Africville: The Test of Urban Renewal and Race in Halifax, Nova Scotia

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ABSTRACT: Donald Clairmont's *Africville Relocation Report* portrays the Africville relocation as a grave injustice inflicted upon a voiceless minority by an insensitive city administration. Initially, however, the relocation enjoyed the support of Black leaders, community residents, and city administrators. This paper argues that two major factors caused the transformation of the Africville relocation from a symbol of civic and humanitarian progress to a symbol of human and perhaps racial injustice. First, the relocation process took fifteen years to complete. During that time the initial confidence exuded by Haligonians because of the postwar boom had begun to dissipate, and with it, their devotion to urban renewal schemes. Second, criticism of the project reflected changing expectations and developing sociological methodologies concerning the alleviation of poverty.

> Similarly, in the case of the sociologist, so great has been the fascination with a functional theory of society that almost any functioning society has come to be viewed as a society which should be preserved. The world would not be poorer if there were no slum societies—or primitive or rural societies—and, though certain people might be hurt by their passing, probably no change has taken place in human history that has not brought hurt to some people.
> —S.D. Clark, *The Suburban Society*, 1966

> God made the country: but He made man too. Men made the towns—and these towns have within them more humanism than the seas, or the forests.
> —Stewart Bates, 1964

The relocation of Africville, a Halifax, Nova Scotia, Black slum, during the mid-1960s was widely supported by most Haligonians as late as 1968. Until then, the city plan was respected by both the business community and liberal welfare reformers for combining aspects of the renewal of potentially valuable waterfront with humanitarian assistance to an economically disadvantaged group. Local politicians

talked about the relocation as having "positive results as far as individual families are concerned." Even *Time* magazine, heralded it as a "determined, if belated, effort ... to right an historical wrong."[1] Such acclaim for the program quickly faded, however, in the face of increasing reports that the relocation had been spurred by greed and racism. By the early 1970s Africville had become the symbol of racial tensions in both the city and the province; these tensions had already been exacerbated by the arrival of the Black Panthers in Halifax in 1969, by the formation of the Black United Front in the same year, and by national and international criticism of the relocation.[2] From these tensions a consensus grew among relocatees, a new generation of Black leaders (many of their predecessors had supported the decision to relocate), and the Halifax press that something had gone horribly wrong. What caused this swing in public opinion during only a few years? Who was responsible for the new perception of the relocation program's failures?

Although racism undoubtedly played a role in the development and relocation of Africville, most Haligonians were aware both of the issues concerning the slum and of the proposed plan in 1962. As well, the public was kept well informed about the implementation of the plan by the Halifax *Mail-Star* throughout the 1960s. The 1971 report made at the request of the Province of Nova Scotia and completed by the Dalhousie Institute of Public Affairs did not uncover any hidden racist agenda; yet this report was crucial in the transformation of the public perception of what relocation symbolized. The report approached the issue from a new perspective peculiar to the late 1960s, a perspective that developed subsequent to the period the Africville relocation was planned. The environment of student protest and the rising militancy of the civil rights movement of the 1960s heralded a new attitude among experts towards government and liberal reforms.

There are two major factors in the transformation of the Africville relocation from a symbol of civic and humanitarian progress to a symbol of Black consciousness and white racism. First, the entire process of relocation and its aftermath

was drawn out over a fifteen-year period. The first strong public statement about relocation (although the idea had been bandied about for years) came in 1957 but was not acted upon until 1964. The relocation then dragged on until 1969 and the final report was not made until 1971. During that period the sense of confidence surrounding the future of Halifax waned and with it the devotion to extensive urban renewal plans. Second, there were great changes in the way experts addressed the issues of urban renewal and racism. The rise of the "New Left" put emphasis on sociological critiques and gave university trained experts a position of influence in restructuring society. This generation of "New Left" sociologists began to compile sociological data with the intent of giving a voice to their client communities by exploring the issue of power relations. In contrast, the paternalistic liberal welfare models of societal development that emerged out of the progressive era were in decline among class conscious social scientists.

