaming of Dundas Street is the best way forward to meet the City’s commitment to confronting anti-Black racism and other forms of systemic discrimination.

The only other specific reference to the revised strategy – i.e. to ‘inform’ the public rather than consult – was buried in information about “Financial Impact”:

FINANCIAL IMPACT

This report is seeking approval to undertake community engagement to inform the development of a new commemorative framework for the City and the renaming of Dundas Street and City-owned assets named after Dundas. This will require \$450,000 in 2021, including \$250,000 for community engagement and \$200,000 for the first phase of a city-wide communications campaign to inform residents and businesses about the pending change to Dundas Street. Funding for this initiative is available in the 2021 Council Approved Operating Budget of Non-Program Expenditure. This 2021 investment will have broader and longer-term benefits beyond the Recognition Review, as staff will align this work where possible to the City’s review of public engagement strategies that has been directed by Council, and the commemorative framework will inform future City asset naming processes.

When the head of the city working group was questioned at the City Council meeting on July 14, 2021, about the lack of consultation with the general public, she was less than clear. When asked about whether members of the general public were consulted, she said the 25 Black and Indigenous participants were members of the general public. She also, incorrectly, said the public survey described in the “report” was part of Round 2:

...the actual pieces of the consultation laid out in the report are being for polls that are recommended for the next steps depending on the outcome of today’s meeting.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ City Manager’s Report for Action, dated June 18 2021, released on June 28, 2021, p. 15

⁴⁹ C. Blackman, Toronto City Council, meeting 35, July 14, 2021

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jivQo5j48z8&t=22s> at 04:43:10

This answer was confusing. The head of the working group was being questioned about the report dated September 8, 2020, but appeared to answer with reference to the report dated June 18, 2021.

The decision to defy the motion passed by Council and abandon the plan for full public consultation was sufficiently important that it ought to have been brought specifically to Council's attention, and acknowledged openly. Council had approved the terms of the Staff review after Staff promised to conduct broad public consultations. Burying the information about cancelling those plans in the middle of a paragraph on financial impact, in a report prepared for the busiest meeting of the year, was unfair to Councillors and the public. It is reasonable to ask whether Staff breached their duty to be full, fair and frank.⁵⁰

2) Timing of release of Staff recommendation thwarted public input

The timing of the release of the recommendation to rename Dundas Street raises further concerns. The City Manager released his report on June 28, 2021, just ahead of the July long weekend, and what is typically the busiest meeting of the year for Executive Committee and Council.

Releasing controversial information shortly before a long weekend, especially the July long weekend, is a classic device for minimizing media interest and limiting public scrutiny. Staff effectively took Council and the public by surprise. After leading Council to believe that Torontonians would have a voice, they abandoned that plan, and revealed their recommendation to Council, and the public, at the start of the summer holidays.

Historically, the City Manager's recommendations tend to be overwhelmingly approved by Council. A recent report reviewed 918 staff recommendations to Toronto City Council, and found not a single instance of council voting against a staff report. The number of amendments were minimal.⁵¹ Council obviously trusts its Staff. To honour this trust, Staff should have been scrupulous in adhering to Council's directions for public consultations, and failing that, they should returned to Council for authorization of a more limited plan.

⁵⁰ See pages ___ below for an examination of how Staff came to the decision to forego public consultation.

⁵¹ <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/may-2021/the-numbers-tell-us-whos-in-charge-at-toronto-city-hall/>

Staff have recently organized some of the events on the original list above,⁵² but they are 18 months too late. All that the public has been permitted to do at this stage is comment on how to proceed with renaming of city assets generally.

Given the manner in which Staff defied directions from Council to consult with the general public about renaming Dundas Street, it is fair to ask the following questions:

- **Did staff have the authority to ignore the mandate from Council to include the public in the consultation process?**
- **Should staff have alerted the Mayor and Council to their decision not to engage in full public consultations?**
- **Did the City Manager thwart public participation by releasing his report during the week before the July long weekend?**

3) Flawed community consultations

Staff hired QuakeLab Inc. of Ottawa in November 2020, to lead discovery sessions with equity-seeking groups, and then advise Staff on how to proceed with public consultations. The agency held two ‘discovery sessions’ in December 2020, each with 5-6 people. One group included representatives from the Indigenous community, the other the Black community.

FOI documents reveal problematic results from the first set of discovery sessions.

A Procurement Form discloses that after QuakeLab completed the December consultations, Black community leaders were dissatisfied and asked for another opportunity to speak to the working group. A separate document received through FOI⁵³ points to the most likely explanation: Participants wanted a “more conversational” process.

⁵² Recognition Review: Get Involved. <https://www.toronto.ca/community-people/get-involved/community/recognition-review/get-involved/>

⁵³ Minutes of Working Group meeting, January 4, 2021

Dundas St Petition Response Minutes

January 4, 2021

Quake Labs Update: Robyn

- Robyn is currently collecting feedback on the Quake Labs consultation report from the rest of the public consultation team.
- Robyn has circulated the Quake Lab midway report to the larger group if they are interested to read.
- There is a final presentation from Quake Labs booked for January 22nd.
- Robyn and Tracy have started drafting the RFP being used to hire the lead consultant. The draft has been sent to Beth and Tracy for feedback and will send to others once completely drafted.
- There were 2 discovery sessions that were held in the last 4 weeks. The invite list was created through the IAO and the CABR Office. It was a short lead time for people to RSVP so attendance wasn't 100%. One was with Indigenous community members and another with members of the black community. Each sessions consisted of 5-6 participants. Community members were asked to rate the options that were sent to Council, and the desire was to focus on option 4 which is to rename all streets and City assets, anything less than that would be inadequate given the focus on community and equity by the City. There was also discussion on the style and how we should design the meetings with community groups to be a more conversational approach.

This raises a concern about whether participants were allowed to speak freely.

In January 2021, Staff negotiated the second contract for QuakeLab to conduct another set of discovery sessions (at an additional cost of \$24,500 plus HST⁵⁴). In February 2021, QuakeLab held two more discovery sessions. This time, 12-13 members of the Black business community were invited, bringing the total number of participants in four meetings to 25.

4) Staff hired an under-qualified activist consultant facing a hiring crisis

We also noted irregularities in the decision by Staff to hire a consultant from Ottawa to lead discovery sessions with equity-seeking groups and advise staff on how to consult with the broader public.

In November, 2020, Staff hired QuakeLab Inc. of Ottawa. Staff said “the firm” had “**extensive experience** working with equity-deserving communities” and was hired to develop a public consultation plan.⁵⁵ In fact, QuakeLab had been registered as a corporation for less than a year,⁵⁶ and its address was the Ottawa residence of its 28-year-old sole shareholder and CEO.⁵⁷ The CEO’s LinkedIn profile and company website revealed no connection to Toronto, and no background in public consultation.⁵⁸ The agency provided DEI support to employers and advocated for social justice for Black people and marginalized minorities:

⁵⁴ <https://acrobat.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:9cd15373-d571-300d-a0f1-f226d46db732>

⁵⁵ City Manager’s Report for Action, June 18, 2021

⁵⁶ Open Government “Corporate Overview” <https://opengovca.com/corporation/11814788>

⁵⁷ In 2020 the CEO said she arrived in Canada nine years earlier when she was 18.

⁵⁸ <https://quakelab.ca/what-we-do>



QUAKE
LAB



June 3, 2020

Welcome to Black Canada: A Resource



JUN 03 2020

Don't Get Tired, Get Radical: Next Steps to Take Action for Black Canada



It's been a month.

On June 3rd, I shared [Welcome to Black Canada: How to Take Action](#), a

QuakeLab was struggling at the time it was hired. The CEO later admitted that her agency was a “start-up” with “no roadmap” and an “urgent need” for staff:



The QuakeLab website later revealed that the company had serious challenges in 2020-21. At the exact time the agency was negotiating its second contract with the City, QuakeLab described itself as facing a staffing “crisis”:



[...]

If the QuakeLab team ran an audit on our recruitment process in January 2021, they’d find:

- Little to no documentation - meaning everything was ad hoc and difficult to replicate or hold anyone accountable
- An unwritten process that grew out of crisis. We needed people, and we needed them fast
- Systems and structures that were either missing or lived completely in one person’s brain

In other words, the City hired a newly incorporated agency, run by a 28-year-old resident of Ottawa working from her residence, at a time when the agency:

- was understaffed,
- had no accountability systems in place,
- had no formal hiring strategy,
- made hiring decisions without documentation,
- lacked formal hiring criteria,
- lacked quality controls,
- had no experience with public consultations,
- had no identifiable connection to Toronto communities, and
- was operating in crisis mode regarding staffing.

Public statements by QuakeLab raise further issues, including whether the agency had the maturity and professionalism needed to be a government adviser. For example:

- The CEO recently said the agency is not accountable to its clients:



- Despite agreeing to consult on a strategy for public consultations in Toronto, the CEO later revealed her personal antagonism towards surveying public opinion over issues that affect minorities:



Sharon Nyangweso (She/Her) @Sharon_Okeno · Jun 28, 2021

This is literally why I believe certain things don't need to be polls or surveys. You're placing an unaffected majorities feelings over a marginalized minorities well being? How is this normal?!



