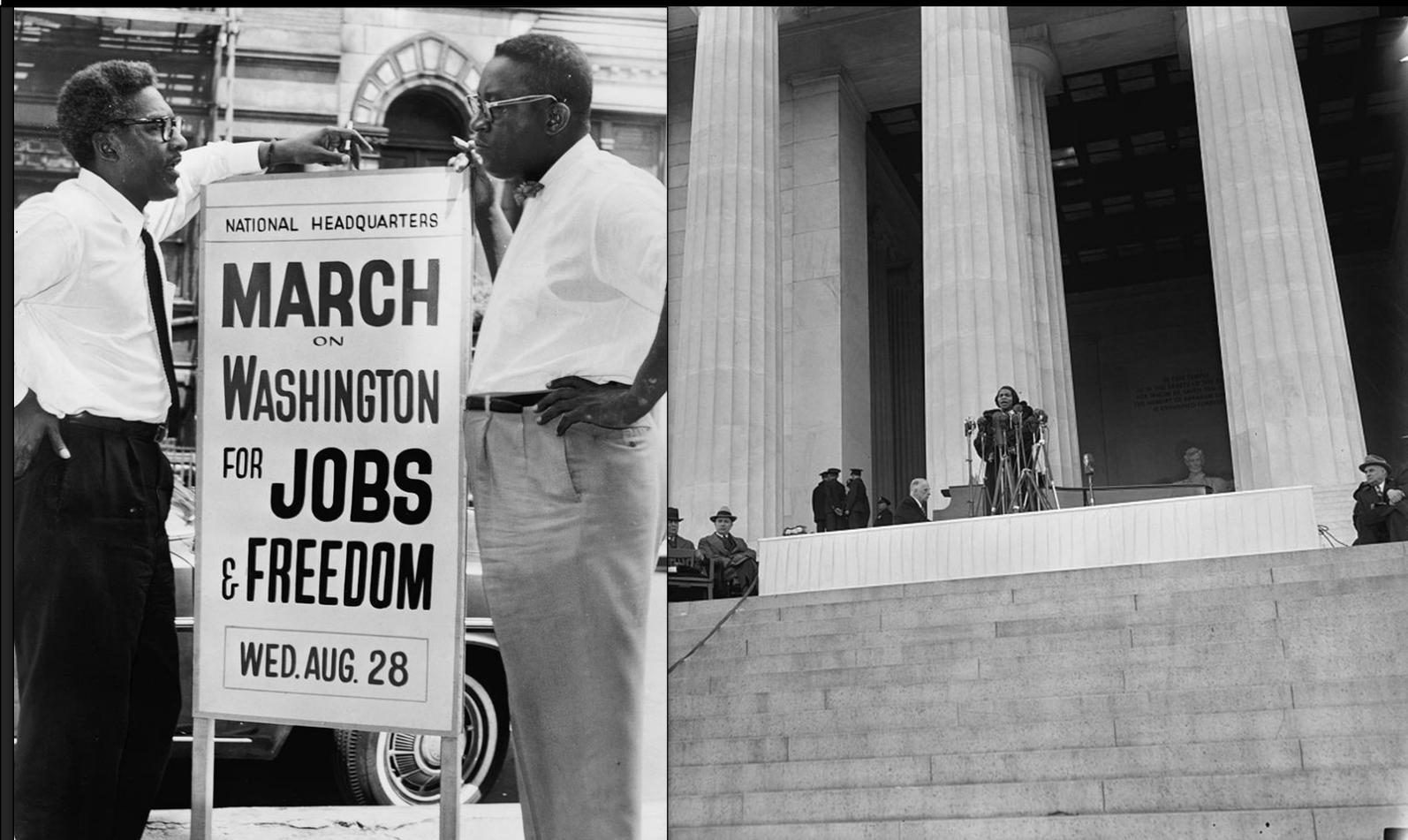


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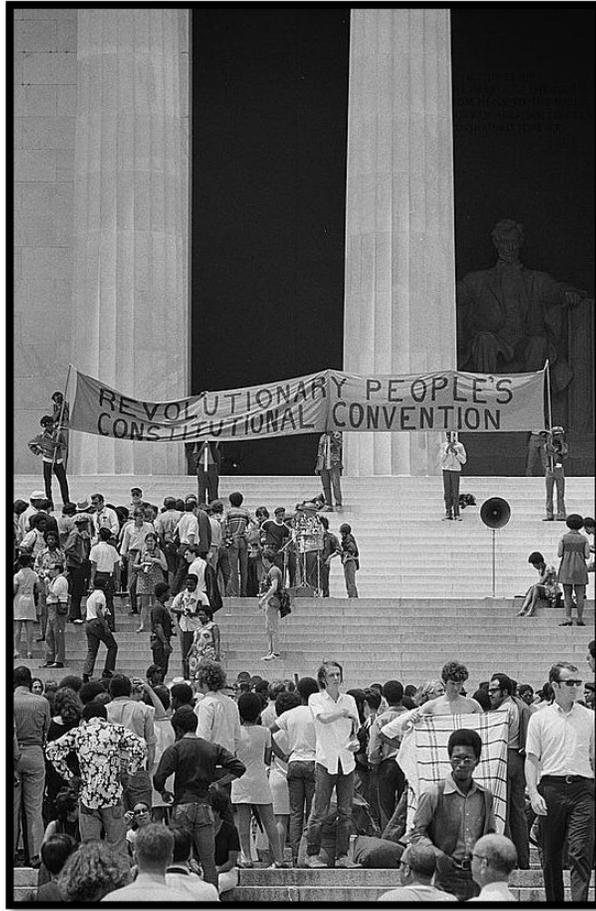


THEMATIC FRAMEWORK FOR THE HISTORY OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA

Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, Ph.D., & Patsy Fletcher
With contributions from Caroline Spencer and Lauren Hughes

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS • NATIONAL PARK SERVICE • SEPTEMBER 2021

Thematic Framework for the History of Civil Rights in the National Capital Area



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September 2021
Organization of American Historians
in partnership with the National Park Service
Division of Cultural Resources
Resource Stewardship and Science
National Capital Area – Region 1



As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under US administration.

US Department of the Interior
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Washington, DC

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Cover page (left): March on Washington National Headquarters (Ford's Theatre National Historic Site, National Park Service)

Cover page (right): Washington's prominent figures listen to Marian Anderson's singing. Washington, D.C., April 9. Behind Marian Anderson, the heroic statue of Lincoln; beside her, Cabinet members and Senators; before her a crowd of 75,000 black and white listeners. Left to right - Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Mrs. Morgenthau, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, [...] at the piano, Marian Anderson. 4-9-39 (Library of Congress)

Title page: Black Panther Convention, Calling for a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, DC, June 19, 1970 (Library of Congress)

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THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

The quest for freedom from slavery, abolitionism, equal rights and suffrage form the earliest civil rights efforts that predate and are precursors to the modern civil rights movement. With no national government to define or ensure civil rights and with no national consensus defining those rights, the populace was left to define a path to liberation based on ideas contained in the founding documents: “We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” It fell largely to Black institutions and religious organizations, individuals and families to act as the country’s moral compass and give voice to the injustices. Slavery in the United States coexisted within this narrative of liberty and equality.