Africville was located at the northeasternmost corner of the Halifax peninsula, overlooking the Bedford Basin. Its most obvious features were the tracks of the old intercolonial railway that ran east to west bisecting the community, and the city dump that lay to the west. Less monumental than these signs of Halifax's encroachment were the eighty "shacks" that housed the four hundred residents of Africville. These dilapidated and aging homes had been almost entirely bypassed by any modernizing influence. Ranging from sturdy but modest bungalows to "rude shacks made of tin sheets and boards, held together by tarpaper and paint," the salt air had caused paint to peel leaving the houses mottled yellows, blues, reds and greens.[3] Piped sewage and water were unavailable; electricity was absent; the sole road was unpaved; and city services such as fire and police protection were not extended to this part of the city.[4]

Furthermore, the inhabitants were generally under-employed, poorly educated, and in poor health. According to the 1957 Stephenson Report on redevelopment, the area reported the highest rates of positive reactors to tuberculosis tests in the city, and an inordinately high percentage of

welfare cases. Juvenile delinquency, on a per capita basis, was also considerably higher than in other portions of the city, with seven teens appearing in Juvenile Court in 1955 alone. (Other parts of the city making up the downtown core had comparable numbers of juvenile delinquents but with population densities many times higher.)[5] Poverty was widespread in the Halifax Black community, partly because of the slower Maritime economy and poor education, but at least in part because of racial prejudice that prevented Blacks from entering white collar occupations. Although these problems were faced by all Blacks in Halifax, Africville Blacks were the poorest segment of the Black community. The average annual income for Halifax Blacks was only $2000 but that of Africville Blacks only $1500 with 35 percent of residents earning under $1000. Africville Blacks also suffered longer periods of unemployment than either whites or other Blacks with only 29 percent managing to remain employed throughout the entire year.[6]

Despite the abject poverty, or perhaps because of it, most Haligonians overlooked Africville. Tucked between the sloping peninsula heights and the Bedford Basin it was visible only from nearby Albert Street and the water. Just as Africville was invisible to most city residents, the underlying racial problems were equally well hidden under a veneer of legal protections. Beginning in 1955 with the Fair Employment Act the provincial government began a policy of legislating the right to equal opportunity regardless of race. The Nova Scotia government quickly followed this first piece of legislation, which prohibited discrimination in either hiring or retaining employees, with acts guaranteeing pay equity (1956), prohibiting discrimination by landlords (1959), and amendments that extended the Fair Employment Act (1959).[7] Both the academic community and the national press praised such attempts to address the problem of racism as progressive and just. In 1959, *Saturday Night* declared Nova Scotia a "model in race relations" while W.A. MacKay, the Dean of Dalhousie's School of Law, claimed as late as 1967 that the new laws "may do

much to ensure mutual confidence and trust between negro and white citizens."[8]

The provincial Human Rights Act of 1963 consolidated earlier legislation and extended the prohibition of discrimination into almost every aspect of public life, including trade unions and publications. The act was the first major recommendation from the recently formed Inter-Departmental Committee on Human Rights after a comprehensive study of Black communities outside Halifax.[9] This committee, established in 1962, was a response to the work of Dalhousie sociology students who had been collecting information on Halifax's Blacks since 1957. Based upon a series of 1959 master's theses, Dalhousie University's Institute of Public Affairs printed a pamphlet entitled "The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia" in 1962. The pamphlet clearly suggested that the past legislative actions of the government, despite their effectiveness in establishing legal equality, did not have much effect on the socio-economic situation of Black Haligonians. The Institute's report found that while education and self-help were important elements in any improvement in the living standard of Blacks "only improvement in Negro employment and living conditions, largely supported as it must be by resources outside this group, can bring about a situation in which ... the self-defeating circle of lower class deficiencies in education be broken."[10] Despite the result of this study and a very critical article in *Maclean's* that claimed Halifax was "a last stronghold of the nonviolent Canadian kind of racial prejudice,"[11] there was a belief in the local press and in academic circles that Halifax was dealing with its Blacks in a very progressive way.[12]

The growing perception that Halifax was one of the most progressive cities in North America in making amends for historical racism fit in with another more central trend of the region. During the 1950s and continuing into the 1960s, the Maritimes were experiencing a minor boom in comparison to the lean interwar years. Halifax, and other Maritime port cities, were the main centres of this economic recovery because port traffic was most responsible for the

new growth.[13] Growth also accelerated modernization. Mechanization in the fishing industry and forestry reduced employment in those sectors. The booming urban centres were able to absorb many of the rural unemployed. This increased urbanization of Nova Scotia further stoked urban economies.[14] Nova Scotians were hopeful that they could bridge the economic disparity between themselves and central Canadians.

