Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage: Multiple Property Documentation Form (Draft)

Project Website

https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/

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Overview

This study covers over 140 years of Baltimore history beginning in 1831 and ending in 1976. In 1830, Baltimore was the second largest city in the country. Baltimore City and County was home to 28,541 free and enslaved people of color. From 1831 through 1976, countless African Americans in Baltimore organized, advocated, and protested to protect and expand their Civil Rights. Individual activists living and working in Baltimore, among them teachers, doctors, lawyers and laborers, helped to lead and support these efforts. Working with neighbors, activists built citywide, statewide and national organizations to effect change for African American people in Baltimore.

In this study, we describe how buildings, parks, monuments, and neighborhoods helped to shape and structure this long Civil Rights movement and, in turn, how racism and Civil Rights activism shaped the design and development of Baltimore's architecture and cultural landscapes.

Organization

How is the study divided into different sections?

The organization of this study follows a similar periodization to the National Historic Landmark (NHL) program study *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (2002, rev. 2009). Rather than begin with the American Revolution and the War of 1812, we instead started the study with Nat Turner's Rebellion in Virginia—an event that had major consequences for free and enslaved black people living in Baltimore and Maryland. We also made changes to the periodization in the 20th century to support a closer look at black resistance to segregation and discrimination before World War II. This created six sections that each begin with major events that shaped the local and national context for African American Civil Rights:

1. Abolition and Emancipation: 1831 – 1870
2. Rights without Reconstruction : 1870 – 1905
3. Segregation and WWI: 1905 – 1929
4. Great Depression and WWII: 1929 – 1954
5. A Changing City: 1954 – 1968
6. After the Riots: 1968 – 1976

What topics does each section of the study cover?

Following the approach suggested by the 2009 white paper *The Components of a Historic Contest* by Barbara Wyatt, each of these section of this study describes:

- how the Civil Rights movement developed and changed with the period;
- why those changes took place;
- what contributions individuals and groups made to those changes;
- and what factors outside of Baltimore contributed to those changes.

What themes does the study cover?

Additional context on specific themes supplements this chronology with more detailed descriptions of key events and patterns. To identify these themes, this study again followed the model of the NHL *Civil Rights Framework* which suggested a list of key themes represented by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968:

- Equal Education
- Public Accommodation
- Voting
- Housing
- Equal Employment
- Criminal Injustice

Our goal with this approach is to connect the significance of associated historic places to the same public policies and social issues that structured the Civil Rights movement itself. This structure also helped us to build on the existing scholarship on Civil Rights history in Baltimore.

What sources did we use for this study?

Secondary Sources

Since we used *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (2002, rev. 2009), to establish the framework for this study, it made sense to use the related studies from the series as key sources:

- Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations (2004, rev. 2009)
- Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation in Public Education in the United States (2000) and supplement (2004)
- Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights (2007, rev. 2009)

The study draws on journal articles from Maryland Historical Magazine, Maryland Law Review, and the Journal of African American History. Other key sources include *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860* (1997), *Borders of Equality* (2013), *The Politics of Public Housing* (2004), and *Baltimore '68: Riots and Rebirth in an American City* (2011).

Primary Sources

In addition to these secondary sources, the study relied on a number of digitized primary sources including:

- The Baltimore Sun (ProQuest Historical Newspaper Database)
- The Afro-American Newspaper (ProQuest Historical Newspaper Database)
- Coleman Directories (Maryland State Archives)

1831-1870

Introduction

In 1831, over seventeen thousand free people of color and over ten thousand enslaved people called Baltimore home. Enslaved and free black workers played a critical role in the city's early growth. They built and repaired ships in Fell's Point, excavated clay for bricks in south Baltimore, and swept streets in the Western Precincts around today's Lexington Market. White artisans excluded free black workers from craft apprenticeships and employers relegated black workers to the most difficult, dangerous, and lowest-paying jobs in the city.[1] Baltimore and Maryland's white elected officials denied free black households many of the basic rights that they claimed for themselves. Free black men and women living in Maryland could not vote. They could not testify in any criminal trial or freedom suit.[2] Since 1826, they had paid taxes but their children could not attend Baltimore's public schools.[3]

Despite these challenges, enslaved people also found advantages in Baltimore, the possibility of a better life, and opportunities for freedom. In 1845, Frederick Douglass recalled the "marked difference" between his experience with slavery in Baltimore and the Eastern Shore, writing:

> "A city slave is almost a freeman, compared with a slave on the plantation. He is much better fed and clothed, and enjoys privileges altogether unknown to the slave on the plantation."[4]

Baltimore offered enslaved men and women the opportunity to earn wages that often went to purchasing their own freedom or the freedom of family members. Historian Seth Rockman explained, "When slaves gained some control over the wages they earned, freedom was typically not far behind."[5]

As the city's black population grew in the early nineteenth century, free and enslaved black people moved farther out from the center of the city into the surrounding neighborhoods. Historian Christopher Phillips described the change between 1810 when "nearly half of the city's free Negroes lived in the central wards" and 1830 when "less than 10 percent resided in that part of the city." Many black residents moved to the city's "Western Precincts", where "developers had responded to the population boom by laying out new streets and erecting cheap tenement housing." While not wholly segregated from the city's white population, most free black residents lived among the "maze of alleyways and court-yards" where "black family dwellings interspersed with those of laboring and poor whites."[6]

The growing black population also supported the growth of new African American institutions, including many of the city's oldest black churches. In 1815, Bethel Church purchased a property on Saratoga Street near Gay Street from John Carman, a white abolitionist.[7] Sharp Street Church, established in 1787, occupied a building near Pratt Street (where the Baltimore Convention Center is located today).[8] Before the U.S. Civil War, the city's black churches served not only a religious purpose but also provided a offered mutual support, a space for education, and a platform for political action within Baltimore's free and enslaved black communities.

The growth of Maryland and Baltimore's free black population came, in part, through changing agricultural practices made it more difficult to turn forced black labor into profit. Slaveholders manumitted enslaved people by the thousands.[9] Many of these free people came to Baltimore where they could find work, educational opportunities, and a community supported by black churches and social organizations.[10]

As free black people (and, to a lesser extent, enslaved people) gained some measures of self-determination in Baltimore in the years before the Civil War, white Maryland slaveholders and their supporters reacted to the growing free black population in the state by subjecting free and enslaved black workers to violent attacks and new forms of oppression. New state laws threatened free black men, women, and children with re-enslavement.

Local abolitionists and activists like William Watkins (c. 1803 – c. 1858) and George Alexander Hackett, among many others, worked to protect the free black community from the state's racist actions. Their collective efforts helped to preserve what opportunities free black people in Baltimore had already secured but repressive policies led many black Baltimoreans to leave the state. As a result, Baltimore saw almost no growth in the black population in the 1850s. Phillips described the period as Baltimore's transition from "a place of refuge to one of repression".[11]

But circumstances soon changed again for free black Baltimoreans. In a single decade, the city saw tremendous changes. The Civil War started in April 1861; free and enslaved black Marylanders enlisted in the U.S. Colored Troops beginning in 1863; Maryland emancipated all enslaved people under a new state constitution in November 1864; the U.S. Supreme Court issued the decision *In Re Turner* overturning Maryland's regressive "apprenticeship" law in 1867; and the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the United

States Constitution in 1870 granted black men the right to vote. These changes, brought about by both local activism and new federal support, led to an unprecedented expansion of formal civil rights and opportunities for black people in Baltimore. Outside of of the city, however, white Marylanders took violent racist actions against the state's newly emancipated free black population that forced many people to become refugees. Thousands of black Marylanders moved from rural counties to Baltimore or Washington, D.C. for protection from violence, for access to education and social services, and for for better job opportunities.[12]

With a tremendous period of growth, by 1870, 330,741 African Americans lived in Baltimore City and County.[13] Black men could vote and black children could attend segregated public schools. Aspiring black teachers could enroll for training at the Baltimore Normal School, established on Courtland Street near Saratoga Street in 1865, or at the Centenary Biblical Institute, established at Sharp Street Church in 1867).[14]

Throughout this period, activism in Baltimore did not stay isolated in the city. Instead, early activists and organizers worked in partnership with networks of individuals and organizations across the state and nation—abolitionist organizations, black churches, fraternal groups, and the Convention Movements that brought African Americans together around issues of justice and equality. Baltimore activists hosted regional and national meetings including the first regional conference for black Methodists at Sharp Street Church (1846), the Maryland State Convention of Free Colored People (1852), the State Colored Convention of Maryland (1862), and the Colored Men's Border State Convention (1868). The Colored Conventions Project summarizes the importance of black activism in this period, writing:

> The convention movement took place during critical decades which witnessed devastating race riots and the growing popularity of the American Colonization Society; the Fugitive Slave Law and the proliferation of derogatory representations of Blacks; the Civil War and Reconstruction; and the rise of repeated Black disenfranchisement in legal, labor and educational spheres in the late nineteenth century. Speakers at conventions responded to these issues by calling for community-based action that gathered funds, established schools and literary societies, and urged the necessity of hard work in what would become a decades-long campaign for civil and human rights.[15]

For Baltimore, the key factors in these changes include:

- Baltimore's growing free black population and shrinking enslaved population before the Civil War and the renewed growth in the city's black population following the war.
- The organization of black churches and fraternal organizations and their efforts to secure independence from affiliated white organizations in their leadership and decision-making.
- The federal support for black people in Baltimore, particularly the Union Army, during and after the Civil War.

The Presentation, of a gold snuff box to the Rev. R.T. Breckenridge, Bethel AME Church, 1845. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

In the next section, this context elaborates on three themes for understanding civil rights advocacy in Baltimore during this period. Individuals and groups worked together to:

- Promote the abolition of enslaved black people
- Protect the rights of free black people
- Establish schools for black people

Associated Places

Within Baltimore City, very few of the structures associated with this period of community building, self-help, and nascent civil rights activism survived. Some examples of notable losses include the blocks around Courtland and Hamilton Streets that once housed some of Baltimore's most prominent black families, along with Union Baptist Church, Bethel A.M.E. Church, and the Baltimore Normal School. Nearly all of these buildings fell to demolition in the early twentieth century.[16] In south and southwest Baltimore, many buildings used by Baltimore's early black activists were torn down for the redevelopment of the University of Maryland Urban Renewal Area and the Camden Yards Industrial Park, as well as the construction of the Baltimore Convention Center and I–395/I–95.

The city's growing black population in the mid nineteenth century supported the growth of both existing black churches and the foundation of new churches and religious organizations. Churches established (or expanded) within this period include:

- Sharp Street Church (1787, nonextant)
- Bethel AME Church (c. 1817, nonextant)
- St. James Episcopal Church (1824, nontextant)
- Oblate Sisters of Providence (1828, nonextant)

- Orchard Street Church (built in 1882, incorporating elements of earlier structures from 1837 and 1859; extant)
- Union Baptist Church (1852, nontextant)
- Ebenezer A.M.E. Church (built in 1865 on a site owned since 1839, extant)
- John Wesley Chapel on Hughes Street (built on a site occupied by the church beginning in 1838)

Historian J. Gordon Melton observed the frustrations that black churches experienced in this period as they sought to secure independent black leadership:

> Through the 1820s, both Sharp Street and Asbury remained as the African churches attached to the one Baltimore charge. Then in 1830, one of the three Baltimore ministers, Joseph Frey, was given the specific charge of serving the two Black congregations. Two years later, the two churches were set aside as the "African Methodist Episcopal Church in the City of Baltimore" and incorporated as a single entity. The members of Sharp Street reacted to these events by annually petitioning the Baltimore conference to assign a Black preacher as the minister in charge. Their petition was annually tabled. Eventually, in reaction to the failure of their annual petitions, beginning in 1848 (at the first MEC general conference after the Southern conferences had departed), Black Methodists from Sharp Street and other Black congregations began to lobby for the organization of an all-Black Conference to include the churches in the care of the Baltimore Conference.[17]

The Civil War led to changes in the organization of the church:

> Thus it was that the 1864 General Conference accepted petitions to organize the African American congregations into Annual conferences (albeit segregated ones). Beginning 1864 with the Delaware and Washington Conferences, The MEC organized a set of conferences for Black members across the nation.[18]

Other social organizations beyond churches also played an important role in this period. For example, George Hackett was involved with founding the Douglass Institute (1865) and the Gregory Aged Women's Home (1867). Ann Prout member and Sunday school teacher at Bethel became president of the association in charge of the home.[19]

In addition to churches, hundreds of dwellings in the Fell's Point, Federal Hill, and Mount Vernon National Register Historic Districts were at one point occupied by free and enslaved black people before and after the Civil War. Notable among these neighborhoods is the Sharp Leadenhall local historic district, which was in part for its long history as an African American community.

Promote the abolition of enslaved black people

In the early nineteenth century, slavery in Maryland began to change in significant ways. Importantly, an increasing number of farms stopped cultivating tobacco with enslaved labor. Instead, many farms turned to growing grain and produce, less labor-intensive crops that relied more on the labor of European immigrants than enslaved black people. Seeing diminishing profits in holding large numbers of enslaved people, rural slaveholders, especially in western and central Maryland, began to manumit, granting legal freedom, to hundreds of people they had held in bondage:

> In the state's northern and western counties, farmers became increasingly dependent upon diversified agriculture, in which slavery played a diminishing role. On the Eastern Shore, soil exhaustion and declining tobacco prices forced farmers to abandon tobacco, manumit their slaves, and cultivate their farms with free black and white farmhands.[20]

Many members of the state's growing free black community supported the emancipation of their family, friends, and neighbors who continued to be held in slavery—sometimes saving money to purchase the freedom of a family member or assisting a friend in escaping to Pennsylvania, New York, or Canada.

Another factor that contributed to the rising number of manumissions and the growth of abolition in Baltimore was the movement by the Society of Friends (better known as the Quakers) and, to a more limited extent, the Methodist Church, to advocate against the slave trade and slave holding more generally. For example, in 1778, Maryland Quakers "called on one another to free their bondsmen and abjure slaveholding".[21] One notable early abolitionist in Baltimore was Elisha Tyson (1750–1824) whose opposition to slavery was reportedly recognized when 3,000 black people joined his funeral procession in 1824.[22] Tyson's summer home still stands in the Stone Hill neighborhood. From the late 1700s up through the Civil War, Quaker meeting houses in Baltimore City, and other Quaker settlements in central Maryland, played a critical role in promoting abolitionist sentiment and in providing support for enslaved people to escape on the "Underground Railroad".

Between 1800 and 1860, the proportion of Baltimore City residents who held slaves declined, the share of Baltimore's total population held in slavery also declined, and the share of the black population living in freedom grew. Nearly one-third of city residents held at least one enslaved person in 1800. But by 1850, slaveholders made up close to one percent of the city's white population. Enslaved people made up 9% of the city's population in 1790, under 2% in 1850, and barely 1% in 1860. A small minority of the city's black population, just 20%, were free in 1790. By 1830, over 75% of the same population was free and over 90% was free in 1860.[23]

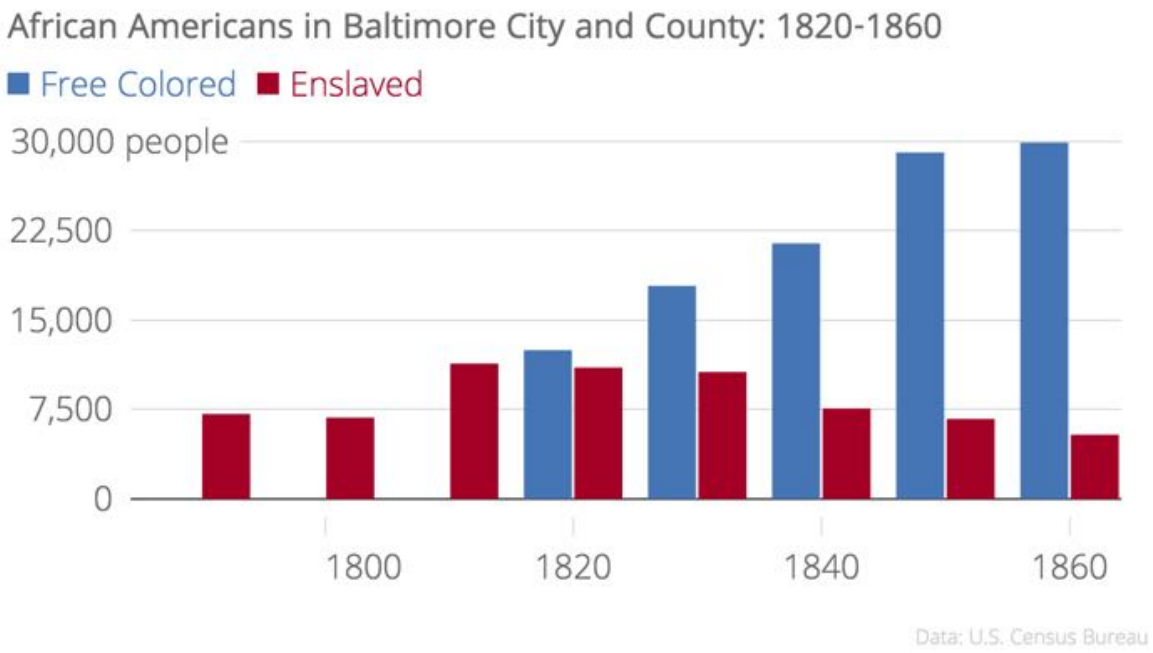


Chart: African Americans in Baltimore City and County, 1820–1860

Due to the Methodist Church's support for abolition, enslaved and free black people in Maryland often either joined or affiliated with it. Outside the city in Baltimore County and other nearby counties, black Methodist churches became the nucleus of communities of free blacks who, among other things, were critical to the success of the Underground Railroad. One example of this is the free black community that built the Howard Methodist Episcopal Church in Port Deposit, Maryland in 1853 (a building later demolished in 1981). Examples of pre-Civil War free black communities in Baltimore County include Glen Arm around the Waugh Church, where services began as early as 1829 (the first chapel constructed in 1849); the community around the Piney Grove Church built in 1850; and the Troyer Road community that formed around the Mount Joy African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Union United Methodist Chapel (both built between 1850 and 1877).[24]

Supportive abolitionists remained a minority in a state where most white residents and the government itself supported slavery. Historian and abolitionist William Still observed the challenges facing enslaved black people attempting escape through Baltimore in his 1872 book *The Underground Railroad*:

> Baltimore used to be in the days of Slavery one of the most difficult places in the South for even free colored people to get away from, much more slaves. The rule forbade any colored person leaving there by rail road or steamboat, without such applicant had been weighed, measured, and then given a bond signed by unquestionable signatures well known.

> Baltimore was rigid in the extreme, and was a never-failing source of annoyance, trouble and expense to colored people generally, and not unfrequently to slave-holders too, when they were traveling North with 'colored servants' ... But, not withstanding all this weighing, measuring and requiring of bonds, many travelers by the Underground Rail Road took passage from Baltimore.[25]

Baltimore City became a hub for fugitives headed toward the Susquehanna River and Wilmington, Delaware (where abolitionists like Thomas Garrett waited to assist) or escaping north through Baltimore County.[26]

Within the city, railroads were an important part of the infrastructure for escape. The Pratt and Charles Street Depot for the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad and, after 1850, President Street Station on President Street (and still extant) likely saw hundreds of fugitives pass through on their escape north, including Henry "Box" Brown (who escaped from Virginia in 1849), William and Ellen Craft (who escaped from Georgia in 1848), and, most famously, Frederick Douglass in 1838.[27] Born into slavery around February 1818, Douglass first arrived in Baltimore around 1828. On September 3, 1838, he escaped from slavery in Baltimore, traveling by train to New York City, and soon moving to New Bedford, Massachusetts.

The significant resistance white and black abolitionists encountered in Maryland only grew from the 1830s through the 1850s. Following Nat Turner's slave rebellion in Southampton, Virginia, on August 21, 1831, slaveholders in Maryland panicked over rumors of impending revolts in Maryland encouraged by abolitionists. Historian Sarah Katz noted:

> Reports in well respected papers like *Niles' Weekly Register* and the *Baltimore American* lent credibility to such rumors, thereby adding to the hysteria. Although the papers contradicted themselves with each issue, they reflected the frenzied fear among whites that the nation's slaves were prepared to rise up in a violent bid for freedom.[28]

Katz continued:

> Exaggerated reports of slave revolt alarmed Baltimore in 1831; so did a fear of abolition societies. Many supporters of slavery thought the antislavery movement encouraged insurrection. ... Some Baltimoreans went so far as to accuse abolitionist societies of holding midnight military drills to prepare blacks for insurrection.[29]

In response to these fears, the Maryland State Legislature placed new restrictions on enslaved and free black people in the state with the goal of encouraging free blacks to move out. In 1832, the legislature moved to prohibit free blacks from entering the state, banned free black Marylanders from owning firearms without a certificate from county officials, and outlawed the sale of alcohol, powder, and shot to blacks. Under the new policies, African Americans could no longer hold religious meetings unless a white minister was present, although the legislature excepted congregations in Baltimore City from the new law.

In addition to restrictions on African Americans, the penalties for anyone caught assisting enslaved people in their escape were severe. One notable example was Charles Turner Torrey. In 1842, Torrey organized an Underground Railroad route from Washington to Baltimore, Philadelphia and Albany. He moved to Baltimore in late 1843 and, in June 1844, was arrested and confined to the Maryland Penitentiary. Torrey died in prison from tuberculosis on May 9, 1846 and a memoir telling the story of his life and death inspired action from abolitionists throughout the United States and Europe.[30]

Baltimore City Jail, c. 1855–1860. *Courtesy Enoch Pratt Free Library, mdcp030.*

The Baltimore Jail, designed by local architects James and Thomas Dixon and completed in 1849, is one of the few extant examples in Baltimore of a site associated with the detention of escaped slaves and abolitionists. Up until 1864, the jail held hundreds of "runaways" along with Marylanders, both white and free black people, who assisted enslaved people as they fled to freedom. The Warden's House from the original jail complex still stands on East Madison Street though the remainder of the original complex was largely demolished in the 1960s. The Warden's House was one part of the penal system for slavery in Baltimore that also included a number of private slave jails operated around the Baltimore Harbor, although none of these buildings survive.[31]

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, pushed by Southern slaveholders to stem the flow of enslaved people moving north to freedom, led to expanded efforts by abolitionists to support the Underground Railroad and growing violence on both sides. Baltimore was no exception to this national effort. One notable early challenge to the Fugitive Slave Act came in 1851 is the Christiana Riot (also known as the Christiana Resistance), where Baltimore County slaveholder Edward Gorsuch and several others were wounded seeking to recapture four enslaved men who had escaped to the farm of abolitionist William Parker in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.[32]

Baltimore and Maryland slaveholders called on the Baltimore police, as well as local police and courts in northern states, to support their efforts to recapture escaped enslaved people. Historian William T. Alexander observed a "remarkable" growth in the "activity and universality of slave hunting" under the new law citing the example of a Baltimore police officer who killed William Smith, an alleged fugitive in Pennsylvania, while attempting an arrest:

> The needless brutality with which these seizures were often made tended to intensify the popular repugnance which they occasioned. In repeated instances, the first notice the alleged fugitive had of his peril was given him by a blow on the head, sometimes with a club or stick of wood; and being thus knocked down, he was carried bleeding and insensible, before the facile commissioner, who made short work of identifying him and earning his ten dollars by remanding him into slavery. In Columbia, Penn., March, 1852, a colored person named William Smith was seized as a fugitive by a Baltimore police officer, while working in a lumber yard, and, attempting to escape the officer drew a pistol and shot him dead.[33]

A variety of forces began to challenge the institution of slavery early in the Civil War. In April 1862, the emancipation of enslaved people in Washington, DC created new opportunities for enslaved blacks to escape from bondage, especially in the counties adjoining the district. Also of importance, in 1863, the federal government began recruiting for the new U.S. Colored Troops, enlisting over 8,700 black men in six Maryland regiments.