The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, the three great civil rights amendments, were the great affirming pronouncements of a democratic nation that followed in the wake of the Civil War. However, the laws that had been in place since the end of the rebellion quickly needed strengthening and redefinition to keep abreast of each new form of discrimination and each new civil rights violation. Throughout the Civil War and Reconstruction eras freedom and equal rights emerged in tandem with new forms of threats. Blacks made tremendous strides in politics, education, business and civic engagement only to confront new as well as continual abuses. Jim Crow, lynching, voter disenfranchisement, segregation, discrimination, and a racialized penal system targeted toward minorities, particularly African Americans, are among the 20th century assaults on Civil Rights. Voting rights, public accommodations, equal employment, and equal education provisions of the civil rights acts of the 1960s form the modern foundation for civil rights history in the United States.

THEMES

Freedom as the First Right – The Declaration of Independence presented a set of American ideals, rights and privileges for all men. In the face of slavery and the absence of clearly defined rights for individuals before the American Revolution or rights for African Americans after the Revolution, the quest for freedom from enslavement through escape is the first expression of equal rights. The idea of civil rights took different forms and different names depending upon the defining era. The legal definition of civil rights began to be clearly articulated with the first Civil Rights Amendments during the Reconstruction era, more than a century after the infringement of the natural and human rights and the basic individual and civil liberties of African Americans.

Institution Building – In the absence of meaningful or effective legal protections for African Americans before the civil rights acts of the 1960s, wherever and whenever possible, the black church took on civic responsibilities such as providing access to

education or voter registration. The Colored Convention movement took on political initiatives before the Civil War and asserted political rights after the Rebellion. Numerous civil rights organizations each had a role to play in the dismantling of American discriminatory systems and reshaping the political landscape.

The Rights of Full Citizenship –

- **Equal Education** - For at least a century and a half before *Brown v Board of Education*, the quest for a quality education ranked foremost among the concerns for African Americans in the National Capital Area as evidenced by the numerous schools, institutes and educational facilities founded to ensure education for Blacks. Legal battles for a fair and quality education forced an end to state- and federally-sponsored segregation. From the US Supreme Court's infamous "separate but equal" decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 to *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, court-ordered school desegregation culminated a decades-long quest to achieve equality as the Constitution mandates. Another decade of massive resistance to school desegregation followed. "The Civil Rights Act of 1964 authorized the Justice Department to sue education systems that continued to discriminate. Minority-led legal challenges to and nonviolent protests of segregated public education and federal enforcement of court-ordered desegregation characterize this theme."¹
- **Public Accommodation** - Pressure from minority groups led Congress, and the Supreme Court to debate and interpret the right to public accommodations for more than one hundred years. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 was enacted during the Reconstruction Era to confront civil rights violations against African Americans "to protect all citizens in their civil and legal rights," giving them equal treatment in public accommodations, public transportation, and to prohibit exclusion from jury service.² The government did not take measures to enforce the law. In 1883 in what became known as The Civil Rights Cases, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that the public accommodation portion of the act guaranteeing nondiscrimination in public facilities was unconstitutional. This ruling allowed states to institute and enforce segregated facilities for the next eighty years. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 states: "All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, and privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation, as defined in this section, without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin."³

¹ "Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites." National Park Service, National Historic Landmarks Program. 2002, Revised 2008, p. 32.

² Civil Rights Act of 1875, <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/civil-rights-act-of-1875/>

³ Civil Rights Act of 1964, Section 201 (a), <https://www.findlaw.com/civilrights/enforcing-your-civil-rights/title-ii-of-the-civil-rights-act-of-1964-injunctive-relief.html>

- **Voting** - The 15th Amendment of 1870 began the long process of ensuring voting rights for non-white males. The 19th Amendment of 1920 guaranteed those rights for all women. Securing the franchise represents political freedom, the right to self-government, and the transformation of the nature of American politics. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1964 expanded federal guarantees of civil rights in voting. It would not be until 1961 that residents of the District of Columbia were granted the right to vote in presidential elections but they have no Congressional representation.

This document, “Thematic Framework for the History of Civil Rights in the National Capital Area, National Park Service,” is modeled partly on “Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites,” completed by the National Historic Landmarks Program of the National Park Service in 2002, and revised in 2008.

Each chapter includes a brief overview of civil rights themes for a particular era, followed by examples of events, people, and places related to civil rights in that era. The lists of events, people, and places are not comprehensive, but rather examples of the types of events, people, and places in the National Capital Area related to the history of civil rights. The bibliography and footnotes can guide the reader to find additional information.

INTRODUCTION

Civil Rights have taken different forms depending on the location, the era and the particular region. Over the years, in response to the incorporation of civil rights as a cornerstone of democracy, United States lawmakers have produced dozens of explicitly termed Civil Rights Acts and legislation pertaining to the guarantees of civil rights.⁴ The federal courts and state legislators have issued equally as many legal impediments inhibiting or curbing the exercise of those same civil rights.

Across the life of the nation, African Americans and other marginalized groups have been devoted to the straightforward self-evident truths that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence, “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” Their devotion extends to the constitutional protection for individual liberties rather than to the legal definitions that often denied their claim to freedom and citizenship. Historian Clayborne Carson observed in *Civil Rights Chronicle*, “In the United States, civil rights depend upon people who, through law or public policy, grant certain civil liberties as the basis of citizenship. White public opinion has always [attempted to determine], through *de jure* and *de facto* public policy, the extent and degree of American citizenship that Africans have or have not enjoyed.”⁵

Civil rights implies justice under the law in the form of legal actions taken by the government to create equal conditions for all people; civil liberties refer to protections against government actions; equal rights refers to equality before the law; human rights are the rights held in common by all, and natural rights are thought to be beyond the authority of any government or international body to dismiss. In the face of denial or curtailment of their legal rights, infringement of their civil liberties and deprivation of equal rights, African Americans frequently circumvented convention or pushed beyond legal confines in the quest for fulfillment of their natural and human rights.

From the founding of the country, a “continuum of resistance” has marked every decade.⁶ From slavery forward, African Americans have exerted relentless pressure on every form of governing body that controlled their fate for the right to freedom and equality. As early as 1791, Benjamin Banneker, the surveyor who helped plan the new capital city of Washington, DC, laid claim to equal rights for African Americans before the U. S. Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson. Banneker exposed the inconsistency of

⁴ See Appendix A

⁵ Clayborne Carson, *Civil Rights Chronicle: The African-American Struggle for Freedom* (Lincolnwood, IL: Legacy Publishing, 2003), 12.

⁶ Carson, *Civil Rights*, 14.

maintaining chattel slavery while espousing equality.⁷ Escaping enslavement represented one of the most consistent efforts for asserting one's claim to the blessings of liberty and freedom from unfair treatment.