To the business interests of the city, and the politicians whom they influenced, it was clear that any hopes to maintain the gains Halifax was making revolved around the modernization of the downtown core and of the waterfront. The *Atlantic Advocate* reported that an "infectious enthusiasm that sees problems only as the challenge of growth" had taken root in the Halifax-Dartmouth metropolitan region.[15] The response to this challenge was a renewed cooperation between city government and private enterprise, using federal money, to rejuvenate and redevelop aging areas of Halifax. Urban renewal projects which had been explored during the late 1950s in a government redevelopment survey suddenly gained a great deal of popularity and interest, especially because of the involvement of several successful regional businessmen.[16] Articles and advertisements in the regional and national press stressed that the new Halifax was fostering a ripe "climate for growth" in the hopes of luring new industry into the region.[17]

Halifax's strategy for the urban renewal programs of the 1960s was based on the 1957 Stephenson Report, prepared by University of Toronto professor, Dr. Gordon Stephenson. Although it was primarily concerned with the central downtown core and the redevelopment of the city to attract investors and entrepreneurs, the report also dealt in detail with Africville and the social problems of poverty. The study suggested that redevelopment should set two goals: first, the industrial development of the general metropolitan region particularly emphasizing on the waterfront areas; second, the improvement and provision of low-cost housing to replace decayed and overcrowded residential areas.[18] To

achieve these goals Stephenson suggested that land should be redeveloped to take advantage of "its highest potential use," and that the elimination of overcrowded areas should proceed at a rate equal to the development of new subsidized public housing.[19] Stephenson's application of these guidelines to Africville suggested that the existing slum should be removed from valuable waterfront property that might one day be used for port facilities and that an area approximately one mile away be transformed into low-cost public housing.[20] Urban renewal was an attractive way for Haligonians to dovetail their interests in economic progress with liberal policies towards race and poverty. The Stephenson plan was accepted as an ideal solution to both the pressing need for economic development and to the growing problem of poverty among Africville residents.

The concept and practice of urban renewal both in Canada and the United States had a long history prior to the Stephenson report. In New York, the first effort at slum clearance was expressed in the "Tenement House Law of 1867," but a national program did not develop until 1949. Under the "Housing Act," and its subsequent additions in 1954 and 1959, the US government gave considerable grants to local governments to plan and enact urban renewal programs and the power to expropriate occupied property. The Canadian government copied this program in its National Housing Act of 1949. Despite this early attempt to stimulate urban renewal, it was not until the 1956 amendment to the new 1954 act of the same name that Canadian urban renewal projects began on a large scale. Under this amendment, which promised federal funds to offset 75 percent of the cost of renewal studies, forty-six of sixty-eight renewal projects were completed and six hundred acres had been cleared in eleven cities by 1965.[21]

The most famous Canadian urban renewal project prior to the Africville relocation involved the clearance of a Toronto slum and the development of Regent Park, a low-cost public housing project. An in-depth study of that relocation by Dr. Albert Rose, published in 1958, came to the conclusion that the project had been a great success

both for the city and those relocated. According to Rose's study the new residents of Regent Park project experienced a "surge of personal pride and community responsibility" and enjoyed better education and material well-being, and lower rates of juvenile delinquency and crime. In Rose's words, "the physical and mental health, family welfare and social behavior of a substantial proportion of the individuals and families rehoused in Regent Park have greatly improved."[22] Considering this success and Rose's position as a noted professor of social work at the University of Toronto, it was only natural that the Halifax City Council now consulted him on how to carry out the Africville relocation.[23]

The decision to relocate the Africville community was made between 1962 and 1964. During these years urban renewal policies were at the height of their popularity among development experts throughout North America. This popularity was reflected within the Halifax business community which saw redevelopment and renewal as part of a scheme to transform old and blighted communities into more modern and productive units. Urban renewal was seen as an ideal solution for stimulating economic development and in breaking the circle of poverty that characterized slum life. The Africville relocation plan designed by Rose was particularly sensitive to both these goals. The Halifax local daily, the *Mail-Star*, ran articles that clearly supported both these goals, completing the circle of support in academia, the business community, and the press.[24]