Unidentified African American soldier in Union uniform with wife and two daughters, c. 1863–1865. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

Following the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, George A. Hackett, a local business owner and member of Bethel AME Church, would frequently:

> ...hire a wagon, go on a plantation, fill it with slaves, and with a six-barrelled revolver in each hand, defy the master to prevent it.[34]

President Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation did not apply to enslaved people in Maryland. However, in 1864 Maryland passed a new state constitution abolishing slavery. The new provision also disenfranchised white Marylanders who had left the state to fight for or live in the Confederacy and men who had supported the Confederacy within the state. Under this arrangement, the Maryland legislature approved the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution abolishing slavery nationwide on February 3, 1865.[35] However, with the restoration of voting rights for many Confederate sympathizers and veterans following the end of the Civil War, the state legislature voted against the Fourteenth Amendment (guaranteeing the rights of citizens and other persons) on March 23, 1867. Three years later, the state rejected the Fifteenth Amendment on February 26, 1870.[36]

Protect the rights of free black people

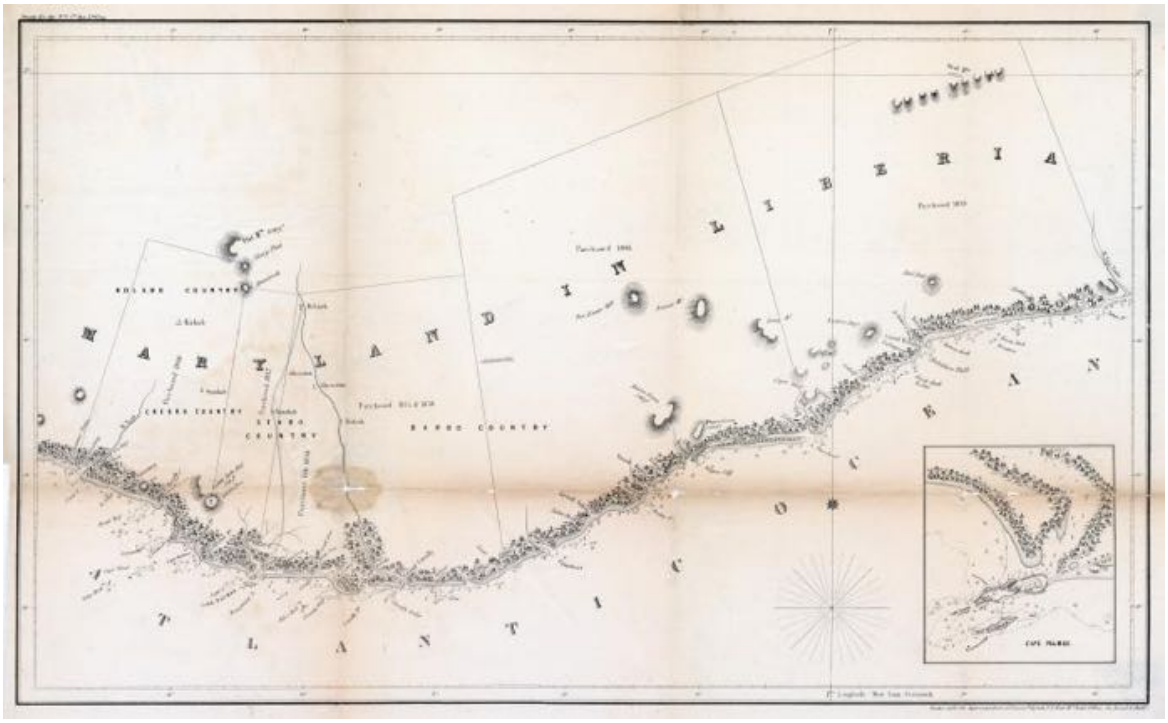
In addition to their opposition to slavery, free black people in Baltimore resisted oppression in a variety of ways before and during the Civil War. Notably, African Americans in Baltimroe adn Maryland were leaders opposing the Colonization Movement that sought to relocate African Americans. Baltimoreans also resisted the efforts of whites to prevent black freedom that included threatening re-enslavement for everything from contract disputes to outright kidnapping. Following the Civil War, African Americans continued their

opposition by fighting attempts to replace enslavement with an apprenticeship system that functioned as *de facto* enslavement. Their efforts established a foundation for the rise of the more formal Civil Rights Movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Facing the challenges of prejudice, repression, and exclusion, free black residents of Baltimore organized around three main goals:

- Resist the Colonization movement in Maryland
- Oppose efforts to reenslave free black people
- Organize black workers in response to white violence

Resist the Colonization Movement in Maryland



Maryland in Liberia, 1853. *Courtesy New York Public Library, 1261070.*

The Colonization Movement in Maryland first organized on a statewide level in 1827 when a group of loosely organized regional and county societies united to form the first state group. The project received an annual grant of $1,000 from the Maryland General Assembly to transport free black Marylanders to the American Colonization Society's settlement in Liberia. When the group sent only twelve emigrants to Liberia in 1828, the state soon terminated its appropriation the following year. Support for colonization was renewed following Nat Turner's Rebellion in August 1831 leading the state to reinstated an appropriation of $10,000 a year for twenty years settle free black Marylanders in Liberia.[37]

Black Marylanders reacted strongly to the state's removal efforts. In *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860*, historian Christopher Phillips recounts African American resistance to the efforts by the Maryland Colonization Society to encourage free blacks to migrate from Maryland to Liberia, noting:

> The pervasively hostile sentiment against colonization throughout the period and the equally persuasive demeanor of the Baltimore junto forced the Maryland Colonization Society to abandon recruitment effort on the state's Western Shore. Of the emigrants sponsored by the Maryland State Colonization Society between 1832 and 1841, only fifty (less than 8 percent) were from Baltimore.[38]

Black activism helped to ensure the failure of the Colonization Movement as an effort to remove manumitted slaves from Maryland. In a twenty year period, from 1831 to 1851, only 1,025 emigrants were sent to Liberia while the number of recorded manumissions during the same period was 5,571. The latter figure likely understates the total number of enslaved people freed in that period as not all slave owners filed manumission documents.[39]

Not all black Baltimoreans opposed colonization. Most famously, Daniel Coker, the founding pastor of Bethel AME Church, emigrated to Liberia in 1820. But, as Phillips writes, the "conflict over colonization offered black Baltimoreans the opportunity to further the evolution of their own community as distinct and autonomous." Phillips continued to note:

> Whether for or against colonization, Baltimore's black community unified around a principle far more compelling; racial progress. Baltimore's black society became, in the words of one historian of urban African Americans of the antebellum North, a "community of commitment."[40]

Even the representatives of the Maryland Colonization Society heard the opposition so loudly that they could articulate the character of the arguments. In 1838, the group's traveling agent John H. Kennard reported to the board of managers summarizing his understanding of black opposition to colonization:

> They are taught to believe, and, do believe, that this is their country, their home. A Country and home, now wickedly withholden from them but which they will presently possess, own and control. Those who Emigrate to Liberia, are held up to the world, as the vilest and veriest traitors to their race, and especially so, towards their brethren in bonds. Every man woman and child who leaves this country for Africa is considered one taken from the strength of the colored population and by his departure, as protracting the time when the black man will by the strength of his own arm compell those who despise and oppress him, to acknowledge his rights, redress his wrongs, and restore the wages, long due and inniquitously withholden.[41]

The Maryland State Colonization Society ended active operations in 1863, shortly after the beginning of the Civil War. Largely unsuccessful, organized resistance to colonization helped lay the groundwork for further advocacy efforts by black Baltimoreans . This advocacy took place primarily in black churches, such as Sharp Street and Bethel AME Church, but likely also in the homes of free black residents. In addition to these historic sites, the membership and leadership of the Maryland Colonization Society included some of the state's most prominent residents and a number of residences associated with those individuals are still extant in the greater Baltimore region.

Oppose efforts to re-enslave free black people

Free black people faced other threats beyond the Colonization Movement. They could be illegally kidnapped and sold south, as was Solomon Northrup on a visit to Washington, DC, or arrested and sold into slavery to repay debts or cover the cost of imprisonment. The Maryland General Assembly played an active role in suppressing African American Marylanders. Three notable examples include the following.

First, in 1854, the Maryland legislature passed a law requiring blacks who broke labor contracts to work without pay for their employers.[42] This state-sanctioned oppression was both a way to discourage black workers from asserting some measure of control over their own labor and a way to exert another means of free labor from African Americans.

Second, in 1859, following John Brown's October raid on Harper's Ferry, Colonel C.W. Jacobs, a member of Maryland's House of Delegates from the Eastern Shore, introduced a bill to re-enslave or expel free black residents of Maryland. George A. Hackett led black opposition to the Jacobs Bill in Baltimore. Hacket came from a pioneering family. His father, Charles Hackett, was one of the founding trustees of Bethel Church in 1815. George himself spent ten years working as a seaman before becoming an independent business owner — first operating a livery stable and later a coal yard.[43]

In his efforts to defeat the Jacobs Bill, Hacket circulated petitions and organized weekly meetings, mostly at Bethel Church, to "formulate their position". On February 9, 1860, at 3:00 am in the morning, the black opponents of the Jacobs Bill gathered at Bethel for an "indignation service". Lawrence H. Mamiya writes:

> Indignation services, as they were called, originated with the Bethel congregation in the mid-nineteenth century to mobilize the black community and publicly express its views on serious black offenses.[44]

African American opponents helped to defeat the bill and were joined in opposition by pro-slavery Democrats who saw the proposal as a threat to the state's practice of "quasi-freedom" where the ready mix of free and enslaved labor provided significant advantages to slaveholders. Historian Frank Towers quotes editor Frank Key Howard, writing in the *Daily Exchange* on March 7, 1860 that if the bill became law:

> ...not only will a class pour into take the place vacated by the negroes, who hate and are jealous of slaveholders, but a revulsion will be produced in the sentiments of thousands...[45]

A third notable example of the Maryland General Assembly actively legislating oppression in the years before the Civil War came 1860. At that time, the legislature outlawed manumission by deed or will. "At the same time, the General Assembly establishes a mechanism for free blacks to renounce their freedom and become slaves. In response to the worsening legal climate, many free blacks decamp for Pennsylvania and other northern states."[46]

In addition to opposition by Maryland's African American communities, some of the state legislature's proposals to place new restrictions on free black Marylanders met resistance from white Marylanders as well. For example, in March 1842, a public meeting was held at the Exeter Street Church, chaired by Richard Frisby, Esq., a white lawyer, in response to a proposed bill before the Maryland Senate entitled, "An act for the better security of negro slaves in this State, and for promoting industry and honesty among the free people of color". The meeting supported a resolution that the proposed bill "is well calculated, on account of its obnoxious and oppressive provisions, to produce among our citizens painful agitations, both political and religious, which may endanger the prosperity and peace of the State.[47]

Organize black workers in response to white violence

Workers, both white and black, faced significant challenges due to a turbulent Antebellum economy that saw a series of major national recessions: 1836 to 1838, 1839, 1843, 1857 and 1858. In this period, black workers were excluded from specific trades and even physically attacked.

Historian M. Ray Della, Jr. cites the example of typographers who successfully organized to maintain wage scales and exclude black workers and "underpaid apprentices" from their trade. Other efforts were less successful:

> ...in 1847 a "memorial" from a number of citizens for a law to prevent free Negroes from huckstering hay or straw was referred without result to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Delegates. In a similar attempt, a petition to bar free Negroes from any mechanical branch of trade did not result in any legislative action. Another unsuccessful organized attempt to oust Negroes from their employment took place in 1859 as the "Stavegut Society" sought work on the city railroads, but for no less than $1.25 a day, while Negroes had been working for $1.00.[48]

Black resistance to such proposals was joined by white employers who benefited from the flexibility of employing free black, enslaved, or white labor as they liked.

When legal attacks on black workers failed, some turned to violence. In May 1858, a group of white workers attacked black workers at a brickyard near Federal Hill. Della describes an 1859 attack on a group of black ship-caulkers at a Fells Point shipyard:

> Labor riots continued into 1859 as a group of Negroes putting copper on the bottom of a boat at Fells Point on June 28 were attacked and beaten by whites when they refused to stop work. The culprits were caught but were released as there were no white witnesses, and the "reign of terror" on Baltimore's Negro laborers continued.[49]

Labor strikes were another tool that whites used to suppress black workers. In 1865, white caulkers went on strike to exclude black caulkers from the shipyards. When the strikers won, Isaac Myers, George Hackett, William F. Taylor, John W. Locks, and Causemen Gaines, all laymen at Bethel AME Church, organized the cooperative Chesapeake and Marine Railway and Drydock Company in February 1866. This black-owned business eventually employed 300 skilled black workers. Isaac Myers went on to organize the Colored Caulkers Trade Union Society in 1868 and in 1869, after white workers excluded black workers from the new National Labor Union, organized the Colored National Labor Union. The Chesapeake and Marine Railway and Drydock Company lasted until 1884 and is memorialized today at the Frederick Douglass-Isaac Myers Maritime Park.

Establish schools for black people in Baltimore

Expanding educational opportunities for black Baltimoreans and employment opportunities for black educators was a key goal in the broader efforts of "racial progress" articulated by the movement opposing colonization.

In 1797, the Maryland Society for the Abolition of Slavery, a Quaker abolitionist group, opened the Baltimore African Academy for the children of free black parents. These were the first schools for African Americans in Baltimore. In 1826, the Maryland General Assembly authorized the creation of the Baltimore City school system for white children under the age of ten and the first school, known as Public School No. 1, opened on September 21, 1829. Public Schools No. 2 and No. 3 (also for whites only) opened soon after and by the end of the year, enrolled 269 students. African Americans recognized the injustice of being forced to pay school taxes that supported white only schools, and black leaders in Baltimore petitioned the city government to provide either tax relief or schools for black children. These petitions were presented in 1839, 1844, and 1850. In each case, the Mayor and City Council rejected them even thought there is evidence the proposals had bi-racial support. The 1850 petition, for example, had signatures from 90 black and 126 white Baltimore residents.[50]

The beginning of the Civil War in 1861 and emancipation in Maryland in 1864 transformed the landscape of black education in Baltimore. In 1864, a group of thirty white businessmen, lawyers and ministers (mostly Quakers) formed the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of Colored People with the goal of establishing a black public school system. Within a year, the group had established seven schools in Baltimore with 3,000 students enrolled. At its peak in 1867, the group had set up more than 100 schools in the city and on the Eastern Shore.[51] In 1865, the Baltimore Normal School was founded to begin training black teachers. The Freedmen's Bureau, created by Congress that same year, was headquartered in Baltimore and played an important role in promoting black public schools across the state.

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1. Whitman, *The Price of Freedom*, 164. ↩
2. Maryland State Archives and University of Maryland, College Park, “A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland,” 10. ↩

3. Baum, *Brown in Baltimore*, 25. ↩
4. Garrison and Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*, 34. ↩
5. Rockman, *Scraping By*, 65. ↩
6. Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 104–5. ↩
7. Mamiya, "A Social History of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore," 230. ↩
8. Melton, "African American Methodism in the M. E. Tradition." ↩
9. Maryland State Archives and University of Maryland, College Park, "A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland," 10. ↩
10. Ibid., 10. ↩
11. Phillips, "'Negroes and Other Slaves'," 342. ↩
12. Fuke, *Imperfect Equality*. ↩
13. U.S. Census, 1870↩
14. Today, the Baltimore Normal School continues as Bowie State University and the Centenary Biblical Institute as Morgan State University.↩
15. Foreman and Colored Conventions Project Team, "Colored Conventions." ↩
16. The impetus for demolition included a street widening program that followed Baltimore's 1904 fire, the construction of Preston Gardens in the late 1910s, and, the construction of the Orleans Street Viaduct in the in 1935. See the profile on Preston Gardens for more on the history of the Courtland and Hamilton Street area.↩
17. Melton, "African American Methodism in the M. E. Tradition," 18. ↩
18. Ibid., 19. ↩
19. Mamiya, "A Social History of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore," 241–42. ↩
20. Maryland State Archives and University of Maryland, College Park, "A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland," 12. ↩
21. Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament*, 167. ↩
22. Tyson and Citizen of Baltimore, *Life of Elisha Tyson, the Philanthropist*. ↩
23. Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 16–26. ↩
24. E.H.T. Traceries, "African American Historic Survey Districts - Baltimore County." ↩
25. Still, *The Underground Rail Road*, 136. ↩
26. Maryland State Archives, "Flight to Freedom." ↩
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28. Katz, "Rumors of Rebellion," 329. ↩
29. Ibid., 330–31. ↩
30. Lovejoy, *Memoir of Rev. Charles T. Torrey Who Died in the Penitentiary of Maryland, Where He Was Confined for Showing Mercy to the Poor*. ↩
31. See the Baltimore Heritage post on the Baltimore Jail.↩

32. Kuhn, “Maryland and the Moderate Conundrum.” ↩
33. Alexander, *History of the Colored Race in America*, 208. ↩
34. Mamiya, “A Social History of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore,” 240–41. ↩
35. The Thirteenth Amendment took effect on December 18, 1865.↩
36. The Fourteenth Amendment took effect on July 9, 1868 and the Fifteenth Amendment on March 30, 1870. The Maryland State Legislature voted to ratify both amendments nearly a century after they came into effect: April 4, 1959 for the Fourteenth and May 7, 1973 for the Fifteenth.↩
37. Maryland State Archives, “Maryland State Colonization Society Overview,” 1. ↩
38. Phillips, *Freedom’s Port*, 226. ↩
39. Maryland State Archives, “Maryland State Colonization Society Overview,” 3. ↩
40. Phillips, *Freedom’s Port*, 226. ↩
41. Maryland State Archives, “Maryland State Colonization Society Overview,” 3–4. ↩
42. Towers, “Job Busting at Baltimore Shipyards,” 238. ↩
43. Mamiya, “A Social History of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore,” 239. ↩
44. Ibid., 240. ↩
45. Towers, “Job Busting at Baltimore Shipyards,” 239. ↩
46. Maryland State Archives and University of Maryland, College Park, “A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland,” 30. ↩
47. Sun, “Meeting in Opposition to the Bill Relating to the Colored Population.” ↩
48. Della Jr., “The Problems of Negro Labor in the 1850s,” 25–26. ↩
49. Ibid., 27. ↩
50. Baum, *Brown in Baltimore*. ↩
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1870-1905

Introduction

Between 1870 and 1905, African Americans in Baltimore and Maryland saw both new opportunities and difficult reversals. After the Civil War, the Thirteenth (1865), Fourteenth Amendment (1868) and Fifteenth Amendment (1870) to the U.S. Constitution laid out a promise of freedom, equal protection, and political power for African Americans. In this period, Baltimoreans saw the first African American lawyer join the Maryland State Bar, the first hospital established by African American doctors, the first black teachers work for Baltimore's segregated black public schools, and the first African American elected to the Baltimore City Council.

But in this same period, local, state, and federal elected officials often failed to protect the rights of black Baltimoreans or actively worked against their interests. Unlike in those states that joined the Confederacy, Maryland never experienced a period of Reconstruction under direct federal control after the Civil War. The state's Democratic Party, led by some of the same individuals who had supported or fought on behalf of the Confederacy during the Civil War, controlled most of the elected offices in the city and state. Even white Republicans, who sought support from black voters, often promoted racist policies. The difficult reversals prompted Frederick Douglass to remark at a speech in Baltimore in January 1894:

> I hope and trust all will come out right in the end but the immediate future looks dark and troubled. I cannot shut my eyes to the ugly facts before me.[1]

Such conditions forced black Baltimoreans to petition white-dominated institutions for equality when they could but increasingly focus on independent organizing to pursue their goals.

Notable individual advocates from this period include the religious leaders like Dr. Harvey Johnson (1843–1923) at Union Baptist Church who worked closely with his wife Amelia E. Hall (1858–1922), and Rev. George Freeman Bragg (1863 - 1940) at St. James Church. Leadership also came from individuals outside of the church, including businessmen like Isaac Myers (1835–1891); black lawyers like Everett J. Waring (1859–1914) and Harry S. Cummings (1866–1917); and educators like Roberta Sheridan (c. 1864–1918) and Joseph H. Lockerman (d. 1923). Others included John M. Murphy, Sr. (1840–1922) who founded the Afro-American newspaper and Martha Murphy (1846–1915) who helped to found the Colored YWCA in 1896. Influential Civil Rights organizations included the Equal Rights League, the Mutual United Brotherhood of Liberty (established 1885), and the Maryland Teachers' Association (organized in 1886).

Dr. Harvey Johnson of Union Baptist Church along with the men and women who created and supported the Brotherhood of Liberty, Baltimore's earliest Civil Rights advocacy organization, are credited with enabling a degree of freedom within Baltimore's black community that distinguished it from many other cities. Historain Dennis Halpin writes:

> The wave of racial repression that swept over the southern United States largely stopped at Baltimore's doorstep. Although black Baltimoreans and Marylanders did not wholly escape violence or racism, white attempts at disfranchisement and segregation floundered. This was not a

> coincidence. Black communities in Baltimore (and to an extent Maryland) were uniquely equipped to fight inequality and resist Jim Crow, largely thanks to Johnson and the many thousands who joined or supported him during the previous two decades.[2]

In this period, black activists were reacting to efforts by the state legislature to thwart civil rights advances. Between 1883 and 1905, the Maryland General Assembly passed a series of regressive measures to promote and enforce racial discrimination. These including an 1884 law banning interracial marriage (reaffirming a ban on interracial marriage from 1664), 1904 measures to require "Jim Crow" racial segregation on railroad coaches and steamboats, and a 1905 measure to disenfranchise African Americans (rejected at the polls by Maryland voters). The limited success of these efforts in Maryland in comparison to other Southern states is notable—reflecting both the size and the organization of Baltimore's African American community. Ultimately, Dr. Johnson's experience in Baltimore led him support the creation of the Niagara Movement and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), prefiguring the national significance of civil rights activism in Baltimore during the early twentieth century.

Within the city, the Civil Rights movement was also shaped by the early wave of suburban development in the late nineteenth century. Baltimore City's 1888 annexation of Baltimore County helped to encourage this growth. The annexation and the introduction of new electric streetcar lines in the early 1890s promoted significant changes in the physical development of the city and contributing to increasing racial segregation in the early twentieth century. Looking outside of Baltimore, the Civil Rights movement was shaped by the decades-long period of economic depression that followed the Panic of 1873 and by increasing European immigration into the United States.

In the following sections, this study highlights some of the places associated with the Civil Rights movement in this period. It also expands on three key themes, considering:

- African American efforts to secure opportunities for housing, education, and employment
- African American resistance to segregation and discrimination
- African American organizing to build political power and advocate for civil rights

Associated Places

Many historic places related to this period were demolished during the twentieth century. The Douglass Institute on Lexington Street, an important meeting place for political activism in the nineteenth century, was torn down sometime after 1890. Laurel Cemetery, a black cemetery established in 1851 that became a memorial site for veterans of the U.S. Colored Troops, was displaced in 1957 for the construction of a shopping center and parking lot. In a more recent example, the Harry S. Cummings Residence at 1234 Druid Hill Avenue was demolished by Bethel A.M.E. Church in October 2015 after years of vacancy.

Many historic places from this period still exist. Unfortunately, several some are threatened or partially compromised by vacancy and neglect. These include:

- Public School No. 111, 1024 N. Carrollton Avenue (1889)
- Public School No. 103
- Everett J. Waring Residence, 507 Mosher Street

Examples of historic places that have remained intact through the present include:

- Douglass Place (1892)
- Mount Auburn Cemetery (1873)
- Public School No. 9 (1897), 1431 N. Carey Street
- Leadenhall Baptist Church (1872–1873)
- Saint Peter Claver Catholic Church (1888)
- Sharp Street Church (1892)

Pursuing opportunities in housing, education, and employment

After the Civil War, thousands of formerly enslaved black people moved from rural counties in Maryland and Virginia to Baltimore to seek work and protection from white violence. Between 1870 and 1900, Baltimore's black population grew quickly—39,558 in 1870 to 53,716 in 1880 to 79,739 in 1900.[3] These figures, based on the U.S. Census, likely understates the true scale of Baltimore's growing black community. Historian Richard

Paul Fuke looked at the growth in black households listed in Woods' City Directory noting that "the number of black householders listed in the Woods' City Directory tripled from 4,000 to 12,000" between 1864 and 1871.[4] The growth in Baltimore's black population was matched by a significant number of European immigrants arriving in the city during the same period.

Year	Total Population	Black Population	Percent Black
1880	332,313	53,716	16.16%
1890	434,439	67,104	15.45%
1900	508,957	79,739	15.67%
1910	558,485	84,749	15.17%

As Baltimore's African American population increased, activists turned their attention to pushing for opportunities for decent housing, public education, and fair employment.

Opportunities for housing

Many of the new migrants struggled to find housing in the immediate post-Civil War period, as Fuke noted:

> Within a month of emancipation, the Friends Association reported "many calls from women with children... who have neither food not shelter." "We find more suffering than we are able to alleviate," it added in January 1865, "They [are in] want of the most necessary food and clothing, and have crowded into alleys and callers."[5]

As African Americans neighborhoods grew around Courtland Street near downtown, Orchard Street in West Baltimore, and Hughes Street in South Baltimore, a number of the well-established black Baltimoreans, largely free prior to the Civil War, invested in real estate and prospered in the growing city. Historian Willard B. Gatewood described the character of Baltimore's "aristocracy of color" who were "relatively well-to-do":

> A black editor calculated in 1890 that about twenty individuals in the city's black community collectively represented a wealth of approximately $500,000. The wealthiest, John Locks, was said to be worth $75,000. Many of those included in Baltimore's black economic elite derived their wealth from catering, barbering, hod-carrying, brickmaking, and caulking. ... Many of these individuals invested in real estate, so that by the turn of the century their heirs were often among the wealthiest blacks in the city.[6]

Historian Jeffrey Richardson Brackett made a similar observation in his 1890 study, *Notes on the Progress of the Colored People of Maryland Since the War* writing:

> It has been said that in no city are there so many colored house-holders as in Baltimore. Many of the wealthy colored men have invested largely in houses [and] in a few cases, a whole row is owned by one man. The extent of the town, the number of alleys, and the great number of small houses, of two stories only, facilitate this for one must not suppose that... all expensive buildings or on valuable ground.[7]

As the city's black population grew, it also became more concentrated and segregated from the city's population of native-born whites and European immigrants. Even as late as 1880, the city's black population could be found distributed evenly over three-quarters of Baltimore's twenty wards and eight districts. By 1890, however, African Americans began to concentrate in the 11th Ward (the neighborhood of Biddle Alley) where a little over 11,000 of the 21,2699 residents were African American (making the ward 51.74% black). By 1904, the city's Northwestern District (including the 11th Ward) held more than 40% of Baltimore's 81,381 African Americans.[8]

This movement of African Americans into west and northwest Baltimore to purchase and rent homes often represented an effort to seek better housing conditions. Anne McMechen, George McMechen's wife, later reflected on the universal character of their aspirations in their move to McCulloh Street in 1910, explaining, "we wanted to be more comfortable—a right I think everyone has to exercise."[9]

The movement of Baltimore 's black population to the northwest is clearly visible in the movement of African American congregations that followed (or sometimes led) their congregants out of the downtown area.

Year of move	Church	Prior location	New location
1888	St. Peter Claver Catholic Church	Calvert and Pleasant Streets	N. Fremont and Pennsylvania Avenue
1898	Sharp Street Church	Sharp Street and Pratt Street	Dolphin and Etting Street
1901	St. James Episcopal Church	Lexington and High Street	Park Avenue and Preston Street
1905	Union Baptist Church	Guilford Avenue	Druid Hill Avenue and Dolphin Street
1911	Bethel AME Church	Saratoga Street and Gay Street	Druid Hill Avenue and Lanvale Street

Just as African American residents in northwest Baltimore moved into houses formerly occupied by white households, many black congregations purchased churches from a white congregations moving out of the area (and often into another more distant building). This pattern of succession from segregated white to black ownership and use in houses, church buildings, and school buildings continued in the 1920s and resumed again

in the 1950s and 1960s. Notably, Sharp Street Church tore down a prior building on their property before erecting their existing building in 1898. Union Baptist Church is similarly built by the existing congregation for their own use.