Long before this nation devolved into a civil war over slavery, a social and religious battle raged inside America's churches as an integral part of "a gradual unfolding of the process of emancipation."⁸ Historian Douglas Egerton observes that the early Black church "served as a model of black self-reliance and resiliency in a hostile white world . . ." ⁹ Crossing the line where submission ends and resistance begins, Blacks refused to take a back seat in the sanctuary of the Lord or consent to the passive surrender of their religious rights as many church members demanded. Here were the first organized efforts at institutional desegregation. In "the evil demon of religious discord" and in the widening breach of spreading discontent, black churchgoers linked their religious rights to their civil rights and instituted the independent Black church.¹⁰

David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World, written in 1829, called for the immediate abolition of slavery and equal rights for Black people. "Many historians now regard the *Appeal* as one of the most important social and political documents of the 19th century. Nothing like it had been published before." It has remained a rallying point for African Americans across generations and has shaped the political thinking of Black leaders, such as Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois, Martin Luther King, and Malcolm X.¹¹ It could be considered a Civil Rights manifesto.

Blacks fought effectively in every war; they lobbied Congress before they had legal standing as citizens. They answered the call and organized into United States Colored Troops during the Civil War as a means of physically fighting for freedom, the right they held so dear. With emancipation, as Booker T. Washington observed, no longer were Blacks forced to disguise the meaning of freedom by equating it to the hereafter. "Most of the verses of the plantation songs had some reference to freedom," Washington explained. "True," he continued, "they had sung those same verses before, but they had been careful to explain that the 'freedom' in these songs referred to the next world . . . Now they gradually threw off the mask, and were not afraid to let it be known that the

⁷ Benjamin Banneker, To Thomas Jefferson from Benjamin Banneker, 19 August 1791; Ray, Angela G., "In My Own Hand Writing": Benjamin Banneker Addresses the Slaveholder of Monticello, *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Fall 1998), 387-405.

⁸ George A. Singleton, *The Romance of African Methodism* 1952

⁹ Douglas R. Egerton, *He Shall Go Out Free: The Lives of Denmark Vesey* (Madison, WI: Madison House, 1999), 109-10.

¹⁰ Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, "William Paul Quinn, Militant Soldier of the Cross." Manuscript in the possession of the author.

¹¹ Herbert Aptheker, "One Continual Cry" *David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World (1829/1830: Its Setting, Its Meaning*, (New York: Humanities Press, 1965); Quotation from "The David Walker Memorial Project," <http://www.davidwalkermemorial.org/appeal> accessed September 17, 2017.

‘freedom’ in their songs meant freedom of the body in this world.”¹²

Despite the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 and the 13th Amendment of 1865, five subsequent years of federal legislation were required before full rights of citizenship were enacted. The sweeping and comprehensive language of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which decreed that citizens “of every race and color without regard to any previous condition of slavery” should enjoy “full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property, as is enjoyed by white persons” was intended once and for all to guarantee the rights of full citizenship.¹³ Those “guarantees” of citizenship were short lived as several U. S. Supreme Court rulings eroded the rights of Black Americans.

In the years immediately following the Civil War and emancipation, focus on Colored Conventions provided the political thrust toward suffrage and equal rights. African Americans began establishing civil rights associations and organizations in the aftermath of the war that endure today. While still clinging to the promises and hope of Reconstruction and seeking legal protection of their civil rights in face of growing racial violence and “Jim Crow” laws, these organizations were a conduit and a vital necessity for whatever safety and freedom Blacks hoped to achieve.

“From the Civil War until the New Deal era,” legal commentator Jeffrey Rosen asserts, the Supreme Court “was more concerned with economic rights than with civil rights and civil liberties, largely because of its decision in the late 19th century not to force the states to respect the Bill of Rights.”¹⁴ In the 1950s and 60s, in the modern era of the civil rights movement, the Supreme Court reached back to the foundations set in the Fourteenth Amendment to begin striking down state laws that violated various guarantees in the Bill of Rights. From the Black Panther Party of the 1960s and 70s to the Black Lives Matter movement of the 21st century, the claims for fair and equitable treatment and for the country to uphold the inalienable rights of African Americans and other oppressed groups have remained constant and consistent.

From the abolition of slavery forward, African Americans have steadily insisted on their right to equal access under the law. As the quest for equal rights sharpened, discrimination became more specific, as did the laws intended to address each layer of discrimination: in housing, voting, public accommodations, education, criminal injustice, employment, health disparities, and affirmative action. Every aspect of citizen rights of the protected parties must be delineated and spelled out because each has been

¹² Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1901), p. 19-20. Electronic edition, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/washington/washing.html>

¹³ Civil Rights Act of 1866, <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/the-civil-rights-act-of-1866/>

¹⁴ Jeffrey Rosen, “Expanding Civil Rights,” *The Supreme Court: Supreme Court History*, <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/supremecourt/rights/index.html> accessed August 17, 2017.

violated with impunity.

The traditional era of the Civil Rights Movement has been called “one of the most publicized events in United States history.” Struggles to ensure the right to vote, access to public accommodations, public education, and equal employment opportunities and to mitigate the effects of criminal injustice have been at the heart of the Movement. For the Civil Rights Movement, “Short of a declaration of war, no other act of Congress had a more violent background—a background of confrontation, official violence, injury, and murder that has few parallels in American history.”¹⁵

In a paper presented before the National Emigration Convention of Colored Men in Cleveland in 1854, Martin Delany addressed the following words to the colored inhabitants of the United States:

“FELLOW COUNTRYMEN!—

We have not addressed you as *citizens*,—a term desired and ever cherished by us—because such you have never been. We have not addressed you as *freemen*,—because such privileges have never been enjoyed by any colored man in the United States. Why then should we flatter your credulity, by inducing you to believe that which neither has now, nor never before had, an existence?”¹⁶

¹⁵ Robert D. Loevy, ed., *The Civil Rights Act of 1964: The Passage of the Law That Ended Racial Segregation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 40, 42, as cited in “Civil Rights in America, 1.

¹⁶ Frank A. Rollin, *Life of Martin R. Delany*, Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1883, 327.

OVERVIEW OF CIVIL RIGHTS HISTORY FOR THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

The District of Columbia, as the seat of our national government, has a unique history as the touchstone of protest, commemoration, and celebration. Groups fighting for their cause to be heard seek to have their voices heeded in the nation's capital; other groups wanting a national presence establish their headquarters in the city. Congressional rulings and Supreme Court decisions originate in the federal city; lawmakers reside there. These factors add a richness and an additional political layer to the local history of the District of Columbia.

