Introduction

From 1954 to 1968, the residents of Baltimore experienced a dramatic transformation with major changes to local, state and national policies on Civil Rights. Between 1950 and 1953, Civil Rights activists won a series of small but promising victories: the integration of trains and boats by the state legislature and the end of segregated seating at Ford's Theatre and a few downtown lunch counters. Even greater dramatic changes followed the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*.[1] The decision, argued before the court by Thurgood Marshall, led the city to end the legal separation of Baltimore's public schools between white and colored. The decision also empowered local activists, buoyed by rising expectations after World War II, to expand their fight for integrated public accommodations, open housing, and political power.

In the 1950s and 1960s, activists succeeded in pushing Civil Rights to the forefront of public discussion on civic issues. In 1955, the *Baltimore Sun* started to turn away from a legacy of racist reporting to publish "The City We Live In": a series of articles highlighting the injustice facing black Baltimoreans. As Governor (1951–1959) and Mayor (1943–1947 and 1963–1967), Theodore McKeldin reflected the broader response by liberal elected officials and residents who met the persistent demands of the Civil Rights movement with incremental change; ending segregation policies at state parks in 1953; at public pools and beaches in 1955; and supporting the Baltimore City Equal Employment Ordinance in 1956.

Just as the 1960 Greensboro sit-ins demonstrate the changing nature of the Civil Rights movement at the national level, the expanding scope of the fight for Civil Rights is illustrated in Baltimore by earlier efforts to desegregate downtown lunch counters and department stores.[2] Beginning in 1953 and continuing in 1954 and 1955, white and black activists with the Baltimore chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) began to hold sit-in protests at "five-and-dime" lunch counters on Lexington Street. In 1960, activists pushed for desegregation at larger downtown department stores and restaurants on Howard Street including Hutzler's, Stewart's, and Hoschild-Kohn's. Students from Morgan State College and other area schools (organized as the Civic Interest Group) played an essential part in 1955 and in 1960—an indicator of the growing importance of the student movement.[3]

The gathering momentum and urgency of the Civil Rights movement in Baltimore and around the country helped secure federal policy changes with the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and the Civil Rights Act of 1960. The 1957 legislation, signed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, was the first civil rights bill since Reconstruction, created the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The Commission—though initially limited to fact-finding—played a key role in documenting injustice. Congress granted the Commission expanded authority under the 1964 Civil Rights legislation. African American women, who experienced the double burden of both racial and gender discrimination (what activists and scholar Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw termed intersectionality), could see progress with the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and new protections against gender discrimination included with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Baltimore's proximity to Washington, D.C. often tied local activist efforts to a broader federal and national agenda. In 1961, after embarrassing incidents of discrimination against African diplomats at restaurants along U.S. Route 40 in Maryland and Delaware, CORE activists saw an opportunity to push for broader change. CORE recruited volunteers from Baltimore's Civic Interest Group (CIG) and several other organizations for the "Route 40 Project" to challenge the segregated facilities in a massive Freedom Ride on November 11. Just days before the ride began, however, forty-seven restaurants along Route 40 agreed to desegregate thanks to the activists and pressure from the Kennedy administration. CORE called off the ride but sent the volunteers gathering at Howard University to Baltimore instead where they picketed to protest the city's segregated restraurants.[4]

The national significance of Baltimore's movement is evident again in 1963, when black church leaders, business owners, and Civil Rights activists worked to recruit and transport thousands of Baltimore residents to Washington, D.C. for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. In 1966, CORE's announcement of the "Baltimore Target City Project" attracted national media attention. Although the project failed to deliver on CORE's ambitious announcement, the nation's focus on inequality in Baltimore pushed McKeldin to establish the Mayor's Task Force for Civil Rights (also known as the Baltimore Community Relations Commission) focused on taking action on housing, public accommodations, employment, health and welfare, police-community relations, and education.[5]

In parallel to these efforts to build black power at the national level, other residents focused on building political power for African Americans at the local level. The Colored Women's Democratic Club organized by Victorine Q. Adams in 1946 and regular voter registration campaigns by the NAACP in the 1940s, led directly to the election of Harry A. Cole to the Maryland State Senate in 1954 and Verda Welcome in 1962. Cole was first African American ever elected to the Maryland Senate and Welcome was the first black woman to be elected to any state senate in the country—key victories for African Americans seeking change through representation in local and state government. However, these victories also reflected a city where African Americans made up a growing share of the electorate as white residents fled to the suburbs.