Opportunities for education

As the African American population in Baltimore grew so too did the needs of black students. Immediately after the end of the Civil War, black Baltimoreans and their allies focused on the need to establish schools for black students and to create opportunities for black educators. In 1865, the Friends' Association opened an elementary school for African Americans at the corner of Calvert and Saratoga Streets (in the African Baptist Church).[10]

The Centenary Bible Institute, started at Sharp Street Church, and then began holding classes at 44 East Saratoga Street in 1872. The Institute, which developed into today's Morgan State University, graduated its first student in 1878: John H. Griffin. Crowded conditions soon forced the Institute to relocate and, in 1881, the school moved to the corner of Edmondson and Fulton Avenues in West Baltimore.[11] Persistent demands by Baltimore's black residents before Baltimore City school officials finally led to the creation of the Colored High School in 1882 at Holliday and Lexington Streets.[12]

In addition to advocating for schools where black children could attend, Baltimore leaders also began pushing the city to start hiring black teachers. As a result, in 1888, Baltimore school officials appointed Roberta B. Sheridan as the first African American teacher in the city's public schools.[13] In 1888, Sheridan began teaching at the Annex Colored School No. 1 in Waverly before moving to teach at School No. 9 at Carrolton and Riggs Avenue in West Baltimore the next year. Historian Leroy Graham reflected on the significance of the move:

> With the acceptance of black teachers and a publicly funded high school, the blacks of Baltimore could breathe a sigh of relief after such a long and difficult struggle.[14]

A decade later, the appointment of James H. Van Sickel, a school reformer Denver, as Superintendent of the Baltimore schools marked another major change as the city began hiring black principals and vice-principals.[15] By the 1902–1903 school year, there were over 10,000 students and 166 teachers in the eighteen segregated black schools—nine of which were staffed entirely by black teachers. And, by 1907, all of the teachers for the Baltimore City Division of Colored Schools were African American.[16]

Opportunities for employment

The movement by African Americans out of older neighborhoods into the northwestern part of the city was enabled, in part, by new opportunities for black Baltimoreans to earn money and acquire wealth. One example of the new opportunities was the founding of Provident Hospital in 1894 by Dr. J. Marcus Cargill and others, creating jobs for black doctors and nurses and expanding medical care for black Baltimoreans.[Jackson and Walden;[17] bean_upholding_2010]

Fighting segregation and discrimination

In Baltimore, new federal Civil Rights laws, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1866, provided a basis for African American to make legal and social demands for equal access and opportunity. For example, in February 1871, John W. Fields, a black barber visiting Baltimore from Virginia, was ejected from a Baltimore streetcar. Fields sued and won a judgement against the trolley company, a decision that forced the integration of municipal transit in Baltimore.[18]_

In 1880, the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Strauder v. West Virginia* overturned Maryland's prohibition on black jurors. Black leadership played an important role in enabling further activism, as African Americans in Baltimore could legally hire black lawyers beginning in 1885, the date that Everett J. Waring was admitted to practice law in Baltimore. Another step came in 1890 when Harry S. Cummings was elected to the Baltimore City Council and the city's African American community had its first black city council representative.

In the 1880s, 1890s, and 1900s, however, action by African Americans was met with a strong white reaction, as historian Grace Elizabeth Hale observed, "Whites created the culture of segregation in large part to counter black success, to make a myth of racial difference, to stop the rising."[19]

Segregation as white reaction to black progress

Numerous examples of this reaction are found in Baltimore and Maryland. In 1884, the Maryland Legislature reaffirmed its opposition to interracial marriage. In 1904, the legislature acted again, this time to impose "Jim Crow" segregation on railroad coaches and steamboats. Many embraced the narrative of the "Lost Cause," which rewrote the history of the Civil War to celebrate the Confederacy. In Baltimore, Confederate supporters played a role in the national Lost Cause effort by erecting a monument on Mount Royal Avenue in 1903.[20]

Voting rights and efforts to enforce legal segregation dominated Maryland's civil rights work in the early 1900s. In 1904, voters across Maryland considered the "Poe Suffrage Amendment" that sought to disenfranchise black voters. The Poe Amendment was preceded by earlier segretation efforts including an influential pamphlet that Baltimore resident and Maryland Senator William Cabell Bruce published in 1891 entitled "The Negro Problem." In it, Bruce outlined a case for black disenfranchisement on a foundation of scientific racism. At the national level, effort to disenfranchise black voters won support from the U.S. Supreme Court decision in The Civil Rights Cases (1883) which ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional; the defeat of the Lodge Force Bill (thanks to the efforts of Maryland Senator and Bourbon Democrat Arthur Pue Gorman); and the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) which advanced the idea that segregated public facilities were legal under the doctrine of "separate but equal".

As part of the same backlash against voting rights, as early as 1907, some white Baltimore residents began advocating for municipal laws to enforce racial segregation.[21]

One consequence of this increasingly overt and public racism was the rising threat of lynchings in Maryland and across the south. Between 1882 and 1911, white people in Maryland lynched thirty-one African Americans. In Baltimore, black residents were deprived of equal protection by Baltimore's police and, if they were subjected to violence by white residents, they had great difficulty obtaining justice.

Even in Baltimore City when white residents attacked black men and women they had little fear of penalty. Historian Richard Paul Fuke noted the "fatal police shooting of Eliza Taylor, a black woman, in September 1867," quoting the *Baltimore American*:

> A colored woman was killed under circumstances which show the spirit of hate and oppression cherished toward that portion of the population by many of the police.[22]

The police officer involved in the shooting was acquitted of murder prompting criticism from a convention of black leaders in Baltimore, as the Baltimore American reported:

> The President [George A. Hackett] stated the object of the meeting, quoting the Declaration of Independence in proof of the fact that the colored people have no friends in Baltimore in the Governor or the police, and cited the action of the Grand Jury in discharging the Policeman Frey, charged with the murder of the colored woman, Eliza Taylor, as a specimen of the justice which is meted out to colored people in this city.[23]

Activist and journalist Ida B. Wells cited an example from Baltimore in *The Red Record* (her early 1890s study of lynchings in the U.S.), describing how a black woman in Baltimore "was out walking with a young man of her own race" when she was attacked by a group of white men who "held her escort and outraged the girls… The case went to the courts and they were acquitted."[24]

Black resistance to segregation and discrimination

Despite these challenges, African American activists succeeded in gaining a small measure of economic security, successfully defended the right to vote for black men, and continued to campaign for equality in education and housing. In contrast to a perception that change for African Americans in Maryland ended with the end of Reconstruction in 1877, historian Dennis P. Halpin writes, "black activists in Baltimore spent a majority of the early 1880s attacking a host of injustices—collectively referred to as "black laws"—which had roots in the antebellum era."[25]

In 1885, Rev. Harvey Johnson (1843–1923) founded the Order of Regulators, an early civil rights organization that Johnson renamed the Brotherhood of Liberty in 1887. One of the Brotherhood's efforts was to push for changes that would allow African Americans to become lawyers. Johnson emphasized:

> there must be Negro lawyers, men who have themselves suffered and who will fight the people's fight, because the people's fight will be their own battles[Collier-Thomas,[26] 222]

Such activist efforts led to key legal victories in 1885 when the Stewart Sisters successfully sued the Baltimore, Chesapeake, and Richmond Steamboat Co. for racial discrimination and when Charles L. Wilson succeeded in his suit to overturn the exclusion of African Americans by the Maryland Bar.[27] Under Johnson and others, the Brotherhood focused on defending the civil rights that Africans had already fought to secure during the CIvil War. Thompson continues to explain:

> The law was used to defend black civil rights against encroachments by whites. Never did the Brotherhood initiate proceedings to strengthen, re-establish, or expand black civil rights.[28]

In the 1880s, the Brotherhood of Liberty also worked to amend the state Bastardy Act, challenge laws prohibiting intermarriage, push for improved education for black students, and represent the rights of black workers prosecuted during the Navassa Island trial. Halpin observes that the group's efforts show "how black activists sought to further define the implications of the Fourteenth Amendment, draw the wider community into activism, and seek redress for various injustices." Most importantly, the strategy of using legal test cases became a model for successful legal activism by the NAACP in the twentieth century.[29]

This civil rights activism took place in parallel to independent political organizing where black voters worked both inside and outside of the Republican Party and established white institutions to create a platform for advocating for African American civil rights. Halpin writes:

> By the early 1900s, black activists laid a foundation to thwart white efforts at disfranchisement and residential segregation in the city. Baltimore's activists were among the earliest members of the Niagara Movement in the early 1900s, an organization that eventually became the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). At the same time, their use of "test cases" to challenge and further define the legacy of Reconstruction set the course for black activism that lasted until 1954's landmark decision in Brown v. Board of Education.[30]

Organizing for black political power

The ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1870 added 39,000 new black voters to the total of 131,000 white voters registered in the state. This set the stage for decades-long struggles within and between the Democratic and Republican parties, and spurred the founding of political advocacy groups centered on civil rights. Despite African American men voting in support of Republican candidates, the Democratic Party candidate won the Governor's office in every election from 1866 to 1896. Similarly, the Mayor of Baltimore remained a Democrat (or a related party) from Mayor Robert T. Banks (the first elected under the new State Constitution adopted in 1867) up until the election of Republican Alcaeus Hooper in 1895.

At the federal level, the withdrawal of Union troops from the South marked the end of Reconstruction and, as the *NHL Civil Rights Framework* notes, "the concept of equal rights collapsed in the wake of legislative and judicial actions", continuing:

> The Republican and Democratic parties sacrificed civil rights in exchange for white southern votes. In the *Civil Rights Cases* of 1883, the U.S. Supreme Court found the statutory guarantee of equal enjoyment of public accommodations unconstitutional on the grounds that the equal

> protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment only applied to state activities and did not permit federal control of individual actions. This decision greatly limited the rights of blacks and strengthened Jim Crow laws in the South.[31]

The failure of the Republican Party to support the interests of black Baltimoreans led many to begin organizing new independent organizations. In February 1880, a convention of "colored delegates from each ward of the city" met at the Douglass Institute on Lexington Street to organize a new "Equal-Rights League." The meeting attendees heard speeches from Rev. John A. Handy, James Taylor, N.C.M. Groome, Isaac Myers and Jeremiah Haralson). Myers observed how in Maryland:

> Colored men cannot sit upon juries, colored children cannot be taught in the public schools by teachers of their own race, and colored people cannot get accommodations in hotels nor be admitted to practice as lawyers in State courts. By units of action the colored people will secure these rights and privileges.

Harrison, a former Congressman from Alabama who had been forced by an armed mob to flee the state in 1878, remarked that the "colored people in Maryland are free compared with their race in Alabama and the far South, where they are now fleeing from ‘a second slavery that is more damnable than the first.'" The discussion continued past midnight before the meeting concluded with a resolution:

> They set forth that neither the republican nor democratic parties in this State accord equal rights to the colored man, and the organization is promoted to secure him his rights and the respect to which he is entitled as a citizen.

In addition to new efforts to push for change through electoral politics, black activists also worked to advance civil rights within the church. Under Rev. Johnson’s leadership, for example, Union Baptist Church withdrew from the Maryland Baptist Union Association in 1892 in response to discriminatory pay for black pastors and unequal privileges for black churches within the government of the association. In September 1897, Johnson delivered a speech in Boston, titled "A Plea For Our Work As Colored Baptists, Apart From the Whites," that criticized white churches for their failure to support black civil rights efforts:

> "Why is the proposition never made to us of the necessity of co-operating in the work of abating the many forms of legal and socially oppressive laws and customs now in vogue all over the country, both North and South?"

In 1898, Rev. Johnson organized the Colored Baptist Convention of Maryland. He also later played an active role in the founding of the Niagara Movement on July 1, 1905.

Finally, independent black newspapers were another key resource for building black political power in this period. Between 1856 and 1900, thirty-one black newspapers were established in Baltimore. In 1892, John H. Murphy, Sr. (1841–1922), a U.S. Colored Troop veteran, established the *Afro-American* newspaper by merging his own church newsletter *The Sunday School Helper* with two other publications, *The Ledger*, established in 1882 by Rev. George Freeman Bragg, rector of St. James Episcopal Church since 1891, and *The Afro-American*, published by Reverend William M. Alexander, Sharon Baptist Church. The *Afro* went on to become a significant voice documenting injustices and advancing a civil rights agenda in Baltimore and nationally, and is still in publication today.

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1. Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns*, 40. ↩
2. Halpin, “Reforming Charm City,” 244–45. ↩
3. U.S. Census, 1870; 1880; 1900↩
4. Fuke, *Imperfect Equality*, 112. ↩
5. Ibid., 115. ↩
6. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color*, 77. ↩
7. Brackett, *Notes on the Progress of the Colored People of Maryland Since the War.*, 39. ↩
8. Roberts Jr., *Infectious Fear*, 73. ↩
9. Halpin, “Reforming Charm City,” 219. ↩
10. Johnson, “The Strayer Survey and the Colored Schools of Baltimore City, 1923–1943,” 10. ↩
11. Ibid., 10. ↩
12. Ibid., 11. ↩
13. Ibid., 12. ↩
14. Graham, *Baltimore*, 222. ↩
15. Johnson, “The Strayer Survey and the Colored Schools of Baltimore City, 1923–1943,” 13. ↩
16. Ibid., 13–14. ↩
17. “A History of Provident Hospital, Baltimore, Maryland.”↩
18. Bogen, “Precursors of Rosa Parks.” ↩
19. Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 21. ↩
20. See our study on Confederate memory in Baltimore for more on this topic.↩
21. While the political movement in favor of housing segregation grew out of the late nineteenth century, we describe the subject in more detail in the following context study on the period between 1905 and 1929.↩

22. Fuke, *Imperfect Equality*, 131. ↩
23. Ibid., 131. ↩
24. Wells-Barnett, *The Red Record*. ↩
25. Halpin, “Reforming Charm City,” 11. ↩
26. “Harvey Johnson and the Baltimore Mutual United Brotherhood of Libery, 1885–1910.”↩
27. Halpin, “Reforming Charm City,” 94–96, 98–100. ↩
28. Thompson, “The Civil Rights Vanguard,” 28. ↩
29. Halpin, “Reforming Charm City,” 14. ↩
30. Ibid., 9. ↩
31. National Historic Landmarks Program, “Civil Rights in America,” 7. ↩

1905-1929

Introduction

Baltimore's urban landscape saw tremendous changes during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Following the Great Baltimore Fire of 1904, the city rebuilt the downtown. Adding to the momentum for growth, in 1915, the city dedicated a much-needed new sanitary sewer system after years of delay. In 1918, Baltimore annexed a large area of Baltimore County spurring the rapid expansion of neighborhoods along the city's numerous electric streetcar lines. Scores of new factories opened opened during World War I and the city's population boomed. But a growing and changing city did not always mean progress for African Americans. Black Baltimoreans fought against an aggressive effort to impose racial segregation on residential neighborhoods and struggled to get their fair share of benefits from the city's growth. African Americans experienced continued discrimination as black workers and woefully unequal conditions as black students and teachers in the city's public schools.

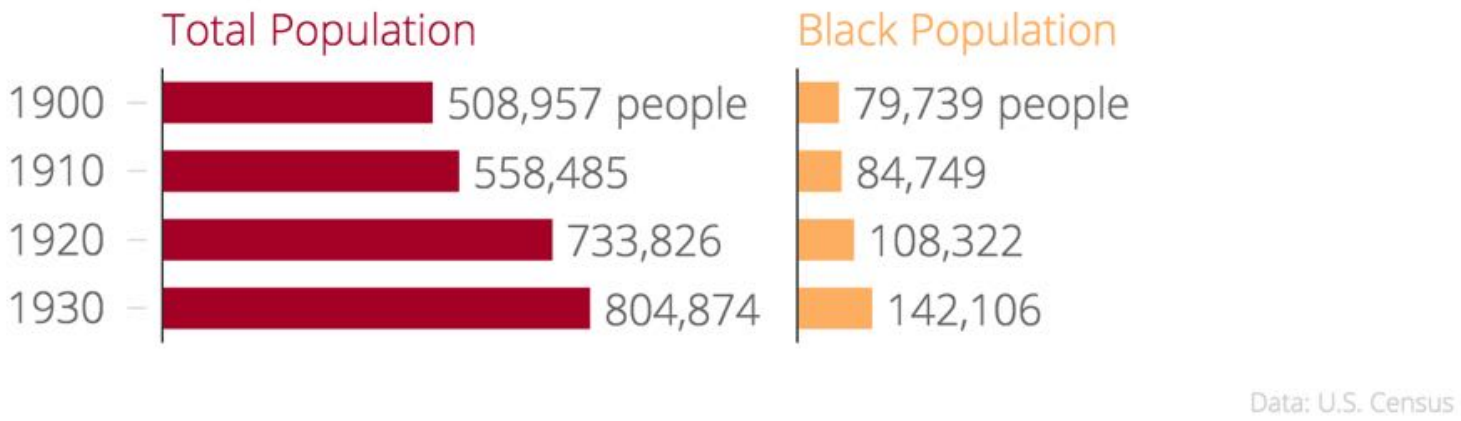


Chart: Baltimore City total population compared to black population, 1900–1930

As the city's overall population grew so did the black population. The overall population spiked from 508,957 in 1900 to 733,826 in 1920, and then to 804,874 people in 1930. The city's black population also saw large gains: from 79,739 in 1900 to 84,749 in 1910, 108,322 in 1920 and 142,106 in 1930.[1]

Unlike northern and midwestern cities like New York, Chicago, or Cleveland, where the Great Migration brought large numbers of black migrants from the deep South, Baltimore remained a destination mostly for black migrants from Maryland and Virginia. In 1910, 87% of the city's black population was native to Maryland and migrants from Virginia made up the largest share (8.7%) of those born outside of the state. In 1920, the share of native Marylanders declined to 76% in sharp contrast to Detroit's 8.4% or Manhattan's 20.9%. By 1930, 59.4% of Baltimore's black population was native to Maryland, a decline of 17.1% since 1910.[2]

"Pay day for the stevedores", c. 1905. Detroit Publishing Company. *Courtesy Library of Congress*.

While Baltimore's black community grew it also became increasingly concentrated in northwest Baltimore in what is now the Old West Baltimore Historic District. A smaller area of segregated black housing on the east side of the city. White elected officials and property owners used new policies of clearance and containment to isolate black neighborhoods from newer racially segregated suburbs like Guilford and Roland Park. Segregated public schools further reinforced the existing patterns of housing segregation.

Baltimore's Civil Rights activists in the late nineteenth century defended the rights black residents won following the Civil War but legal setbacks such as the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) encouraged new white supremacist campaigns attacking the rights of black voters, segregating residential neighborhoods and public accommodations, and restricting black students to underfunded public schools.[3] After Mississippi passed a new state constitution in 1890 that disenfranchised black voters (the so-called "Mississippi Plan"), white Democratic Party leaders in a number of states (Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri) found a way to do the same by 1910.[4] Popular books, plays, and movies reinforced the values of white supremacy with examples including *The Clansman* (1905) and *The Birth of a Nation* (1915).

In Maryland, and in most northern states, activists found little political support for Civil Rights from either the Democratic Party, then dominated by white supremacists, or the Republican Party, which although more accommodating was still hostile and segregated black party members at local meetings and conferences by 1910.[5]

African American voters made up a small share of Baltimore's voters even after the addition of black women to the pool of eligible voters following the ratification the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. Historian Bruce Thompson describes how black voters lost influence as a share of the electorate in this period. In 1900, African American residents made up 15% of the voting-age population and 15% of registered voters. In 1932, it was 16% of the population but only 12% of the registered voters. Thompson continues:

> Only in a few wards did the black vote make a difference in local elections. In 1931, four wards had a black majority and three others were evenly populated by blacks and whites.[6]

Even in the absence of leadership from white elected officials, Civil Rights activists in Baltimore still continued to fight and, in some cases, win in the courts. At the national level, the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Guinn v. United States* (1915) outlawed grandfather clauses (used to disenfranchise black voters); *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917) abolished residential segregation ordinances (modeled after Baltimore's influential 1910 "Poe Law"); *Moore v. Dempsey* (1923) outlawed mob trials; and *Nixon v. Herndon* (1927) abolished the practice of white primaries. In Baltimore, between 1904 and 1918, African American residents successfully fought back efforts to expand segregation in transportation and housing and to disenfrancise black voters.[7] Historian Bruce Thompson argued that these cases were distinct from earlier advocacy efforts by suggesting that the Brotherhood of Liberty in the 1880s and 1890s used the law to "defend black civil rights against encroachments by whites" but not "strengthen, re-establish, or expand black civil rights".[8] Thompson writes:

> These were important victories for the civil rights struggle because they showed that blacks could respond to segregation and the abridgement of rights and helped set the stage for the civil rights movement.[9]

As the city's black population grew in the 1920s, conditions for black workers and residents remained difficult. Some scholars have diminished the significance of activism in Baltimore during this early twentieth century and described the period between the 1930s and 1950s as a kind of "golden age" of civil rights activism for Baltimore. For example, Bruce Thompson suggests that, "Before 1935, blacks and the civil rights struggle were on the defensive, responding to segregation and the loss of rights."[10] As a corrective to this approach, historian Dennis Doster has argued for the importance of an expansive definition for Civil Rights activism that includes "struggles for access to municipal and social services and struggles related to labor and employment." Using this definition, Doster highlights the importance of lesser-known organizations including the Federation of Parent-Teacher Clubs, the Women's Cooperative Civic League, the Independent Republican League, and the Baltimore Urban League.[11] This broader definition is key to understanding how the Civil Rights movement intersected with a variety of urban reform programs around health and housing in this period.

Other significant groups in this period included fraternal organizations such as the Monumental Lodge No. 3 and philanthropic groups such as the CYWCA (founded in 1896) and the Colored Fresh Air and Empty Stocking Circle (established in 1904 by Ida Cummings and other members of the CYWCA).[12] In 1927, the Maryland state legislature established a new Interracial Commission to create a framework for discussing Civil Rights policy issues.[13]

Prominent individual activists and leaders during this period included City Councilman Harry S. Cummings (1866–1917) and educator Ida Rebecca Cummings (1867–1958) (brother and sister); lawyers Everett J. Waring (1859–1914), Warner T. McGuinn (1859–1937), and George W. F. McMechen (1871–1961); pastor Rev. Dr. William Moncure Alexander (1852–1919); and newspaper editor Dr. Carl J. Murphy (1889–1967). Notable organizations included the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) (established in 1909, with a Baltimore chapter beginning in 1912) and the Baltimore Urban League (established nationally in 1910, with a Baltimore chapter beginning in 1924). The *Afro-American Newspaper* under the editorial leadership of Carl Murphy (beginning with the death of John Murphy, Sr. in 1922) also became a vocal proponent of Civil Rights in Baltimore.[14]

These varied organizations and individual activists and leaders subscribed to a range of different beliefs about how black Baltimoreans could counter white supremacist attacks on their lives and communities. Historian Bruce Thompson contrasts the philosophies of Booker T. Washington and the accommodationist "Atlanta Compromise" with the "more radical" position of W.E.B. DuBois, writing:

> For W. E. B. Du Bois, accommodation and uplift would not solve the problems blacks faced. He advocated the more radical position that blacks should oppose segregation and work for their political and civil rights.[15]

This range of philosophical and political debate at a national level influenced local Civil Rights activism in Baltimore and Baltimore influenced the national movement. On the spectrum closer to compromise, in 1905, Rev. Harvey Johnson and four other members of Baltimore's Brotherhood of Liberty were among the twenty-nine people from fourteen states who met near Buffalo, New York to form the Niagara Movement.[16] Historian Bettye Collier-Thomas suggested that W.E.B. DuBois was in "close contact with members of the

Brotherhood… as he frequently traveled there to deliver speeches" between 1895 and 1910. Collier-Thomas noted that the Brotherhood "willingly shared twenty years of experience, strategy development and know-how with the founders at Niagara."[17] The city also included supporters of Booker T. Washington as the National Negro Business League (organized by Booker T. Washington in Boston in 1900) held their Ninth Annual Convention in Baltimore in 1908.

For others in Baltimore, the Niagara Movement and, later, the NAACP did not go far enough. Pastor and educator Rev. James Robert Lincoln Diggs (1866–1922) at Trinity Baptist Church was a prominent supporter of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA-ACL) (established in 1914, with an active Baltimore chapter by 1918).

This section is organized around four themes that help us understand Civil Rights activism within this period:

- black opposition to white supremacist efforts to disenfranchise black voters and promote racial segregation in housing and public accommodations.
- local and national movements to stop lynchings, mob violence, and criminal injustice
- grass-roots activism to improve housing conditions and educational opportunities for African Americans in Baltimore
- the expansion of voting rights for women and the emerging role of black women as organizers and activists

Associated Places

At present, many buildings with important associations to this period in Baltimore's Civil Rights history survive within the Old West Baltimore National Register Historic District, an area that encompasses several historically African American communities in West Baltimore.[18] Examples include the former St. Peter's P.E. Church (built 1868) purchased by Bethel A.M.E. Church in 1910; Public School No. 103 (built 1877) converted to use as black school the same year; the Druid Hill Avenue Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) built in 1919; and the former Western High School building on McCulloh Street that beginning in 1928 housed the Coppin Normal School, Colored Junior High School, and offices for the Baltimore colored school administration.