In a nation where the rhetoric of freedom and the promise of equality collide with the reality of continuous discrimination, injustice and racial inequality, legal guarantees remain an imperative. Since, by their actions, states had proven that they could not be trusted to maintain the rights of their African American citizens, the broader federal power had to intervene to safeguard their constitutional rights and uphold the laws of the nation. In the face of this near constant threat, African Americans, often leading the way for other oppressed or minority groups, have continuously held the nation to account—demanding liberty in the face of slavery, justice in the face of post-Civil War violence and betrayal, and equality before the law in the face of segregation, infringement of voting rights, inferior education, and sub-standard and inadequate housing. As the contributors to the Civil Rights Framework observe, “our present understanding of civil rights is deeply tied to our collective story and represents the highest aspirations and deepest tragedies that followed the adoption of our national charter.”¹⁷

For this framework, the federal city is treated as both the nation's capital and as a local district with its own distinct relationship to civil rights. Additionally, the states of Virginia, Maryland and West Virginia enacted laws and regulations pertaining to civil rights particular to their individual jurisdictions. No better period reflects these dichotomies and ambivalence than the Civil War. Virginia was the capital of the Confederacy where the Emancipation Proclamation abolished slavery. Maryland, a state loyal to the Union, enforced slavery until 1864. Carved out of the state of Virginia, West Virginia was admitted to the Union in 1863 as the last slave state among the “border states.” The newest state allowed slavery nearly two years beyond the abolition of slavery in Virginia. The District of Columbia was subject to Congressional rule which abolished slavery in the nation's capital a mere nine months before Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation.

¹⁷ “Civil Rights in America: A Framework,” 1.

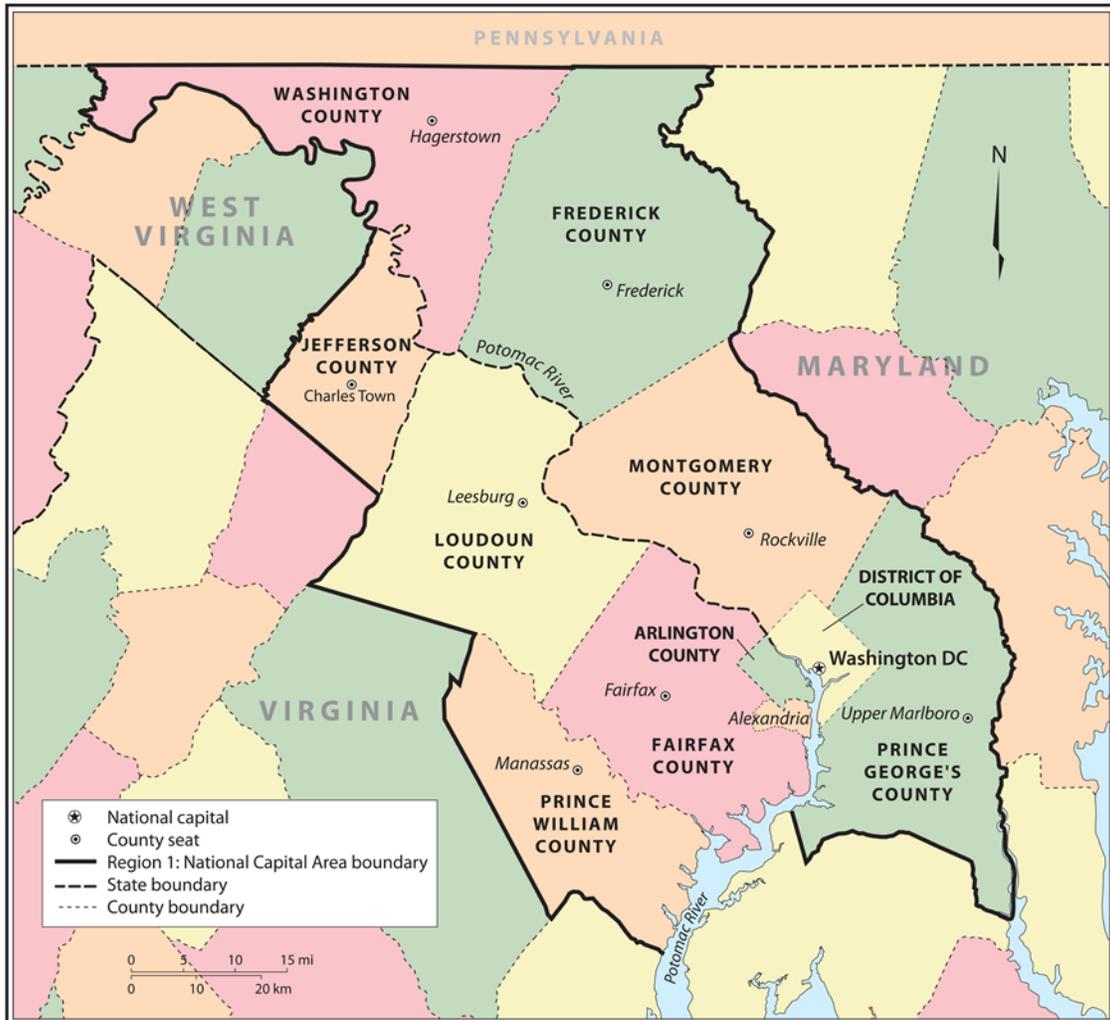
More than a century before the searing moments of the historic Civil Rights Movement, anti-slavery organizations, vigilant committees and abolitionist societies, the Black church and its ministers, civic and women’s organizations, and newspaper editors were joined by lawyers, law schools, and educators acting as the catalysts that forced the nation to take a stand for all its citizens. The struggle for civil rights in America is the story of a nation pushed to realize and deliver on “America’s shining ideals” of justice and equality and that all citizens can expect equal rights and equal treatment before the law.¹⁸

The National Capital Area of the National Park Service is comprised of the District of Columbia; Prince George’s, Montgomery, Frederick, and Washington counties in Maryland; Fairfax, Arlington, Loudoun, and Prince William counties, and the City of Alexandria, in Virginia; and Jefferson County in West Virginia (see Map of NCA). Each of the chapters in this report will contain a section that addresses the states within the National Capital Area and selected counties, as relevant, frequently telling the story of the quest for civil rights through local personalities, events, and places.

¹⁸ Ibid.

MAP OF NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

National Park Service Region 1: National Capital Area



PART 1. QUEST FOR EQUAL RIGHTS: AN EMERGING CAUSE, 1776-1865

Prior to the formation of a national government, there was no national consensus about the definition of civil rights and who could be entitled to them. Before 1776, routine violation of the rights of enslaved people, women, American Indians, and immigrants within the boundaries of the present United States was the norm with respect to personal liberty, voting, educational opportunities, property ownership, and religious affiliation. Those affected frequently resisted those violations and the denial of their rights through enslavement and servitude. The impetus to seek freedom transcended colonial rule and legal dictates and marked the first strategy in the century's long quest for equal rights in America.