The Africville relocation process mirrored both goals that the Halifax City Council had for it. A social worker was responsible for negotiating with Africville residents concerning property settlements. The Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee Subcommittee on Africville had the authority either to accept or reject these settlements on behalf of the city. The subcommittee was composed of three Black caretakers, three city aldermen, the case social worker who was negotiating the settlement, and the Development Director. Despite the participation of Blacks

on this subcommittee, none of the three middle-class Black caretakers were residents of, or were very well acquainted with, Africville. As a result the reports made by the case social worker were of considerable influence with the subcommittee.[25] As might be expected under such circumstances, individual settlements varied widely depending upon individual resident's abilities in negotiating with the social worker. The result was a less than equitable format for determining settlements.[26]

At this time Nova Scotia Black leaders were still strongly in favour of the relocation. In an interview with *Saturday Night*, the Reverend William Oliver, organizer of the *Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People* (NSAACP), strongly urged that segregated Black communities be condemned: "The tendency of the Nova Scotian Negro to segregate himself is a dangerous one and it has to be eradicated before any progress can be made."[27] Oliver had long been committed to the "cultural progress of the negroes" through adult education and the improvement of the physical environment in which Blacks lived.[28] The aims of the relocation dovetailed with those of Black leaders like Oliver.

Soon after the City of Halifax decided to proceed with the Africville relocation, the concept of urban renewal came under attack in academic circles. Although there were some serious criticisms of urban renewal before 1964 (such as Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*), Martin Anderson's *The Federal Bulldozer* (1964) demolished the assumption that both economic development goals and liberal welfare projects could be achieved through urban renewal. Anderson's book suggested that national urban renewal programs failed because they subverted natural market forces. According to Anderson, the achievement of privately-funded urban renewal projects was "an eloquent testimony to what can be done by a basically free-enterprise system." In comparison, projects "guided by the visible hand of urban experts" rather than the "invisible hand of the free market" have had "dismal" results. This critique marked the beginning of a split between liberal-welfare

planners in government and the business classes that often supported programs aimed at economic renewal.

In Canada, the criticism of urban renewal among academics also began in 1964 with the inaugural seminar of the Centre for Urban Studies at the University of Toronto. The seminar brought together eight North American experts to discuss various aspects of urban renewal plans. Several of these experts were critical of the effect which relocation in particular had on communities. Of particular interest were the talks by Hans Spiegel and Albert Rose, as both dealt with the problem of bureaucracy in renewal programs. Spiegel suggested that in order for urban renewal to succeed a new type of bureaucrat would need to emerge, one with an understanding of new sociological approaches that linked the physical and the social dimensions of a community. Furthermore, he suggested that universities would have to extend programs to the areas of renewal to spark resident participation.[29] Rose argued that bureaucracy and social services needed to be decentralized in the renewed community.[30] Both these issues would become important in the Africville case.

More important than the academic debates over relocation in precipitating a review of the Africville case was the pressure put on Nova Scotia and Halifax by the national and international press. Most damning of all was a *New York Times* article of 14 June 1964, entitled "Nova Scotia Hides a Racial Problem," which set the tone for later criticism. Despite inaccuracies in detail, the *Times* article tarred Halifax as a racist city by emphasizing its refusal to act on Africville's poverty outside the urban renewal plan. Articles in *Maclean's, Star Weekly*, and *Queen's Quarterly* all stressed that racial tensions were at all-time highs within the province between 1964 and 1970.[31] Adding to this tension was the return of native-born Black activist and founder of the radical Afro-Canadian Liberation Movement, Rocky Jones, and a highly publicized visit by Stokely Carmichael and several Black Panthers.[32]

On 31 August 1967 these tensions culminated in a spontaneous march that quickly deteriorated into a riot

when the demonstrators were confronted by the police. The NSAACP publicly denounced Jones for his role in the incident resulting in a division between moderates and radicals in that association. The faction led by Jones grew increasingly militant while the riot served to discredit liberal reformers associated with the mayor's office who had focussed on providing recreational activities for Black urban youths.[33] The "Black Power" movement had developed a following in Halifax but it still lacked any symbolic focal point around which it could build its identity. The Africville relocation and the failure of urban renewal plans to improve the social and economic status of Black Haligonians soon provided such a symbol.