Baltimore City Council, January 21, 1957. Courtesy Enoch Pratt Free Library, Digital Maryland, mdaa306

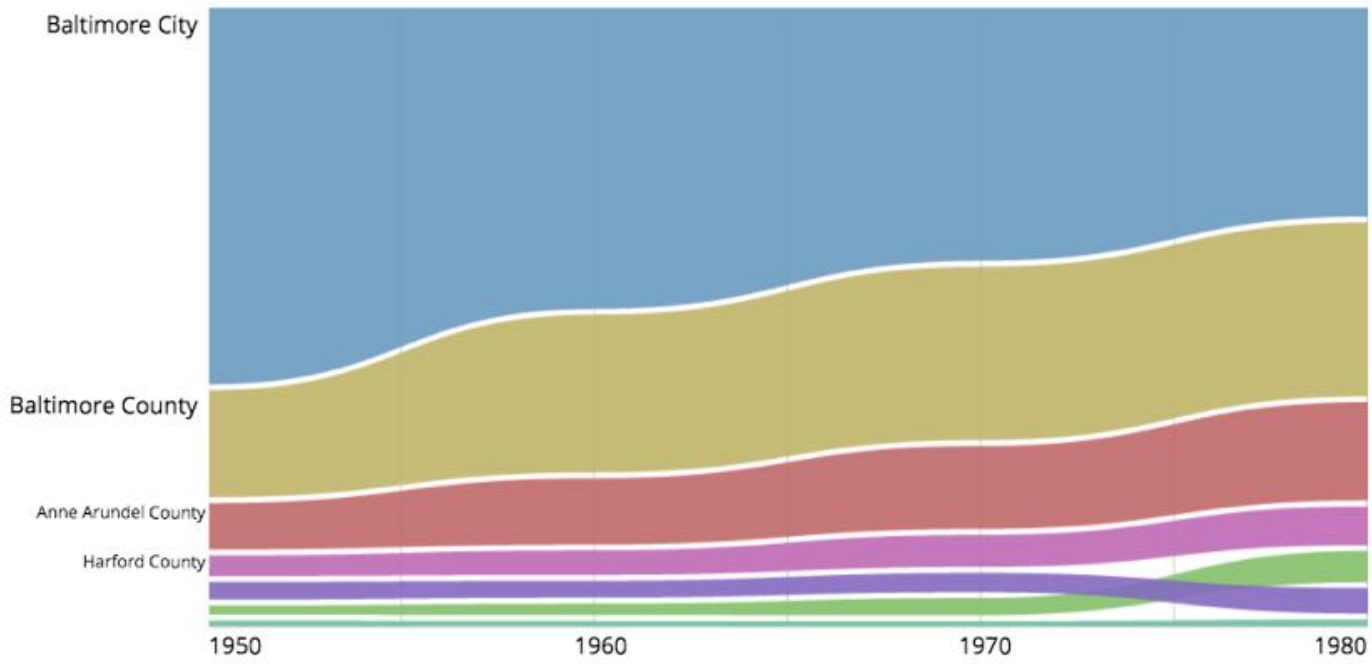
In 1954, many local leaders and activists celebrated the Baltimore school board, chaired Walter Sondheim, for their quick response to *Brown*. The city continued the long-standing policy of "open-enrollement" (any student could attend any school) but dropped the requirement that black students attend segregated "colored schools". Although it won praise at the time, historian Howard Baum notes the critical flaw in the plan: "Explicitly, [the school board] would not discriminate against black children; implicitly, neither would it act on their behalf."[6] For white families, the policy likely "added to racial anxiety", as Baum notes:

> Parents could not know what a school's makeup would be when classes started.... This uncertainty not only added to anxiety but also made leaving city public schools a choice with a more predictable outcome."[7]

By 1960, a majority of students in Baltimore's school district were black and many students still attended segregated schools. One-third of black students now attended formerly white schools. And although Baltimore's approach to school desegregation avoided the racist reaction of "massive resistance", in 1958, the Maryland State Commission on Interracial Problems observed that the problem "is not with violence but with the frigid withdrawal" of white residents from their black neighbors.[8]