By 1790, the time of the first Census of the United States, 649,207 "slaves" were enumerated. Virginia had the greatest number with 292,627. Maryland ranked third with 103,036 enslaved people held as captives.¹⁹ During this period when class divisions between whites were established, disunity between the two groups with respect to the perception of non-whites was solidified. This time period gave rise to the idea that Blacks were subhuman and not worthy of human, civil or legal rights. Class coalition between the wealthy and the less wealthy among non-Blacks that sought to deny civil rights and citizenship status of the "other"—black and brown—persists today.²⁰

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The first documented appearance of African-descended people in the colony of Maryland was the 1634 arrival of the Ark and Dove into the port of St. Mary's in Southern Maryland. The ship manifest listed Mathias de Sousa, and Francisco, a "Portuguese Mulatto," among the passengers. Both arrived as indentured servants. Francisco's and Mathias's shipmates included white men who would decide 30 years later that men and women of color should be enslaved for life, to be bought and sold like chattel. Leonard Calvert and his cousin, George came to America on the same ship. Leonard would become the first governor of Maryland and his younger brother Cecilius, the second Lord Baltimore.²¹

As early as 1666, the first laws codifying slavery infringed on the right to freedom and

¹⁹ "Laws that Freed" <https://www.nps.gov/ethnography/aah/aaheritage/histContextsF.htm>

²⁰ Nell Painter, *The History of White People*; Howard Zinn, *The People's History of America*

²¹ C. Ashley Ellefson, *The Private Punishment of Servants and Slaves in Eighteenth-Century Maryland*, 2010, MSA Vol. 822, 54-93; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*, (Cambridge: 1998) 31-42; Jonathan A. Bush, "The British Constitution and the Creation of American Slavery", in *Slavery and the Law*, ed. Paul Finkelman (Lanham: 202 ed) 379-93.

equality among the enslaved. Maryland, along with Virginia, became the first of the colonies to define the institution of slavery based on skin color, and assign “Negroes” the status of slave for life – *durante vita*. The 1666 Maryland law stating, “*all Negroes and other slaves already within the Province shall serve as Durante Vita. And all children born of any Negro or other slave shall be slaves as their ffathers [sic] were for the terme of their lives,*” solidified distinctions based upon color.²² Yet in the 1660s, there was fewer than one enslaved black laborer for every four white indentured workers. By 1700, however, at least three out of every four bound laborers were enslaved Africans.²³

While subsequent laws ruled that a child would take the status of the mother, the burden for proving oneself a free person rested upon the Negro-cum-slave. The early founders who wrote the slave codes attempted to anticipate every circumstance whereby a person of color could claim freedom or suggest the ending of their enslavement. Even conversion to Christianity, according to a 1671 decree, would not alter a slave’s status. The enslaved could not assemble, or testify in court against a white person, and if they escaped and were caught, they had to be returned.²⁴ The infringement of the rights of slaves began with the founding of the country.

As the laws became more rigid, Marylanders profited and in turn became more invested in the practice of chattelizing humans. Marylanders outlawed the international importation of slaves in 1783 but domestic slave trading in addition to a permanently enslaved labor force made up the difference. Upper Marlborough, the Prince George’s county seat, for example, became the site of the county’s most active slave market. With the establishment of the national capital on the Maryland side of the Potomac River in 1790, nearly one hundred years after the establishment of Prince George’s County, the prosperity garnered from tobacco was firmly entrenched and the institution of slavery developed into a dearly held way of life for slaveholders.

Archaeology has brought to light the hard labor and difficult lives for the bondspople of Maryland and other jurisdictions within the National Capital Area. Injuries, bone stress, and malnutrition pointed to existences fraught with physical torture. During this period, in this region, the economy was beginning to shift from tobacco production to agriculture based upon grain production; and in some locales, to mining. These enterprises required a different sort of demand on the Black body and spirit. Though Prince George’s County held the position of one of two of the top tobacco producing counties and also with the largest number of enslaved people in the state, planters

²² Quoted in Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 76.

²³ Dr. Martin Sullivan, “Servants and Slaves,” <http://www.stmaryscity/History/Servants%20&%20Slaves.html>, 2; “A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland”, 2007, MSA, 3; Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 116-7.

²⁴ Jeffrey Richardson Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland: A Study of the Institution of Slavery* (Baltimore: 1889); the law quoted in Stanley Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, (Chicago:1959, 1976 ed.), 50.

gradually found themselves with an excess enslaved labor force and began to sell people south for the profit or to hire them out. Many Blacks were sent to the District to work on capital projects such as the building of the Capitol Building, the White House, boat-building at the Navy Yard, or the roads and bridges.

As the nation advanced toward civil war, substantial portions of Maryland adhered firmly to a pro-slavery stance. Lincoln rewarded the state for remaining loyal to the Union at the outbreak of the war and throughout the sectional conflict by allowing slavery to continue. Large expanses of Maryland stretching from Prince George's County to Montgomery County, north to Frederick and west, adhered to the practice. Frederick County found itself caught in the middle. The state of Maryland was situated between the District of Columbia where Congress had abolished slavery in April of 1862 and the Confederate state of Virginia where the Emancipation Proclamation granted freedom to the enslaved population in the Commonwealth. Enslaved Marylanders watched as the Emancipation Proclamation granted freedom to their enslaved counterparts in the Confederate states but not to them.

According to historian Martha Jones, "Understanding emancipation required the careful reading of orders, statutes, and presidential edicts. The result was sometimes confusion, even for lawmakers. Judges, congress members, and the President differed over who had the authority to end slavery."²⁵ Those still held in bondage in Maryland after the Emancipation Proclamation but before Maryland abolished slavery, took control of their liberty and resorted to escape from slavery as a viable solution. At the same time, 8,718 Black soldiers served in the Civil War from Maryland, organized into six units: the Fourth, Seventh, Ninth, Nineteenth, Thirtieth, and Thirty-ninth Regiments of the United States Colored Troops.²⁶

VIRGINIA

As far as is known, Blacks first arrived in Virginia via ship in 1619 as bound servants. Within the next forty years, the status of persons of African origin would be codified by the Commonwealth of Virginia. Unless proven free or otherwise, they were considered *durante vita*, or slaves for life and as such had no rights. Virginia was among the first of the colonies to lay out the distinction between white menials and African-descended slaves, widening the gulf between laboring classes and deepening the significance of color. "Bond or free" was the clarifying phrase included in most of the proscriptions against people of color.

²⁵ Martha S. Jones, "In 1864 Maryland, Confusion Over Emancipation Made Slaves Interpreters of Law," *Huffington Post*, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/martha-s-jones/in-1864-maryland-confusio_b_5702706.html

²⁶ Roland C. McConnell, "The Black Experience in Maryland: 1634-1900," *The Old State Line: A History of Maryland*, Morris L. Radoff, ed. (Baltimore: Twentieth Century Printing Company, 1971), 418

The new nation would be led primarily by Virginia slaveholders who, by 1776, were empowered to deny citizenship to any person of color, including the privileges of citizenship to the free but property-less, Black or white. Many of the laws defining slavery, citizenship, and whiteness initiated by the Commonwealth of Virginia set the standard for other jurisdictions. The state constitution set forth increasingly stringent laws aimed at constricting the rights of African Americans and relegating them to non-citizen status.