Black occupancy (and associated activism) was not solely limited to West Baltimore. The Morgan Park neighborhood in northeast Baltimore, home to W.E.B. Du Bois and Dr. Carl J. Murphy, began development in 1917 when Morgan College moved nearby. In Baltimore County, growing African American communities included St. Stephens A.M.E. Church (which replaced its original 1878 church with a new building in 1907 that stood until 1972); the Big Falls community where an African American schoolhouse on Hereford Road remained in use until 1936; the Cuba Road community which grew around Gough United Methodist Church (erected in 1907 to replace an 1875 church and school building); and the Lutherville community where Colored School Number 24 opened in 1909 (making it the second oldest African American schoolhouse in Baltimore County).[19]

Opposition to disenfranchisement and segregation

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, prominent white political leaders, especially within the Democratic Party, championed white supremacist policies of disenfranchising black voters and segregating housing and public accommodations. Some contemporaries argued that segregation was a "solution" to the disturbing violence of lynchings. Recent historians (notably Grace Elizabeth Hale) have illustrated how segregation was a key part of how, after the Civil War and the end of Reconstruction, white Americans reasserted their dominance in the South through a cultural system based on violence and physical separation.[20] Historian Carl Nightingale, echoes this analysis writing:

> Jim Crow ordinances segregating rail and trolley cars, theaters, restaurants and other public amenities signaled Southern whites' final rejection of physical proximity as a method of social control, and their embrace of distance.[21]

In Maryland, the state legislature passed a law in 1904 to require segregation on all railroads and, in 1908, extended the law to include electric trolley lines and steamboats. Black opponents in Baltimore secured "an exemption [from the law] for travel within Baltimore, but outside the city limits all blacks suffered the ignominy of being separated."[22] Baltimore lawyer W. Ashbie Hawkins argued a test case against the racist transportation ordinance in 1920 without success and the law remained on the books up until 1951.[23]

The segregated character of city life during this period was later recalled by Thurgood Marshall who grew up in Baltimore in the 1910s and 1920s, "The only thing different between the South and Baltimore was trolley cars. They weren't segregated. Everything else was segregated."[24]

The state legislature also promoted the disenfranchisement of black voters in a series of proposals between 1905 and 1910. The three primary disenfranchisement were amendments to state legislation and known as the Poe Amendment (1905), Strauss Amendment (1908) and Digges Amendment (1910). By restricting the ability to vote based on ancestry (whether a person's forefathers were free as of 1869) and on property ownership, these pieces of proposed legislation would have foreclosed the right to vote to thousands of black Marylanders. A coalition of African American activists and recent European immigrants worked together under the banner of the Maryland Suffrage League to defeat all three. White Republican party leaders like prominent Baltimore lawyer Charles J. Bonaparte also played an role in rallying opposition to these proposals, as historian Jane L. Phelps described Bonaparte's opposition to the Poe and Strauss Amendments in 1905 and 1908.[25] Ultimately black and white opponents to the disenfranchisement campaign succeeded, defeating the Poe Amendment with 104,286 to 70,227 votes in 1905, the Strauss Amendment 106,069 to 98,808 votes in 2908, and the Digges Amendment by 84,000 to 46,000 votes in 1910.[26]

Not long after on December 19, 1910, Baltimore City passed a new law require the racial segregation of residential blocks in Baltimore. Known commonly as the West Ordinance after the bill's proponent Councilman Samuel T. West, the bill was inspired by the purchase of a rowhouse on the 1800 block of McCoulloh Street several months earlier. As the first residential segregation law in the country, the ordinance has been the subject of detailed scholarly study over the past thirty years.[27] Historian Bruce Thompson described how the 1910 housing segregation ordinance worked, writing:

> This ordinance prohibited blacks from purchasing or occupying houses on blocks in which fifty-one percent of the dwellers were white. Similarly, whites could not move into blocks that were predominantly black.

Thompson continues to note:

> In less than one month, twenty-six cases were on the court docket. In the very first case, the presiding judges ruled that the law was invalid because it was drawn incorrectly.[28]

After the court overturned the first ordinance, the City Council passed a similar ordinance on April 7, 1911. The Council then quickly repealed and replaced the bill with a third segregation ordinance on May 15, 1911, entitled:

> an ordinance for preserving peace, preventing conflict and ill feeling between the white and colored races in Baltimore city, and promoting the general welfare of the city by providing, so far as practicable, for the use of separate blocks by white and colored people for residences, churches and schools.[29]

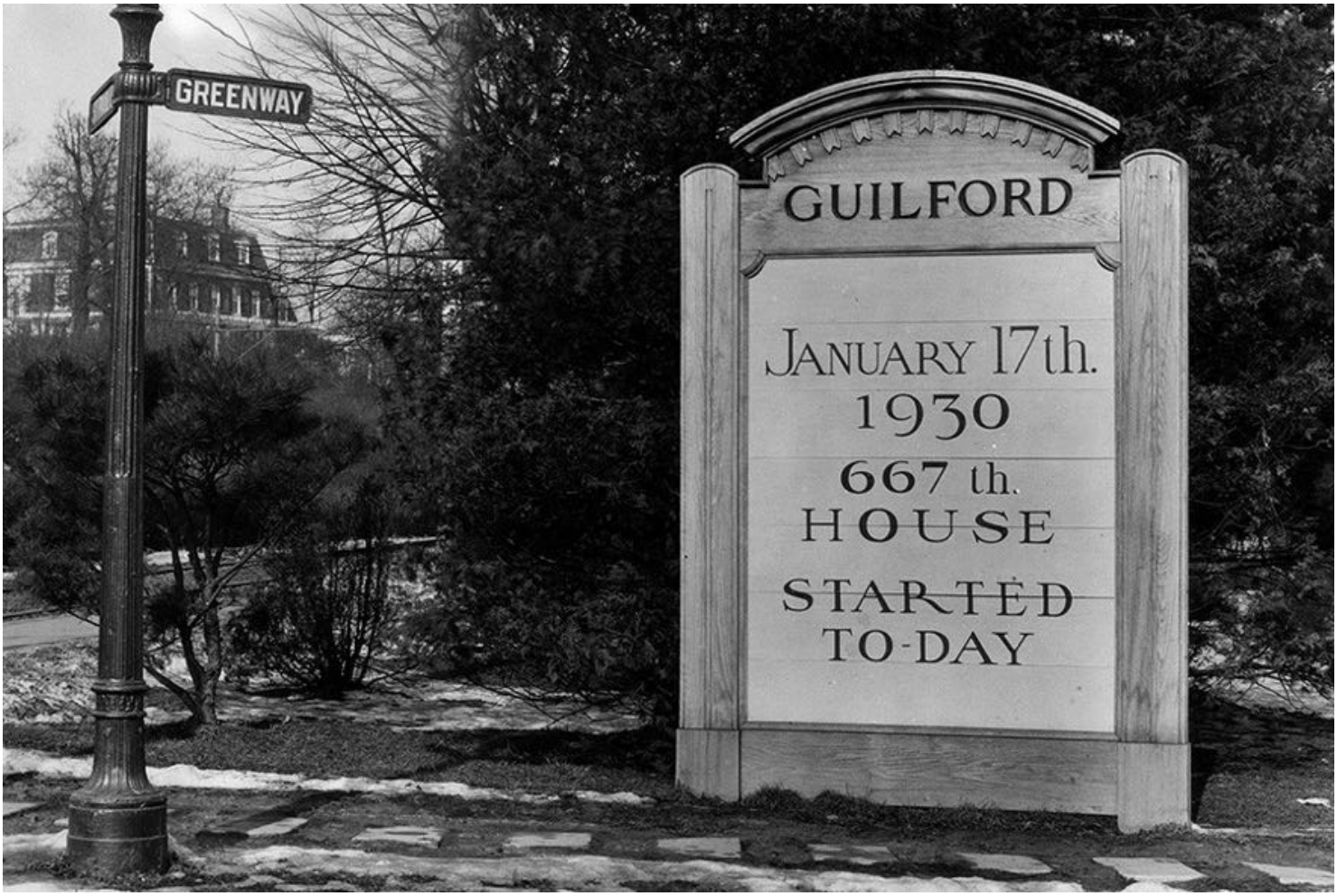
In 1917, the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917) declared racial segregation ordinances (including Baltimore's) unconstitutional. While the decision limited the enforcement of Baltimore's segregation ordinance to less than seven years, the measure had a lasting effect, as Dennis Halpin notes:

> By the end of the 1910s, black Baltimoreans' resistance to the ordinances remade the city's racial geography. Nevertheless, they struggled to challenge the strategies segregationists used in the wake of the laws' demise.[30]

Dennis Doster suggests that the NAACP's national advocacy around residential segregation has roots in the fight over segregation in Baltimore.[31] As Halpin and others argue, deed restrictions, racist practices by professional realtors, and urban design and planning (described by some as "clearance and containment") all contributed to the persistence of segregation even after the 1917 decision.

With exceptions black suburban neighborhoods of Morgan Park and Howard Park in northeast Baltimore, local builders and developers almost never erected new homes for black buyers in the first half of the twentieth century. Roland Park, developed beginning in 1891, Guilford (developed beginning in 1913) and Homeland (developed beginning in 1924) served as models of racial exclusion for developers around the country. The developer, the Roland Park Company:

> ...used deed restrictions as the cornerstone of a broader attempt to manufacture a dichotomy between suburban and urban space in order to sell a new spatial and social arrangement to a status-conscious white middle class. Other developers frequently requested copies of its deed restrictions.[32]



This sign commemorates the groundbreaking of the 667th house in Guilford, on January 17, 1930. *Courtesy Sheridan Libraries Special Collections, Johns Hopkins University*.

Historian Paige Glotzer notes that at the national level, the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) adopted a Code of Ethics in 1913, the same year the Roland Park Company began using racial restrictions in deeds, and then revised the code in 1924 to prevent any realtor from:

> introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individual whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood.[33]

The Roland Park Company also planned physical boundaries between their developments and nearby properties occupied by black Baltimoreans. For example, the company planted "a long hedge to cut off sightlines of a predominantly black settlement down the hill, the same settlement where it later located its sewage disposal field."[34]

Some white Baltimoreans promoted a similar approach in the area of Mount Royal Avenue where, in 1909, Colonel C. Baker Clotworthy, commander of the Fifth Regiment, wrote to the *Sun* advocating for the extension of Howard Street north of the Richmond Market as a way of tearing down homes occupied by African Americans:

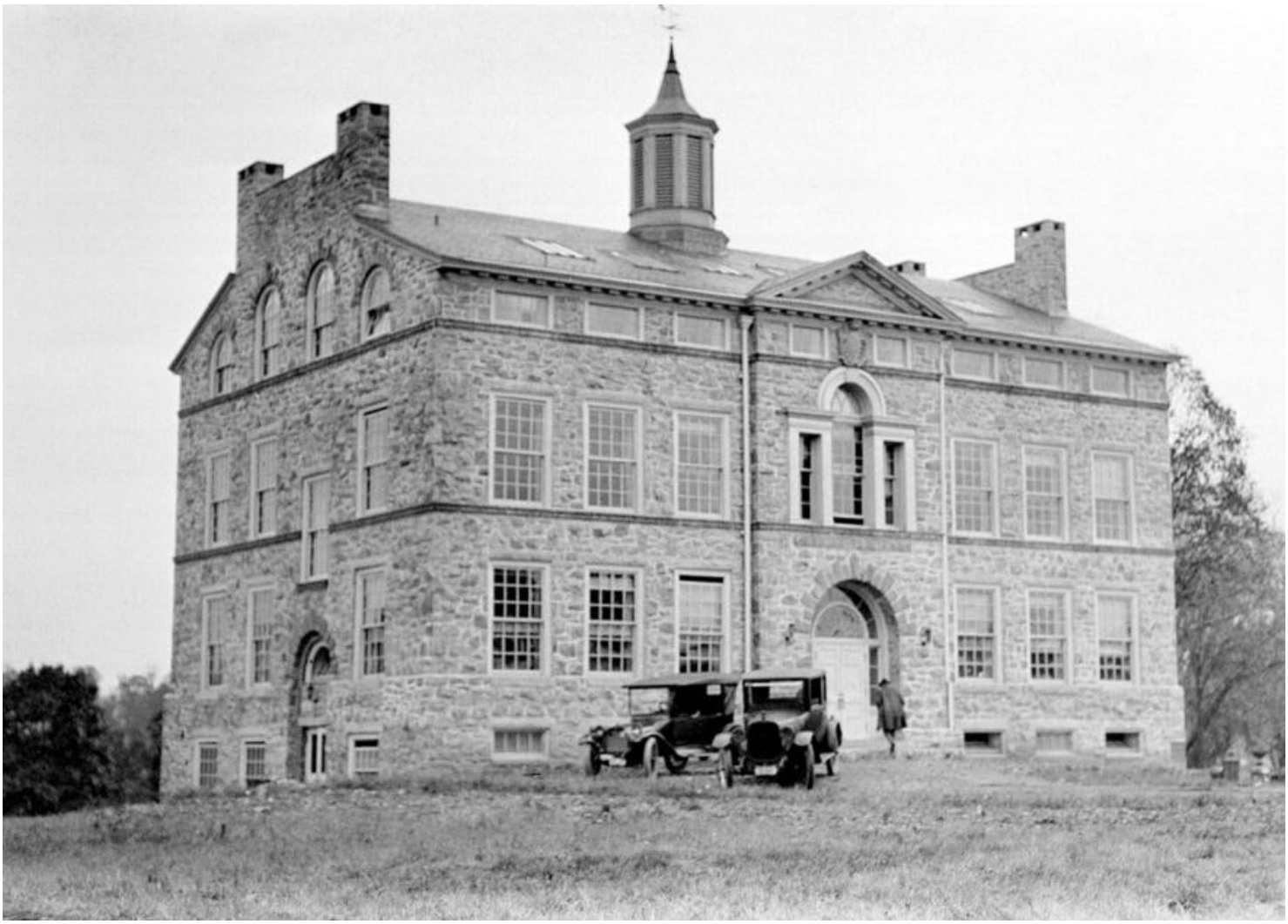
> I would be deeply interested in this improvement because it means so much more than simply tearing down some houses and opening a street. Everyone in the city is familiar with the steady decrease which has taken place in the value of property in this neighborhood for the last 20 years. All about Richmond Market, and extending north, there are hundreds of undesirable houses and, in many cases, huts. This sore is spreading rapidly. A great many negroes, not of the best class, gradually tenant the houses on the edge of this district and immediately the white people move from the block invaded. If this continues no one knows where it will stop.[35]

While the extension of Howard Street, the construction of the Mount Royal Viaduct, and the erection of the Howard Street Bridge, projects that demolished black housing that Colonel Clotsworthy advocated, were all delayed until they received funding from the Public Works Administration in the 1930s, the Mount Royal Protective Association fought and won an effort to demolish a block of African American occupied homes around the Fifth Regiment Armory building for the creation of a plaza (around 1930). The improvement association boasted of its efforts to secure and enforce racial covenants from local property owners, noting the group's "greatest achievement… has been the subjecting of the property in its area to a restriction for white occupancy only."[36]

Not all older neighborhoods could create the physical barriers employed by the Roland Park Company but they could use racial covenants. In January 1924, two hundred members of six West Baltimore protective associations met at the Fulton Avenue Presbyterian Church (at Fulton and Monroe Streets) to fight the movement of African American households into these western neighborhoods. The *Baltimore Sun* quoted Dr. C.P. Woodward, City Councilman for the 5th district, saying:

> The principal function of any organization is to acquire everything of benefit to the community and to keep away everything undesirable. It is a pity that law-abiding citizens who do not receive sufficient protection from the law to keep out undesirables must form protective associations to do so.[37]

The meeting sparked a campaign to seek signed commitments from 1600 property owners in an area bounded by North Avenue, Pennsylvania Avenue and Bentalou Street willing to promise not to sell to African Americans. The *Baltimore Afro-American*, also reported on the meeting and summarized the sentiment of the speakers as, "Negroes should be put in a bag and pitched overboard."[38]



Photograph of Carnegie Hall at Morgan College (now Morgan State University) by Jackson Davis, 1921 November 3. *Courtesy University of Virginia, 330943.*

When proponents of segregation took legal action to promote segregation policies, their efforts were less successful. For example, in 1918, a group of white residents in Lauraville attempted to have the 1917 sale of the Ivy Mill property to Morgan College revoked by the circuit court in Towson. The court dismissed the case and, after the Lauraville residents appealed, the state court upheld the lower court's decision.[39]

Movement to stop lynchings, mob violence, and criminal injustice

Segregation and disenfranchisement were not the only consequences of the broad political support for white supremacy in the early twentieth century. While the number of lynchings peaked nationally in the 1890s, lynching remained a major concern for African American Civil Rights advocates in Baltimore through the 1940s.[40] For example, in 1918, the new local chapter of UNIA was so concerned about the threat of lynchings that it organized an event at Bethel AME Church featuring Marcus Garvey and famed anti-lynching advocate Ida B. Wells-Barnett. As reported by:

> Rev. William Sampson Brooks cosponsored an event at Bethel with the Baltimore division of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, led by William D. Rankin, on December 18, 1918 featuring Marcus Garvey and Ida B. Wells-Barnett as speakers.[41]

Mob violence, such as the wave of riots that affected many American cities in 1919 known as the Red Summer, was also a source of major concern for local activists. A riot in East St. Louis, Illinois in July 1917 prompted a mass meeting at Bethel AME Church that sent a delegation (including Dr. Carl J. Murphy) to meet with President Woodrow Wilson and urge him to investigate the riot and take action to address the issue.[42] Baltimore activists saw their proximity to Washington, DC as an obligation to support national efforts to lobby federal officials over lynching and related issues.[43]

The physical violence of the period took place concurrently with the local and national resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan. For example, on October 10, 1922, the Klan held a rally in Annapolis and, that same year, also rallied in Frederick and Baltimore.[44] In early 1923, the Klan presented a charity circus in Hazazer's Hall at 111 W. Franklin Street (the present site of the Enoch Pratt Library Central Branch) to publicize the organization's endorsement of Protestantism. After the circus, Klan members visited the United Brethren Church and the Roland Avenue Methodist Church at 40th Street and Roland Avenue. The pastor at Roland Avenue accepted a $25 donation from the visitors, remarking, "I, for one, am glad to get it." Although the Klan stayed active that year, not everybody embraced them. In March 1923, for example, a Klan meeting at the Brooklyn First Baptist Church at 3801 5th Street was "almost broken up by an angry mob."[45]

While the majority of lynchings in Maryland took place on the Eastern Shore and in Southern Maryland, black residents in Baltimore did face an immediate threat of police violence and a broader challenge of criminal injustice. Noted incidents of police violence in this period include a police officer beating a black WWI soldier (an action criticized in February 1918 by Judge Robert F. Stanton who later served as Police Commissioner from 1938 to 1943); the police shooting of a black man on Pennsylvania Avenue on June 1, 1918; Baltimore police officer James O. Jones "beating up" Henry Boyer in 1926; and a police officer clubbing Henry Simuels in 1927.[46] Black residents responded to these incidents with letters of protest, mass meetings, and other forms of organized activism. As a student at the the Colored High School on Pennsylvania Avenue in the early 1920s, Thurgood Marshall had a close-up view of how Baltimore's police officers treated black suspects at the Northwestern District Police Station next door. In *Thurgood Marshall: American Revolutionary*, Juan Williams quotes Marshall's recollection of what he heard, writing:

> We could hear police in there beating the hell out of people, saying, "Black boy, why don't you just shut your goddamned mouth, you're going to talk yourself into the electric chair."[47]

Black residents in Baltimore experienced the dual challenges of being both overpoliced and underprotected as white people who committed crimes against black people could expect much lighter penalties for their actions. For example, in February 1921, five hundred people gathered at Trinity Baptist Church at Druid Hill Avenue and Mosher Street to protest the release of a white man, Harry Feldenheimer, on a $500 bail after police arrested him for an attempted assault on a ten-year-old black girl named Esther Short. The *Afro* reported that participants in the meeting criticized the "brutality of the local police, exclusion of qualified men from the police force and from juries in the city, and the Jim Crow arrangements for colored people in the Criminal and Juvenile Courts".[48] A 1926 report from the *Afro* called attention to racism in the use of capital punishment in Maryland. Observing that between 1903 and 1926, nine of the ten men executed in Maryland for murder or rape were black, the newspaper called for an end to the death penalty.[49]

Activists sought to address these problems through stronger oversight of the police and the appointment of black police officers. In 1925, the Conference of AME Ministers set up a committee to consider the best way to place black officers on the police force.[50] Although such efforts were largely unsuccessful in this period, the work by activists led to forcing the city and state to begin to address their concerns in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

Activism to improve housing and educational conditions for African Americans

In northern cities, public debates around poverty and difficult living conditions took place in the context of the Great Migration. The National Urban League was established in New York City as the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, on September 29, 1910, and focused on the needs of new migrants to the city. Although the proportion of migrants to Baltimore was much smaller than New York, conditions for many black Baltimoreans were still difficult. Historian Samuel Kelton Roberts noted the challenges for black students attending the city's segregated schools, writing:

> Baltimore's black public schools were crowded and in disrepair, housed in the cast-off buildings left behind as whites moved to better facilities. ... Despite the reorganization of the city government and the educational system, no new black schools were built between 1898 and 1915.[51]

Efforts to address poverty in Baltimore's black community began to expand in the late nineteenth century. Baltimore's Colored Young Men's Christian Association organized in 1893 (following an 1891 meeting on the topic hosted by the Brotherhood of Liberty with William A. Hunton, the first YMCA executive of color in the United States).[52] In 1896, a group of African American women founded the Colored Young Women's Christian Association (CYWCA), likely inspired by the movement to promote "racial uplift activity associated with the emergence in the mid–1890s of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs."[53] Another example is the Women's Cooperative Civic League that formed in 1913 "at the request of a group of white citizens to address housing, health, sanitation, and educational problems resulting from the rapid urban growth." Led by Sara Fernandis, the organization divided responsibility for different wards of the city among a group of community activists and grew their membership to 130 by 1914.[54]

One of the most significant of these organizations was the interracial Baltimore Urban League. Historian Ralph L. Pearson quotes a 1950 Urban League publication that traces the group's founding to the 1919 Hague Conference on World Friendship "which was the first volunteer gathering of representatives from the warring nations after World War I."[55] As the group began to organize, it enlisted the assistance of the National Urban League's Department of Research and Investigations to conduct a three-month study of Baltimore industries and black workers beginning in March 1922.[56] The study found that 62 of the 175 industrial plants that were investigated, employing 20,735 people, refused to hire African American workers. The study led to a meeting at the Emmanuel Church Parish House on May 7, 1924 to formally establish a local Urban League chapter.[57] Over the next few years, the new organization directed by R. Maurice Moss, a white social worker, helped to promote the development of Provident Hospital; conducted a survey of housing conditions in the area bounded by Druid Hill and Pennsylvania avenues, Biddle and Preston streets (the so-called "Lung Block" for its high tuberculosis rate); and organized a black division of the Playground Athletic League.[58]

Improving housing conditions in black neighborhoods

This period also included significant discussion around how to improve housing conditions in increasingly overcrowded, segregated black neighborhoods. Residents pushed for In 1906, an influential report on housing conditions by Janet Kemp sparked a series of early reform efforts.[59] However, the design of the local housing reform agenda was clearly shaped by white interests as with the large-scale clearance of the blocks of housing along Saint Paul Street (largely occupied by African American residents) to make way for the development of Preston Gardens in the 1910s.[60]

Improving conditions for black teachers and students

One important example of the changes that took place in this period was the efforts that led to the publication of the Strayer Survey evaluating the condition and management of Baltimore schools, both white and black. The Strayer Survey was a comprehensive look at the problems of Baltimore's public schools: overcrowding, inadequate facilities, poor curriculum, and out-dated management practices.[61] When the report was published in 1922, it offered the possibility of "a real opportunity for the segregated schools to participate in much needed school reform".[62] Among the recommendations was the suggestion that the schools open all trade and apprenticeship programs to black students.[63] Although the white school leadership did not promise any immediate action, the report did result in the hiring of the first black director of the Baltimore City Division of Colored Schools, Dr. Francis Russell, in 1923.[64] After Russell was denied the resources for the administration of his program, he resigned in August 1924. Angelina Johnson describes the appointment of Russell's successor:

> On August 1, 1925, Francis Marion Wood was appointed supervisor of all African American schools of Baltimore City; he would stay in the position until 1943, overseeing many changes. With a starting salary of $4200 per school year, Wood relocated to Baltimore with his wife Nellie and their four children. Wood's position included the responsibility for implementing and overseeing the recommendations of the Strayer Report. Supervisor Wood reported to David Weglein, who was Superintendent of Public Instructions and who reported to the nine members of the Board of School Commissioners, the Mayor, and the Baltimore City Council.[65]

At the same time the Baltimore school system began hiring African American educators, the Defense League (a group of black activist lawyers) won a temporary injunction from a Baltimore court in June 1925 to require equal salaries for white and black teachers. This decision was later overturned by a higher court but prompted a promise from Mayor Howard Jackson in October 1926 to begin equal salaries in the 1927 school year.[66]

Advocates for black students won a key fight for the city to hire black teachers with the appointment of Roberta B. Sheridan, a black educator, in 1888 and, by 1907, not a single white teacher worked in the Baltimore City Division of Colored Schools.[67] However, many of the city's segregated black schools operated out of older buildings with fewer resources than white schools. Of the eighteen schools open to African American students in 1900 many were built before the Civil War, including School No. 116 at Druid Hill Avenue near Biddle Street (1842); School No. 109 at Fremont and King Streets (1843); and School No. 101 at Jefferson Street near Caroline Street (1855).[68]

Another improvement in education came as the Maryland State Teachers Association (also known as the Maryland Progressive State Colored Teachers Association) campaigned in 1915 to extend the school year for black students who had a shorter school year than white students.[69]

Some observers saw the absence of any African American members of the Baltimore City School Board as a barrier to addressing unequal pay and lack of training for teachers and the inadequate school buildings they worked in. In 1919, when the editors of the *Baltimore Afro-American Newspaper* demanded Charles Koch, the superintendent of schools, hire an African American superintendent, Koch responded that:

> Blacks were not far enough developed to have a school board member, but would do well as members of the street cleaning force.[70]

Expansion of voting rights and organizing and activism by black women

The ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 marked new era in the history of the Civil Rights movement in Baltimore and around the country. However, winning the right to vote was just one of the ways that black women grew in power and visibility as activists and organizers during this period. The opportunities black women won through their own activism and political victories helped shape the Civil Rights movement throughout the twentieth century.