Ottawa Citizen @OttawaCitizen · Jun 28, 2021

Cancel Canada Day? The vast majority of Canadians disagree
ottawacitizen.com/news/canada/ca...

- The CEO publicly disclosed findings from invitation-only discovery sessions at the same time Staff were preparing the City Manager’s recommendation to Council:



Sharon Nyangweso (She/Her)
@Sharon_Okeno

A few months ago my team and I had the opportunity to work with a team on a street renaming and in talking to community members an elder said "imagine having streets named after Hitler". Placemaking I'm important and signals our priorities.

7:23 PM · Jun 3, 2021 · Twitter for Android

- On the day that the City Manager publicly released his recommendation to Council to rename Dundas Street, the CEO again revealed the content of closed-door discovery sessions. She claimed Black and Brown people were “terrorized” by the name of Dundas Street, and she “celebrated” the City Manager’s recommendation:



QuakeLab
@TheQuakeLab

Replying to @TheQuakeLab

The most powerful statement we heard was that there is no Hitler St., or Hitler Ave. in Germany, so why should we continue to terrorize Black and Brown people as they just move around the city? So we have a long way to go, but it's important to celebrate all the wins.

6:16 PM · Jun 28, 2021 · Twitter Web App

- Again, on the same day, she also encouraged “all cities” to be proactive about renaming places, and openly stated her personal opinion that the name of Dundas Street should be changed:



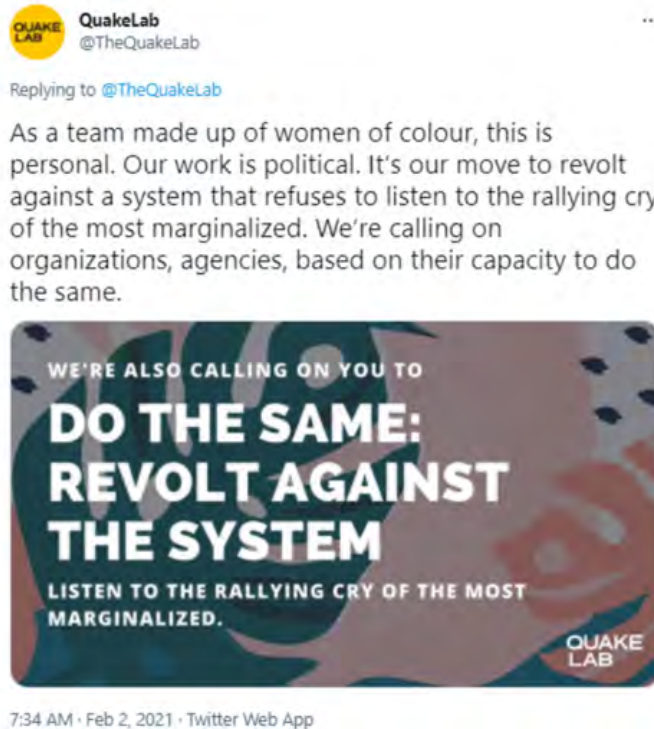
These facts reasonably beg the question: *Why was an Ottawa consultant who had no observable experience in public consultations, who was opposed to public consultations for issues affecting minorities, and who had strong opinions about changing street names, chosen to advise staff on public consultations?*

Staff said they chose QuakeLab because of its “connections to and perspectives of Black, Indigenous and equity-seeking communities.”⁵⁹ Numerous consultants in Toronto have connections to these communities, so we looked for further evidence of QuakeLab’s ‘perspectives’ to narrow down the reason for hiring QuakeLab.

QuakeLab’s website and social media presence provides a wide range of evidence about its ‘perspectives,’ including the following:

- While under contract to the City, the agency publicly declared: “our work is political,” and encouraged others to “revolt against the system”:

⁵⁹ FOI document: Procurement Form for Non-Competitive Purchase



- Shortly before the City Manager released the recommendation to rename Dundas Street, in an interview with a podcaster the CEO revealed QuakeLab’s mission:

“You’ll never see this in writing, but, it’s shaking shit up, like an earthquake. That is what we we’re doing. We’re shaking shit up.”

<https://www.naomihale.com/podcast/sharon-nyangweso>

at 1:00:50, June 17, 2021



QuakeLab - podcast clip.zip

The purpose of ‘earthquakes,’ she went on to say, was to create “new fertile islands.” **It therefore seems reasonable to ask ... Does Toronto wanted to be divided into islands?**

- The QuakeLab website also provided links to campaigns to cancel Canada Day, defund the police, “abolish” the police, and support Black Lives Matter [**Appendix D** – screenshot of webpage on QuakeLab website.)

- The CEO expressed support for the illegal destruction of public monuments (RT:“all you really need is a chain and a truck with a hitch”):



- She disparaged anti-racism actions that fail to cause significant societal disruption:



- More recently she has called on Ottawa to “defund the f***ing police”:



She has also declared that her agency’s approach is founded on Critical Race Theory and the attainment of ‘structural change,’ while dismissing opposing views as “nonsense”:



- Before the City Manager submitted the report to Council on renaming Dundas Street, the CEO expressed her personal support for renaming the John A Macdonald Parkway.



- A few days before the critical vote to rename Dundas Street, she mocked people celebrating Canada Day:



- On the day that the City Manager released the Staff recommendation to rename Dundas Street, she again disclosed the content of closed-door consultations, and said it was important to “celebrate:”



She also revealed her belief that Dundas Street and other streets “needed” to be renamed through a process she referred to as ‘placemaking’:

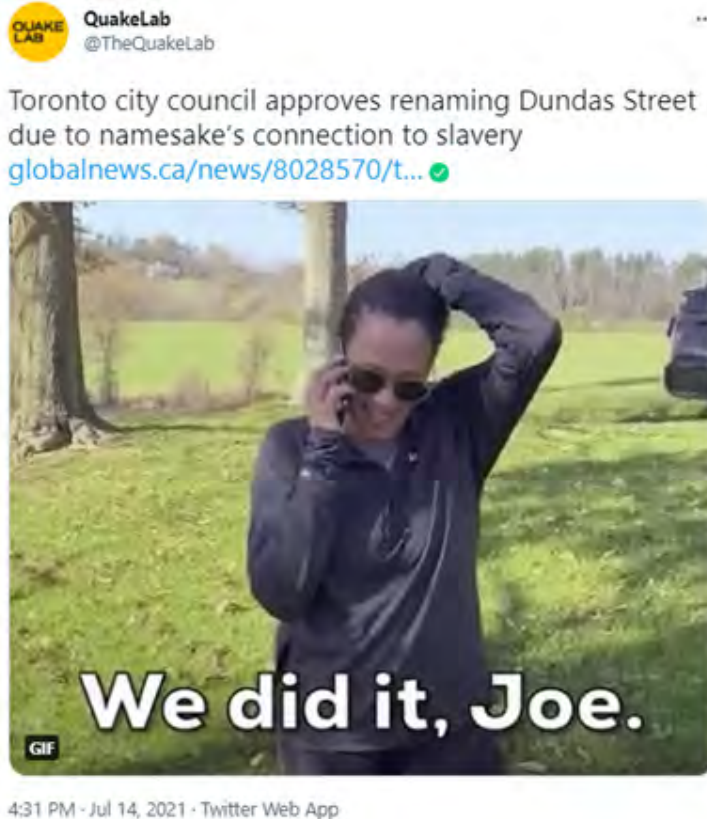


- After the City Manager’s recommendation to rename Dundas Street was made public, the CEO took pride in her agency’s achievement and **how it “walked out” with a recommendation to rename Dundas Street without “endless consultations”**:



(The reference above to ‘unheard of speed’ for taking action is concerning. What was the rush?)

- On the day that Council voted to rename Dundas Street, the CEO considered it a personal victory, referring to US Vice President Kamala Harris’s celebratory phone call with President Joe Biden when they won the presidential election:



With such ‘perspectives’ such as those described above, it is fair to question whether QuakeLab approached consultations with representatives of Indigenous and Black communities with an open mind or whether it knew the results it wanted to find.

In fairness, we also note that the agency is completely transparent about its politics, and proudly stakes its place on the far left of the political spectrum. What we question is why Staff considered QuakeLab to be the best fit for such a politically sensitive project, especially when QuakeLab was a start-up going through a staffing crisis and had ‘no plan’ to address it. Also, why did they accept QuakeLab’s recommendation to forego public consultation without seeking an amended mandate from Council? Did the City Manager exercise appropriate oversight of QuakeLab’s influence on staff?