For George Washington, the leader of the new nation, Fairfax County was home. Mount Vernon, his plantation, was built and maintained by enslaved workers. The first president's meticulous record keeping revealed a great deal about his land, people, and industrial holdings. He was said to have abhorred the institution of slavery yet had few qualms utilizing the vast enslaved workforce inherited by his wife Martha Custis, and in holding his comparatively small number of bondspople in slavery until his death. His zeal in pursuing the recapture of many freedom seekers, especially the woman named Oney Judge, calls into question his reported moderate stance on slavery and towards African-descended people. His actions encouraged other slaveholders to run down and reclaim their absconding "property." As the nation's revered first president, Washington set the political tone and temperament for the nation around slavery, race and equal rights.

In 1817, a group of prominent Virginian slaveholders formed the American Colonization Society (ACS). Loudoun County organized an Auxiliary of the ACS that same year. The Society's approach was to emancipate people held in slavery and then transport them out of the country, primarily to Liberia. Others were sent to Hayti and Sierra Leone. The ACS thought of free blacks as particularly problematic because their presence served as a constant reminder to the enslaved of the reality and the possibility of freedom.

The attempted revolt of seventy or more enslaved persons in Southern Virginia led by Nat Turner in 1831 was met not only with immediate armed defensive action by the state, but also by the federal government. In dispatching federal troops to the scene, the United States government demonstrated that the defense of slavery was a national and constitutional responsibility. One of the resultant concerns of the Virginia legislature was to question whether slavery ought to be maintained. The outcome of the inquiry declared that if slavery were to be abolished, owners would have to be compensated, a decidedly unpopular measure.²⁷ More successful were new "Black laws" forbidding African-descended people, free or enslaved, from assembling to read, write, or, unless in the presence of the same slaveholder, to listen to a Black preacher. The Turner incident

²⁷ Mary Frances Berry, *Black Resistance/White Law: A History of Constitutional Racism in America*, New York: Meredith Corporation, 1971, 19-34

spurred Loudoun County, despite the activism by certain communities in the Underground Railroad, to ardently pursue the African resettlement issue for both free persons of color and enslaved Africans who would be purchased for that purpose. The Loudoun Manumission and Emigration Society, founded by Quakers of the county, pushed for gradual emancipation. It managed also to support the emigration of 30 Black Loudoun residents.²⁸

Black Virginians made noteworthy efforts to claim and assert their rights as human beings and American citizens. These incidents spawned hysterical fear among whites and led to passage of more repressive laws that deprived their Black brethren from assuming a mantle of equality. Free Blacks, for instance, were excluded from operating certain types of businesses and occupations such as operating boats, selling goods, barbering, and preparing or administering medicine. In 1843 Virginia statutes began to require that Blacks selling produce or other related goods, including those they grew, have certification that the inventory belonged to them. Loudoun County's white citizens went so far as to petition the Commonwealth for a law prohibiting contact between free and enslaved Blacks.²⁹ If Blacks were able to obtain their freedom, state law mandated that they were to leave the Commonwealth within a year of manumission and were denied trials by jury. The Black population that had been at eleven percent in 1830 was down to six percent by 1860.

Among practices designed to perpetuate servitude among free people of color, physically, as well as spiritually, was one noted in Prince William County: the hiring out of free Blacks who had not paid their taxes by a certain date or after the sheriff's failed efforts to collect. The whipping post represented another common practice for "minor" offenses committed by free and enslaved residents of the county. The universal prohibition against allowing those with slave status to testify in court except against each other rendered their attempts at judicially enforced justice or fair treatment null and void. After the uprising led by the enslaved Nat Turner in Southern Virginia, conditions worsened until September 1862 when the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation declared that all those held in slavery by the traitorous states would be freed within one hundred days.

In Loudoun County, at the outbreak of the Civil War, some Blacks were pressed into service for the Confederacy while many others fled to join the Union forces. Between 1861 and 1865, over two hundred Black bondsmen served in the Union Army and a dozen in the Navy. Perhaps at least that number were pressed into the Confederate

²⁸ The Quakers actually began their movement in the 1820s per memoir of John Jay Janney which asserts that the Quaker school in Purcellville was not segregated but were in fact attended by Blacks and whites; Eugene Scheel, *Important Events in the History of African Americans in Loudoun County*, Leesburg: Thomas Balch Library, 1/1999, rev. 2007, 4

²⁹ Brenda E. Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South*

ranks as helpers in such tasks as horse handling, mess duty, cutting hair, carrying material, and other items.³⁰

Arlington House in Alexandria County (now Arlington County), built by George Washington Parke Custis, honored his stepfather, George Washington. It later came under the ownership of Robert E. Lee through marriage. Lee, a West Point graduate, served as an officer in the United States Army before he renounced his country to fight for the Confederacy. His land was confiscated for use by the Union forces as a cemetery and resettlement of the newly freed. After defeat of the Armies of the Confederate States of America, the land was sold for non-payment of taxes and purchased by the United States government. However, when the government tried to include the 17 acres of Arlington Estate that had been given to Parke Custis's daughter by a woman enslaved at Mount Vernon, property on which she and her family had resided for over 50 years, her son escalated the protest to Congress, finally garnering her official possession through congressional edict.

WEST VIRGINIA

Jefferson County, Virginia had been created in 1801. Strategically located at the confluence of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers, Harpers Ferry lay along the route west. Later, a bridge was constructed and the railroad followed. Sitting to the west of Loudoun in the area that would become West Virginia, a group of Black and white men, led by John Brown, attempted to incite a widespread uprising against the practice of slavery. By raiding the United States Armory and Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, they sought the weapons necessary to arm the coming revolution. Launched October 17, 1859 and supported behind the scenes by several people of color with contemporary or later ties to the National Capital Area, the larger insurrection never developed, leading to the deaths of most of the small armed force.

Dangerfield Newby, the first among the John Brown raiders to die, had been disheartened by his inability to free his wife, Harriet, and their seven children from slavery. He joined Brown out of alleged desperation. Harriet and the children were enslaved in Brentsville, Prince William County. Newby had raised nearly \$742 toward the \$1,000 price that Harriet Newby's slaveholder set for her and one child, but Newby was unable to free his family. In the aftermath of the Brown incident and Newby's death, Harriet and the children were alleged to have been sold south to Louisiana, the outcome they had been desperately seeking to avoid.³¹ John Brown's raid on the federal armory gave the town everlasting notoriety as a blow struck for freedom for enslaved

³⁰ Scheel, *Important Events in the History of African Americans in Loudoun County*” 8; https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/ghosts-of-the-unions-black-soldiers-rise-from-loudoun-countys-past/2013/03/02/2273e41e-7f7c-11e2-8074-b26a871b165a_story.html?utm_term=.d25374e2b563

³¹ Library of Virginia, “African American Trailblazers in Virginia History,” 2009

Africans.

When Virginia voted to secede from the Union, western Virginians opposed the move and in 1863 formed the State of West Virginia. Though it was admitted to the Union as a slave state, its first constitution through the Willey Amendment provided for gradual emancipation. It stated “That slave children, 10 years of age and under shall be free at 21 and that slaves over 10 and under 25 shall be free at 25.” West Virginia became the last slave state to enter the union. However, in February 1865, before the end of the Civil War, Governor Arthur I. Boreman signed an act officially freeing all enslaved people.³² The move to break away from the slave-holding treasonous Confederate state of Virginia did not mean that the new state of West Virginia was liberal on the question of slavery or the question of Black people’s rights in its society. While its constitution provided for emancipation, there were other tenets that were discriminatory.