While some white Baltimoreans sought to promote integrated neighborhoods through groups like Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc. (founded in 1959 by James Rouse, Ellsworth Rosen, and Sidney Hollander, Jr.), many more relocated to the still-segregated white communities in the suburbs. Between 1950 and 1960, the population of Baltimore County grew by over 80% (from 270,273 to 492,428). In the same ten year period, Baltimore City lost population (dropping from 949,708 to 939,024) while the proportion of African American residents grew (23.70% to 34.67%). Between 1960 and 1970, the population of Baltimore County continue to grow (26.12% to 621,077). Between 1950 and 1970, the population of Anne Arunel County, the population grew by more than 250% (117,392 in 1950 to 206,634 in 1960 to 297,539 in 1970).

Table: Normalize bump chart illustrating the changing proportion of the Baltimore MSA population by county.



Bump chart illustrating the changing proportion of the Baltimore MSA population by county.

The movement of white Baltimoreans to the suburbs relied on federally-subsidized home mortgages (that African Americans could not get) and new highways for cars (that a smaller number of African Americans could afford to purchase). City leaders largely supported the transformation of the roads to accomodate suburban growth through the development of the Jones Falls Expressway (I–83), the planning of the Franklin-Mulberry Expressway, and the Baltimore Beltway (I–695) which opened in stages between 1955 and 1962.

Scholar Harold McDougall described how the federal and local policies supported the development of segregated suburbs in Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties, writing:

> Exclusionary zoning, though couched in terms of income rather than race, had the practical effect of reinforcing existing divisions along racial lines simply because if you were blacks could afford the suburban housing made more expensive by such regulations.[9]

Racialized suburban growth, or "white flight", functioned as an implicit strategy of white resistance to integration. White resistance also included more explicit and, at times, violent responses by white people who sought to maintain the status quo and supported elected officials who ran on their opposition to the Civil Rights movement. White Baltimoreans in the city and suburbs voted in support of George C. Wallace (the segregationist Democratic Governor of Alabama) in the 1964 Democratic primary and for Barry Goldwater (a Republican Senator and opponent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) in that year's general election. Hundreds of white residents attended segregationist rallies organized by the National States' Rights Party in Patterson Park or Riverside Park in 1966.

In 1966, perennial candidate George P. Mahoney won an upset victory in the Democratic primary for Governor (receiving around 30% of the vote). In the general election, Mahoney based his campaign on his opposition to open housing with the slogan "Your home is your castle; protect it."[10] The controversy surrounding Mahoney's racist campaign led a third independent candidate to enter the race which ended with the election of Spiro Agnew. Mahoney may have lost the election but his significant support in the Baltimore region illustrates the scale of white opposition to desegregation in this period.

Table: Baltimore regional vote totals from 1966 general election for Governor of Maryland. Data (available here) courtesy the Maryland State Archives.

County	Mahoney (D)	Agnew (R)	Pressman (I)	Percent of total (Mahoney)
Anne Arundel County	29,444	23,610	7,063	48.98%
Baltimore City	90,352	114,262	37,148	37.37%
Baltimore County	81,570	68,596	23079	47.08%
Carroll County	61,81	6,908	1,615	42.04%
Harford County	89,61	10,038	2,319	42.03%
Howard County	6,042	5,969	1,322	45.32%

The election year marked twelve years after the *Brown* decision and twenty-four years after the consequential March on Annapolis. Despite decades of unprecedented activism that overturned most of Maryland's Jim and Jane Crow policies, African Americans in Baltimore continued to struggle against white resistance and racist policies, against employment discrimination, segregated and inadequate housing, unequal educational opportunities, and racist policing. The contradiction between the success of the Civil Rights movement in Baltimore and Maryland with the continued challenges facing Baltimore's black residents again drew the attention of national activists such as Martin Luther King and CORE with their designation of Baltimore as a "Target City" that summer.