5) The real concerns of Black participants from the business community were minimized

Staff conducted their own consultations with equity-deserving groups before they hired QuakeLab, and learned that some representatives were reluctant to recommend renaming Dundas Street. These early community consultations with representatives of Black and Indigenous communities occurred in August 2020. Notes obtained through FOI reveal that Black participants expressed substantial concern about costs to taxpayers and lack of benefit to the Black community:

Meeting with CABR & PAC

Freddy King, Huda Ahmed, Wesley Crichlow, Anthony Morgan, Chantel Philips, F Mohammed

- if you were to rename Dundas how much will it cost tax payers, are you going to utilize black companies to rebuild and rename these streets? looking at financial impacts on City government which will be about \$750K - will be reporting figures on tax payers will come out in September. Transportation services would be working on the signage for City streets.

- How many others are going to be effected by street renaming?

- Hire black companies to be a part of the renaming by involving Black owned businesses that could do this work, Black or indigenous.

- It's going to cost \$750K but it doesn't help the black community in anyway other than money out of their pockets.

- Need to connect with cultural connections in this country. Is this meeting today facilitating a path for PAC to engage the larger communities that are not government entities? Pac, the IAO and CABR is a starting place to come to establish what the consultation lens needs to be.

- It's important to think who will this benefit financially speaking and impact it will have financially on communities.

- the work we are taking on is great on how we rewrite history. A lot is beneficial. An FAQ would be good to hear some basic facts. Language is going to be important to find ways to communicate so avoid backlash and not lose faith.

- what would the key findings be and how it would benefit the community?

- compiling notes from all academic specialists. The Toronto landscape does not cover an equity lens. How do we get and what are processes to consult the community to address inequities from the past

- What name options would you have choice for renaming? We are not fully there yet as we are trying to gather as much info as possible.

- looking at the 6 point interval - where we canvas the community for potential names, indigenous elders and create a short list and send out for a community poll.
- in consultation with colleagues they were clear that the black community should take the lead in this conversation and they are here to support us (Indigenous)
- are there other streets that will be renamed? What is the process to correct history?

- have to be careful with community consultations, usually you don't get aboriginal people come out, it's usually the same people that attend. We would need to really push the message out.
- we have two groups on the steering committee looking at to ensure that the feed back is inclusive.

- more men who were slave owners and part of council are mostly represented with Toronto street names, they held decision making positions and we plan to create a process to address these names.

- How will it make a difference in this present time

- Who is sitting on this steering committee? - City staff right now. We had to bring together 40+ people in the City who have accountability for City assets. Now that we've gone through the legal pieces and budgeting, we want to figure out the community engagement plan.

- nothing has been mentioned about the international decade of African Descent. There has been no apology - instead of focusing on the street sign, waste of tax paying dollars it's expected to see an afro centric or indigenous design.
- engage people who live in various neighbourhoods in Toronto.
- identify needs that the history is expressed in our lands.
- how can this benefit the black community economically

These meetings notes reveal that staff were aware of reluctance in the Black community to support the proposal to rename Dundas Street from the earliest stages, even when they were told it would only cost \$750,000.

The FOI documents reveal that in all three sets of consultations – the first conducted by staff in August 2020, as well as those conducted by QuakeLab in December 2020 and February 2021 – representatives of Black communities expressed reservations with Option 4. After the consultations in February 2021, QuakeLab confirmed that only 5-6 people from the Indigenous Community fully supported Option 4. As noted below, Black participants were concerned about division within the community and said they were uncomfortable with being asked to make the choice for others.

Key Findings from QuakeLab

Consensus that pursuing anything other than a full renaming of Dundas Street would compromise the City's commitment to confronting anti-Black racism.

- ❖ Questioned authenticity of options 1-3
- ❖ Participants in Indigenous community leaders session saw option 4 as only viable solution and were unwilling to engage with other options
- ❖ BIA and business leaders agreed that option 4 is best way forward, but cautioned there will be differing opinions among constituents, and expressed discomfort about "having to choose" between options and concerns about a potentially divisive process

The last two bullet points deserve a closer look.

First, we note that the presentation confirms that of the 25 participants in discovery sessions, the only participants fully behind Option 4 were the 5-6 people from the Indigenous community. The necessary inference is that the other **19-20 participants from the Black community were willing to consider more moderate options.**⁶⁰

Second, we note that QuakeLab reported that Black business leaders said Option 4 was the best way forward, BUT, it also appears they were not prepared to recommend it:

- They cautioned that there would be differing opinions among constituents – indicating concern about the lack of consensus in the larger community.
- They expressed discomfort with having to choose between options. This implies there were not confident that Option 4 really was the best way forward, or at least that it would not be right for them to make the decision for others.
- They were wary of participating in a divisive process - showing concern about the effects of choosing Option 4 on the larger community.

It is apparent that Black participants viewed Option 4 as problematic.

⁶⁰ The four options presented by Staff are set out at Appendix C

We also note that after the unsatisfactory December 2020 consultations (after which, as noted above at page 29, Black participants said they wanted another chance to speak, and asked for a more conversational process), QuakeLab reported back to Staff that participants said: *“Anything less than [Option 4] would be inadequate given the focus on community and equity by the City.”* After the February 2021 discovery sessions, QuakeLab came back with the same finding – a consensus that *“Anything other than [Option 4] would compromise the City’s commitment to confronting anti-Black racism.”*

The findings from the two sets of discovery sessions are suspiciously similar in tone and content, despite the fact that the first consultations were unsatisfactory to Black participants. Frankly, we question QuakeLab’s ‘finding’ that there was a consensus in favour of Option 4. Given QuakeLab’s strong preference for renaming streets and causing ‘earthquakes’ in society, we question whether QuakeLab was sufficiently objective to assess the views of participants.

6) QuakeLab advised Staff to dispense with public consultation

Also concerning is the fact that instead of doing what it was hired to do – recommend a strategy for full public consultations – QuakeLab advised the working group not to conduct public consultations at all.

An excerpt from a draft briefing note to the Mayor and Council, written sometime in November 2020, and a follow-up email on December 3, 2020, show that at that time QuakeLab was hired the staff working group was, indeed, planning to move ahead with the plan for full public consultations in early 2021:

Resources

- The Dundas Street Review webpage is the primary source of information and updates on this initiative. It will provide updates on the status of consultation activities, and a dedicated email address, dundasreview@toronto.ca, and phone line, 416-XXX-XXXX, are available to gather input from the general public.
- To assist with outreach efforts, some materials will be translated into the top 10 home languages and French. These will be posted on the webpage when available.

From: Rich Whate <Rich.Whate@toronto.ca>
Sent: December 3, 2020 10:08 AM
To: Cheryl Blackman <Cheryl.Blackman@toronto.ca>; Beth Waldman <Beth.Waldman@toronto.ca>
Cc: Wayne Reeves <Wayne.Reeves@toronto.ca>; Andrea Martinelli <Andrea.Martinelli@toronto.ca>; Tracey Williams <Tracey.Williams@toronto.ca>; Meg Shields <Meg.Shields@toronto.ca>
Subject: RE: Message to members of Council for review

Hi all

I've made a few suggestions on the letter, all under the first bullet of the "Resources" section. Please see attached.

- I recommend against including an email and phone # in the letter because we do not have consultation materials (ie. good context and questions for people to respond to) and we are still preparing (and trying to simplify) the Notice of Collection with Legal
- Can we update the website to add some updated content under "Next Steps" or elsewhere to signal to the public that consultations are set to begin in early 2021?

In December 2020, staff also drafted a briefing note for the City Manager to send to the Mayor and Council assuring them there would be “an inclusive public process that responds to the community at large.”⁶¹

Subject: Update on Dundas Street Name Review Consultations

December X, 2020

Good **morning/afternoon** Mayor Tory and Members of Council,

This note provides an update on the [Dundas Street Name Review](#), the City's response to an online petition calling for Dundas Street to be renamed.

Earlier this year, a petition was submitted to the City that objected to Dundas Street's namesake, Scottish politician Henry Dundas, who is accused of being instrumental in delaying the abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, causing more than half a million more Black people to be enslaved in the British Empire. On September 30, **City Council unanimously adopted the City Manager's report committing to holding inclusive public consultations with Torontonians** and Black, Indigenous, Accessibility and other equity-seeking communities.

Consultation Update

- The City of Toronto has retained QuakeLab, an external consultant with strong connections to the perspectives of Black, Indigenous, Accessibility and equity-seeking communities, to help develop the consultation plan for the Dundas Street Name Review. QuakeLab's feedback and recommendations will support the City's respectful engagement and relationship-building with these communities.
- **To ensure an inclusive public process that responds to the community at large**, the consultations, planned for Q4 2020, will now extend into the new year and will be followed by a report to Council.

⁶¹ “Update on Dundas Street Name Review Consultations,” City Manager Chris Murray to the Mayor and Council, FOI Request 2021-00199. The FOI materials do not confirm whether this briefing note was sent.

After the City hired an Ottawa consultant, however, the strategy changed. The schedule for public consultations was abandoned.