To stem growing disillusionment with the urban renewal policy and to bolster Nova Scotia's progressive image on human rights, the provincial government commissioned the Dalhousie Institute for Public Affairs to carry out an in-depth study of the entire relocation process. Because of the government's confidence that the study would exonerate both the city and the provincial Human Rights Committee, it was given wide jurisdiction. The findings of the Report were hardly complimentary to the city, however. Donald Clairmont, a young Dalhousie sociologist, directed a sociological study in which former Africville residents were reunited in efforts to gain both individual and collective responses.[34] Clairmont's report uncovered a side of Africville that had been previously overlooked. Like any community, Africville had its own distinct patterns of community, religious, and social activity which its former residents had valued highly. These activities were centred around Seaview African Baptist Church and the family ties among community residents. Bureaucrats directing the relocation had emphasized the physical environment but virtually ignored these important religious, social, and economic aspects of the community.

This community and the social ties on which it was based were the result of a hundred and fifty years of historical development that included a period between 1880 and 1900 in which Africville was a promising community.

Residents relied on informal institutions for social and economic support as the City of Halifax did not provide services in Africville. According to the Relocation Report, the decline of Africville into a slum was the result of the city's encroachment, in the form of the railway tracks and dump, and the refusal of the city to extend services to the area.[35] This was a very different image of the community than that which prevailed in Halifax at the time of the decision to relocate. The popular image of Africville held by whites was that it had always been a slum without any history or community. This myth had even pervaded Rose's recommendations to the city. According to a 1970 interview, Rose found his first visit to Africville "devastating" because "you could pour in fantastic resources and you have no base upon which to rehabilitate."[36]

Clairmont's report also showed a discrepancy between the wishes of individual residents and the actions of the bureaucracy established to administer the relocation. The Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, which had been created to protect the rights of Africville residents and to represent their concerns to the city, was dominated by people who felt that segregation was the biggest problem faced by Blacks. The taped interviews of former residents suggested, however, that their main concern was maintaining a social structure that could provide support within the community.[37] Africville residents were less interested in liberal reforms intended to integrate them into Halifax than they were in concrete assistance that would extend city services to the Africville site. Unfortunately, despite organizing on several occasions to voice their demands during the relocation, they were given little attention.

These new interpretations of well-known events were based primarily upon a new understanding of what was meant by "community" and "environment." Sociological interpretation changed rapidly during the 1960s under the influence of the "New Left" movement. The type of sociological survey done in Halifax by the Institute for Public Affairs in 1962 differed greatly from Clairmont and Magill's 1971 Relocation Report in that the latter emphasized

the social dimension as well as the economic and physical environment of a community. Thus, where the 1962 pamphlet, *The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City*, helped to lead the way to relocation, the 1971 Report rejected relocation based on the same evidence. In large part this reflected the shift in "New Left" thought away from the impersonal technique of a liberal oriented bureaucracy and towards a belief in personal participation in social reform. "New Left" sociology, which influenced Clairmont, rejected the one-dimensional technological society that found its solutions solely in "progress."[38] The emphasis on the "spirit of Africville" was the natural progression from rejection of urban renewal as a doctrine of progress to the development of a local Black heritage.

A 1970 interview with Albert Rose illustrates the changes that occurred, during the relocation, in the experts' views of how people relate to their environments, and how social reform is related to progress. Rose admitted that had he been making his report to the city council over again it would probably not have suggested relocation:

> I have seen so much happen in the last seven years, in so many cities in the United States and Canada, that I would be much more careful, much more conscious of, shall we say, rash promises [relocation] ... I think that I would have to say very frankly that I learned a lot about [what] one might say and one might not say in a similar situation.[39]

The experience of Africville shows how a well-intentioned liberal welfare plan can fail when overtaken by its administrative structure. Rose's report in 1964 became the basis of the entire relocation despite the fact that those most affected were never given any opportunity to influence the plan.