Mayor Theodore McKeldin reflected on the city's still limited progress Baltimore in June 1966:

> In response to those who might say that we have made significant progress in the field of civil rights, I could say that I agree; but, I would also have to say that there are problems – important problems – which have thus far not been resolved; and I believe that this City can no longer delay meeting its responsibilities, both in the public and private sectors of community life. The fact is that while we have moved, we have not moved toward the solution of these problems with the speed and vigor with which we are capable. We have not really attempted, as a community, to understand the plight, the unrest, and the feelings of those who have been denied. We have not attempted to understand why, even after significant progress, our negro brethren still insist that all is not right nor community – that there is much to be done.[11]

Many Baltimoreans, black and white, supported McKeldin's commitment to continued progress on Civil Rights. In 1967, Mayoral candidate and City Council President Thomas D'Alesandro III defended busing as a strategy to relieve overcrowded schools. At his inauguration in December, D'Alesandro called "the city of hope" and. promised "to root out every cause or vestige of discrimination."[12] Unfortunately, as the next period of this study notes, D'Alesandro could not overcome these challenges in the ways he had hoped—stymied by the unrest following the assasination of Martin Luther King in 1968 among other factors.

In the following sections, this study continues to describe the buildings and landscapes associated with the movement and highlight three key topics that shaped Baltimore's Civil Rights movement in this period:

- The desegregation of public schools and public accommodations
- The changing mix of elected officials, public agencies, and activist organizations that shaped the Civil Rights movement
- The transformation of housing and neighborhoods in the Baltimore region through racial transition, highway development, public housing and urban renewal projects

Associated Places

Baltimore's Civil Rights movement was linked to a wide range of buildings, sites, structures, and landscapes during the during the 1950s and 1960s. These places include new buildings erected in the late 1940s and early 1950s, before *Brown* , in an attempt to resist inegration by creating "separate but equal" spaces for African Americans.

One example of a building that was built after *Brown* but reflects this same logic of a "separate but equal" facility is the Melvin Cade National Guard Armory where the state decided to maintain a segregated black National Guard unit and, in 1960, erected a new building for the unit at 2620 Winchester Street. The new building became a civic and social center for African American residents in West Baltimore, hosting dance parties, lectures, and neighborhood meetings throughout the 1960s and 1970s. After the death of Melvin H. Cade, commanding officer of the 229th Battalion of the Maryland National Guard, in 1964, the Guard renamed the building in his honor. Baltimore City listed the Armory as a local landmark in 2009.

After the decision, many places that had been previously segregated for African American residents fell into disuse; among them Pool No. 2 in Druid Hill Park and many former Colored School buildings.

In some locations, the association with the Civil Rights movement is as a site of protest like the Lexington Street "five-and-dimes" or Howard Street Department stores. The importance of these sites comes, in part, from their symbolic importance:

> The downtown department stores, as some of Baltimore's most prominent sites of civic culture and modernity, were a principal target for anti-racist protests by individuals and organizations from the 1930s through the early 1960s.[13]

Other spaces, such as Patterson Park and Riverside Park, have associations with white resistance to the Civil Rights movement as the site of rallies in support of segregationist policies in 1966. In some cases, the connection is less direct but still present such as the network of midcentury developed alongside the "white

flight" of this period or urban renewal projects such as State Center.

Finally, spaces for organizing, community building, and mutual support continued to be an important resource for both white and black activists. One example is Levering Hall at the Homewood Campus of Johns Hopkins University. In 1953, Chester Wickwire accepted a position as the executive secretary of the campus YMCA and the chaplain for the university. At Levering Hall, Wickwire provided "a haven for liberals on an otherwise conservative campus" and ran "ran various student life programs such as concerts, dances, and movie screenings while simultaneously organizing political discussions about civil rights, pacifism, the Cold War, and Vietnam." Wickwire himself was an active participant in the Civil Rights movement and helped support student activists.

Another example is the Arena Playhouse at 801 McCulloh Street occupied by the Arena Players, an African American theatre troupe, since 1962. Established in 1953 as an outgrowth of the "The Negro Little Theater", the Arena Players spent a decade performing at varied locations including Coppin State University, the Druid Hill YMCA, the Great Hall Theater of St. Mary's Church in Walbrook, and the Carl J. Murphy Auditorium at Morgan State University. After securing a long-term performance space, the Arena Players acquired the building in 1969 and through the 1970s continued to serve "as one of the only venues dedicated to showcasing the works of black playwrights and performers."[14]

Desegregation for education and public accommodations after *Brown*

Activism around the desegregation of Baltimore's public schools and public accomodations, such as parks, pools, and public-serving businesses, clearly predate the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Between 1938 and 1940, the Baltimore Urban League and NAACP joined in private negotiations with downtown department store owners and seeking to end their discriminatory policies against African American shoppers.[15] Civil Rights leaders met again with a representative of the Retail Merchants Association in February 1943.[16] In 1945, the *Afro-American* newspaper made a public push for change by naming specific downtown stores as "Orchids" or "Onions" depending on their treatment of African American shoppers.[17] The 1930s and 1940s also saw legal and activist efforts to desegregation Baltimore's public parks and recreational facilities.