We note that QuakeLab was hired on November 30, 2020. We also note the QuakeLab CEO was opposed to public consultations concerning issues affecting marginalized minorities:



Sharon Nyangweso (She/Her) @Sharon_Okeno · Jun 28, 2021

This is literally why I believe certain things don't need to be polls or surveys. You're placing an unaffected majorities feelings over a marginalized minorities well being? How is this normal?!



Ottawa Citizen @OttawaCitizen · Jun 28, 2021

Cancel Canada Day? The vast majority of Canadians disagree
ottawacitizen.com/news/canada/ca...

Five months later, a PowerPoint presentation to the working group documented the recommendation from QuakeLab to “shift the approach to consultations,” although the approach had already shifted. The public consultations planned for the previous three months had been cancelled. Going forward, QuakeLab recommended that ‘engagement’ replace ‘consultations.’ In other words, it recommended that the City first make the decision to rename Dundas Street, and then ‘engage’ with the public.

QuakeLab Recommendations

Shift approach to consultations: Use broad public engagement to inform a phased approach to the renaming of Dundas Street for the following reasons:

- Asking the public to select one of four options may result in a divisive process and is unlikely to generate consensus. There is a risk of inflaming anti-Black and anti-Indigenous rhetoric.
- Understand how the City can support businesses and residents through transition, working towards renaming of Dundas Street.

QuakeLab appears to have exceeded the scope of its contract. It had been hired to help staff develop a strategy for public consultations, not to consider *whether* the public should be consulted. Council had already decided that there would be public consultations. It was not for QuakeLab to say Council was wrong.

Further, we question the basis of the dramatic shift in strategy. The PowerPoint presentation in March 2021 on the QuakeLab findings from discovery sessions (above, page 43) revealed nothing that should have come to a surprise to QuakeLab.

Also, however, we note that the timing is suspect. In late November / early December 2020, Staff were about to embark on the public consultation process. In December, after QuakeLab was hired, staff abandoned public consultations. The timing suggests that QuakeLab came through the door with a recommendation to shut down public consultations before it held a single discovery session.

Why was QuakeLab hired to provide advice on public consultations, when it was opposed to such consultations in the first place? Council specifically mandated public consultations when they directed staff to come back to Council with a preferred option. Why did Staff accept that a young Ottawa consultant knew better than the Mayor and Councillors what was best for Toronto?

7) Unanswered Questions

Given the circumstances of community consultations and the involvement of a consultant with overtly radical politics and an agenda to cause ‘earthquakes’ in society, it is fair to ask the following questions:

Decision to forego public consultations

1. Did staff have the authority to ignore the mandate from Council to include the public in the consultation process before making a recommendation?
2. Should staff have alerted the Mayor and Council to their decision not to engage in full public consultations? If so, when?
3. Who authorized Staff to defy the directive from Council to engage in full public consultation?
4. Why did Staff fail to seek permission to forego full public consultations?
5. Why did Staff fail to require QuakeLab to recommend a strategy to accommodate concerns about potential division and backlash in the community?
6. Did the City Manager further thwart an opportunity for public participation, by releasing his report during the week before the July long weekend, just ahead of the busiest agendas of the entire year for Executive Committee and Council?

Choice of consultant to provide advice on public consultations

1. Why did Staff hire a start-up based in Ottawa to provide advice on consultations?
2. What efforts were made to find a qualified consultant in Toronto?
3. Did Staff do their due diligence on QuakeLab? Did they ensure that the agency had qualified staff? If not, why not?
4. Why did Staff hire a consultant with no apparent experience in public consultations?
5. Did staff know before they hired QuakeLab that the CEO was opposed to surveying public opinion over matters that affect marginalized minorities? If not, why not? To what extent did they inquire into QuakeLab's expertise regarding public consultation?
6. Why did Staff defer to the views of an Ottawa consultant on the question of whether Torontonians were capable of engaging in a healthy discussion around the renaming of public spaces?
7. Did it concern Staff that Black participants were dissatisfied with their first discovery session with QuakeLab?
8. Did the request for a do-over prompt questions about QuakeLab's skill in leading consultations? If not, why not?
9. What exactly went wrong with that first discovery session with Black participants?
10. Why did Staff hire an agency with radical politics, a commitment to structural change based on Critical Race Theory, and a mission to "revolt against the system"?
11. What was the evidence that supported QuakeLab's finding that "*anything less than [Option 4] would be inadequate,*" despite the caution shown by Black participants regarding Option 4?
12. Was the conclusion that "*anything less than [Option 4] would be inadequate*" the opinion of participants, or the opinion of QuakeLab?
13. Staff knew that Black participants had expressed reluctance to choose Option 4. Why did Staff fail to consider Option 3 as a viable alternative, to alleviate their concerns?⁶²

⁶² The four options considered by Staff and Council are set out at Appendix C

KEY FINDING #4: STAFF SUPPRESSED INFORMATION ABOUT POTENTIAL COSTS THAT COULD REACH \$20-30 MILLION

1. Overview

Staff estimate that there are roughly 98,000 residents along Dundas Street, in addition to 4,500 businesses, 49,000 dwellings and 5,000 properties with 7,000 owners. On this basis, Staff provided an estimate of costs of \$5.7-\$6.3 million payable by the City of Toronto to rename Dundas Street. They declined to provide any estimates of costs to businesses and residents on Dundas Street, or to say how much, or whether, the City should subsidize these costs.

We determined that Staff dramatically underestimated the real cost of renaming Dundas Street and withheld information about foreseeable costs, after we reviewed the following:

- i) a briefing note circulated among staff,
- ii) a separate briefing note to staff that included a description of the costs to a US municipality that had recently approved a name change for a major thoroughfare,
- iii) our own investigations into reasonably predicible costs, and
- iv) the example of a US municipality that is nearing the end of the renaming of a major thoroughfare.

We can have determined that the real cost to taxpayers, private residents, and small businesses, in Toronto and Ontario, will be several times the estimate that staff provided to Council for cost to the City of Toronto. Using the City's internal documents, and reasonable projections based on a similar renaming of a major thoroughfare in Virginia, we note that:

- **The report failed to inform Council about additional potential costs of \$20 million to mitigate expenses for small businesses and residents;**
- **The report underestimated foreseeable costs to the City for infrastructure and related expenses, which is likely to be at least \$8 million;**

Projections based on the renaming of a major thoroughfare in the US indicate that the TOTAL cost of renaming Dundas Street will likely be \$20-30 million.⁶³

⁶³ This figure does not take into account the effects of inflation or added costs from supply chain issues.

2. American experience with renaming a major thoroughfare

Briefing material in the FOI documents shows that Staff received an estimate for a name change now underway for a major thoroughfare in the State of Virginia – a project that bears important similarities to the renaming of Dundas Street.⁶⁴ The state of Virginia decided in 2020 that Jefferson Davis Highway would have to be renamed in all municipalities. One of the municipalities, the County of Prince William, decided to rename its portion of the thoroughfare Richardson Highway. When the name change takes effect in July 2022, 940 properties on a 12-mile stretch of road will be affected.

The Prince William County project bears important similarities to Toronto's renaming project, and provides a credible basis on which to estimate the costs of renaming Dundas Street in Toronto. Both municipalities are renaming their portion of a 12 miles/19 kilometre stretch of road, and both involve a major thoroughfare, with intensive business presence, that cuts across multiple municipalities. Prince William County is now nearing the end of the renaming process, which is expected to be complete in July 2022, and as a result actual costs can be estimated with greater certainty.

A briefing note circulated by staff in 2020/2021 identified direct costs to the County of \$1.2 million for municipal infrastructure and related matters. Public subsidies for small businesses were expected to range from \$1 - \$3.8 million US. No budget was allocated for individual residents on Jefferson Davis Highway whose addresses would be changed:

Prince William County, Virginia – Sept. 2020 – renamed street

- See attached Board Motion to rename highway. Estimated costs and timeline included.

Prince William County voted to rename a 12-mile stretch of highway currently named for former Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Prince William County Board of Supervisors unanimously approved the change to the stretch of U.S. Route 1 on September 9. The highway runs the entire eastern length of the county outside of Washington and through other portions of the state. Property owners of 940 addresses will be impacted will be notified of the change as well as the general public.

The vote allows the board to petition the Commonwealth Transportation Board in Richmond for a formal change. The county plans to rename it Richmond Highway, following moves by neighboring Arlington and Alexandria counties. Arlington and Alexandria made the change last year.

The change would occur over the next three years. The minimum cost to Prince William County is approximately \$1.2M, which covers: complete address analysis, the notification process, street signs, database and records update and follow up. Additional costs to mitigate the impacts to businesses is approximately \$1 million to \$3.8 million.

Prince William County later allocated **\$3 million US** in grants for businesses to cover 75% of the private costs of \$4 million that would be triggered by the name change, up to a maximum of

⁶⁴ City of Toronto FOI Request 2021-00199 – Wayne Reeves Emails, Part 1 of 5, page 136 of 615

\$30,000 USD per business (the equivalent of \$38,652 CAD):⁶⁵ The \$3 million USD budget for the county's portion is the equivalent of \$3,865,170 CAD.