³² Ancella R. Bickley and Lynda Ann Ewen, ed. *Memphis Tennessee Garrison: The Remarkable Story of a Black Appalachian Woman*, (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2008), 227; “West Virginia History” http://www.wvculture.org/history/journal_wvh/wvh24-4.html

EXAMPLES OF CIVIL RIGHTS EVENTS, 1776–1865

- 1776-1783 Blacks from several counties in the National Capital Area answered the call to fight for American liberty and served in the American Revolutionary War.
- 1778 A woman born in Loudoun County of an African man and a white woman, Jane Robinson, is the first to be emancipated under 1765 Virginia legislation.
- 1781 During the American Revolution, seventeen people held in slavery at George Washington's Mount Vernon estate—fourteen men and three women—sought their freedom from slavery by escaping to the British warship *HMS Savage* anchored in the Potomac off the shore of the plantation. Harry Washington escaped to join royal Virginia governor Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment of freed slaves. Dunmore guaranteed what the Americans would not, freedom from slavery. Washington evacuated to Nova Scotia with the British at the end of the War.
- 1792 Federal law barred Blacks from bearing arms for the US Army, although they had served in the Revolutionary War and would go on to serve in the War of 1812 and the Civil War.
- 1800-1830 Quakers and Methodists, the latter eschewing the national church's neutral position, lead the spiritual crusade against slavery. Leesburg's Methodist Church and Lincoln's Goose Creek Meeting hosted many anti-slavery discussions.
- 1804 The Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Marshall, held that a citizen of the District of Columbia was not a citizen of a State within the meaning and intendment of this Act. This decision closed federal courts in the states to citizens of the District of Columbia in diversity cases, and, for 136 years, they remained closed.³³
- 1805 The first attempt to pass legislation to emancipate all people held in slavery in Washington, DC.
- 1814 Several enslaved Blacks in Prince George's County, MD joined the British forces during the War of 1812 in exchange for freedom. The British landed at the mouth of the Patuxent River and marched through the southern Maryland counties into Prince George's collecting some 120 enslaved people along the way. At least 30 Potomac Valley slaves fled to British ships that had sailed up the Potomac River intent on raiding Alexandria and ultimately Washington. Among them were

³³ <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/337/582/case.html#F9> , *Hepburn and Dundas v. Ellzey*, 2 Cranch 445. Accessed May 2018.

James Bruce, a bondsman of the Addisons, and Ned Carey and Stephen Allen held by Henry Daingerfield. Potomac Valley blacks were among the British troops that captured Bladensburg and burned Washington, DC.³⁴ After the war, many freedom-seekers were shipped to Canada, Bermuda, the British West Indies, and even Sierra Leone, ostensibly to live as free people. However, the British sold many back into slavery. As a result, after the war, as part of the settlement, England had to pay over a million dollars in indemnities to the United States for the 3-5,000 slaves and other properties not restored.³⁵

1820 In the first instance of school desegregation, John Jay Janney in his 1901 memoirs asserted that Blacks living on Quaker farms attended school with whites in the log schoolhouse in Purcellville, VA (once at Bethany Circle), and the Goose Creek Friends' Schoolhouse at today's Lincoln, in Loudoun County.

1827 James Pennington, known as James Pembroke, escaped slavery at Rockland near Hagerstown in Washington County, MD. In his quest for a first-rate education, he was the first black student admitted to Yale University although he was barred from officially enrolling in the school. He was a powerful abolitionist and fought tirelessly for African American civil rights. He published his account of his early enslaved life, *The Fugitive Blacksmith*, in 1849.

1835 The Snow Riots in Washington, DC occurred. White mobs attacked Beverly Snow's Epicurean Eating House at 6th and Pennsylvania Avenue, owned by a free man of color, and went on to

200 Dollars Reward.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber living near Hagers-town, Washington county, Md. on Monday the twenty-ninth of October, a negro man named JAMES PEMBROOK, about 21 years of age, five feet five inches high, very black, square & clumsily made, has a down look, prominent and reddish eyes, and mumbles or talks with his teeth closed, can read, and I believe write, is an excellent blacksmith, and pretty good rough carpenter; he received shortly before he absconded, a pretty severe cut from his axe on the inside of his right leg. Any person who will take up and secure him in the jail of Hagers-town shall receive the above reward.

FRISBY TILGHMAN,
November 1. 1—tf.

The editors of the Democratic Press, Philadelphia and Reporter, Lancaster, Pa. will insert the above to the Runaway advertisement, printed 10/29/1827 (Maryland State Archives)

³⁴ Patsy Fletcher, "Dr. John H. Bayne and the Enslaved Girl, Judah, of Salubria, Oxon Hill, Maryland," context study prepared for the African American Heritage Preservation Group of Prince George's County.

³⁵ "Slavery and the War of 1812, (Prince George's County)," *Beneath the Underground Railroad: Flight to Freedom*, MSA, <http://www.mdslavery.net/html/casestudies/warcountycs.html>; LaRoche "Another Portal"; George Gleig, "Recollections of the Expedition to the Chesapeake, and Against New Orleans, by an Old Sub," *United Service Journal*, 1840, 27; Patrick O'Neill, unpublished paper, "August 1814 - A considerable force is ascending the Potomac" presented at the Washington Historical Studies Conference, Nov. 14, 2013. O'Neill also names the wife and children of James Bruce who escaped separately from him. They had been held by a Mrs. Coombs of the county. The Bruces were reunited and lived in Nova Scotia as free people; "A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland," 2007, MSA, 71.

destroy his property and terrorize him. The pretext for trampling Snow's civil rights was that he had insulted a white female patron. Rioters, primarily white mechanics and laborers, then moved on to burn and loot the nearby free African American community and especially the schools and churches, this time because a young enslaved Black man had threatened the life of an older white woman. The larger context of the murderous rampages was the white working-class men's frustration over free Blacks' ability to work, and their resentment of Black competition for jobs. The clear result was the unleashing of white terror against Blacks. The riot began on August 12, 1835 and continued for days until President Andrew Jackson intervened and stopped it.

1830s-1839 Free Black Leonard Grimes, a carriage driver, conducts several slaves to safety, including seven in one barouche. This last daring escape, along the Leesburg Pike in Loudoun County, led to his arrest, trial, and two-year prison sentence—the minimum penalty, due to his “former good character.”

1844 The enslaved John W. Jones and his half-brother, George Jones, escape from near Leesburg in Loudoun County to Elmira, New York, and through the early 1860s assist some 800 slaves to escape to Canada.³⁶

Samuel M. Janney, of Springwood, near Lincoln, in Loudoun County, writes a series of anti-slavery letters in the *Alexandria Gazette*. He proposes an end to domestic slave trade and argues for the “superiority of free labor.”