In the late 1940s, Carl Murphy and Juanita Jackson Mitchell began pushing to desegregate Baltimore public schools and, in 1952, the NAACP and Thurgood Marshall successfully forced the city permit a small group of African American students to enroll at the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute.[18]

However, the *Brown* decision pushed these issues to the forefront of the local debate and encouraged the years of activism that followed. The link between the Brown decision and the integration of public facilities stands out clearly in the opinion by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, *Mayor and City Council of Baltimore v. Dawson* (1955):

> it is obvious that racial segregation in recreational activities can no longer be sustained as a proper exercise of the police power of the State; for if that power cannot be invoked to sustain racial segregation in the schools, where attendance is compulsory...it cannot be sustained with respect to

public beach and bathhouse facilities, the use of which is entirely optional.[19]

For transportation, as well, the *Brown* decision was consequential. On November 7, 1955, the Interstate Commerce Commission similarly responded on the *Brown* decsion with the announcement that the "separate but equal doctrine was dead with respect to interstate transportation."[20] The 1956 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in Browder v. Gayle upheld a lower court's decision to prohibit segregation on *intrastate* as well as interstate transportation under the Fourteenth Amendment.[21]

School desegregation

White supremacist leader Bryant Bowles at rally against school desegregation in Baltimore, 1954 October 5. Courtesy Washington Area Spark/Flickr

As noted in the introduction, unlike many other Southern cities and other jurisdictions in Maryland, the Baltimore City School Board responded quickly to the 1954 Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education by announcing a plan to end legal segregation. In contrast to the "massive resistance" seen

elsewhere, representatives of nineteen "civic, religious, educational and labor groups" came together to form the Coordinating Council for Civic Unity and support the "peaceful opening of schools".

But within a few years, after 1954, there were two trends in enrollment:

- a slow growing but moderate racial integration in the schools
- a transition from a majority white to a majority black school district[22]

By 1963, "28 Parents", a group of both white and black parents presented a report to the school board describing how students continued to experience *de facto* segregation. The activists identified three contributing factors:

- The construction of new schools in racially segregated neighborhoods; making a segregated student population more likely
- The preference for enrolling neighborhood children when schools were "overcrowded"; again reinforcing existing patterns of segregation
- Administrative actions to discourage integration. Baum notes, "Some white principals encouraged white parents to transfer their children out when black enrollment grew. Some principals reject black transfer applications to predominantly white schools."

Even within integrated schools, "ability tracking" separately black and white students within the building. The 28 Parents report highlighted a disturbing reality for CIvil Rights activists:

> After a decade of legal segregation, most children attended class with majorities of their own race... By the time the board ended practices that limited choices, the desegregation policy had a ten-year history associated in the public mind with continuing segregation."[23]

Finally, the 1964 Civil Rights Act created a federal interest in desegregating schools encouraging the city to take further action. In 1966, Mayor McKeldin's Task Force for Equal Rights began developing a plan for further action on school desegregation. His successor, Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro III, named Baltimore "Education City, USA" to highlight his commitment to supporting integrated and desirable schools.

Public accommodations

The fight over public accomodations in Baltimore paralleled efforts in other segegated cities including transportation facilities (passenger railroad and ferries); public parks and recreational facilities (such as pools and recreation centers); and private businesses that were still open to the public (department stores, restaurants, hotels, etc.).