In Toronto, 5,000 properties would be affected, compared to 940 in Prince William County, making the Toronto numbers greater by a factor of 5.3.⁶⁶ Following the Virginia price modelling of 75% subsidies, and multiplying their costs by a factor of 5.3, the projected costs for the City of Toronto would be:

Direct costs to City of Toronto:

\$1.2M USD x 5.3 = \$6.36 million USD, or **\$8.07 million CAD.**

Subsidies of up to 75% of total expenses for private businesses:

\$3M USD x 5.3 = \$15.9 million USD, or **\$20.5 million CAD.**

Costs to private businesses for the remaining 25% would be:

\$1M USD x 5.3 = \$5.3 million US, or **\$6.8 million CAD**

CONCLUSION:

Using projections based on the Virginia precedent, total direct costs payable by the City of Toronto would be \$28.6 million.

Businesses would pay another \$6.8 million, bringing the total financial costs associated with renaming Dundas Street to \$35.4 million

Allowing for a margin of error for possible differences in community profiles, a reasonable projection for the total cost in Toronto is \$20-30 million.

⁶⁵ <https://www.pwcva.gov/departments/transportation/route-1-renaming-faqs>

⁶⁶ City Staff estimated that there were 7000 *owners* of properties on Dundas Street, and the Prince William County referred to 940 property owners, but the context indicates that their subsidies apply to individual properties. As a result, we are proceeding on the assumption that there were 940 affected properties in Prince William County, compared with 5000 affected properties in Toronto.

3. Selected categories of additional costs

The following categories provide examples of costs that were ignored in the Report for Action dated on June 18, 2021. The list is not intended to be comprehensive. Rather, it provides examples that demonstrate that the City dramatically understated the true cost of renaming Dundas Street. We also caution that the figures set out below are at the mid-to-low end where a range of costs applies, and actual numbers could in fact be much higher.

i) Service Ontario fees

The City Manager's report stated that "most address changes can be made at no cost" for residents of Dundas Street. We believe this is a significant understatement.

The Report for Action says there are roughly 98,000 residents along Dundas Street, in addition to 4,500 businesses, 49,000 dwellings and 5,000 properties with 7,000 owners. These residents will have no choice but to change their driver's licenses, Ontario Government ID cards, MPAC forms, rent subsidy applications, and federal tax registrations. The City Manager's report allocated no cost to these address changes, saying that most changes could be made online.

Staff appear to overlooked the fact that Service Ontario operations are privately owned, and would be entitled to charge fees to process tens of thousands of individual transactions affecting government identification cards and other required documents by residents and businesses. Service Ontario operators have told us that they are compensated on a "per transaction" basis for address changes on government ID. Some of the transaction fees that operators would charge the Province of Ontario include the following:

Driver's License - **\$1.53** (plus cost to print & mail each new card)*

Vehicle Ownership - **\$1.81**

Accessible Parking Permits **\$2.76** (5%-10% of population)

Ontario Photo ID **\$1.53** - (those without driver's license.)

* printing and mailing new cards costs about **\$25 each**.

One operator who spoke to us on conditions of anonymity estimates that the total cost of Service Ontario charges would be **\$1,000,000, possibly more.**

Clare Crozier, a member of the Henry Dundas Committee of Ontario, says: "Now, every hardworking taxpayer who lives outside Toronto will have the pay the price for city council's headlong rush to erase the name Dundas" Crozier also says: "I wonder if Premier Ford will want to pick up the million-dollar tab for Toronto's misguided decision, as more and more international experts and renowned professors line up to shred what they now call "bad history" and "distorted facts" that misdirected Toronto's dubious name review process."

ii) Consultations and communications

The City Manager reported to Council last June that Communications and Consultations to implement Option 4 would be \$500,000. **Emails between staff, however, show that in 2020 they anticipated spending a total of \$1.37 million on public consultations and communications** if Council chose to go with Option 4:

From: Wayne Reeves
Sent: October 6, 2020 12:06 PM
To: Tracy Manolakakis; Beth Waldman
Cc: Tamara Williams
Subject: Dundas St. - 2021 consultation & communications budgets

Can I get your thoughts on potential ways to fund consultations and communications in 2021, given that Meg has made it clear that drawing on Corporate Studies won't be available to us next year.

Generally, do you each make project-related operating budget requests each year, or do you include amounts for cons & comms in the capital budgets for each projects? In this instance, should we be relying on ECS or Transportation Services to make the request, or should separate requests come through your units?

For 2021, our request should be for rounds 2 and 3 of the most expensive option (#4) - \$1,370,000.

In the chart below prepared by Staff for the Sept 2020 report to Executive Committee, the costs for Rounds 2 and 3 remained at \$1,370,000. :

Project Round	Option 1	Option 2	Option 3	Option 4
Round 1: How We Name	\$250,000	\$250,000	\$250,000	\$250,000
Round 2: What We Name	\$0	\$210,000	\$210,000	\$520,000
Round 3: Sharing the Name	N/A	\$110,000	\$550,000	\$850,000
TOTAL	\$250,000	\$570,000	\$1,010,000	\$1,620,000

Staff provided no explanation for why they reduced the estimate of \$1.37 million for Rounds 2 and 3 to \$500,000. Such a drastic cut demanded an explanation. The new estimate of \$500,000 appears to be arbitrary and unrealistic. Even the original estimate of \$1.37 million was already inordinately low for such a controversial project that would span two calendar years, and require consultations and communications for the choice of a new name, getting information out to the public about how the process would unfold, launching a public information campaign about the final choice, and informing the public about how it would affect them. Budget documents for previous years show that a modest increase in the non-contentious Bike Share program resulted in an increase of \$500,000 in marketing and operations in one year.⁶⁷ The consultations, communication and marketing campaign associated with Dundas Street would undoubtedly cost many times that amount. It is reasonable to project that a reasonable estimate would add **\$4-5 million** to projected costs.

⁶⁷ <https://www.toronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/968e-2019-Toronto-Budget-Public-Book.pdf>

iii) Compensation to businesses and property owners

Staff noted that there were 5000 properties on Dundas Street, and 4510 businesses, but declined to include an estimate the costs they would face in the event of an address change. The report noted only that “businesses could incur additional expenses to update materials such as letterhead, and approximately 60 businesses with Dundas in their name may incur further costs related to re-branding and signage should they choose to change their names as well.”

The City Manager’s comment failed to reflect the enormity of the costs that small businesses and property owners would have to bear. Even for those who would not have to change their names, they would still have to get new signs, stationery, advertising materials, radio ads, etc., to reflect the new street name. Many would also have to reprogram fire alarms, sprinkler systems and security alarms, which usually have the property address automatically programmed into their panels. Reprogramming the panel, notifying the fire alarm company, and arranging an onsite inspection to ensure the new address has been correctly programmed, all entail costs.

- A **fair nominal payment** to address the cost of changing the addresses of all 4510 businesses would be \$600 each, for a total of **\$2.7 million**.⁶⁸
- Fair nominal payment to owners of properties that are not owner-occupied would also be fair and appropriate.

iv) Private costs of rebranding and changing signage

Approximately 60 businesses on Dundas Street use “Dundas” in their business names. The City Manager’s Report for Action said these businesses “may” incur costs regarding rebranding and signage. FOI documents show that **staff were aware of tens of thousands of potential costs for each business**, in addition to changing signage. They nonetheless failed to provide this information in their final report to Executive Committee. They also failed to provide a reasonable estimate of the financial burden that would be forced onto private businesses on Dundas Street.

Changes to exterior signage alone can cost anywhere from a few hundred dollars to \$20,000, or more. (Source: <https://agcsigns.com/blog/business-advertising-signs-how-much-do-they-cost>).

Businesses with “Dundas” in their name would also be faced with the costs of re--branding. Such costs would include research for the new name, and a wide range of design work associated with new logos, websites, stationary, promotional materials, and menus. Marketing strategies and

⁶⁸ Some organizations, such as the Art Gallery of Ontario, would face costs much higher to address all of their communications, marketing and advertising campaigns, and licensing requirements.

outreach to existing clients would have to be developed and executed. Registration of intellectual property rights and legal fees would add further costs. Many businesses would still face the loss of the “goodwill value” that is routinely associated with established business names.

Internal documents obtained through an FOI request show that staff recognized that changing the name of the street would trigger a wide range of special costs for business with “Dundas” in their names. The briefing note below attached to staff emails canvassed several of these costs. Most of the information in the briefing note below was included in the City Manager’s letter to Council on Sept 8, 2020, but none of these cost estimates were included in the City Manager’s final cost projections on June 18, 2021:

Estimated costs to businesses due to change in street name and civic address

Businesses would incur higher financial costs than residents even though most changes to address can be made on-line. However, the time required to make the changes with a variety of suppliers, institutions and other contacts could take up a considerable amount of an operator's time. Direct costs could include mail forwarding by Canada Post, the purchase of new civic address numbers (if necessary) or a new address plaque. Other costs could include printing of new marketing materials, letterhead, envelopes and business cards, as well as potential costs related to business signage. In some jurisdictions reviewed, street name and civic address changes were delayed by up to one year in order to allow affected businesses to deplete their stocks of marketing and other paper materials printed with the original street name. New street signage for businesses has been estimated at \$8,000 per business.