It is important to note that the Clairmont Report was both an academic study and a stimulus to action. The method of collective data-gathering was itself an impetus for relocatees to take action based on common grievances. Furthermore, the research assistants involved in the project

encouraged such group action in order "to tap a collective or 'Group' dimension in relocation as well as to study the usual social-psychological considerations."[40] The overarching framework under which this group dimension was studied was what Clairmont termed "political-administrative aspects of relocation." In other words, the group meetings were held to discover what role the community had played in the bureaucratic decision-making process, and to explore the options for group involvement in addressing unsolved grievances. At least one of Clairmont's research assistants was a Black Panther; thus the process encouraged the development of a new group identity based on militant resistance against further administrative processes.

In challenging the administrative systems as a group, Black relocatees realized that the promise of progress they had been given at the beginning of the relocation process had been subverted by the pursuit of bureaucratic and legal definitions of progress that were designed to stamp out segregation and blight and replace it with physical progress. To a rising "Black Power" consciousness and to the relocatees the heritage of "the spirit of Africville" presented a powerful symbol of Black resistance to integration and poverty. The clearance of Africville, on the other hand, further strengthened the image of Blacks as being oppressed not only by overt legal racism but also by administrative racism. Forgotten in favour of resistance against bureaucratic injustice was the struggle against the physical aspects of poverty that existed in Africville.

In Halifax during the 1960s there was clearly a reappraisal of the policies and structures to promote progress that had developed during the 1950s. For several reasons urban renewal was at the forefront of this reexamination. First, the goals and methods of urban renewal were being challenged throughout the Canadian academic community and government agencies. Second, national and international attention was focussed on Africville as a test of Nova Scotia's new progressive racial policy. Third, the interest of the student community of Dalhousie University and the Institute of Public Affairs resulted in both the organization

of some Africville residents and the best report on any
particular relocation program in Canada. Combined with
the decline in the entrepreneurial spirit and small business
oriented philosophy that held sway over the Maritimes of
the 1950s and early 60s, the impetus for urban renewal
programs stalled after Africville. The assessment of past
policy, undertaken by The Institute of Public Affairs and
the press, found that the relocation failed in its goals and in
its intent. According to the report, Africville Blacks were
not happier in their new environment and were not treated
with the care and respect promised by the social workers in
the program.

Still, one should not forget that despite the criticism,
almost all Africville residents gained a higher material
standard of living and were given much greater access to
education and services. These were in fact the goals of the
relocation as outlined by both the Stephenson Report in
1957 and William Oliver of the NSAACP in his interview
with *Saturday Night.* Had the program been completed
when it was planned, the public's perception of the
relocation, and quite likely that of the relocatees, would
have been much different. Instead, the completion of the
relocation in 1967 met with harsh criticism from increasingly
militant Blacks who saw the Africville relocation as a symbol
of the destruction of a Black heritage that stretched back to
the arrival of loyalists in Nova Scotia. This criticism was
supported by academic experts who only a decade earlier
would have termed the program "progressive." This new
support for relocated Blacks against the city was the result
of a new methodological approach not only towards the
problems of society but to the complex relationships that
make up a community. The belief in the administrative
technique of government to promote progress and justice
was replaced by the call for greater participation of individuals
and groups in Nova Scotia race relations.

NOTES

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[1] *Minutes of the Halifax City Council,* Halifax, NS, 14 September 1967, quoted in Donald Clairmont and Dennis Magill, *Africville Relocation Report* (Halifax: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University Press, 1971), 4, and "In Search of a Sense of Community," *Time* 6 April 1970.

[2] The use of Africville as a symbol and its mythologizing as part of the Black Nova Scotian identity has continued to the present in George Elliott Clarke, "Interview With Rocky Jones," in Ian McKay, ed. *Towards a New Maritimes,* (Charlottetown: Ragweed, 1992), 25-30, and Africville Genealogy Society, *The Spirit of Africville* (Halifax: Formac, 1992). A discussion of the dangers of approaching Black Maritime history in this fashion may be found in James St.G. Walker, "Black History in the Maritimes: Major Themes and Teaching Strategies," in Philip Buckner, ed., *Teaching Maritime Studies* (Fredericton: Acadiensis, 1986), 96-107.

[3] Raymond Daniell, "Nova Scotia Hides a Racial Problem," New York Times, 14 June 1964, 64, and, Sylvia Fraser, "Africville," *Toronto Star Weekly* 1 January 1966, 2-7.

[4] Dalhousie University Institute of Public Affairs, *The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia,* (Halifax: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University Press, 1962), 15-16.