The discrimination African Americans faced in public accommodations was not just one of simple exclusion. Historian Paul A. Kramer notes that the discriminatory "racial practices" at Baltimore's downtown department stores included three main aspects:

1. Discrimination in employment (only hired as maitenance or stockroom workers, elevator

operators, porters, and restroom attendants; not higher-paying, higher-status jobs)
2. Refusal to serve African American customers at lunch counters
3. Policies prohibiting African American customers from trying on or returning clothing

The prohibition on returns from African American customers (known as the "final sale" policy) reveals one of the fundamental motivation behind racial segregation: "anxieties and fears about physical contact between whites and blacks". Kramer continues:

> For most whites, blacks represented sources of unspecified physical and moral pollution ... Black and white boadies might "touch" in the exchange of forks and plates at store lunch-counters. Even more threatening to whites was the possibility that the clothes they tried on or purchased might bear an invisible taint of black physical contact.[24]

Notably, in early 1943, when the Baltimore NAACP sought to overturn the state's Jim Crow laws, the repeal bill they supported was sent to state legislature *Hygine Committee* rather than *Judiciary Committee* for consideration.[25]

One early challenge to these segregationist policies came in 1953 with an interracial group of CORE activists using sit-ins to protest segregated lunch counters (a strategy used previously in New York City in 1939 and by other CORE activists in Chicago in 1942). The success of their efforts was noted in the regular column of Mrs. B.M. Phillips ("If You Ask Me") in the Afro-American Newspaper on November 7, 1953:

> Thanks to the Committee On Racial Equality, (CORE), the Urban league, and the Americans for Democratic Action, (ADA), more stores in the 200 block W. Lexington st. are realizing there is no color line in the dollars you spend. Lunch counters and restaurants in the Kresge and Woolworth Five and Ten have been serving all customers for several weeks. McCrory's has just reversed its policy and will serve all comers [...] Schulte United in the 200 block Lexington is still acting silly.[26]

The success, however, was limited. One 1955 survey found that 91% of 191 randomly-selected Baltimore businesses reported either the "exclusion" or "segregation" of blacks.[27] The annual report of the Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations also provided updates on discriminatory policies listing "places of public accommodations [that] are open to all" in March 1958.

As Phillips alludes in her column, the issue of public accomodation was often presented in terms of consumer politics. This made the issue personal for middle-class black activists like Mrs. Madeline W. Murphy who wrote to the Vice President of Hoschild Kohn in 1956 to say "not only [do I] feel equal to the average Hochschild Kohn's consumers but I feel superior to them." Such emphasis on racial equality as individual access made the desegregation of public accommodations "less of a challenge to traditional notions of racial equality" (in contrast to education, employment, and voting rights) and helped secure the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.[28]

CORE's downtown campaign faded after the successful desegregation of the Read's Drug Store lunch counter in January 1955. A new movement of students took up the cause on March 26, 1960 when black student activists from Morgan State University attempted to purchase food at department store restaurants at the Northwood Shopping Center and downtown. The student's tried to purchase lunch at four downtown department stores. The succeeded at Hochschild Kohn; Sewart's shut their food counters to all customers, white and black; Hutzler's refused to serve a group of twenty students who waited for three hours before leaving.

The sit-ins continued through April 17, 1960, Easter Sunday when the *Sun* reported that Albert D. Hutzler met with Furman Templeton from the Urgan League, along with activists David Glenn and Robert B. Watts. After the meeting, Hutzler announced: "We have lifted restrictions. Negroes will be served in our restaurants." Hecht-May and other downtown stores followed Hoschild Kohn and Hutzler's with the change.

A large collection of letters sent to Hoschild Kohn after their policy change in late March 1960 reflect attitudes to desegration in the period. Interestingly, there are ten times the number of letters in support of integration but that is likely because activists saw the urgency of continuing the policy and saw integration as "frighteningly reversible." Some opponents of desegregation described a rationale of "consumer choice", as one woman wrote:

> Do you realize that by so doing [integrating], you are taking from the White Race any choice they had of segregation or integration when dining outside of their homes?[29]

Others threatened to stay away from the downtown store, now that the policy of segregation had been abandoned. Paul Kramer notes:

> more than one of the racist critics wrote as self-conscious suburbanites, warning the downtown that integration would further provoke the flight of white residences and businesses. In the process, they revealed the extent to which the suburbs were imagined as racial islands still free of black "invasion": downtown segregation was the only remaining draw that could pull whites in from their comfortable, newly-designed racial enclaves.[30]

Notably, department stores had their own role in the suburban exodus with Hutzler's stores in Towson (1952), Eastpoint (1956), Westview (1958); and Hoschild Kohn's in Edmondson Village (1947). Civil Rights supporters also saw the importance of suburbanization in shaping the debate over public accomodation. In August 1957, a column in the *Afro* noted:

> The big downtown stores and business have not welcomed colored people in the past... Their white only customers have moved to the suburbs and the colored customers they spurned are moving out too. So the heart of the city is no longer Lexington and Howard Sts.[31]

Around the United States, the push for public accomodations continued in the 1950s, as a 2004 report from the National Historic Landmarks program describes:

> During the 1950s, a number of northern and western states adopted legislation prohibiting discrimination in public accommodations. Joining the eighteen states with such laws already on the books were Oregon (1953), Montana (1955), New Mexico (1955), Vermont (1957), Maine (1957), Idaho (1959), and Alaska (1959). In 1961, New Hampshire, North Dakota, and Wyoming brought the total number of states with anti-segregations statutes up to twenty-eight. In addition, several cities in states that did not have public accommodations laws passed their own versions, including Wilmington, Delaware; Baltimore, Maryland; St. Louis and Kansas City, Missouri; and El Paso, Texas.[32]

In Baltimore, the City Council passed legislation ending segregated public accommodations in 1962.[33] Maryland followed with a state law in January 1963.[34] In late February 1964, the NAACP supported the Baltimore City Public Accommodations and Fair Employment Practice Ordinances which "guaranteed an end to lawful discrimination in 'employment practices, educational institutions, places of public accommodation, resort or amusement, and health and welfare agencies.'"[35]

Changes for elected officials and activists

The fast pace of change in this period came, in part, from major changes within the Civil Rights movement itself. Notable aspects of these changes include:

- The growth of an expanded interracial student movement
- The rise of Black Power organizations
- The growth of the women's movement

On July 11, 1966, the Civic Interest Group (CIG) held a press conference at St. Peter Claver's Catholic Church to publicly endorse black power and announce that "it would no longer avoid violence in cases of 'self-defense'." This shift by the participants in the Civil Rights student movement to emphasize By the mid 1960s, white participants in the student movement began to shift to focus on anti-Vietnam War activism.

The Black Power movement emerged during this period and helped to bring new national attention to Civil Rights issues in Baltimore. This change took place at both the national and local level, exemplified by the founding of the Black Panther Party and the advocacy efforts of CORE in the late 1960s.

From July 1 to July 4 1964, the Congress of Racial Equality held their national convention in Baltimore. CORE focused national attention on Baltimore again in 1966 when they announced Baltimore as the organization's first "Target City." Walter Lively, a CORE organizer, continued to work as an advocate for community development and Civil Rights organizing in Baltimore through U-JOIN and other organizations through the 1980s.

Housing

The key issues around housing in this period were the racial transition of Baltimore neighborhoods from segregated white to black and clearance of black neighborhoods through urban renewal, transportation projects, and other related land use projects.

Neighborhood racial transition after 1954

The issue of racial transition reached Edmondson Village around 1955, when the first black residents moved west of the Gwynns Falls to live in the southeast corner of the region, around the western end of the Baltimore Street Bridge. One white resident remarked on the experience to historian Ed Orser:

> When the [black] people started moving into the neighborhood, they did come in, literally block by block. I can recall when they came across the... bridge, everybody was very upset; they said, 'Oh my God, they're over the bridge now; our street will be next.'[36]

In July 1958, Allendale-Lyndhurst improvement Association president L.E. Larsen gave the association's support to a plan sponsored by the Baltimore Urban League, the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, and the Citizens Planning and Housing Association to "combat the conversion of Baltimore areas from all-white to all-Negro occupancy." Larsen observed that Edmondson Village:

> already faced with pressure from block-busting realtor tactics and population shifts... the exodus from the city of the stable core of responsible citizens will likely be accelerated and the inevitable consequences will be a set-back to many of the long-range plans now being developed and implemented.[37]

1955: African American residents move west of the Gwynns Falls

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In April 1958, the improvement group organized their annual meeting at School No. 88 located at Wildwood Parkway and Gelston Drive, hosting Chief Judge Delany Foster of the Orphans Court of Baltimore as the guest speaker. In July 1958, Association president L.E. Larsen gave the association's support to a plan sponsored by the Baltimore Urban League, the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, and the Citizens Planning and Housing Association to "combat the conversion of Baltimore areas from all-white to all-Negro occupancy." Larsen observed that Edmondson Village:

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An African American resident in this period later shared her experience in an oral history with Dr. Ed Orser, remarking:

> When we first moved to the neighborhood, it was more white – we were just about the second black family on this block... We could see the changes, because when we moved, there were so many sale signs all around, and it did make a difference in the neighborhood, because there was a change, and you had to get yourself adjusted to the people who were moving in, and you couldn't really know the ones who were moving out, because they were leaving so fast, so we were really going through a transitional stage. People were moving in and out overnight; you didn't really know who your neighbors were. It was a difficult period, because when we moved, we thought maybe the neighborhood would be stabilized; it just wasn't.[40]

By 1960, however, the area south of Edmondson Village had changed from more than 99% white in 1950 to 62% black in 1960 and, a decade later, 92% black in 1970. Edmondson Village itself remained 99% white in 1960 but had changed to 97% black by 1970.[41]

Although Baltimore did not see widespread physical violence on a scale comparable to white antagonists in Detroit or Chicago, the State Commission on Interracial Problems observed in 1958, "The problem it said, is not with violence 'but with the frigid withdrawal' of whites from the Negroes." During the late 1950s, the State Commission and others finally engaged with the ongoing process of racial transition with the beginning of advocacy and organizing efforts to promote "neighborhood stabilization."

Urban renewal, transportation, and land use

In 1956, the state selected the Mount Royal area as an urban renewal site for the development of the State Center office complex.

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1. Baum, *Brown in Baltimore*. ↩
2. See **???** on how the growing connection between American citizen and consumer helped to encourage the civil rights movement's push for desegregation of public accomodations; See also **???** ↩
3. Kramer, "White Sales"; Meier, "The Successful Sit-Ins in a Border City"; Palumbos, "Student Involvement in the Baltimore Civil Rights Movement, 1953–1963." ↩
4. Banks, "CORE's Route 40 Project"; Erdman, "'Eyes of the World'." ↩
5. McKeldin, "State of Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin." ↩
6. Baum, "How the 1968 Riots Stopped School Desegregation in Baltimore," 155. ↩
7. Ibid., 172. ↩
8. Orser, *Blockbusting in Baltimore*, 133–36. ↩
9. Mcdougall, *Black Baltimore*, 49. ↩
10. Hardesty, "'A Veil of Voodoo'"; Hardesty, "'[A] Veil of Voodoo'." ↩
11. McKeldin, "State of Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin." ↩
12. Baum, "How the 1968 Riots Stopped School Desegregation in Baltimore," 159. ↩
13. Kramer, "White Sales." ↩
14. Arena Players, Incorporated, "History | Arena Players, Inc." ↩
15. Kramer, "White Sales," 43. ↩
16. Ibid., 48. ↩
17. Farrar, *The Baltimore Afro-American, 1892–1950*. ↩

18. Baum, “How the 1968 Riots Stopped School Desegregation in Baltimore,” 155; Templeton, “The Admission of Negro Boys in the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute ’A’ Course”; Thomsen, “The Integration of Baltimore’s Polytechnic Institute.” ↩
19. Schuster, “The City in a Swing Set,” 114. ↩
20. Salvatore et al., “Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations,” 44. ↩
21. Ibid., 46. ↩
22. Baum, “How the 1968 Riots Stopped School Desegregation in Baltimore,” 156. ↩
23. Ibid., 158. ↩
24. Kramer, “White Sales,” 41. ↩
25. Ibid., 42. ↩
26. Phillips, “If You Ask Me,” November 1953. ↩
27. Kramer, “White Sales,” 38. ↩
28. Salvatore et al., “Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations,” 82. ↩
29. Kramer, “White Sales,” 54. ↩
30. Ibid., 55. ↩
31. Phillips, “If You Ask Me,” 1957. ↩
32. Salvatore et al., “Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations,” 50. ↩
33. Thompson, “The Civil Rights Vanguard,” 373. ↩
34. Salvatore et al., “Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations,” 64. ↩
35. Shoemaker, ““We Shall Overcome Someday,” 265. ↩
36. Orser, *Blockbusting in Baltimore*. ↩
37. **???** ↩
38. Orser, *Blockbusting in Baltimore*. ↩
39. **???** ↩
40. Orser, *Blockbusting in Baltimore*, 151. ↩
41. Ibid. ↩