According to Dun & Bradstreet's database, there are 4,510 businesses on Dundas Street(s). If the City of Toronto were to provide compensation to these businesses for a change of street name and civic address of \$250, costs could run up to \$1,200,000. This would be considered a goodwill payment (similar to Clarington or Peel) and would not likely cover the full expense incurred by a business owner.

There are about 60 businesses throughout the city of Toronto with the word "Dundas" in the business name. If these businesses chose to change the name of their business, considerable costs would be incurred including new logo design (approximately \$20,000 to register intellectual property), signage and marketing expenses, as well as fees to register a new business name.

There are ### Business Improvement Areas (BIA) located along Dundas Street(s). These BIAs will also incur costs associated with a change to the street name and civic address.

To calculate a total cost to the businesses located along Dundas Street(s), a direct survey of individual business owners is required.

(Highlighting added.)

The City Manager’s letter of September 8, 2020, noted most of the above costs, except that the cost for business signage changes was revised downward from the “average” of \$8000 per business shown above, to “up to \$8000.” The City Manager mentioned on June 18, 2021 that the Commercial Façade Improvement Program could cover up to 50% of expenses for exterior

signage changes, but declined to note the significant limitations of the program. To qualify for a grant, a business has to spend a minimum of \$5000, which means smaller businesses would have to cover 100% of their signage costs. The maximum subsidy is \$12,500. Roof signs, stand-alone signs, and banners are not eligible. As well, the money has to be spent and changes completed before a business can be reimbursed. We also note that even 50% of a large unexpected expense can be a significant burden on a small business

We have identified the following costs for private businesses which we believe ought to have been included in the City Manager’s Report for Action on June 18, 2021, for the 60 businesses with Dundas in their name will also face the following costs:

- **Signage changes:** staff first estimated this would cost an average of \$8,000 **each** for the 60 businesses with “Dundas” in their name, for a total **\$480,000**.
- **Registration of intellectual property:** staff estimated \$20,000 per business, **or \$576,000**.
- **Legal costs:** including legal fees for changes to contracts, licenses, service agreements, rental agreements, car leases, etc., that were executed under their original business name, and also anticipating possible disputes over claims of material changes to contracts as a result of rebranding, a modest estimate would be an average of \$5,000 per business, adding **\$300,000**.
- **Rebranding costs:** Low-end rebrands start at \$30,000 and it is not unusual for small businesses to spend \$80,000,⁶⁹ to hire creative talent to choose new names, logos, websites, social media presence, online sales, marketing and advertising. Some would have to commission new radio ads. Website design alone can cost anywhere from \$5000 - \$50,000.⁷⁰ Bearing these factors in mind, a reasonable low-end estimate for the average cost of rebranding for 60 businesses would be \$40,000. Therefore, a reasonable estimate of the total cost would be **\$2.4 Million**.
- **Loss of goodwill value:** While difficult to quantify, potential loss of “goodwill” associated with a business name is another financial cost many businesses would likely face if they have to change their names. Many businesses with “Dundas” in their names will have significant goodwill value associated with their brand – such as a reputation generated by “elbow grease,” hard work, management experience, and a history of innovation – that a name change would affect.

⁶⁹ <https://www.frontify.com/en/blog/rebranding-types-and-their-rough-costs/>

⁷⁰ <https://www.newdesigngroup.ca/website-design/web-design-costs/>

v) Compensation to residents

Staff turned their minds to the significant inconvenience to residents in the event of a street name change.⁷¹ While they viewed the financial costs as “minimal,” they also considered offering residents an honorarium to compensate for the effort, inconvenience and incidentals that the name change would entail.

Internal documents demonstrated that other municipalities typically compensate residents with \$100 per resident, which was an option considered by Toronto staff as well, at a total cost of **\$1,000,000**.

According to data from the 2016 Census (Statistics Canada), over 102,000 people live on one of the 4 Dundas streets in nearly 49,000 dwellings. If the City of Toronto were to consider compensation for a

street name change by dwelling or by resident the costs could cost over \$1,000,000 at \$100 per resident or around \$500,000 at \$100 per residential dwelling.

We suggest that estimate should have been included in the information staff provided to Executive Committee. Ensuring that residents process the address change is important not only to individual residents, but to the welfare of the City, as noted in Prince William County’s information to residents:

What happens if I don't change my address to the new one that has been assigned?

Not using your new assigned address may be jeopardizing your own and/or the public's safety and wellbeing. It may cause confusion that would result in delayed emergency services such as fire or police response. Additionally, using an incorrect address may cause delays in delivery services such as mail, package delivery service, and other service providers.⁷²

The warning above would apply equally to Dundas Street residents.

⁷¹ See Appendix B – excerpts of information circulated to residents of the former Dunbloor Rd, which was shared among members of the Staff working group.

⁷² “Route 1 Renaming FAQ”: <https://www.pwcva.gov/department/transportation/route-1-renaming#:~:text=The%20approved%20Resolution%20requests%20that,reduce%20confusion%20for%20roadway%20users.>

vi) Support for vulnerable residents

New street addresses would be required for Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) properties, which houses over 2,000 tenants in 18 buildings on Dundas Street. Staff noted that many TCHC residents pay rent on a formula geared to income, and as such must submit regular documentation. Updating records with employers and government agencies would be important to ensure that subsidies are not jeopardized.

In the fall of 2020 Staff recognized the special challenges these residents would face if their street name is changed:

Many residents may lack resources or face additional barriers to quickly update all records particularly seniors and tenants with language barriers. Many tenants do not have home internet access and will find it more difficult to update records online. Tenants with disabilities or mobility issues may find it harder to go in person to Service Ontario or Service Canada office locations.⁷³

Staff failed to budget for the special supports that this population would require to comply with the requirements of a street change.

vii) Costs to BIAs

In his September 2020 report, the City Manager estimated that the six BIAs with Dundas in the name would face certain costs, including new branding (\$20,000), new banners (\$10,000), and a new website (\$5,000).

The staff estimate of \$35,000 per BIA is inordinately low. The cost of hiring a professional to design a new website alone can vary from \$5000 - \$50,000.⁷⁴ The Staff estimates did not include the additional costs of registering intellectual property, processing the address changes, ordering new business cards and stationary, making necessary changes to licenses, contracts, leases, etc. The direct costs to the six BIAs that would be affected, whose funding is provided by the City, is likely to be in the range of **\$300,000**.

The costs identified above are not exhaustive. For example, we have not tried to estimate costs that would be incurred by the Regency Park Community Health Centre or other public health centres, the Art Gallery of Ontario, numerous government offices, a homeless shelter, and other non-profit organizations.

⁷³ City Manager's Report for action dated September 8, 2020

⁷⁴ <https://www.newdesigngroup.ca/website-design/web-design-costs/>

viii) Staff failed to discharge their duty to provide a reasonable estimate of costs

Staff posted information on the City website in July of 2020 promising to estimate the costs that would be imposed on businesses, property owners and residents.

28. What if a business is named after the street? Will the City pay for the cost of replacing their signage and stationary, etc.?

Staff will estimate the costs that would be incurred by businesses, property owners and residents with a street address on Dundas and make recommendations to Committee.

29. Recently, Toronto Mayor John Tory stated that Toronto is experiencing financial pressure estimated at \$65 million per week related to COVID-19. How is the City going to afford these changes? Is this really a priority right now? Are you looking into any other funding options?

We have not made it a secret – the COVID-19 pandemic has created significant financial pressures. It has also heightened societal inequities, having an even more profound effect on racialized and Indigenous communities. The City must work to remove these systemic barriers, as Council has directed through many of its past decisions. Staff will assemble the costs for each option and Council can make its decision based on many factors, including financial.

In August, 2020, staff told members of the Indigenous and Black community that the cost of renaming Dundas Street would be about \$750,000 (noted above at p. 43). By September 8, 2020, however, Staff knew the costs would be many times that amount. In a letter to Executive Committee, the City Manager identified a wide range of costs to businesses, individuals and government, e.g. an honorarium to residents, a flat rate payment to 4,510 businesses, subsidies to businesses that would have to change their signage, registration of intellectual property, additional costs to BIAs that would have to change their names. The City Manager then made the following observations:

To calculate a total cost to the individual businesses located along Dundas Street, a direct survey of individual business owners would be required.