The road for black women activists was a rocky one from the start. Following the 1890 merger of the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association, an alliance that formed the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), the broader national suffrage movement began to systematically exclude black women in a bid to win more support from Southern white women and political leaders. The segregation of the suffrage movement encouraged the organization of independent groups for black women beginning with the Colored Women's League in Washington, D.C. in June 1892. In another example of black women organizing for suffrage, in 1896, the Colored Women's League merged with the National Federation of African American Women to form the National Association of Colored Women.

As at the national level, in Maryland the women's suffrage movement, led by groups such as Bassie Ellicott's Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore and Emma Maddox Funck's Maryland Suffrage Association, faced stiff opposition in the state legislature. A number of white-led suffragist organizations, Carrie Chapman Catt's League of Women Voters and the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage (late known as the National Woman's Party) led by Alice Paul, sought to build support for women's suffrage among southern white political leaders and argued that suffrage for women would not challenge the white supremacist agenda of disenfranchising black voters.[71] In March 1909, activist Edith Houghton Hooker hosted a meeting where Rev. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Suffrage Association, spoke. The *Baltimore Sun* reported on the event, writing:

> That all the leaders in the movement for woman suffrage do not extend their desire for women to vote to include all "colored sisters" was made evident last night by the two most conspicuous figures at the meeting of the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore, in Friends' Meeting House, on Park avenue.[72]

That same year, Hooker broke with the established Maryland suffrage organizations to focus on the goal of passing a new Constitutional amendment granting women the right to vote. She founded the Just Government League and affiliated her organization with NAWSA.

In addition to the fight for suffrage, at the local level, black women organized independently to support their churches and communities as well as pursue political goals. Felicia L. Jamison attributes the rise of female leadership within Sharp Street United Methodist Church to the fundraising work that women put towards "defraying the newly acquired $70,000 debt for the new edifice" erected in 1898.[73] Women also sought to improve the lives of their neighbors. In 1910, the N.M. Carroll Chapter of Sharp Street Church's Epworth League opened a coffee shop and soup house in the Windsor Flats section of Baltimore.[74] A similar mission inspired organization of the Colored Empty Stocking and Fresh Air Circle after the Great Baltimore Fire of 1904 to help Baltimore's dependent children.[75] Historian Cynthia Neverdon-Morton argues that the significance of these effort are seen, in part, through the interdenominational nature of their work: church women throughout the city "regardless of class or level of education, worked together in a number of social and charitable organizations to better their community."[76]

Activism around disenfranchisement and segregation offered important opportunities for black women to participate in the political process. In October 1905, a mass meeting of around one hundred women at the Perkins Square Baptist Church (a building later demolished for the construction of George B. Murphy Homes) rallied opposition to the proposal in that year to disenfranchise black voters.[77] The rally followed a letter in the *Afro-American* by W.M. Alexander asking black women to join the fight against the disenfranchisement proposal:

> We also appeal to colored women to do their part. The advocates of the Poe-amendment are urging the white women to help them and since the object of the amendment is to deprive colored men of civil and political liberties, colored women ought to do what they can to defeat it.[78]

The mass meetings led to more formal associations. In 1906, for example, a group of black women in Baltimore organized the Federation of the Colored Women of Maryland.[79] In 1911, the *Afro American* reported:

> For the first time in the political history of Maryland, the Negro women of the city have been organized into a campaign committee for the purpose of working for the success of the Republican ticket.

Additionally, a new "Auxiliary Republican Committee" was chaired by Dr. Ernest Lyon and met at 414 W. Hoffman Street. The group was allied with the Anti-Digges Amendment League, an organization of "several hundred Negro women" led by president Eliza Cummings (mother of City Councilman Harry S. Cummings).[80]

Baltimore's local groups worked in concert with the national efforts of black women. In August 1916, for example, Bethel A.M.E. Church hosted the tenth biennial meeting of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs.[81] In 1919, under the leadership of Rev. M. J. Naylor, Sharp Street Church established a community program that "included a kindergarten, a day nursery, and an employment bureau."[82] Efforts by female activists at Sharp Street Church culminated in the construction of the Sharp Street Community House: "a church-affiliated community center that housed young and poverty stricken women, and offered professional classes to the Baltimore black community."[83] Jamison quotes the Community House Annual Report for 1921–1922, which describes how it sought:

> [to] provide a higher civic and social life, to institute and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises and to investigate and improve conditions generally through co-operation with other social agencies.[84]

Leading up to the 1920 adoption of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, in 1919, Maryland's Senators split over the issue of women's suffrage with Democrat John Walter Smith voting against the proposed amendment and Republican Senator Joseph I. France voting for it. When the measure came before the Maryland legislature on February 24, 1920, the legislators rejected it, in part

due to concerns over the expansion of suffrage to black women at a time when many white Marylanders still wanted to see more restrictions on voting rights for African Americans. Despite Maryland's rejection of the measure, the Nineteenth Amendment won support in thirty-six states, and, with the approval of Tennessee on August 18, it finally became part of the U.S. Constitution on August 26, 1920.

On November 2, 1920, women voted for first time in Maryland and, in 1921, the Women's Suffrage League of Maryland affiliated with the recently formed League of Women Voters of the United States.[85] That same year, the Colored Women's YWCA became formally affiliated with the Baltimore YWCA although the two organizations did not fully merge into a single integrated organization until the 1970s.[86] From 1920 onward, black women voters were critical to the success of Civil Rights activism in Baltimore.

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1. U.S. Census, 1900; 1910; 1920; 1930.↩
2. Cumberbatch, "Baltimore, Maryland," 18. ↩
3. Other notable setbacks for Civil Rights activists include *Berea College v. Kentucky* (1908).↩
4. Thompson, "The Civil Rights Vanguard," 1. ↩
5. Ibid., 32. ↩
6. Ibid., 33. ↩
7. Ibid., 31. ↩
8. Ibid., 28. ↩
9. Ibid., 3. ↩
10. Ibid., 3. ↩
11. Doster, "'To Strike for Right, To Strike With Might'." ↩
12. Bowling and Lindenmeyer, "How Did a Multi-Racial Movement Develop in the YWCA in Baltimore, 1883–1926?"; Schiszik, "Monumental Lodge No. 3, Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World." ↩
13. See Chapter 559, Acts of 1927.↩
14. Farrar, *The Baltimore Afro-American, 1892–1950*. ↩
15. Thompson, "The Civil Rights Vanguard," 2. ↩
16. The Niagara Movement ended within five years but led directly to the creation of the NAACP in 1909.↩
17. Collier-Thomas, "Harvey Johnson and the Baltimore Mutual United Brotherhood of Libery, 1885–1910," 224. ↩
18. The historic district includes the neighborhoods of Madison Park, Upton, Druid Heights, Harlem Park, and Sandtown-Winchester.↩

19. E.H.T. Traceries, “African American Historic Survey Districts - Baltimore County.” ↩
20. Hale, *Making Whiteness*. ↩
21. Nightingale, “The Transnational Contexts of Early Twentieth-Century American Urban Segregation,” 674. ↩
22. Thompson, “The Civil Rights Vanguard,” 31. ↩
23. Ibid., 32. ↩
24. See ibid., , 12; Thompson cites Juan Williams, "Marshall’s Law," Washington Post Magazine, 7 January 1990, 12–17.↩
25. Phelps, “Charles J. Bonaparte and Negro Suffrage in Maryland.” ↩
26. Smith, *Here Lies Jim Crow*, 65. ↩
27. Power, “Apartheid Baltimore Style.”; Nightingale, “The Transnational Contexts of Early Twentieth-Century American Urban Segregation.”; Roberts Jr., *Infectious Fear*; Boger, “The Meaning of Neighborhood in the Modern City Baltimore’s Residential Segregation Ordinances, 1910—1913.”; Halpin, “Reforming Charm City.”; Halpin, “‘The Struggle for Land and Liberty’ Segregation, Violence, and African American Resistance in Baltimore, 1898–1918.”↩
28. Thompson, “The Civil Rights Vanguard,” 34–35; Power, “Apartheid Baltimore Style,” 298–303. ↩
29. “Baltimore, Md., Ordinance 692.” ↩
30. Halpin, “Reforming Charm City,” 204. ↩
31. Doster, “‘To Strike for Right, To Strike With Might’.” ↩
32. Glotzer, “Exclusion in Arcadia How Suburban Developers Circulated Ideas About Discrimination, 1890–1950,” 481. ↩
33. Ibid., 488. ↩
34. Ibid., 482–83. ↩
35. “FAVORS HOWARD ST. PLAN.” ↩
36. See “WAY NOW CLEARED FOR ARMORY PLAZA.” for approval of Armory Plaza plans; Citation needed for quote about Mount Royal Protective Association.↩
37. “PLAN TO CHECK NEGRO INVASION IS INAUGURATED.” ↩
38. “Segregationists Hold Stormy Session.” ↩
39. See Stockbridge, “Russell I. Diggs et Al. Vs. Morgan College.”; For more on the history of Morgan State University, see Wilson, *The History of Morgan State College*; See also Dula, “Prospering Because That’s Its History.”; For more on the history of Morgan Park, see McConnell, *The History of Morgan Park*↩
40. For additional information on the history of lynching in America in southern states, students and researchers should look at the American Lynching website and the Equal Justice Institute’s report "Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror".↩
41. Mamiya, “A Social History of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore,” 250–51. ↩
42. Farrar, *The Baltimore Afro-American, 1892–1950*, 125. ↩
43. Find a detailed account of the efforts of Baltimore activists to lobby for federal anti-lynching legislation in ibid., .↩
44. See Mapping the Second Ku Klux Klan, 1915–1940 for more details on the growth of Klan chapters across the country.↩
45. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915–1930*, 181. ↩

46. “Soldiers and the Police.”; “Penna. Ave. Shooting Causes Comment.”; “BRUTALITY OF POLICEMAN IS FLAYED HERE.”; “RAISE PROTEST OVER POLICE BRUTALITY.”; Our thematic study on Criminal Injustice addresses these incidents and others in more detail.↩

47. Williams, *Thurgood Marshall*, 40. ↩

48. “MASS MEETING OF 500 URGES PUNISHMENT OF INSURANCE COLLECTOR.” ↩

49. Farrar, *The Baltimore Afro-American, 1892–1950*, 115–17. ↩

50. Ibid., 112. ↩

51. Roberts, “Infectious Fear,” 28. ↩

52. Wilson, “Druid Hill Branch, YMCA,” 138. ↩

53. Bowling and Lindenmeyer, “How Did a Multi-Racial Movement Develop in the YWCA in Baltimore, 1883–1926?” ↩

54. Gordon and Collier-Thomas, *African American Women and the Vote, 1837–1965*, 124. ↩

55. Pearson, “The National Urban League Comes to Baltimore,” 523. ↩

56. Ibid., 524. ↩

57. Ibid., 529. ↩

58. Ibid., 532. ↩

59. Halpin, “Reforming Charm City”; Roberts, “Infectious Fear”; Lieb, “‘We Clean-Up, Paint-Up, and Fix-Up Our Neighborhoods’.” ↩

60. This topic is addressed in greater detail in our incomplete thematic study on housing and our study on Preston Gardens.↩

61. Johnson, “The Strayer Survey and the Colored Schools of Baltimore City, 1923–1943,” 23. ↩

62. Ibid., 36. ↩

63. Ibid., 34. ↩

64. Ibid., 37. ↩

65. Ibid., 40. ↩

66. Farrar, *The Baltimore Afro-American, 1892–1950*, 33. ↩

67. Johnson, “The Strayer Survey and the Colored Schools of Baltimore City, 1923–1943,” 14. ↩

68. Ibid., 15. ↩

69. Ibid., 18. ↩

70. Farrar, *The Baltimore Afro-American, 1892–1950*, 36. ↩

71. Walton Jr., Puckett, and Deskins Jr., “The Enfranchisement of African American Women, 1669–1921,” 424–25. ↩

72. “APPOSES IGNORANT VOTE.” ↩

73. Jamison, “Leading from Behind.” ↩

74. Ibid., 83. ↩

75. Neverdon-Morton, “Self-Help Programs as Educative Activities of Black Women in the South, 1895–1925,” 219. ↩

76. Jamison, “Leading from Behind,” 80. ↩
77. “THEY MAUL THE AMENDMENT.” ↩
78. Alexander, “Letter to the Editor 1 – No Title.” ↩
79. Jenifer, “The Forum.” ↩
80. “Women Will Help to Get Out Voters.” ↩
81. “MEETING OF CLUBWOMEN.” ↩
82. Jamison, “Leading from Behind,” 41. ↩
83. Ibid., 5. ↩
84. Ibid., 6. ↩
85. On November 7, 1922, Maryland voters ratified a Constitutional amendment (approved by the legislature as Chapter 275, Acts of 1922) to allow women to hold public office.↩
86. Bowling and Lindenmeyer, “How Did a Multi-Racial Movement Develop in the YWCA in Baltimore, 1883–1926?” ↩

1929-1954

Introduction

The Great Depression began in the fall of 1929 with the Black Tuesday stock market crash on October 29. For African Americans in Baltimore, already burdened by employment discrimination and segregated housing, the economic crisis brought widespread job loss and deep poverty. The *Baltimore Afro-American* observed in a 1933 editorial that "Baltimore is a border city with Southern feelings" reflecting on the persistent racism of many white residents and elected officials.[1] In the 1930s, New Deal relief efforts through the Works Progress Administration and Public Works Administration reinforced the city's existing patterns of segregation and discrimination by using public money to tear down black "slum" housing and by providing black families smaller relief payments than white families. In response to these new challenges, African Americans in Baltimore, joined by some white supporters, organized and pursued a renewed campaign of protests, fighting for equal employment and education at home in Baltimore and around the country.

The rapid growth of the city's black population during the 1940s, following the beginning of World War II, pushed the issues of housing and criminal injustice to the forefront alongside continuing efforts to expand opportunities for black workers. After a Baltimore City police officer shot and killed a black private in the U.S. Army from Pittsburgh, a coalition of local activists organized the 1942 March on Annapolis—the largest Civil Rights demonstration in the history of the state—and won important new changes. The election of Republican Mayor Theodore McKeldin (after over a decade of leadership by Democratic Mayor Howard W. Jackson) provide African American activists with a potential ally after years of frustration.

After the war ended in 1945, Baltimore saw a wave of major changes as African American residents, who had struggled under a severe housing shortage for decades, began buying homes in an expanding area of west Baltimore (west of Fulton Avenue) and in east Baltimore. In 1951, the Maryland legislature finally changed state laws that had required racial segregation on trains and boats and, by 1953, five years of protests by activists and students finally forced the desegregation of Ford's Theatre on Fayette Street in downtown Baltimore. On the eve of the monumental Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Civil Rights Movement in Baltimore had already started to radically transform life in the city.

Historian Prudence Denise Cumberbatch described the period between 1929 and 1945 as one of the "key social and political eras in the history of Baltimore".[2] Bruce Thompson observed that in the 1930s Baltimore became "a model for organizing blacks at the grassroots level to support the fight for black civil rights."[3] Not all activists took the same approach, as Cumberbatch reflects on the internal debates within black Civil Rights movement in this period of growth:

> [activists considered] whether or not their chances for success would be better if they formed alliances with radical political organizations, concentrated on intraracial campaigns, or placed their hopes in the policies of the federal government.

Cumberbatch concludes that African American activists in Baltimore incorporated all three strategies into their efforts to respond to the "immediate concerns of their community, be they mob violence or the treatment of workers in the steel mill."[4] In contrast to the nineteenth century, this new movement relied on *support* from churches but largely *followed* secular leaders.[5]

The transition to new leadership for the local movement began in 1931 when Juanita Jackson organized the City-Wide Young Peoples Forum. Thompson describes the list of prominent black speakers at Forum meetings between 1931 and 1935 as a "Who's Who of Black Americans" including: "W.E.B. Du Bois, Walter White, Roy Wilkins, William Pickens, Charles H. Houston… Mary McLeod Bethune, Nannie H. Burroughs, E. Franklin Frazier, James Weldon Johnson, Sterling Brown, George Schuyler, Congressman Oscar DePriest, Carter G. Woodson, Reverend A. Clayton Powell, Sr., and other prominent black leaders."[6] Activist Nannie H. Burroughs (1879–1961) called the Forum:

> the best, most progressive, and analytical organization of Negro young people in America. It feels, thinks, believes, acts.[7]

Building on the popularity of the group's regular meetings, Jackson and others recruited hundreds of young people to the "Buy Where You Can Work" campaign protesting businesses on Pennsylvania Avenue that refused to hire black workers. Two of the most visible supporters of the campaign were Thurgood Marshall and Lillie Mae Carroll Jackson. Born and raised in Baltimore, by 1934, Thurgood Marshall was a young lawyer just starting to work for the local Baltimore chapter of the NAACP. and, in 1935, Jaunita Jackson's mother Lillie Mae Carroll Jackson took over as the president of the chapter. The group had struggled with financial stability since its founding but Jackson, working with her daughter and Charles Murphy of the *Afro-American* newspaper, turned the group into one of the most powerful local NAACP branches in the country.

Others important organizers and activists included Dr. John E.T. Camper (d. 1977) with the Citizen's Committee for Justice and the Progressive Citizens of America (PCA); Victorine Q. Adams (1912–2006) with the Colored Democratic Women's Campaign Committee; and Edward Lewis with the Baltimore Urban League.

Others may not have served in formal leadership roles with civil rights organizations but supported the movement as plaintiffs, as workers integrating segregated institutions, and as participants in the growing use of direct action. NAACP's legal campaigns in Baltimore relied on the courage and persistence of individual plaintiffs such as Margaret Williams (b. 1923), Donald Gaines Murray (1914–1986), and Louise Kerr Hines (1916–2007). Others faced the challenge of being the first African American to integrate segregated institutions: Violet Hill Whyte (1897–1980) became Baltimore's first black non-uniformed police officer in 1937; Vivien Thomas (1910–1985) became one of the first black professional employees at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine in 1941; Frederick I. Scott, Jr. (b. 1927) became one of the first black undergraduate students at Johns Hopkins University when he enrolled in 1945; and George Taliaferro became one of the first three black players for the Baltimore Colts football team in 1953.[8] Hundreds of other people marched in picket lines on Pennsylvania Avenue in the early 1930s, walked twenty-five miles to march on Annapolis in 1942, and sat down at lunch counters on Lexington Street in the early 1950s.

As new African American leadership and renewed organizing efforts emerged to lead Baltimore's Civil Rights movement, liberal white activists and interracial organizations reemerged after white support for black freedom collapsed in the late nineteenth century. The local Civil Rights movement had the sometimes controversial support of the American Communist Party (established in 1919) which expanded their advocacy for Civil Rights in Maryland during the 1930s. The ACLU of Maryland was founded on March 8, 1931 shortly before the ACLU's publication of Black Justice. This influential report on "legal discriminations against Negroes" included a Dr. Broadus Mitchell (1893–1988), an economics professor at Johns Hopkins University (1919–1939) and Socialist candidate for Governor of Maryland in 1934. Mitchell resigned from Hopkins in protest after administrators refused to admit Edward Lewis, an African American, the graduate school.[9]

By the early 1950s, Baltimore also had a local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)—an interracial activist group founded in Chicago in March 1942. White Civil Rights supporter Sidney Hollander, Sr., established the Hollander Foundation which began publishing an annual report "Toward Equality," in 1946 to evaluate the condition of civil rights in Maryland.[10] As two leading black activists later recalled, "there were always a few whites who braved the wrath and scorn and the ostracism to work" for civil rights for black Baltimoreans.[11]

Electoral politics also reemerged as a major source of opportunity for change. A few months before the 1932 election, the Afro-American helped to organize a registration drive for black voters, highlighting the fact that in Baltimore City :

> 37,908 colored people are registered and ready to vote, and 54,000 of us are slackers and ineligible to cast a ballot because we have not registered.[12]

The drive won supported from former City Council member Walter S. Emerson, leading members of the A.M.E. Church, and, one account noted, "It is expected that leaders in the Socialist and Communist groups will be invited to participate".[13] In 1934, Baltimore's black voters helped to defeat long-serving Democratic Maryland Governor Albert Ritchie in favor of Republican Harry Nice. In 1943, the same voters helped to defeat long-serving Democratic Mayor Howard W. Jackson in favor of Republican Theodore McKeldin. McKeldin's liberal views on civil rights won him significant support from black voters who including many registered by the NAACP in the group's "Vote for Victory" drive.[14] Reverend Marion Bascom, a Civil Rights activist and leader of Douglas Memorial Community Church, later reflected on how as Mayor and later Governor Theodore McKeldin was accessible to activists:

> People didn't have to have a 'sit-in' demonstration to see Mr. McKeldin. Mr. McKeldin was available and this, I think, made all the difference.[15]

Support for Nice and McKeldin did not reverse the major realignment of black voters from the Republican to the Democratic Party. Black voters in northern cities were key to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's reelection in 1936 and 1940. In a column on Roosevelt's 1936 election, African American mathematician and writer Kelly Miller celebrated the end of the "Solid South" control over the Democratic party and called a "victory of liberalism over reaction," For example, on December 3, 1946, Victorine Q. Adams held the first meeting of the Colored Women's Democratic Campaign Committee. In 1954, Adams' efforts led to the election of Harry A. Cole, the first African American to serve in the Maryland General Assembly.

Changes to city and state politics and the renewal of activist organizations were both shaped by growth of the city's African American population. African American residents went from 17.66% of Baltimore's population (142,106 people) in 1930 to 23.70% in 1950 (225,099 people). The 60% increase in the city's black significantly outpaced the more modest 18% growth in the city's overall population. Two major factors drove this change: the large number of African Americans moving to Baltimore during World War II seeking work in wartime industries and the growing number of white Baltimoreans moving to segregated white suburban communities in the surrounding counties. In Baltimore County, the population more than doubled from 124,565 in 1930 to 270,273 in 1950. The African American population went from 11,764 in 1930 to 17,877 in 1950—a numerical increase but a marked decline as a share of Baltimore County's total population from 9.44% to 6.61%.

In the next section, the study highlights some of the places associated with the Civil Rights movement in this period. The study continues to describe four key themes in detail:

- **Criminal Injustice**: Baltimore activists participated in national anti-lynching advocacy and fought police and mob violence in Baltimore. Activist efforts led to the city's first black uniformed police officers following the 1942 March on Annapolis.
- **Employment and Education**: As the NAACP continued to campaign against segregated schools locally and nationally, black educators and administrators continued to build on the 1921 Strayer Report to improve conditions for Baltimore's black students. Black workers also sought better conditions and more job opportunities and found a partner in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).
- **Public Accommodations**: White allies and African American students served as key supporters for activist efforts that opened public parks and recreational facilities, along with some (but not all) shops, restaurants, and theaters by the early 1950s.
- **Housing**: A severe shortage of housing created difficult conditions for thousands of black Baltimoreans. This issue framed the struggle to build public housing for African Americans and pursue opportunities to purchase homes in formerly segregated white neighborhoods after World War II.

Associated Places

The pattern of racial segregation in Baltimore continues to result in a concentration of places associated with the movement in historically segregated black neighborhoods. Examples include the MeDoSo Club House (the meeting place for a group of black doctors who donated generously to the NAACP) was located in a house at 1800 Eutaw Place and the segregated black Frederick Douglass High School (built in 1924) at 1601 N. Calhoun Street; Edgar Allan Poe Homes (built 1938) and McCulloh Homes (built 1940)—two of the earliest public housing projects for African Americans. The residences of notable leaders were similarly in nearly all-black neighborhoods including the Dr. John E.T. Camper House (built c. 1885) at 639 N. Carey Street and the Dr. Carl J. Murphy House in Morgan Park.

However, the movement is also tied to places where activists fought against segregation including the former Catonsville High School (built 1925) which is closely associated with the case of Williams v. Zimmerman (1937); the Enoch Pratt Free Library – Branch No. 1 (built 1886) where Louise Kerr worked after successfully overturning a prohibition against black librarians in 1945; or the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute (built 1913 – now the central office for the Baltimore City Public Schools) at North Avenue and Calvert Street which began to desegregate on a limited basis in 1952.

Criminal Injustice

Euel Lee being transported to Baltimore City jail, 1931. Photo courtesy Washington Area Spark/Flickr.

Lynching and criminal injustice was at the center of black organizing and advocacy around Civil Rights and racial injustice in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Such cases highlighted the important role of the Communist Party in supporting African American Civil Rights as a strategy for build supporting among African Americans broadly.

On December 4, 1931, Matthew Williams was lynched at Salisbury, Maryland—as the Maryland Historical Society underbelly blog notes:

> On December 4, 1931, Matthew Williams, an African American man, shot and killed his white employer in Salisbury and then turned the gun on himself in an unsuccessful suicide attempt. That evening, a mob of more than a thousand dragged Williams from his hospital bed where he lay critically wounded, and hung him up on the courthouse lawn. His body was then dragged to the town's African American business district, and set on fire. The Williams murder was the 32nd lynching in Maryland since 1882, and the first since 1911.

On October 14, 1931, Euel Lee, known as "Orphan Jones", was arrested for the murder of a white family reportedly over a disagreement about wages. The Maryland Communist Party took Lee's case and lawyer Bernard Ades successfully moved Lee's trial to Towson in Baltimore County. Ultimately, Ades lost the case (Lee was executed on October 28, 1933) but in the process helped to combat the informal prohibition on black jurors in Baltimore County.[16]

Two years later, on October 18, 1935:

> a mob of a thousand or more people stormed into the Princess Anne jail house and hauled Armwood from his cell down to the street below. Before he was hung from a tree some distance away, Armwood was dragged through the streets, beaten, stabbed, and had one ear hacked off. Armwood's lifeless body was then paraded through the town, finally ending up near the town's courthouse, where the mob doused the corpse with gasoline and set it on fire.