[5] Gordon Stephenson, *A Redevelopment Study of Halifax, Nova Scotia,* (Halifax: City of Halifax, 1957), 35-9.

[6] *The Condition of Negroes in Halifax City,* 9-13.

[7] W.A. MacKay, "Equality of Opportunity: Recent Developments in the Field of Human Rights in Nova Scotia," *The University of Toronto Law Journal* 17 (1967): 176-7.

[8] Marcus Van Steen, "Nova Scotia: A Model in Race Relations," *Saturday Night* 6 June 1959, 19-21, 40, 43, and MacKay, "Equality of Opportunity," 186; MacKay also suggests that the laws were progressive compared to similar laws in Canada.

[9] MacKay, "Equality of Opportunity," 179-83.

[10] *The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City,* 21.

[11] David Lewis Stein, "The Counterattack on Diehard Racism," *Maclean's* 20 October 1962, 26-7, 91-3.

[12] The Halifax *Mail-Star* carried regular editorials on the Africville issue that outlined areas of concern, most of which were already under study by the city.

[13]See "Halifax—the 'all dressed up' Port That's Looking for New Places 'to go,'" *Financial Post* 19 February 1949, 15, and "Port of Halifax Plays Role in Growth of Area's Wealth," *Financial Post* 2 January 1960, 17.

[14]Ernest Forbes and D.A. Muise, eds., *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), chaps 11 and 12.

[15]Douglas Fraser, "The Redevelopment of Halifax and Dartmouth," *Atlantic Advocate* January 1964, 17, 19.

[16]Maritime entrepreneurs, such as Frank Sobey and K.C. Irving, often played important roles in municipal committees that established plans for the renewal of downtown Halifax. The relocation of Africville was not directly affected by these committees but they helped to establish the context of Halifax's urban renewal program by promoting renewal as a source of economic recovery and progress.

[17]Advertisement in the Financial Post, 29 June 1963, 52 (paid for by the Maritime Board of Trade). Also see "$250 Million Face-lift Being Planned in Halifax," *Financial Post* 8 July 1961, 32, and "New Face Soon For Halifax" Financial Post, 24 September 1966, 8.

[18]Stephenson, *A Redevelopment Study of Halifax,* 21-4.

[19]Ibid., 27-8.

[20]Ibid., 56.

[21]Kevin J. Cross and Robert W. Collier, *The Urban Renewal Process in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1967), 1-4.

[22]Albert Rose, *Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), 221-2.

[23]Clairmont and Magill, *Africville Relocation Report* (Halifax: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University Press, 1971), 211.

[24]"Local Negroes Need Help" *Mail-Star* 4 October 1962, and "Plan to Secure More Waterfront," *Mail-Star* 16 July 1964.

[25]Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis Magill, *Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1987), 133.

[26]Ibid., 163-4.

[27]Van Steen, "Nova Scotia: Model in Race Relations," 21.

[28]William Oliver, "Cultural Progress of the Negro in Nova Scotia," *Dalhousie Review* (1949): 293-300.

[29]Hans Spiegel, "Human Considerations in Urban Renewal" *The University of Toronto Law Journal* 18 (3) (1968): 308-18.

[30]Albert Rose, "The Individual, the Family, and the Community in the Process of Urban Renewal," Ibid., 319-30.

[31]"Nova Scotia Hides a Racial Problem," *New York Times* 14 June 1964, 64; Susan Dexter, "The Black Ghetto that Fears Integration" *Maclean's* 24 July 1965, 16, 36-7; Sylvia Fraser, "Africville," *Star*

Weekly 1 January 1966, 1-7; Nancy Lubka, "Ferment in Nova Scotia," *Queen's Quarterly* (1969): 213-28.

[32]Clarke, "An Interview with Rocky Jones," 25-7.

[33]"For Negroes in Halifax, Black Power v. Ping Pong" *Maclean's* November 1967, 3.

[34]Clairmont and Magill, *Africville Relocation Report*, 32-3.

[35]Ibid. 76-7.

[36]Ibid., 214.

[37]Dexter, "The Black Ghetto that Fears Integration," 16-17, 36.

[38]Cyril Levitt, *Children of Privilege* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 140-6.

[39]Clairmont, *Africville Relocation Report*, 225.

[40]Ibid., 33.