On September 30, 2020, Council authorized the City Manager to take the next steps. The motion directed Staff to develop a work plan with estimated costs:

EX16.3	ACTION	Amended		Ward: All
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Responding to the Dundas Street Renaming Petition

City Council Decision

City Council on September 30, October 1 and 2, 2020, adopted the following:

1. City Council authorize the City Manager to undertake Round 1 of the Dundas Street consultation and communications plan as described in Attachment 1 to the report (September 8, 2020) from the City Manager.
2. City Council direct the City Manager, as part of the public consultation process for Dundas Street, to consider specific outreach to people with disabilities and disability organizations.
3. City Council direct the City Manager to report back to the Executive Committee in the first quarter of 2021 on the consultation findings and recommendations relating to:
 - a. a preferred option for responding to the petition to rename Dundas Street and, by extension, addressing other civic assets with the Dundas name;

b. a work plan with estimated costs to implement Part 3.a. above;

On June 18, 2021, when the City Manager reported back to Council on the preferred option, he reframed the instructions from Council. In his review of events, he failed to note the broad public consultation process approved by Council, and skipped over Council's directive in **Part 3.b.** to estimate the costs of the preferred option:

DECISION HISTORY

In June 2020, City Council received for information a petition titled "Let's Rename Dundas Street in Toronto", containing the names of 13,955 persons.

<http://app.toronto.ca/tmmis/viewAgendaItemHistory.do?item=2020.RM22.4>

At its meeting on September 30, 2020, City Council authorized the City Manager to undertake consultation on a response to the Dundas Street renaming petition and a broader review of commemoration and recognition in Toronto, and report back to the Executive Committee with recommendations including a preferred response to the petition, a work plan to implement the response, and recommendations for an overall commemorative framework for the City, including guiding principles for naming/renaming and other forms of recognition.

What the City Manager then presented was a *partial* work plan with estimated costs that included a fraction of the total costs of the renaming project. [Appendix A] Staff never did conduct the survey of businesses on Dundas Street that the City Manager had said was necessary. Internal documents circulated among Staff confirm that information about the public and private costs of renaming Dundas Street had been collected, and Staff had already attempted to estimate many of these costs. Staff also had information about the costs faced by other municipalities that decided to rename their streets. It is apparent that they were alive to the following categories of

costs, all of which were omitted from their assessment of costs in their final report to Council on June 18, 2021:

- Costs of changing signage
- Rebranding costs for 60 businesses, including new logos, websites, marketing, outreach to existing clients, advertising, promotional materials, stationary,
- Intellectual property registration
- BIA costs
- Honoraria for 98,000 residents to compensate for time, inconvenience and incidentals
- Support for vulnerable residents whose income and subsidized rent is dependent on keeping their personal records up-to-date
- Honoraria for 4510 businesses to change their addresses

Staff overlooked the following additional costs:

- Service Ontario fees
- A realistic assessment of the cost of communications and consultations
- Legal costs
- Costs associated with changing electronic security systems tied into emergency infrastructure

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS:

Given the failure of the City Manager to include reasonable estimates of all foreseeable costs in the Report for Action on June 18, 2021, it is fair to ask the following questions:

1. In his Report for Action on June 18, 2021, why did the City Manager fail to disclose their projected cost estimates for the full range of expenses that they knew would be forced onto individual businesses, BIAs, government agencies, public health facilities?
2. Why did Staff lower their estimate for communications and consultations from \$1.37 million to \$500,000 for the consultations and communications plan?
3. Why did Staff fail to conduct the survey of businesses that the City Manager had told Council was necessary?

5. Why did Staff fail to recommend an appropriate level of subsidy for businesses that would have to change their names?
6. Why did Staff fail to recommend honoraria payments to residents?
7. Why did Staff fail to budget for the additional supports that vulnerable residents on Dundas would need to complete the paper work for their address changes?
8. Why did staff fail to recommend a payment to each of the 4510 businesses who would have to change their addresses on a wide range of documents essential to their ability to conduct business?

**KEY FINDING #5: 81% OF RESIDENTS AND BUSINESSES ON DUNDAS ST
OPPOSE THE NAME CHANGE**

MAJORITY OF BUSINESSES & RESIDENTS “STRONGLY DISAGREE”

A poll of those who would be directly affected by a renaming of Dundas Street shows that more than 80% of decided business owners and residents are opposed to the name change.

Among decided residents and business owners, the vast majority strongly disagreed or disagreed with the decision to rename Dundas Street:

Residential:	65 strongly disagreed	
	22 disagreed	20 agreed
Business phone numbers:	42 strongly disagreed	
	12 disagreed	14 agreed
TOTAL:	141 disagreed	34 agreed

CONCLUSION: 81% of all decided individuals who reside or run businesses on Dundas Street either strongly disagreed, or disagreed, with the proposal to rename the street.

Circulation Solutions Inc. Call Centre Survey:

<https://acrobat.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:9471c92d-6976-3c57-bd20-770f570d766f>

This is the only known poll of those who would be directly affected by the renaming of Dundas Street. The sample may be small, but we note that the total number of people affected is also small, relatively speaking.

The results are in line with a recent Leger poll conducted for Postmedia in early April, which found that 75% of decided individuals were opposed to these types of name changes. Leger made a similar finding regarding the same issue in 2020:

<https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/as-another-school-takes-down-sir-johns-as-name-canadians-dont-support-rewriting-history#comments-area>

While the 81% result is higher than what Leger found, this seems reasonable given that the people who responded would be directly affected by costs and inconvenience.

The poll results are in stark conflict with the claim by the City Manager that BIA representatives and business leaders agreed that a renaming of Dundas Street is the best way forward to meet the City's commitment to confronting anti-Black racism and other forms of systemic discrimination.

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CONCLUSION:

The decision to change the name of Dundas Street cannot be viewed as grounded on solid information. Compelling evidence shows it was marred by unfounded allegations of subjugation of Indigenous peoples, a distorted account of the legacy of Henry Dundas, advice from an under-qualified consultant, a failure to let the public have a voice, and an inordinately low estimate of costs.

It is now incumbent on the Mayor and Council to ask themselves some important questions:

- How much were they influenced by the inordinately low estimate of costs? Would they have voted differently, or deferred the decision, if they had known that the real cost of renaming the street was not \$6 million, but as much as \$20-30 Million?
- Are they comfortable with Staff refusing to let the citizens of Toronto have a voice about the preferred option?
- Is the decision to rename Dundas Street still worth supporting when it was based on grossly inaccurate claims of subjugation of Indigenous peoples and thoroughly discredited research regarding Henry Dundas's legacy?
- Does it matter that participants in discovery sessions offered their opinions on the basis of this misinformation?
- Are they comfortable with choice of consultant, and her influence on the staff recommendation?

We ask the Mayor and Council to "hit the pause button" on renaming Dundas Street, and send this matter back to the City Manager with instructions to: (1) commission reliable historical research from an eminent historian with recognized expertise in British and Canadian political history, (2) to prepare a realistic and comprehensive assessment of costs - both to the city and private businesses, and (3) allow the citizens of Toronto to have a voice.

PREPARED BY: Jennifer Dundas, BAA SF LLB, with assistance from members and friends of the Henry Dundas Committee of Ontario, the Henry Dundas Committee for Public Education on Historic Scotland, and academic historians in Canada and Scotland who generously offered information, insights and feedback.

FURTHER READING:

Henry Dundas and Abolition – The Missing Pieces (Research by the Henry Dundas Committee for Public Education on Historic Scotland)

<https://acrobat.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:e388fe4b-047d-3963-a9dd-4b8351569ea0>

The Plot that Wasn't: New Research on Henry Dundas Marred by Inaccuracies
(A critique of Dr. Stephen Mullen's paper on Henry Dundas)

<https://acrobat.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:a41cab3e-542b-38d8-b649-35da70b83e77>

APPENDIX A: The City Manager's estimate

Staff provided the following estimates regarding the cost of renaming to Dundas Street in the Report for Action dated June 18, 2021, which we are including here for ease of reference. We note the absence of any proposal to reimburse business owners or residents on Dundas Street for the direct costs of changing their addresses:

Estimated costs to the City to rename Dundas Street and related civic assets are summarized in the table below, with cost ranges indicated where applicable. Funding sources will need to be identified through the 2022 and 2023 budget processes as applicable to cover future year impacts. Where possible, staff will seek to align this work with planned construction or upgrades to achieve efficiencies. Financial resources required to implement other naming initiatives under a revised commemorative framework will be reported in Q2 2022 and future budget processes.