In 1948, for the first time in the history of Maryland, a white man was sentenced to life imprisonment for the rape of a black woman.

Education and Employment

The issues of education and employment are not only intertwined in the present but were also clearly understood as closely related issues by Civil Rights activists in this period.

- Equality for segregated black schools
- Desegregation for students and educators

- Public relief for black workers and families
- Organizing industrial black workers
- Public employment for black workers

School equality

African American school administrator Francis Wood continued to use build on the changes suggested by the Strayer school survey in the early 1920s. Between 1929 and 1940, Wood increased attendance for black elementary and junior high school students to above 85% and above 90% for black high school students.[17] Beginning in 1926, Wood began to attend the annual conference organized by Carter G. Woodson's Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. Wood introduced a Negro History week in February to celebrate the history of African Americans. Johnson notes: "Each segregated school was responsible for creating and sponsoring their own Black History program.[18]

Wood also worked at the national level serving as the president of the Association for Colored School Teachers "which fought for better schools and equality.[19] However, Wood's investment in segregated schools may have come with an accommodationist perspective as Wood "warned African Americans that now was not the time to demand undue advantages."[20]

One key achievement in this period was the 1944 appointment of George F. W. McMechen, a 1895 graduate from Morgan College and an African American lawyer, to the Baltimore City Board of School Commissioners.[21] The appointment followed a letter on April 9, 1942 from Dr. Carl Murphy, acting as chairman of the Baltimore Citizens Committee for Justice, to Mayor Jackson arguing for the appointment of an African American person to the school board.[22]

School desegregation

Even as Francis Wood, along with many black teachers and families, advocated for improvements to black schools within the segregated system, others fought to end school segregation at every level from elementary schools to universities.

The best known case in this period was Murray v. Pearson (1935) where Thurgood Marshall and Charles Hamilton Houston won Donald Gaines Murray the right to attend the University of Maryland School of Law. The court:

> noted the state's requirement under the Fourteenth Amendment, as it was understood at that time, to provide substantially an equal treatment in the facilities it provides from public funds. Since Maryland chose to only provide one law school for use by students in the state, that law school had to be available to all races.[23]

In 1947, Dr. Ralph J. Young became the first African American to join teaching staff at Johns Hopkins Hospital and, in 1950, Frederick I. Scott becomes the first African American to graduate from Johns Hopkins University. That same year, Juanita Jackson Mitchell becomes the first African American woman to graduate from the

University of Maryland Law School. In 1951, Hiram Whittle became the first black undergraduate to enroll at the University of Maryland and, on August 1, 1952, Polytechnic High School opened to African American students on a limited basis.[24]

Public relief for black workers and families

African American women and children receiving aid from the Baltimore Emergency Relief Commission photographed at home in their kitchen, 1934. Courtesy Enoch Pratt Free Library, Enoch Barker Collection, Digital Maryland, mdaa152.

In 1934, 13% of Baltimore whites and 40% of Baltimore blacks were on relief (?) according to a study by the Baltimore Urban League. While the federal government's New Deal programs brought some relief, discrimination persisted even in the administration of these programs. The *Afro-American* reported that an African American household with eight people recieved $8.94 a week for food but a white household of the same size recieved $12.70.[25]

Roderick Ryon notes:

> City relief was distributed by the Family Welfare Association, which reported in 1934 that 40 per cent of the city's blacks, compared to 13 per cent of its whites, were on relief. The Urban League and a local association of the unemployed, studied 150 white and black relief cases in the same year and discovered that black families typically received smaller relief sums and were removed from relief rosters before whites.[26]

Organizing black workers

Enoch Pratt Free Library Branch No. 1 on the northeast corner of Pitcher Street and Fremont Avenue, 1938. Courtesy Enoch Pratt Free Library, Enoch Barker Collection, Digital Maryland, mdaa020.

White unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor continued to exclude black workers. The loss of and were subject to the policy of "last hired and first fired" leading to widespread job loss.

Cumberbatch also argues that by working "with both the Fair Employment Practices Committee and the CIO, civil rights leaders were able to break through racial barriers that had historically confined African Americans to the least paying and least desirable jobs."[27]

Roderick Ryon notes:

> Numbering 144,000 in a population of 817,000 in 1930, city blacks faced greater and different kinds of problems than whites. Substantial numbers were employed in 1930, but they occupied the lowest rung of the wage ladder. Indeed low wages for adult males had forced thousands of women, adolescents and the elderly on the job market to supplement meager family incomes. Eighty- five per cent of employable black males held jobs in 1930 compared to 77 percent of native whites, and 51 per cent of employable black women were wage earners, compared to 27 per cent of native whites.[28]

> Thus, the low-paying domestic service offered some 26,000 jobs to Baltimore blacks in 1930,but as conditions worsened, hundreds of white employers, determined to "take care of their own" first, preferred whites over blacks. As some city industries began to recover they employed whites rather than rehire blacks, and by 1936, seventeen percent of Baltimore's employable, skilled black males were out of work.[29]

> Conducting a survey of 115 retail and manufacturing firms in 1933, the Urban League discovered that blacks constituted 8.3 per cent of the firm's employees in 1933, compared to 9.2 per cent in 1930[30]

However, local unions, often, did little to help black Baltimoreans, as Ryon observed:

> In 1931 black longshore-men walked out of a meeting of the City Federation of Labor rather than accept Jim Crow seating. Local white unions occasionally violated or evaded even sacred commandments of labor. When black brick layers arrived in the city, union cards in hand, they were offered free train fare out of the city, not the traditional welcome of newcomers. Rather than work with black union hod-carriers,whites in the AF of L bricklayers' union used white scab labor.[31]

In the 1930s, African American activists put growing pressure on public and private employers to end segregated hiring and begin offering more opportunities to African American workers. This pressure included both a renewed legal efforts backed by the NAACP at the local and national level and a series of grass-roots protest actions organized by activist groups like CORE, inter-religious coalitions like the Baltimore Council of

Churches, and by students (especially from Morgan State College). Another important supporter of reform were black professional organizations such as the Progressive Engineers Association of Maryland (organized in 1938) and the MeDeSo (a club for black physicians and dentists established by Dr. J.E.T. Camper and others in 1942).

An early sign of progress came in July 1937 when the Baltimore Police Department hired Violet Hill Whyte as the city's first black police officer. Whyte, however, was not a uniform officer and did not carry a gun as part of her work. In 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 which established Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) and lay a foundation for broader activism against discriminatory hiring. Such efforts were frustrated, however, by the weak support of many industrial unions for black workers and the racism of white workers. This challenge is exemplified in the example of Bethlehem Steel in 1943 (?) when white workers walked off the job in protest over the hiring of black workers.

Public workers had more success in the years after World War II than some private workers. In 1945, the NAACP won a critical legal victory to end a segregated training program at the Enoch Pratt Free Library in the case of Kerr v. Enoch Pratt Free Library (1945).[32] In 1953, the Baltimore City Fire Department appointed their first African American firemen. In 1949, the Baltimore City Medical Society, a local professional association for doctors, voted to admit African American members.

Manpower: Negro bomber plant workers, 1942. U.S. Office of War Information. Courtesy New York Public Library, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Photographs and Prints Division

Public Accommodations

In some cases, public facilities began to change willingly to include African American residents in ways they had not before. For example, the Baltimore Museum of Art held a "Negro Art Show" in 1947. However, many business owners maintained policies of segregation they had adopted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The fight against segregated public accommodations expanded in this period with both formal Civil Rights organizations and individual activists taking part. Three notable locations for this activism and related conflicts include:

- Public parks and recreational facilities
- Theaters and stores
- Transportation facilities

Parks and recreation

Baltimore's growing African American population made it more difficult in the 1930s for Baltimore City to sustain segregation for the city's parks and recreational facilities.[33]

For example, in September 1934, the Carroll Park golf course partly opened to African American golfers but limited black players to specific days maintaining separation from white players through staggered play. In 1938, two black golfers Dallas Nicholas and William I. Gosnell sued Baltimore City to try to overturn this policy but were unsuccessful.[34]

On December 17, 1947, a group of white and black young people organized an integrated youth basketball game at Garrison Junior High School to protest segregationist policies. This pattern of interracial protest continued on July 11, 1948 when a group of young black and white tennis players organized a game on the tennis courts at Druid Hill Park. The protest led to a lawsuit against the city, Boyer v. Garrett (1949), that resulted in the court overturning the city's long-standing policy of racial segregation in city parks.[35]

Emboldened by this success, in 1950, a group of African American activists attempted to purchase tickets for the beach at Fort Smallwood Park a popular recreational park located in Anne Arundel County but owned and managed by Baltimore City.

Finally, in 1953, Governor Theodore McKeldin opened all state parks to African Americans.

Theaters and stores

Many downtown department stores refused to allow black shoppers to try on clothes, return clothes after a purchase, or provide service to black shoppers at all. In addition, store restaurants and lunch counters refused to seat African American diners offering them take out service or no service at all. In 1945 , the *Afro-American* newspaper began the "Orchid and Onion" campaign to celebrate stores that did not discrimination against black shopper ("Orchids") and shame downtown department stores with discriminatory policies ("Onions").[36]

Black people faced similar policies of separation and discrimination at local theaters as well as stores. In addition, theaters often refused to book black musicians and performers. On February 1, 1948, the Baltimore police arrested a group of Morgan State College students for picketing Ford's Theater on Fayette Street. The students and other activists soon returned and continued a five year campaign to end segregated seating at Ford's Theater. Finally, in 1953, Ford's Theatre ended segregated seating. After the Lyric Theatre on Mt. Royal Avenue refused to allow singer and activist Marian Anderson to perform, Baltimore's Commission on Human Relations intervened and persuaded the theatre owners to allow Marian Anderson to appear in January 1954. Despite this progress, however, most hotels and restaurants remained segregated so, after the performance, Sidney Hollander, Sr. hosted an afternoon reception with Anderson at his home.

Housing

The New Deal and World War II both led to major changes in the relationship of the city and state government to housing and transportation in Baltimore. During the Great Depression, the shortage of new homes for both white and black buyers kept existing homeowners fixed in place and stopped the process of racial transition that had been underway in west and east Baltimore neighborhoods from the 1880s through the 1920s.

The lines of segregation were further reinforced by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) (established in 1933) which used infamous "red-lining" maps to discourage lending in neighborhoods where African Americans lived. The National Housing Act of 1934 created the Federal Housing Administration and the Housing Act of 1937 provided a new source of federal funding for cities like Baltimore to engage in "slum clearance" and build new public housing projects. The federal government continued to shape housing policy after WWII with the approval of the Housing Act of 1949 on July 15, 1949.

These policy changes, and the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the case of *Shelley v. Kraemer* ending the legal enforcement of racial covenants shaped changes in the areas of:

- Public housing beginning in the late 1930s

- Private housing beginning in the mid–1940s through racial transition and "white flight"
- Transportation and land use policies that had a discriminatory affect on black neighborhoods

Across the country, housing starts dropped by over 90% from a high of 937,000 in 1925 to 93,000 in 1933.[37]

During the Great Depression, West Baltimore's "color line" had stabilized around Fulton Avenue. Beginning in the late 1940s, however, neighborhoods at the edge of Old West Baltimore began to transition from white to black. The change was driven by a number of factors including the rapid growth of Baltimore's African American population during the 1940s and 1950s, the intense overcrowding and deteriorating housing conditions within historically segregated African American neighborhoods, and the movement of white households out of the center city to the areas of new development in the Baltimore suburbs.

From January 1941 to November 1941 alone, housing vacancies for units open to African American occupancy shrank from .8% to .1%. In a letter to Mayor McKeldin in July 1945, in response to the efforts by a group of 350 residents in the Fulton Avenue area to prevent black residents from moving west, the NAACP argued "growth demands that we take in those streets that fringe our area since every attempt to enter new sections is vigorously denied." The Citizens Committee for Justice and the Baltimore Urban League observed "the need for more housing is most sharply felt in the Negro community, where there are virtually no vacancies of any type."[38]

An October 1948 editorial in the Baltimore Sun described the "colored section of most cities" as "already dangerously overcrowded" and noted that only 2% of new housing built in 1948 was open to African Americans, despite representing 20% of Baltimore's total population.[39] By 1950, Baltimore had 226,053 black residents, representing 23.8% of the population but occupying only 19.4% of dwelling units. This pattern continued into the early 1950s: of the 53,000 permits issued new homes in Baltimore metropolitan area from 1950 to 1953, only 3,200 of those were open to African American households, even as the black population increased another 10%.

Racial transition and "white flight"

When African American residents began responding to this housing crisis by purchasing homes in formerly segregated white neighborhoods some white resident met them with violence. In 1945, a group of people, described by the *Baltimore Afro American* as "hoodlums who resented having the Millers move into a white neighborhood," threw bricks at the home of James Miller and his family at 816 N. Fulton Avenue, breaking glass in the front door and windows.[40] The newspaper expanded on this account writing:

> Of at least fifty houses on Fulton Avenue now owned by colored persons between the 500 and 1800 blocks, only one case of violence has been reported by one of the three families now known to occupy homes there. The James Miller family, which moved into 816 N. Fulton Avenue on February 15, reported that bricks were thrown through a window and door panel on the following Saturday. The second floor of this house is occupied by the William Montgomery family... Among Fulton Avenue property owners are the Rev. Hiram J. Smith, Dr. Bruce Alleyne and the Medicos Club, an organization of physicians and dentists. "For Sale" signs may be seen all along Fulton Avenue.[41]

In August 1948, a house on the 1300 block of Payson Street just to the north of the district was subject to an arson attempt, attributed to retaliation against a white Jewish home-owner who had "broken" the block by selling a property to an African American homeowner in 1946.[42] In July 1950 after Ms. Beatrice Sessoms, a native of North Carolina who came to Baltimore in 1948, moved with her nephew to the 2300 block of Lauretta Avenue, her house was attacked.[43] Dr. Ed Orser quotes one black West Baltimore resident recalling the experience of white flight in the late 1940s:

> Black people started moving out of the confined areas somewhere around 1947 or 1948, but what would happen was that whites would evacuate a block or two blocks, and black people would move in. The evacuation would take place first. I remember streets like Fulton Avenue, Monroe Street—they were once totally white, and they went through the transition and changed somewhere between 1946 and 1949—that was the time I was in service. When I went in, there were no black people when I came out, there they were black streets... But it wasn't integration... it was an evacuation.[44]

These initial movements soon accelerated, particularly in west and northwest areas of Baltimore. Lula Jones Garrett, a columnist for the *Baltimore Afro*, observed in a column titled "Change-the-Address New Game on Baltimore Front" writing:

> What with the local yokels forsaking the ghettos and moving into swankier mansions, it takes a special edition of the directory to locate your best friends these days."[45]

The process of this rapid transition is closely associated with negative accounts of realtors or "block-busters" using a range of tactics to take advantage of both white sellers and black buyers. For example, during the 1940s and 1950s many African American households purchased home under land-installment contracts or buy-like-rent arrangements, also known as lease option contracts, that allowed home-owners to purchase property without an initial down payment or closing charges. However, these arrangements did not immediately transfer title to the property and the contract could still be terminated if the new home-owner missed a single payment. Although the black home-ownership rate rose by 194% between 1940 and 1950, in comparison to 58.8% for whites, a 1955 survey by the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations found that 53% of their respondents had purchased their homes through such arrangements rather than regular financing.[46]

According to an interview with Antero Pietella, in 1947, Thomas Cripps witnessed a man with suit in the area around his home at 2323 Mosher Street carrying signs "This House is Not for Sale," with the implication that the neighborhood was imminently threatened with transition. Cripps' family became the first household on the block to sell their property to a black family when they sold their home in 1949 to Ellsworth F. Davage, a Baltimore County school teacher, and his wife Elizabeth.[47]

Although Baltimore evidently avoided 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."[48]

Transportation and land use

The issue of highway construction and the disparate impact of highway construction on black neighborhoods began to take shape in this period. At the most basic level, white households were more likely to own cars than African American households.

A series of road building and widening projects in the 1930s and 1940s brought increased noise and automotive traffic to largely black neighborhoods. Examples include the construction of the Howard Street extension and bridge over the Jones Falls in 1938 (displacing a large number African American households) and the initial expansion of Druid Lake Drive in 1947 (Druid Lake Drive expanded again in 1964 despite significant opposition from nearby residents).[49] In 1948, the NAACP sued to try to stop the conversion of Druid Hill Avenue and McCulloh Street into one-way streets but was unsuccessful in reversing the move.[50]

The most notable of the proposed road projects in this period was the 1944 plan for an east-west highway prepared by New York planner Robert Moses. The plan would have required the demolition of two hundred city blocks and nineteen hundred residents but Moses suggested, "Nothing which we propose to remove will constitute any loss to Baltimore."[51] Moses argued that the demolition of "slums" was a benefit as "the more of them that are wiped out the healthier Baltimore will be in the long run."[52]

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1954-1968

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

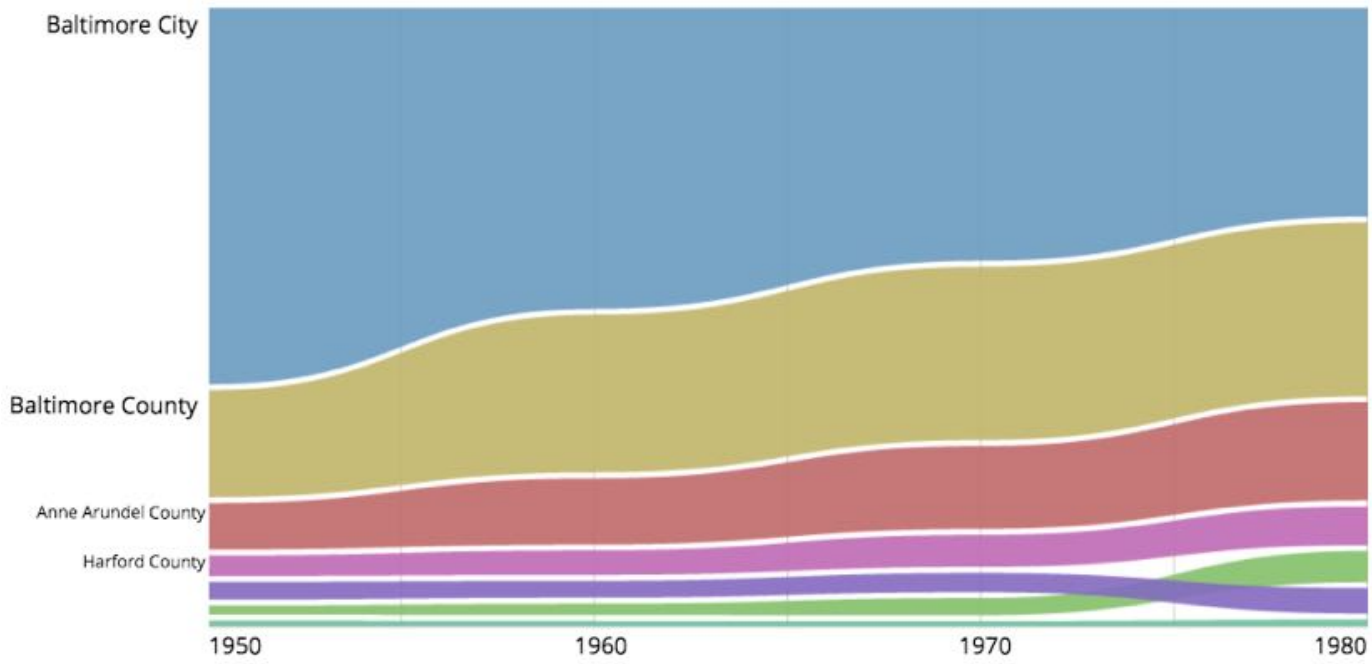
In 1954, many local leaders and activists celebrated the Baltimore school board, chaired Walter Sondheim, for their quick response to *Brown*. The city continued the long-standing policy of "open-enrollement" (any student could attend any school) but dropped the requirement that black students attend 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. The expansion of highway infrastructure also helped to facilitate the movement of industrial businesses out of the city. For example, between 1955 and 1965, 82 industrial firms left Baltimore City; 65 of those 82 firms (79.27%) moved to Baltimore County.[9]

These changes are also seen in the dramatic decline of ridership for the Baltimore Transit Company after the end of World War II.

Year	Decline in Baltimore Transit Company ridership
1948	9.9%
1949	20.4%
1950	28.3%
1951	34.2%

Data courtesy Not in My Neighborhood (2010).[10]

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.[11]

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."[12] 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	23,079	47.08%
Carroll County	6,181	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.[13]

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."[14] 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. Other landmark buildings were demolished due to the expanding scope of local urban renewal projects. These included the

Smith Hotel described by the *Sun*, at the time of the demolition in July 1957, as "almost a shrine to much of Baltimore's Negro population." The hotel was built in 1912 by Thomas R. Smith and served as a "gathering place for Negro visitors from as far north as New York and as far west as Chicago".[15]

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.[16]

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."[17]

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.[18] Civil Rights leaders met again with a representative of the Retail Merchants Association in February

1943.[19] 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.[20] 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.[21]

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.[22]

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."[23] 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.[24]

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[25]

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."[26]

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.[27]

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.[28]

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.[29]

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.[30] 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.[31]

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?[32]

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.[33]

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.[34]

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.[35]

In Baltimore, the City Council passed legislation ending segregated public accommodations in 1962.[36] Maryland followed with a state law in January 1963.[37] 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.'"[38]

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.

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.'[39]

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.[40]

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.[43]

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.[44]

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 Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic* 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 Glickman, *Buying Power*. ↩
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. Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood*, 221. ↩
10. Ibid., 220–21. ↩
11. Mcdougall, *Black Baltimore*, 49. ↩
12. Hardesty, "'A Veil of Voodoo'"; Hardesty, "'[A] Veil of Voodoo'." ↩
13. McKeldin, "State of Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin." ↩
14. Baum, "How the 1968 Riots Stopped School Desegregation in Baltimore," 159. ↩
15. "Smith Hotel, Noted Negro Landmark, Is Being Razed." ↩
16. Kramer, "White Sales." ↩
17. Arena Players, Incorporated, "History | Arena Players, Inc." ↩
18. Kramer, "White Sales," 43. ↩

19. Ibid., 48. ↩
20. Farrar, *The Baltimore Afro-American, 1892–1950*. ↩
21. 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." ↩
22. Schuster, "The City in a Swing Set," 114. ↩
23. Salvatore et al., "Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations," 44. ↩
24. Ibid., 46. ↩
25. Baum, "How the 1968 Riots Stopped School Desegregation in Baltimore," 156. ↩
26. Ibid., 158. ↩
27. Kramer, "White Sales," 41. ↩
28. Ibid., 42. ↩
29. Phillips, "If You Ask Me," November 1953. ↩
30. Kramer, "White Sales," 38. ↩
31. Salvatore et al., "Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations," 82. ↩
32. Kramer, "White Sales," 54. ↩
33. Ibid., 55. ↩
34. Phillips, "If You Ask Me," 1957. ↩
35. Salvatore et al., "Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations," 50. ↩
36. Thompson, "The Civil Rights Vanguard," 373. ↩
37. Salvatore et al., "Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations," 64. ↩
38. Shoemaker, ""We Shall Overcome Someday," 265. ↩
39. Orser, *Blockbusting in Baltimore*. ↩
40. "POPULATION SHIFT FOUGHT." ↩
41. Orser, *Blockbusting in Baltimore*. ↩
42. "POPULATION SHIFT FOUGHT." ↩
43. Orser, *Blockbusting in Baltimore*, 151. ↩
44. Ibid. ↩

1968-1976

Introduction

A week of unrest on the streets of Baltimore followed the assassination of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in April 1968. Some local residents and elected officials saw the unrest as a wake up call sounding an urgent demand for aggressive action on Civil Rights. However, others used the unrest as the pretext to pursue a reactionary agenda opposing expanded opportunities for black Baltimoreans. While decades of activism succeeded in overturning many of the city, state, and federal policies that required racial segregation and protected discrimination, the legacy of these policies continued to have major consequences for black Baltimoreans and for historically segregated black neighborhoods. With a clear understanding of these challenges, African American activists sought to shift the debate over Civil Rights to focus on community development. However, they struggled against the apathy of white elected officials at the local level and antipathy of federal officials, such as President Richard Nixon who, in 1972, radically cut funding for President Lyndon B. Johnson's "War on Poverty" programs. Moreover, the celebrated "peaceful" desegregation of Baltimore's public schools proved completely inadequate to sustain integration given a region where housing policies in the city and suburbs promoted growing residential segregation in the 1960s and 1970s. This introduction continues to describe the immediate consequences of the April 1968 unrest, the political landscape for Civil Rights at the federal and local level in this period, and changes in population across the region.

On Thursday, April 4, 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. The following day, unrest broke out in Detroit and Washington, D.C. Three hundred people gathered in Baltimore for a peaceful memorial service on the morning of Saturday, April 6. That afternoon, however, some residents began to attack properties in East Baltimore and fires soon broke out at multiple locations. The unrest spread quickly and continued through Thursday, April 11.