Cost Projections for Dundas Street and Civic Asset Renaming (2022-23)	
Description	Estimated Cost
Toronto Transit Commission costs (includes changes to Dundas and Dundas West Stations, train and streetcar technical systems, Dundas streetcar, signage, system-wide maps)	\$1,600,000
Transportation Services costs (includes changes to street and highway directional guide signs, TO360 Wayfinding signage, and costs for materials, fabrication and labour)	\$1,313,000 to \$2,165,000
Toronto Parking Authority costs (includes changes to Bike Share stations, parking equipment, signage, and information technology)	\$525,000
Communications costs (includes costs related to city-wide multilingual marketing campaign to inform businesses and residents of change)	\$500,000
Yonge-Dundas Square renaming costs (includes costs for rebranding and signage)	\$300,000
Parks, Forestry and Recreation costs (includes costs for changing park signage and community engagement costs for park renaming)	\$120,000 to \$300,000
Other signage costs (includes costs for PATH signage and other civic buildings located on Dundas Street)	\$75,000
Subtotal	\$4,433,000 to \$5,465,000
Contingency (15%) (rounded to nearest \$10,000)	\$660,000 to \$820,000
Total Estimated Cost Impact in 2022-23 (rounded to nearest \$100,000)	\$5,100,000 to \$6,300,000

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APPENDIX B: Previous experience in Toronto with a recent street name change

2. In 2019, the City changed the name of Dunbloor Road to Dundas Street West. FOI materials show that staff reviewed the following information given residents on the former Dunbloor Road, which we are reproducing to illustrate what would be demanded of residents:

COMMON QUESTIONS

Why is the City changing my address?

As part of the Six Points Intersection Reconfiguration, it is necessary to rename Dunbloor Road to "Dundas Street West" to provide a consistent street name and configuration going forward. This renaming and address change is being done in consultation with the City's Engineering & Construction Services Division and in consideration of Toronto Municipal Code Chapter 598, Numbering of Properties.

The Six Points Intersection Reconfiguration results in a continuous flow of Dundas Street West. Previously, when the bridges were in place, Dunbloor Road was a necessary street to connect Dundas Street West to Bloor Street West; with the new design, that connection is no longer required as Dundas Street West now continues seamlessly.

[...]

In order to help you with the process of updating your address following the street name change, listed below is a checklist of organizations you should notify of the change:

- ✓ [Notify Canada Post of the address change](#). Although the City ~~has notified~~ (will notify) Canada Post, you should contact them also. Please note, Canada Post will continue to deliver mail with the old address for a period of one year (a free service provided by Canada Post for municipally initiated address changes).

Type of Identification	In Person / Phone	Online	Mail
Health Card	Bring the form (1047-82) at this link http://www.forms.ssb.gov.on.ca/mbs/ssb/forms/ssbforms.nsf/ForMDetail?openform&ENV=WW&NO=014-1057-82 To 250 the East Mall (Cloverdale Mall) or 3300 Bloor Street W. (at Islington)	https://www.ontario.ca/page/change-address-drivers-licence-vehicle-permit-and-health-card	Complete a change of address form (1057-82) OR send a letter that must include your: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • name, • health number, • telephone number, • current address, and • new address including postal code. Mail to: ServiceOntario P.O. Box 48 Kingston ON K7L 5J3

Driver's Licence	250 the East Mall (Cloverdale Mall) or 3300 Bloor Street W. (at Islington)	https://www.ontario.ca/page/change-address-drivers-licence-vehicle-permit-and-health-card	n/a
Ontario Photo Card	250 the East Mall (Cloverdale Mall) or 3300 Bloor Street West (at Islington)	n/a	Send a written request with your: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • full name • photo card number • current address • new address • signature Mail it to: Service Ontario P.O. Box 9200 Kingston, ON K7L 5K4.

Canada Revenue Agency	<p>Before calling you must verify your identity and need:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Insurance Number • Full name and date of birth • Your complete address • An assessed return, notice of assessment or reassessment, other tax document, • or be signed in to My Account. <p>If you are calling the CRA on behalf of someone else, you must be an <u>authorized representative</u>.</p> <p>Telephone number 1-800-959-8281</p>	<p>https://www.canada.ca/en/government/change-address.html</p> <p>https://www.canada.ca/en/revenue-agency/services/tax/individuals/to-pics/about-your-tax-return/change-your-address.html</p>	<p>Complete Form RC325 Address change request</p> <p>https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/cra-arc/forms/pubs/pbg/rc325/rc325-fill-18e.pdf</p>
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Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security and Employment Insurance	<p>Toronto Etobicoke Service Canada Centre 5353 Dundas Street West Suite 101 8:30 a.m. to 4 p.m. Telephone Number 1-800-277-9914</p>	https://www.canada.ca/en/government/change-address.html	<p>Mail a change address form https://www.canada.ca/en/government/change-address.html to Service Canada PO Box 5100 Station D Scarborough ON M1R 5C8 CANADA</p>
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Utilities and Home Services:

- [Enbridge Gas](#), [Toronto Hydro](#), [Hydro One](#)
- ✓ Banks and Credit Cards, Insurance Companies
- ✓ Telephone, Mobile, Cable, Satellite and Internet Providers
- ✓ Workplace, Schools, Colleges and Universities
- ✓ Family, Friends and Other Correspondents
- ✓ Newspaper Delivery
- ✓ Don't forget to update your address with companies or organizations that you regularly receive mail from. This can usually be done online or via a telephone call.

How much will it cost / will I be compensated?

There is no cost to change your address with the above-listed contacts. There will be no compensation provided by the City for work needed to change your address.

NEED MORE INFORMATION?

If you have questions about remaining work, or have additional questions about the renaming of Dunbloor Road, contact us.

Project Contact	Field Ambassador 416-338-7755 etobicokecentre@toronto.ca 7 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., Monday to Friday
General City of Toronto Inquiries	311
TTY Hearing Impaired Service	416-338-0889 (7 Days a week, 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., closed holidays)
Web: toronto.ca/etobicokecentre	Twitter @TO_Transport

Thank you for your patience. Building a great city takes time. Better infrastructure for all of us is worth the wait.

(Highlighting added.)

APPENDIX C: The Four Options

Four options have been identified to respond to the community Petition:

- Option 1 - do nothing
- Option 2 - retain the legal street names and add ceremonial street names and/or interpretation (e.g., plaques) along each street addressing the legacy of Henry Dundas
- Option 3 - retain the legal street names but rename the three parks and one public library branch with Dundas in their names, as well as Yonge-Dundas Square
- Option 4 - change the legal names of Dundas Street East, Dundas Street West, Dundas Square, and Old Dundas Street, as well as all other civic assets carrying the Dundas name

Staff are **not** recommending option 1. While generating no impacts on residents and businesses along Dundas or on City assets, this option fails to address the impact of the name on Black communities or respond to the concerns of the Petitioners. A more balanced approach is warranted for a city whose motto is "Diversity Our Strength."

Option 2 minimizes impacts on residents and businesses along Dundas, but would entail costs for the City to prepare and implement an interpretation plan for the street. Adding ceremonial street names would preclude the use of the upper blade of a street sign by local BIAs or neighbourhoods wishing to brand their area. A linear approach to interpretation could, however, also include an online component, as was recently demonstrated by Heritage Toronto's "Dundas + Carlaw: Made in Toronto" digital walking tour. This option goes some way in addressing the impact of the Dundas name on Black communities and adopting the Petition's request.

Option 3 also minimizes impacts on residents and businesses along Dundas but entails costs for City divisions and agencies. The most significant change would be felt at a major public space, Yonge-Dundas Square. Interpretation along Dundas Street could also be included in this option. This option also goes some way in addressing the impact of the Dundas name on Black communities and adopting the Petition's request.

Option 4 includes fully adopting the Petition's request, but has the greatest impact on residents, businesses, and City assets. This option is explored in detail in the following three sections.

Excerpt, p. 9, Report for Action September 8, 2020, Ex16.3:

<https://acrobat.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:28baf4d2-dbf3-3f97-b52d-ac7ab502a1e5>

APPENDIX D – Screenshot of QuakeLab website

quakelab.ca/blog/action-for-black-canada

- Public Servants: [Join the Anti-Racism Ambassadors Network](#)
- [if you're an adoptive parent of a BIPOC kid, learn how to shape your child's community as one that is anti-racist and inclusive](#)
- Defund the Police:
 - **Ottawa:** Defund the Police #CancelCanadaDay Bike Ride, [info here](#); petition [here](#); letter writing campaign [here](#); follow [@J4Abdirahman](#), [@cpepgroup](#) and [@horizonottawa](#); contact Ottawa's new anti-racism liaison, [Councilor Rawlson King](#)
 - **Toronto:** follow [@blm_to](#) and [@Justice4Soli](#)
 - **Hamilton:** petition [here](#); follow [@HWDSBKids](#)
 - **Montreal:** follow [#blmmontreal](#)
 - **Halifax:** follow [Abolish the Police Halifax/K'jipuktuk](#)
 - **Saskatoon:** letter writing campaign [here](#)
 - **Winnipeg:** petitions [here](#) and [here](#); follow [@WpgPoliceHarm](#)
 - **Edmonton:** letter writing campaign [here](#); follow [@blmyeg](#)
 - **Calgary:** petition [here](#) and [here](#); use [this call to action email](#) for elected officials
 - **Vancouver:** letter writing campaign [here](#)

GIVE

- Check out the list of organizations highlighted in our [Welcome to Black Canada resource](#). These organizations have been doing some heavy lifting the last few weeks and they still need our support.

FOLLOW

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