State Office Building (1958), 301 W. Preston Street, Baltimore, MD 21201. Photograph by Eli Pousson, 2017 June 27. Courtesy Baltimore Heritage (CC0)

On Tuesday, April 9, 1968, Maryland Governor Spiro Agnew invited one hundred of Baltimore's black leaders to meet at the State Center Office Building built in 1958 near the Fifth Regiment Amory as part of an urban renewal project a decade earlier. Agnew used the meeting to deliver a one-sided lecture and charged the participants with responsibility for the unrest.[1] Most of the activists in attendance walked out. Some drafted an "angry rebuttal" observing, "Agnew's actions are more in keeping with the slave system of a bygone era." They noted that by separating "good" moderates from "bad" militants (what Agnew perjoratively labeled the "circuit-riding, Hanoi-visiting type of leader"), the governor sought to divide black activists from one another. One minister observed: "He's forcing us all to become militants."[2] In a vivid example of the political divisions among local residents, however, hundreds of white Baltimoreans sent telegraphs to Agnew's office—most praising his attack on Baltimore's black leaders. One stated:

> "Thankful to hear that the white people still have a strong voice in government."[3]

By the end of the week, it was clear to everyone that the unrest had left thousands of residents reeling from the damage to their neighborhoods. Police arrested 5,512 people (nearly all of them black; totaling about one in every seventy-five black residents). At the height of the response, 12,000 troops occupied the city (one for

every seventy-five city residents). Six hundred people were injured (fifty police officers among them). The city saw 1,208 major fires and 1,049 businesses damaged. Six people were killed—all African American.[4]

Historian Rhonda Williams has observed that the 1968 uprisings "revealed poor people's frustration and fear and their desires to attack exploitation and obtain consumer goods." Williams quotes a warning activist Walter Lively delivered in February 1968 observing that "white decision makers" must:

> give colored citizens a stake in what America is before ghetto dwellers could see a chance to accomplish their goals without violence.[5]

While the factors that shaped the Civil Rights movement over the next decade existed before the 1968 unrest, the events of that April framed the uncertain future of the movement and Baltimore's segregated African American neighborhoods. From 1968 through the mid–1970s, the Civil Rights movement in Baltimore was shaped by both a renewed progressive vision for reinvestment in historically segregated black neighborhoods and a reactionary withdrawal continuing the pattern of "white flight" that followed World War II. These factors are seen in both the politics of the period, the movement of people, and the buildings and spaces they used.

Across the nation, people witnessed an aggressive reaction against the Civil Rights movement. The 1968 Republican National Convention gave a preview of these reversals when Agnew's patronizing lecture of Baltimore's black activists won him the nomination as Vice President to Richard Nixon. The selection reinforced the Republican party's Southern strategy which sought to win the support of conservative white voters who participated in the racist reaction to incumbent President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party's support for Civil Rights.[6] Following Nixon's landslide reelection in 1972, his administration made sharp cuts to funding for urban areas and War on Poverty programs. The cuts have had lasting consequences for urban renewal and transportation projects in Baltimore's historically segregated black neighborhoods—a topic addressed in greater depth in this study's look at community development.

At the local and state level, political leaders were not always explicitly antagonistic to Civil Rights activists but were often apathetic or indifferent. Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro III, who had won office in 1967 as a strong supporter of the Civil Rights movement, decided not to run for a second term. Mayor William Donald Schaefer took office in 1971, beginning a sixteen year period as mayor, but took a largely passive role on Civil Rights issues during his term in office. Marvin Mandel became Governor in 1969 after Agnew's resignation to serve as Vice President. While praised for his appointment of black judges and relationships with black business leaders (including William Adams, Henry Parks Jr. and Raymond Haysbert of the Park Sausage Company), Mandel similarly avoided taking strong positions on Civil Rights issues.[7] In one example, both Mayor Schaefer and Governor Mandel continued to support Baltimore City Police Commissioner Donald Pommerlau even after a Maryland State Senate investigation in 1976 revealed that over the previous decade Pommerlau had created the Inspectional Services Division (ISD) and spied on Civil Rights activists, including Congressional Representative Parren Mitchell.[8]

Baltimore's City Council offered some hope for Civil Rights activists seeking greater political power. A contested redistricting process in early 1971 led to more opportunities for black candidates to win election to the Council.[9] By October, anticipating the near certain outcome of the election based on the results of the Democratic primary, the *Sun* wrote:

> The Baltimore City Council, an exclusively Democratic province since before World War II, seem likely to be controlled for the first time by a coalition of liberal whites and Negroes no matter what the outcome of the general election.[10]

Across the country, between 1964 and 1975, the number of African American elected officials grew from 100 to almost 3,000 (135 of them mayors) but the first black mayor in Baltimore was not elected until Kurt Schmoke in 1987.[11]

Even as African Americans sought greater political power, the city itself experienced a precipitous drop in total population. Between 1970 and 1980, Baltimore City lost over 110,000 residents. At the same time, African American residents became a majority of the city's population.

Census Year	Total Population (Baltimore City)	African American population as share of total	Change since prior census
1960	939,024	34.67%	–1.12%
1970	905,759	46.39%	–3.54%
1980	786,775	54.80%	–13.14%

Data courtesy NHGIS.

Changes in the city's population were driven by the thousands of white Baltimoreans who moved out to the surrounding suburbs—an option that was largely unavailable for African Americans. As early as 1970, a pattern of racially segregated development in Baltimore County led to hearings by the Maryland Civil Rights Commission at the Social Security Administration headquarters in Woodlawn documenting how county officials had opposed open housing, discouraged affordable housing development, and displaced existing black communities .[12] Unfortunately, the growing awareness of the issue did little to reverse the trends with local elected officials who avoided making any substantial reforms to policies around zoning, public housing, or school desegregation.

Census Year	Total Population (MSA except Baltimore City)	African American population as share of total	Change since prior census
1960	881,290	7.55%	68.81%
1970	905,759	6.25%	34.27%
1980	1,412,756	9.11%	19.39%

Data courtesy NHGIS. Data for 1960 only shows percent non-white population rather than percent African American.[13]

The following sections document the significance of these changes and their relationship to places associated with the Civil Rights movement. After reviewing the range of associated places in this period, this study explores several themes in more detail including:

- The changing leadership and organization of the Civil Rights movement in Baltimore. How was the movement shaped by Black Power? How did the movement intersect with social movements for feminism, LGBTQ rights, disability rights, and others?
- The shift by Civil Rights activists to focus on community and economic development. How did approaches to community development address the legacies of segregation and discrimination? How did people reinvest in historically segregated neighborhoods? How did people address the withdrawal of white residents and white-controlled businesses and institutions from those same neighborhoods?
- The failure to end persistent racial segregation in both schools and housing. What did government and community groups do to address segregation? Why did their efforts largely fail?
- The impact of police surveillance and the role of police violence in shaping Civil Rights activism during this period.
- The intersection of the Civil Rights movement with visual and performing arts and cultural heritage institutions. How are African Americans and African American culture and history represented? How does it appear in public art, monuments, and the preservation of historic places associated with African Americans in Baltimore?

Associated Places

The places associated with the Civil Rights movement in this period include private homes adopted by radical activist organizations, unassuming offices and storefronts put to work for community organizing, and new buildings erected to promote economic opportunity for black Baltimoreans. In contrast to earlier in the twentieth century, where buildings such as churches or homes for activists developed long-term associations with the Civil Rights movement, many buildings were only associated with the movement for a brief time. In addition, the expanding scope of urban renewal and demolition led to the loss of a number of significant structures. Fortunately, these losses lent a needed urgency to the task of preserving and interpreting buildings associated with African American history in Baltimore—an effort that emerged concurrently with the modern historic preservation movement.

Examples of buildings associated with Civil Rights activist groups include the numerous structures used by the Baltimore Branch of the Black Panther Party between the earliest organization of the chapter in 1968 and group's end in 1972. Over those four years, the group organized classes, community support activities, and protests at dozens of different buildings. The group initially grew out of the Soul School located at 522 North Fremont Avenue near the George P. Murphy Homes. The first formal chapter headquarters was a house at 1209 North Eden Street and the members began organizing free breakfast and lunch programs at St. Martin de Porres Recreation Hall (located in the former St. John the Evangelist Catholic Church; a building occupied in 2017 by Sweet Prospect Baptist Church). By 1970, the headquarters (also referenced as a "Black Community Information Center") had moved to a rented house at 1248 N. Gay Street.[14]

Other buildings are associated with public agencies, such as the Community Action Agency (CAA) directed by Lenwood Ivey. The CAA (and the succeeding Model Cities Agency and the Baltimore Urban Services Agency both directed by Ivey), worked to meet the needs of Baltimore residents by bringing services out into city neighborhoods.[15] Baltimore historian and archivist Aiden Faust describes the network of twenty-three neighborhood centers writing:

> These centers were distributed across the city, with higher concentrations in East and West Baltimore, where the poorest neighborhoods were (and still are) concentrated. The centers occupied repurposed churches, storefronts, libraries, public baths, or (in the case of Dunbar) associated with an existing public high school. These diverse settings served as multipurpose centers for many programs and classes for children, teens, senior citizens, young mothers, the homeless, and families in crisis. Food pantries, yoga classes, poetry readings, dance performances, legal assistance, home heating assistance, library services, and many more programmatic offerings coexisted in these spaces.[16]

In addition to these neighborhood centers, Model Cities established six "Community Councils" which became seen as "centers of black political activity" and were "eyed with concern by City Councilmen and the local media." Consequently, in 1976, Lenwood Ivey shut down the Community Councils, a controversial decision that was "decidedly unpopular with residents and Council staff."[17]

Public buildings were common sites for protest, as well as organizing. For example, in August 1968, the Upton Planning Committee threatened a boycott of Lafayette Market (now known as the Avenue Market) on Pennsylvania Avenue in a successful effort to force improvements in the conditions of the market.[18]

11 E. Mount Royal Avenue (built as the Zell Motor Car Company showroom) served as the headquarters for the Baltimore Urban Services Agency from 1974 to 1980. Photograph by Eli Pousson, 2015 December 27. Courtesy Baltimore Heritage (CC0).

The shifting expectations of how Civil Rights activism took shape also affected some of the places with long-established associations with the Civil Rights movement, such as in June 1968, when Rev. Walter L. Hildebrand, the new pastor at Bethel AME Church, affirmed the church's plans to make the church "of utmost service to the poor, the hopeless and the oppressed."[19]

Civil Rights organizing also took place in buildings associated with the peace movement and other radical political and social movements. One example is the Peace Action Center at 2525 Maryland Avenue described by Amy E. Zanoni as the "locus for the city's antiwar movement". The Center provided office and meeting space, a mimeograph machine, and a paid full-time staff person, Gren Whitman, for the Baltimore Defense Committee and *Peace and Freedom News*, "Baltimore's first underground newspaper". Whitman's salary was funded by a "progressive peace tax paid by the BDC's members".[20] Other examples are found through the Catholic workers movement including Viva House located at 26 S. Mount Street in southwest Baltimore since 1970.

Businesses and institutions also responded to the currents of Civil Rights activism. One notable example is Super Pride—a local grocery store chain established by Charles Thurgood Burns (1915–1991) in 1970 when he took over the bankrupt "Super Jet Market" located on East Chase Street. Burns restored the business to profitability within three years—despite encountering food companies that refused to work with a black-owned store. Burns had started in the grocery business around 1921 delivering groceries for the small store his grandfather owned on Dolphin Street. He sold vegetables, produce and fish out of the back of a cart during high school and college then later became the co-owner of Hilton Court Chain of Ethical Pharmacies – a business that according to Burns' obituary, "catered to the needs of black consumers at a time when white-owned businesses ignored them."[21] Between 1970 and 1990, Super Pride grew to seven locations, employing more than 400 people, and making over $43 million in annual sales. Under Burns' leadership, Super Pride sponsored Black History Month activities and supported the Arena Players. By the late 1990s, however, the business struggled to compete against national chains and the city's shrinking population. In the fall of 2000, Super Pride closed all eight of its locations and, in November, held an auction to liquidate the stores and their remaining equipment to satisfy creditors.[22]

Other black-owned businesses found success in marketing traditional southern cooking as "soul food". Popular options for local diners included Sampson's located at 944 W. Fayette Street, the Red Rooster Restaurant and Lounge at 1801 McKean Avenue, and the Yellow Bowl on Greenmount Avenue. According to one 1973 article, soul food was also a regular offering at many of the approximately two hundred storefront churches active in the early 1970s.[23]

Another example is found in a March 1971 *Sun* profile of pharmacist Donald A. Schumer, owner of the forty-year-old Penn-Dol Pharmacy, and his investment in a new building at Pennsylvania Avenue and Dolphin Street.[24]. The report noted Schumer's sale of the store's "sundries section to several black employees who had been with him for a number of years" and observed, "The interior of the pharmacy resembles the orderly kind of drug store one expects to find in the affluent white suburbs."[25]

In this same period, a large number of buildings associated with African American history in Baltimore were demolished to make way for transportation and "urban renewal projects". Between 1973 and 1977, nine hundred and seventy-one rowhouses and sixty-two businesses came down in West Baltimore to make way for the partial construction of the East-West Expressway.[26] Hundreds of more houses at the edges of downtown fell for the construction of Martin Luther King Boulevard beginning in 1976.[27] In 1971, the city tore down the much-beloved Royal Theatre at 1329 Pennsylvania Avenue. One 1986 account, recalled the Royal as "the brightest gem along the cultural and business strip that made Pennsylvania Avenue the nucleus of Baltimore's black community from the 1920s through the 1960s". The author attributed the theater's decline to both the integration of other theaters in Baltimore in the 1960s and the competition from the opening of the Civic Centre (now the Baltimore Arena) in 1962.[28]

African American communities in Baltimore County also saw a significant amount of demolition in this period. In the African American community of East Towson, for example, numerous homes and public buildings (such as the East Towson Child Development Center at 102 E. Pennsylvania Avenue) were demolished but several others survived, including the St. James African United Methodist Protestant Church (built 1881, enlarged in 1906, and renovated in 1968) at 415 Jefferson Avenue the Carver High School/East Towson Carver Community Center (built in 1939) at 300 Lennox Avenue.[29]

This push to build new roads through largely African American neighborhoods met with strong resistance by anti-highway activists and from black Baltimoreans seeking to preserve historic places associated with African American history in Baltimore. In some cases, they found allies with Baltimore Heritage established in 1960, the Baltimore Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation (CHAP) established in 1964, the Maryland Historical Trust (MHT) established in 1966, and the Commission on Negro History and Culture (later renamed the Maryland Commission on African American History and Culture (MCAAHC)) established in 1969.

The most prominent of these early efforts was the Committee for the Preservation of Orchard Street Church, organized in the fall of 1972 and led by Mrs. W.A.C. Hughes.[30] The National Register of Historic Places provided an important tool for recognizing and protecting African American landmarks including Orchard Street United Methodist Church (designated November 12, 1975), Public School No. 111 at N. Carrollton Avenue and Riggs Road (designated September 25, 1979), Cummins Memorial Church at 1210 W. Lanvale Street (designated October 31, 1979), and the Sharp Street Memorial United Methodist Church and Community House (designated July 21, 1982). In the 1970s, CHAP designated several local landmarks associated with African American history in Baltimore including Bethel A.M.E. Church (1300 Druid Hill Avenue) and Ebenezer A.M.E. Church (18 W. Montgomery Street) in 1971 and Sharon Baptist Church (1373 N. Stricker Street) and First Baptist Church (525 N. Caroline Street) in 1977. CHAP designated Madison Park as the city's first historic district occupied largely by African American residents also in 1977.

CHAP designed First Baptist Church (1880) at 525 N. Caroline Street as a local landmark in 1977. Photograph by Eli Pousson, 2017 June 1. Courtesy Baltimore Heritage (CC0).

Other cultural organizations also changed to reflect rising black political and social power. One example is the Negro War Heroes Monument commissioned in 1968 and installed at Monument Square on Calvert Street, despite some opposition, in 1971.[31] Another example is found at the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Branch 17 (known at present as the Pennsylvania Avenue Branch library) where librarians organized a program on Langston Hughes in the summer of 1969:

> The biggest attractions at Branch 17 are books on job opportunities and books about Negro history and culture. Miss Lillie Story, administrative assistant at the branch, said that the big increase in demand for the latter books has come since the 1968 Baltimore riots.[32]

Changes for the Civil Rights movement

To a remarkable degree, this period saw radical changes in the structure and aims of the Civil Rights movement. The huge legislative and judicial accomplishments of the movement between 1954 and 1968, along with the identification of the movement with some of the most visible and memorable figures, sometimes leads people to incorrectly assume that the Civil Rights movement ended in 1968. While the movement did not end, this period resulted in major transformations for the people who led the movement and the groups that undertook the work of organizing and activism.

The movement also helped to inspire a wide range of related social movements that, in turn, shaped local and national history in major ways. These related movements, including feminism, LGBTQ rights, disability rights, and Native rights, had, of course, been building for decades but were accorded much greater visibility in this period.

Changes in leadership within the movement

One notable example of the changes for the leadership of Civil Rights activist organizations during this time is the 1969 election of Enolia McMillan (1904–2006) as president of the Baltimore Branch of the NAACP. On December 16, 1969, McMillan won an upset victory at Sharp Street Church (winning with 101 to 77 votes) over Juanita Jackson Mitchell, who had sought the post after her mother, Lillie M. Jackson, stepped down after serving thirty-four years as president of the group. When she became president, McMillan hoped to reach out to young "black militants" who felt disconnected from the NAACP remarking, "I've been a militant all of my life but I am not extreme."[33] McMillan's efforts to expand membership were largely successful and, by 1972, the chapter had 5,205 members and 828 youth members, about 1,000 more than the year before.[34]

Enolia P. McMillan Building/Baltimore City Branch NAACP Offices, 8 W. 26th Street, Baltimore, MD 21218. Photograph by Eli Pousson, 2017 June 12. Courtesy Baltimore Heritage (CC0)

Other prominent activists and organizers in this period included Walter Percival Carter (1923–1971).[35] Aiden Faust describes Carter's significant legacy writing:

> Walter Percival Carter was a social worker and civil rights activist who led Baltimore's chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), organized voter registration drives and freedom rides, served as Maryland's coordinator for the 1963 March on Washington, and was involved with protests to desegregate employment at Baltimore Gas and Electric, Gwynn Oak amusement park, and Howard Johnson hotels.[36]

African American Baltimoreans also found new opportunities in private businesses. In 1968, Maryland National (Baltimore's largest bank) appointed E. Thomas Williams as the bank's first black manager.[37] However, as the example of Walter P. Carter illustrates, many black Baltimoreans (including activists) found more new opportunities in local and state government. By 1971, African American workers held 46% of the 41,000 municipal jobs in Baltimore City including some key leadership positions.[38]

Black workers employed by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation organized several protests at the company's main office in Sparrow's Point in October 1969 to demand changes to the working conditions in the blast-furnace department. Ivory Dennis, the head of the civil rights committee for the Local 2610 of the United Steelworkers (AFL-CIO) explained that "workers were protesting a lack of a sufficient number of Negro supervisors, an inadequate incentive pay and the absence of lunch breaks for some of the workers."[39]

Linwood Ivey is another example of a public employee whose work as an administrator often overlapped with the broader goals of the Civil Rights movement. Originally appointed as the director of the Community Action Agency (CAA), Ivey continued to lead the succeeding Model City Agency (MCA), and the Urban Services Agency (USA).[40]

Others went from working for the city to running the city as elected officials. Charles Blount, a former principal at Dunbar High School, served on the Community Action Commission in 1968 and won election to the Maryland State Senate in 1971. Later, in 1985, Blount resigned from the board of the Urban Services Agency to protest the regressive cuts and policy changes affecting the organization.[41]

On January 3, 1971, Parren Mitchell took office as the first black member of the U.S. Congress from a Southern state since Reconstruction. Mitchell had experience advocating for Civil Rights within and outside of government. From 1963 to 1965, he was executive secretary of the Maryland Human Relations Commission, overseeing implementation of the state's public accommodations law. Mitchell then became director of the Baltimore Community Action Agency, an anti-poverty program, from 1965 to 1968, when he resigned and returned to Morgan State University as a professor of sociology and assistant director of its Urban Affairs Institute. In 1969, he became the President of Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc. where he continued through 1970. Parren Mitchell was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as a Democrat in 1970 served seven succeeding terms from January 3, 1971 through January 3, 1987.[42]

Inevitably, this period was marked by the passing of an earlier generation of local Civil Rights leaders, many of whom remained active in local politics up until their death. Dr. Furman Templeton, the executive director of the Baltimore Urban League since 1950, died on February 12, 1970.[43] Physician and long-time activist Dr. John T. Camper died on November 21, 1977.[44]

White activists and allies also played a significant role in this period. Walter Sondheim, for example, was hailed as a "civic leader" for his management of the desegregation of Baltimore's public schools and downtown urban renewal efforts.[45] White allies played a particularly important role in efforts around housing segregation and neighborhood stabilization through organizations like Baltimore Neighbors, Inc.

Changes for activist organizations

In many of the neighborhoods where African American households were buying homes they could never have purchased a decade earlier, black middle-income residents organized a new set of community groups that played an important role in local debates over school segregation, housing, and community development policy. One example is the Evergreen Protective Association which represented residents in the Evergreen neighborhood located within the Edmondson Avenue National Register Historic District. The association made a lifetime membership donation to the NAACP in the early 1960s and provided "sandwiches, coffee and milk" (along with the League of Women Voters and the Dunbar PTA) to students from Dunbar High School engaged in a sit-in at the Baltimore Department of Education in the spring of 1964.

The Baltimore City Fair provided another way these new organizations connected around shared interests and concerns. In 1970, Hope Quackenbush, the first executive director of the Baltimore City Fair, remarked that the event was:

> intended to showcase to the entire Baltimore population the true strengths of a city determined to solve its problems, to help neighborhoods help themselves and to capture the flavor of a fascinating and exciting city [...] In place of the traditional exposition of agriculture one finds at a county fair, our fair will display the product of the city, its people and its culture. Each participating neighborhood will have on display the elements that make it unique and special [...] The participating neighborhoods will come from every corner of Baltimore—restoration communities, black communities, ethnic communities, garden communities, golden age communities—all presenting one message, We are Baltimore.[46]

At this same time, Baltimore saw the expansion of anti-poverty and Black Power organizations with a different agenda than older Civil Rights organizations (seen by many as focused exclusively on middle-class concerns). At the national level, these changes are illustrated by the founding of the Black Panthers in Oakland in October 1966 and the rise of the Nation of Islam in the 1950s and 1960s. The Black Panthers struggled in Baltimore in large part due to a campaign of harassment and surveillance by the FBI and the Baltimore City Police Department.[47] Paul Coates, a member of the Black Panther Party in Baltimore described the role of the organization between early 1969 and late 1972:

> I thought that the party was doing things that would have an impact on the lives of black people. It seemed like a good vehicle. When I came in, I had only a limited basis for understanding the world. ... I just knew it was fucked up. But I had no perspective, no point of view. No process for sorting out the significance of the things I was seeing and experiencing, no process for validating my views against those of other people. In the Party, I began to develop my own system of political understanding. The Party had a structure in place to encourage political education. It provided a setting where I could interact with people who are searching for answers, and with some who thought they knew the answers.[48]

The emergence of Black Power movement changed how white allies approached their efforts to support the Civil Rights movement locally and nationally. For example, the largely white Baltimore Committee for Political Freedom "formed because of fear that the local police were planning to assassinate Black Panther Party leaders in the city". The Committee's members included Dr. Peter Rossi, Social Relations Department of Johns Hopkins University, William Zinman, an attorney for the Maryland ACLU, and Rev. Chester Wickwire (1913–2008), a white minister.[49]

However, the Black Power movement, arguably, exacerbated internal divisions within the Civil Rights movement, especially around issues of class. In one illustrative example, in November 1968, attorney and activist Florynce Kennedy delivered a keynote address for Woman Power's 11th annual Leadership Conference at the Belvedere Hotel in Mount Vernon that discouraged voting for mainstream political party candidates and warned "middle-class Negroes" to "watch your tail while trying to climb on the big white ship." According to an account by Lula Jones Garrett in the AFRO, "Her audience sat shocked, with stiff shoulders, pursed lips and raised eyebrows as they listened."[50]

Other local examples include tenants and welfare rights organizations such as Mother Rescuers (whose development is chronicled in detail by historian Rhonda Williams) and the Soul School.[51] Historian Amy Zanoni describes the change for local activists, writing:

> A significant aspect of this move toward addressing structural problems entailed the formation of student groups like Baltimore's U-JOIN, headed by Lively, and CORE, which engaged in anti-poverty activism, understanding it as central to anti-racist struggles, in the early 1960s. U-JOIN was founded by members of Baltimore SDS as part of its Emergency Rehabilitation Assistance Project (ERAP) and included students from Hopkins, Goucher, and Morgan, as well as non-students and people that dropped out of school to fight for social justice. ERAP, according to Rhonda Williams, was "hoping to build an 'interracial movement' by galvanizing poor people at the grass roots around issues such as housing, schools, medical care, and food insecurity."[52]

Intersections with other rights movements

Both nationally and locally, the Civil Rights movement provided a powerful example for movements to protect and expand the rights of women, sexual minorities, people with disabilities, Native Americans, and others. Historian Anne Valk has argued that historians of postwar social movements must pay close attention to the "cross-fertilization of ideas" that took place between various movements.[53] Similarly in Baltimore, later activist movements often borrowed strategies and tactics from the Civil Rights movement and, in some cases, included overlapping individual participants.

Feminist movement

The growth of the feminist movement at a national level brought new opportunities for African American women in Baltimore during this period and focused attention on sexism within the Civil Rights movement and racism within the feminist movement. The necessity of addressing both racial and gender discrimination was clear to Councilwoman Victorine Q. Adams in her 1971 remarks to a class of students at Morgan State University. Adams cited a "white political power structure [that] did not listen to black people" and "black politicians who paid their women no mind" as her inspiration for organizing the Colored Women's Democratic Club in 1946 and Woman Power, Inc. in 1957.[54]

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw major changes in national policies affecting women. On October 13, 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson issued Executive Order 11375 forbidding sex discrimination in businesses working with the government. In 1972, Congress passed Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendments to the Civil Rights Act. The new policy enforced "sex equality" in education and forced educational institutions to support women's sports. On January 22, 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down many state abortion laws with the *Roe v. Wade* decision.

White and black women also organized at the national level. Notably, in 1966 the National Organization for Women (NOW) organized in Washington, DC and, in 1973, the National Black Feminist Organization formed in New York. At the local level, some of the urgent issues that galvanized the movement were access to contraception, family planning services, and health services for women. Planned Parenthood of Maryland describes the history of their organization, writing:

> In the 1960s, PPM began providing education and training services in addition to direct health care. Clinics were opened in churches and universities; chapters were founded in other communities; education centers flourished in nearly every county in the state. Federal and state funding reached an all-time high in the 70s, only to be cut drastically in the next decade by President Ronald Reagan. PPM throughout this time maintained a strong history of growth and stability.[55]

LGBTQ rights movement

At the national level, the LGBTQ rights movement, often known as the Gay Liberation Movement, took inspiration from the Civil Rights movement using similar tactics of marches and direct action to call attention to inequality. In Baltimore, the movement for LGBTQ rights initially organized through feminist activism and organizing but also engaged with One significant example of this intersection is the publication of *Women: a Journal of Liberation* between 1968 and 1983.[56] Other locally significant changes in the LGBTQ rights movement included the 1972 founding of Metropolitan Community Church (the oldest LGBT religious

organization in the city), the 1974 founding of the Lesbian Community Center, and, in 1975, the first pride rally held at the Washington Monument. While the LGBTQ rights movement in Baltimore was largely white, black activists, including Louis Hughes, Jr., played key roles in organizing the Baltimore Gay Alliance in 1975 and founding the Gay Community Center of Baltimore (GCCB) in 1977.

Disability rights movement

The most significant accomplishments of the national disability rights movement (notably the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act) fall outside the scope of this study, they should similarly be regarded as an outgrowth of the earlier history of the Civil Rights movement. According to "Equality of Opportunity: The Making of the Americans with Disabilities Act":

> In 1970, Judy Heumann, who used a wheelchair because of polio, founded Disabled in Action (DIA). [...] Heumann and others felt that existing organizations were not sufficiently politically active: DIA would thus be overtly and exclusively political. It "was made up of young disabled dreamers who believed that fighting for their rights was their obligation," said Heumann. Two more DIA organizations soon formed in Philadelphia and Baltimore. They were all cross-disability in focus and engaged such issues as transportation, architectural accessibility, television telethons, sheltered workshops, and institutionalization.[57]

Maryland established the state's Office for the Coordination of Services to the Handicapped (now known as the Department of Disabilities) in 1977 and at the national level, the National Council on Disability was established in 1978.

Native and Latino rights movements

The Native rights movement, locally represented by activists in the Lumbee community, had a more limited intersection with other local Civil Rights movements but also developed around this same time. For example, the Baltimore American Indian Center was established in 1968. The Latino population of Baltimore remained small proportionally small through the 1980s and 1990s limited the impact of any local organizing efforts.[58]

Focus on community and economic development

The shift of Baltimore's Civil Rights movement to focus on community development was an evolution, not a revolution, from the work of prior decades. After all, affordable housing and public health for African Americans had emerged and remained major concerns for local activists throughout the twentieth century. However, in the late 1960s and into the 1970s, activists saw an influx of financial resources from the city and the federal government to pursue community goals. Others hoped to learn from the failure of "urban renewal" programs in Harlem Park and other neighborhoods in the 1940s and 1950s and sought to place community residents and community-based organizations in more prominent leadership roles.

Community development advocates pursued a range of strategies that worked to meet residents needs within African American communities including job training and the development of affordable housing. New approaches to affordable housing development in this period included partnerships with churches, e.g. St. James Terrace (1960) and N.M. Carroll Apartments (1978, Leon Bridges, AIA), and rehabilitation of rowhouses, e.g. Shields Place (rehabilitated in 1975).[59] Advocates also sought to work outside black communities and break down barriers to opporunity by fighting continued discrimination and segregation in housing, education, and employment.

A new model for community development began emerging in cities around the country in the late 1960s and early 1970s. One early example is Neighborhood Housing Services (NHS) of Pittsburgh founded in 1968 following years of advocacy by activist Dorothy Mae Richardson. The rise of neighborhood organizing efforts was also influenced by the start of the Industrial Areas Foundation (first established in Chicago by Saul Alinsky in 1940) organizer training program in 1969.

These emerging efforts helped build support for major changes in federal policies around community and economic development. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 established the Community Action Program and the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) program. The Equal Credit Opportunity Act was approved in 1974 to make it against the law for any creditor to discriminate against any applicant by race, gender. Other policy changes opened new sources of funding. The Community Development Block Grant program was created in 1975, followed by the Tax Reform Act of 1976 which removed preexisting deductions for demolition costs and created new tax incentives to promote the preservation of income-producing historic properties. In 1977, the Community Reinvestment Act passed to reduce discriminatory practices by commercial banks.

In Baltimore, a variety of new organizations rose up in response to these trends. Grassroots efforts won support from CDBG funding and expanded into more formal organizations, including the Northwest Baltimore Corporation (established in Park Heights in 1971), the Druid Heights Community Development Corporation (originally organized as the Druid Heights Action Association around 1974), the Johnston Square Community Development Corporation, and the Southeast CDC (established in 1975 as Southeast Development, Inc. (SDI) to serve as the development arm of the Southeast Community Organization (SECO)). By 1983, fourteen neighborhood improvement organizations received funding from the Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development.[60] Churches also played a key role in financing and organizing community development projects, such as Douglass Memorial Community Church, which under the leadership of Rev. Bascom purchased the entire 1300 block of Madison Avenue with "church funds, renovated the buildings, and converted them to low-income housing."[61]

Other organizations developed to focus on industrial development and citywide concerns. These included the Baltimore Industrial Development Corporation created in 1965, and Baltimore Economic Development Corporation (BEDCO) created in 1975 to manage the city's industrial land-banking fund.[62] Another citywide organization was Baltimoreans United In Leadership Development (BUILD) organized in 1977.

The rise of community organizations did not eliminate the conflicts over community development issues. In 1972, Mayor Schaefer appointed George Jude, an African American, to chair the city Planning Commission. But Jude was a staunch supporter of the highway projects that threatened extensive demolition in the city's African American neighborhoods.[63]

Another example of the complicated implementation and legacy of community development projects during this period is urban renewal in Upton. Planning for the effort began in late 1967 and, in January 1968, the city organized residents to form the Upton Planning Committee.[64] In June 1971, the federal government approved an $18.6 million grant to finance the plan.[65] In 1973, after demolition began, Nixon established a moratorium on federal funding for urban renewal projects leading to major delays.[66] It wasn't until January 1976, that

construction on the Greenwillow Manor housing project at 610 Pennsylvania Avenue began.[67] Ultimately, the effort created new housing but displaced hundreds of former residents who were unable to return to the neighborhood.

Anti-poverty activism, welfare rights, and tenant rights

Mother Rescuers, one of the earliest anti-poverty activist organizations in Baltimore, formed in June 1966 with support from Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN) (holding their initial meetings at the U-JOIN offices on East Gay Street).[68] Local efforts reflected a broader national movement seen with the formation of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) that same year. In July 1966, the *Afro American* newspaper observed that the statements and activism of Mother Rescuers symbolized:

> the new mood creeping slowly through the black ghetto of Baltimore like sunlight at an early dawn —a mood that demands rights and respect and a chance for a decent life as the natural birthright of all.[69]

The national shift in the movement can also be heard in an April 1967 speech by Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. at Riverside Church in New York City where he remarked that Johnson's "poverty program" offered "a real promise of hope for the poor—both black and white" that, during the build up of the Vietnam War, had been "broken and eviscerated, as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war."[70]

Public assistance programs were especially critically for the city's public housing residents. By 1968, this population was 81 percent black and more than half of residents received public assistance.[71] In the late 1960s, residents at Lafayette Courts and Douglass Homes organized food cooperatives, what Williams called "the first in a wave of similar, although often short-lived, ventures" that expanded to include food buying clubs at Perkins Homes, Westport Homes, and Flag House Courts between 1969 and 1970.[72] Tenants' rights groups organized among residents at Fairfield, Lafayette Courts, Murphy Homes, and other areas.[73]

By late 1969, as the Baltimore Welfare Rights Organization (BWRO) began to grow, Governor Marvin Mandel (then still serving out the remainder of Spiro Agnew's term after Agnew became Vice-President) moved to abolish the State Board of Social Services as part of a broader plan to move state agencies from a board to a secretary system. Historian Rhonda Williams quotes Barbara Stevenson, the only welfare recipient and woman on the nine-member board, who described the abolition of the board as an "assault on the poor both black and white", as a possible "means to stop demonstrations and protests" and as an effort to stymie "rapport built with welfare rights' organizations and other groups."[74]

Historian Rhonda Williams describes a campaign from 1966 to 1978 that put the welfare department, housing authority, and city officials "on notice" by "calling attention to its commitment to business and revitalization while ignoring or heaping the burden on the backs of poor people."[75] A "battle cry" issued in 1969 by the NWRO and adopted by local activists clearly articulates their agenda:

> We are not willing to sell our rights as American citizens, our rights to dignity, our rights to justice, our rights to democracy, for the food, clothing and shelter which our age, our disability, the absence or death of our family's breadwinner, our lack of economic opportunity, our society, have made us unable to provide.[76]

Around 1970, the BWRO opened an office in the rectory of St. Martin's Catholic Church on N. Fulton Avenue, secured a grant through the Catholic Archdiocese's Campaign for Human Development, and hired their first paid executive director.[77] By 1971, there were eleven groups affiliated with the NWRO in Baltimore.[78]

Persistent racial segregation in schools and housing

In the late 1960s and 1970s, Baltimore's Civil Rights movement could not overcome the persistent opposition of white elected officials and white residents to achieve substantial integration for Baltimore's public schools or for most residential neighborhoods. By the end of the 1970s, the issue of segregation appeared so politically intractable that even local activists largely moved on to other issues.

School desegregation efforts and resistance

A decade after the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, residents and school officials could not help but see that the policy of "school choice" had done very little to end racially segregated education in Baltimore. In May 1968, the Supreme Court ruling in *Green v. New Kent County* found that to meet

the standard set over a decade before a free choice policy needed to actually integrate schools. In response, Baltimore City Solicitor George Russell submitted a nine-page opinion noting that 34% of black students in Baltimore attended all-black schools and "deprived of their constitutional right of attending integrated schools".[79] Baltimore's school choice policy was clearly unconstitutional.

Mayor D'Alesandro ignored Russell's opinion and Baltimore City Schools Superintendent Thomas D. Sheldon never made any public comment on the report. School board president Francis D. Murnaghan refused to take a position. Instead, highlighted obstacles to integration saying "Indiscriminate integrate can do more harm than good."[80] Racial bias by teachers and conflict between white and black students remained a prominent source of concern. Historian Howard Baum described one notable incident in January 1970:

> A white teacher at Eastern High School reportedly used a racial slur with a black student. Students protested, and someone called the police, who allegedly mistreated students and eventually arrested eight. Students were sent home, and many went to Baltimore City College High School, where students joined the protest and City was also closed.[81]

The following year, William Donald Schaefer's new administration proved even more reticent to response to the Supreme Court decision, avoiding talking about school desegregation because "immediately the question of race comes in."[82] The Supreme Court again pushed the reluctant administration towards action when the 1971 decision in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* affirmed the legality of busing or redrawing school boundaries as legal remedies for segregated schools. When Baltimore City finally began to develop a proposal for busing under the administration of Superintendent Dr. Roland N. Patterson, white residents and elected officials pushed back. In southeast Baltimore, white residents opposed to desegregation organized the Southeast Desegregation Coalition. The coalition had support from then City Council member, later Senator, Barbara Mikulski who wrote a letter to the editor of the East Baltimore Guide stating: "I am totally opposed to forced cross-town busing."[83] In 1975, the Federal Office of Civil Rights begins enforcement hearings against Maryland but, ultimately, Baltimore's schools remained segregated.

Housing segregation and discrimination

Efforts to protest continued housing segregation and discrimination took a variety of forms during this period. One of the most notable efforts began in 1969, when a coalition of black and white civil rights advocates (including chairman Sampson Green, an African American attorney, member of the Maryland Human Relations Commission, and housing committee chairman, and John J. Martinez, white Jesuit teacher at St. Bernadine's) organized The Activists. The fair housing advocacy organization targeted the Morris Goldseker Company by holding protests outside its downtown offices highlighting the company's role as a "block-buster" taking advantage of both white sellers and black buyers. Operating under a variety of names, the Goldseker-related realty companies doubled the mark-up on house sales in Edmondson Village in comparison to other areas during the 1960s. The Activists described how companies purchased houses for an average of $7,320 and sold them for an average of $12,387, a markup of 69%, leading them to an inescapable conclusion: "The dollar in the hands of the white man buys more than the dollar in the hands of the black man."[84]

Black Baltimoreans also continued to contend with inequities in access to both public and private investment. In the spring of 1975, a new federal study found that lenders denied home loans to African American borrowers in Baltimore at twice the rate of white borrowers.[85] One of the state's largest lenders, Maryland National Bank,

reportedly "rejected black applicants for home mortgages" at nearly twelve times the rate for white applicants in 1974.[86]

In his popular history of racial segregation in Baltimore, writer Antero Pietila highlighted the major role of Baltimore County politician Dale Anderson in promoting segregated residential development during his term as County Executive from 1966 to 1974. Earlier efforts, beginning with the County's first zoning law in 1949, confined rowhouse and apartment development to eastern Baltimore County in the area of Dundalk and Essex-Middle River.[87] During his term as County Executive from 1962 to 1966, Spiro Agnew "ousted" the chairman of the Baltimore County Community Relations Commission after he "endorsed open housing" saying the chairman "confused civil equality with social acceptance". Agnew continued:

> Open occupancy legislation, the attempted crashing of private membership clubs, unlawful trespassing and unlawful demonstrating, violate the civil rights of others just as clearly as segregation violates the civil rights of the Negro. I take a strong position that it is wrong to tell the owner of a private dwelling place, be it single family or multiple unit, that he must offer it for rent or sale to anyone with whom he does not wish to do business. This applies whether or not he is biased and applies regardless of what his bias may embrace. If he dislikes Greeks he should not have to deal with Greeks, and the government that infringes upon his discretion in this respect abrogates his freedom of selection, and disregards the intent of the Constitution of the United States.[88]

The political power of white opposition to open housing can clearly be seen in George P. Mahoney's 1966 campaign for governor and notorious slogan: "Your Home is Your Castle – Protect It."[89]

Agnew's successor, Dale Anderson sought to absolve the county from responsibility for segregation in 1969 remarking, "There are no walls around Baltimore County."[90] In contrast, most observers saw a deliberate effort to promote racial segregation through opposition to open housing and policies that displaced existing black communities. In 1972, the Social Security Administration announced an expansion plan that anticipated 2,800 workers (mostly African American) moving to the Woodlawn area. Anderson opposed the plan, commenting:

> not one house in that bracket will pay enough taxes to educate one child, and how many of those people coming in here are going to have one child or more?[91]

That same year, Anderson eliminated four key positions in the Baltimore County Planning Department (in the midst of what Pietila described as a "forward-looking plan to guide the county's long-term growth").[92] The department director Goerge Gavrelis "resigned in protest" over the cuts and Anderson fired Gavrelis' colleague Leslie Graef.[93] A few months later, Anderson "ordered real estate agents to report all sales to blacks to the police" suggesting (without evidence) that "he was acting at the request of the Real Estate Board."[94] A representative Civil Rights Commission later responded that Anderson's intention was to: "clearly intimidate rather than help the potential black buyer in the county."[95]

After the Baltimore County City Council first approved urban renewal plans for a largely African American area in East Towson in 1960, voters (following “agitation, coordinated by the extreme right-wing John Birch Society”) defeated the proposals in a 1964 referendum.[96] Pietila observed that even without federal funds, Anderson pursued a "rump renewal program for Towson" that included "a bypass road… flanked by government and commercial offices." The development, together with the later construction of a high school building, police and fire department headquarters, and Baltimore County jail, displaced much of the East Towson black community. Homes occupied by black households in Catonsville along the Baltimore National Pike and near the new Baltimore Beltway were torn down to make way for "snack shacks and no fewer than ten gasoline stations."[97]

This experience was vividly captured in the 1968 reflections of Hannah Lindsey, an African American resident of Catonsville Pines located immediately next to Route 40 near the Baltimore Beltway. Based on her own seventeen-year experience fighting housing policies and zoning changes harming black residents, Lindsey remarked:

> You can ride on Route 40 from one end to the other and not find ten service stations in eight tenths of a mile. Except in a Negro area... We've lost families out here whose ancestors go back hundreds of years. They give us they—Oh, you don't want to live on Route 40 anyway, it's too noisy. We have to live anywhere we can.[98]

Overall, Baltimore County’s uneven application of zoning changes reportedly “decimated at least twenty old African-American settlements throughout the county.”[99]

Police violence and surveillance

Police violence continued to be a major concern for local Civil Rights activists. In 1962, one activist recalled the statewide campaign against police violence twenty years early and called on the Governor to establish a similar "blue-ribbon commission."[100] The elevation of black police officers to leadership roles, such as Dennis P. Mello becoming "Baltimore’s first Negro police captain" and the head of the Western Police District in 1965.[101] By 1966, according to the Baltimore Police History, the police ended policies that limited black officers to foot patrols and excluded them from service patrolling in white neighborhoods. The department also promoted new efforts to improve "community relations" including opening four "Store Front Operations" beginning in July 1967.

Federal funding also played an important role in creating new opportunities for African American residents subject to a discriminatory policing and justice system. By 1970, Baltimore Legal Aid’s budget had grown to $800,000 (over half provided by the federal government) and served nearly 22,000 clients. That same year, Legal Aid started the city’s first public defender office which they continued to operate until 1972 when the state of Maryland created the Office of the Public Defender.[102]

Despite these efforts, the conflict between the Baltimore City police and African American activists only deepened in this period. Illegal surveillance and efforts to infiltrate and disrupt black activist organizations were a notable area of conflict. Between 1968 and 1974, the Baltimore Police Department Inspectional Services Division (ISD) kept the homes of Parren Mitchell and other African-American politicians and activists under surveillance, illegally bugged home and office telephones, and placed paid informers in congressional

campaigns. Beginning in 1971, Parren Mitchell began calling for the resignation of Baltimore Police Commissioner Donald Pomerleau. When the ISD surveillance program (and its close ties to the FBI) were revealed, Congressman Mitchell extended his criticism to the ISD.

After Pomerleau's death in 1992, journalist Michael Olesker shared a memory of how the Police Commissioner tried to explain away the program and encourage Olesker to drop his investigation in a 1974 conversation:

> Pomerleau sitting behind his big desk, his head cocked to one side, and he said: "I know you've been told we're collecting personal information on..." and he named several prominent politicians. "Forget it," he said. 'We're not doing that.' 'Wait a minute,' I said. 'Are you telling me you're not collecting personal information on any politicians?' And here is precisely what Donald Pomerleau replied: 'Just the blacks. Just the blacks. Just the blacks.' [...] I sat there not believing my ears: Not merely because he was verifying these acts but because, in his arrogance, he would assume he could tell me about it because we shared a skin tone. It was a lie, by the way. His minions were collecting stuff on all sorts of community leaders, and skin color didn't much matter.[103]

Many residents and Civil Rights activists saw little improvement in the accountability of police for violence against black residents. The history of protests at the Western District Police Station at Riggs Avenue and Mount Street help illustrate the significance of these concerns. For example, on August 1, 1966, a group of twenty picketed at the Western District Police Station after "a Municipal Court judge declined to issue warrants charging two patrolmen with assault."[104]

Two hundred and fifty people rallied in August 1969, to "protest the Police Department's use of dogs and chemical sprays and to demand a civilian police." The protest was sponsored by the Black United Front, "a coalition of militant and moderate Negro groups" led by activists including Rev. Vernon N. Dobson, president of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, and Parren J. Mitchell.[105] In 1972, a small group of fifteen assembled outside the station to protest an arrest in the 1800 block of Moreland Avenue "claiming the arrest was improper and that the man was beaten by police."[106]

In December 1973, the Baltimore Community Relations Commission (CRC) voted to "rejoin" the Baltimore Police Department's Complaint Evaluation Board (CEB) four years after the commission "withdrew from the board, protesting its alleged ineffectiveness in handling complaints of police abuse from civilians." John Wilson, chief of the commission's Community Division, recommended against the CRC rejoining the board, remarking, "As long as the police investigate themselves… there is nothing that can be done."[107]

Other residents saw a need for more police protection from the violence associated with the growing trade in heroin in the late 1960s and early 1970s. One 1970 article quotes Bertha Jenkins, a resident of the 300 block of E. 21st Street, reflecting on the addiction and violence found in her neighborhood, remarking, "The police don't patrol around here nearly enough… When you need them, you have to call them."[108]

Writing, visual arts, and performing arts

Negro Soldier Monument (1972, James E. Lewis), 100 N. Holliday Street, Baltimore, MD 21202. Photograph by Eli Pousson, 2016 July 29. Courtesy Baltimore Heritage (CC0)

Arts and cultural spaces took on a new prominence in the broader Civil Rights movement during this period. One local example of how this took place is the New Era Bookstore on the 400 block of Park Avenue (a leftist bookstore associated with the U.S. Communist Party) with one of the "best selections of black-related books and magazines in the city." During the 1960s, the Knights of Ku Klux Klan and the Fighting American Nationalists picketed the bookstore and, in 1967, opponents broke the building's windows and attempted to light it on fire with a burning can of gasoline.[109]

One regular visitor to the New Era Bookstore was African American poet Sam Cornish. In 1966, Cornish began working as the editor of *Chicory*, a magazine of poetry and art by Baltimore residents, published by the Enoch Pratt Free Library with funding from the federal Office of Economic Opportunity's Community Action Program (later listing the library's Urban Services Program at 31 S. Payson Street as the offices of the magazine). Evelyn Levy, Supervisor of Library Services for the Community Action Program, and Thelma Bell, one of the first African American children's librarians at Pratt, led the effort which continued to publish up to ten issues each year until 1983.

African American visual artists also played an important role. When Mayor William Donald Schaefer launched the city's first mural program in September 1973 with funding from the National Endowment for the Arts, the jury included James Lewis, a professor of Morgan State and founder of the James E. Lewis Museum of Art. One

of the ten murals commissioned by the project was located on the back of the Afro-American newspaper building at Druid Hill Avenue and Jasper Street showing "a stylized pair of black dancers frozen on a white background."

Music was also used as a strategy to bridge differences between white and black Baltimoreans with efforts including the Left Bank Jazz Society (established in 1964) and a series of concerts organized by Rev. Chester Wickwire at Johns Hopkins University. In a 2006 oral history, Wickwire described the culture of discriminatory and how, beginning in 1959, he sought to "change Hopkins, desegregate it" by organizing performaces by jazz and rock musicians that appealed to interracial audiences including Dave Bruebrek, Charles Mingus, Joan Baez, Duke Ellington, Thelonius Monk, Mothers of Invention. In his efforts to end segrgeation on the Hopkins campus, Wickwire recalled: "Jazz helped us."[110]

Mural programs are one example of how African American culture and history took on greater visibility in the 1970s. Photograph from Robert Breck Chapman Collection, November 30, 1973. Courtesy University of Baltimore, Langsdale Library, rbmc368_733 (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0).

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5. Williams, *The Politics of Public Housing*, 198. ↩
6. Coffey, “Spiro Agnew and the Suburbanization of American Politics, 1918–1968.” ↩
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10. “Negro-White Liberal Coalition Held Likely to Win Council Control.” ↩
11. Williams, *The Politics of Public Housing*, 233. ↩
12. Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood*, 234; Maryland State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil RIghts, “The Zoning and Planning Process in Baltimore County and Its Effect on Minority Group Residents.” ↩
13. For this analysis, the data includes Anne Arundel County, Baltimore County, Carroll County, Harford County, Howard County, and Queen Anne’s County (the present day MSA) going back to 1960.↩
14. Holter, “The Vanguard Is Never Caught Napping,” 42, 59, 128; McCutchen, “Black Panther Party - Baltimore, Maryland Branch - 1968–1972.” ↩
15. Faust, “Neighborhood Matters,” 55. ↩
16. Ibid., 55–56. ↩
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18. “BOYCOTT SET FOR MARKET IS CANCELED.” ↩
19. Oliver, “New Pastor Hopes Bethel Will Continue Service in Inner City.” ↩
20. Zanoni, “"Working on Many Levels,” 34, 69. ↩
21. Robinson, “Charles T. Burns Dies Founder of Super Pride.” ↩
22. Sentementes, “Super Pride Reaches the End.” ↩
23. Pietila, “Storefront Churches.” ↩
24. As of 2017, the building at 1133 Pennsylvania Avenue is occupied by Best Care Pharmacy↩
25. “White ’Doc’ Chooses To Stay.” ↩
26. Dilts, “3-A Road Deadline Looming.” ↩
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28. Giuliano, “The Royal Theatre in Review.” ↩
29. EHT Traceries, “Carver High School (BA–1075).” ↩
30. “Historic Registration to Be Sought for Oldest Black Church in City”; “An Old Church”; Pietila, “Black State History”; Arnett, “Church ’Slave’ Tunnel Reopens.” ↩

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43. “Dr. Furman L. Templeton, Veteran UL Leader, Dies.” ↩
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45. Dorsey, “Prolific, Modest Walter Sondheim-He Can’t Escape Being Honored As a Civic Leader.” ↩
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53. Valk, *Radical Sisters*, 5. ↩
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55. Planned Parenthood of Maryland, Inc., “History & Highlights.” ↩

56. This early and long-running national feminist publication had around 25,000 subscribers at its' height and served as an influential forum for lesbian and feminist writing. Records for *Women: a Journal of Liberation* are available through the Five College Archives & Manuscript Collections. ↩

57. National Council on Disability, *ERIC ED512697*, 22. ↩

58. See Wikipedia on the History of the Hispanics and Latinos in Baltimore. ↩

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60. Lyons, "71-Year-Old Leads Determined Residents in Flourishing of Neglected Druid Heights." ↩

61. Milobsky, "Power from the Pulpit," 285. ↩

62. Additional details on the history of changes to economic development organizations in this timeline on Baltimore's Vacant Housing. ↩

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100. Keat, “COMMISSION ON POLICE BIAS IS DEMANDED.” ↩
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