1845 In July, several groups of armed bondsmen left their homes in Maryland's Charles, St. Mary's and Prince George's counties and met near Washington. The total number ranged from 38 to 74. Headed to Pennsylvania, they marched boldly

TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.—
 Ran away from the subscriber, living in Fairfax county, Virginia, on the 29th day of December last, a negro man slave named ALEXANDER LANHAM, about 25 or 26 years of age, 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, very black, smooth face, having but little if any beard, flat nose, thick lips, and white teeth. He took with him a blue cloth coat, home-made kersey pantaloons, dyed black after they were made; a pair of corded riding pantaloons with buttons up the legs; a white fur hat, and a pair of boots. The said negro is well acquainted with the colored people in Montgomery county, Maryland, having been two or three times to Brookeville, and several times to camp meeting in that county. He is also acquainted in Washington and Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, and was seen near the latter town on the day he went away. He makes loud professions of religion. There is some reason to believe that he has procured free papers from some colored person in this county or in the District of Columbia, and that he has been induced to run off by or with a white woman, who sometimes stated that she resided in Philadelphia, and other times in New York and Boston. This woman is the wife of a tall mulatto man, who committed murder and escaped from Virginia 12 or 18 months ago. I will give the above reward provided the said negro slave is delivered in the jail of this county, or in the jail of Washington, in the District of Columbia, and so secured that I get him again.
 mar 22—eplawif **ELI OFFUTT.**

Runaway advertisement printed August 5, 1836
 (Daily National Intelligencer, Washington, DC, 4)

³⁶ Deborah A. Lee, “John W. Jones and the Underground Railroad in Elmira, NY,” <https://undergroundrailroadhistory.org/john-w-jones-and-the-underground-railroad-in-elmira-ny/>

under the leadership of Mark Caesar and Bill Wheeler through the District and into Montgomery County where they encountered armed local whites near Gaithersburg. A battle ensued leaving several of the Black men dead and others in flight. Some 31 were captured and most were sold out of state by their owners. Caesar, a free man, was sentenced to 40 years in the penitentiary for “abetting slaves” to escape. Wheeler, not so easily caught, was finally captured, tried and sentenced to hang but escaped again after four months.

- 1847 A 19th-century Virginia law specified: “[E]very assemblage of negroes for the purpose of instruction in reading or writing, or in the night time for any purpose, shall be an unlawful assembly. Any justice may issue his warrant to . . . enter any place where such assemblage may be, and seize any negro therein; and he, or any other justice, may order such negro to be punished with stripes.”³⁷
- 1848 The *Pearl* Incident involved the attempted escape of 77 African Americans fleeing slavery (and from 40 slaveholders including a former first lady), considered the largest such attempt at the time. The schooner *Pearl*, piloted by a white crew, was beset by bad weather and still winds and was captured and returned to Washington where the freedom-seekers were sold south. Due to public outcry, some were repurchased by abolitionists and free family members and manumitted.³⁸
- 1850 The Fugitive Slave Law, among the most punitive of laws enacted to curb freedom-seeking by enslaved persons and protect the “property” of enslavers, was passed as one of five provisions of the Compromise of 1850. The Compromise also included the prohibition of slave sales in the District of Columbia.
- 1856 Benjamin Drew’s book, *The Refugee*, presents the first interviews with George Johnson, who lived near Harpers Ferry, and Peyton Lucas, of Leesburg, who had escaped from slavery. They describe conditions, whippings, other degradations, and escape.
- 1857 March 6. *Dred Scott v Sandford* decision in which the Missouri Compromise was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, who had started his legal career in Frederick County, MD, ruled that Congress did not have the authority to prohibit slavery in the territories. The decision

³⁷ John Davison Lawson, *American State Trials: A Collection of the Important and Interesting Criminal Trials which Have Taken Place in the United States, from the Beginning of Our Government to the Present Day: with Notes and Annotations, Volume 7* (St. Louis: F. H. Thomas Law Book Co., 1917), p. 49.

³⁸ Mary Kay Ricks, *Escape on the Pearl: The Heroic Bid for Freedom on the Underground Railroad*, (New York: William Morrow, 2007).

stated in part that Blacks were not citizens and that they “had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. . .” That final phrase would haunt the nation and its African American citizens for more than a century, and give license to white citizens and institutions to disregard any civil rights that Blacks may have had.

- 1859 John Brown and a group of raiders wanted to establish a colony in the mountains of western Maryland as an outpost for enslaved people escaping from the South. Brown needed a large supply of weapons to secure such a colony. On October 16, 1859, he and his men seized the US armory and arsenal at Harpers Ferry. When enslaved people in the area did not revolt against their masters as Brown had hoped, the plan fell apart.
- 1859 Daniel Dangerfield, a slave helper at Aldie Mill, escaped in 1853 and is arrested in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, under the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act. Sentiment is strong in Loudoun for his return, but Pennsylvania refuses to extradite.
- 1860 Twenty percent of free Blacks own real estate, their property averaging \$317, a decline of a third since 1850. By contrast, the average farm is worth \$8,700, an increase of 15 percent since 1850.
- 1861 Delegates from 25 counties meet at the First Wheeling Convention, repudiating the secession from the Union. Six months later, the Second Wheeling convention reconvenes, changes name of new state to West Virginia, begins to draft a constitution, and extends the boundaries of the new state.

Two days before his first inauguration in March, Lincoln and the Republicans passed a proposed 13th Amendment: the Corwin Amendment, or first 13th Amendment. It embedded slavery and prohibited Congress from abolishing or interfering with slavery allowed in the states. This amendment was never ratified.

- 1862 The Compensated Emancipation Act of 1862 ended slavery in Washington, DC, April 16.
- 1862 The Militia Act of July 1862 freed enslaved people in Union-occupied areas whose holders failed to demonstrate “continuous loyalty” to the Union. Anyone who had escaped slavery and was subsequently captured by the Union Army was not subject to return to the enslavers, but was considered forfeited to the army.

The Battle of Antietam in Washington County, MD, repulsed the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia’s first invasion in the north on September 17.

The battle gave Lincoln a sufficiently significant victory to announce his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, which he had prepared earlier that summer. Lincoln chose this victory to declare that slavery would end in the rebellious states on New Year's Day, 1863.

- 1863 The Emancipation Proclamation was issued on January 1, 1863, declaring that "that all persons held as slaves" within the rebellious states "are, and henceforward shall be free." Additionally, the declaration added that the military and naval forces would enforce the freedom of the formerly enslaved in the Confederate states and would "do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them in any effort they may make for their actual freedom." It also declared that "such persons [African-American men] of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States."³⁹ Black soldiers could now legally fight for the US Army.

Almost 200,000 African American men fought for the United States Army and Navy in the Civil War. Thousands of men from the counties of the National Capital Area, both free and enslaved, fought in the war.

- 1864 The National Equal Rights League was founded in Syracuse, New York by abolitionist Frederick Douglass to lobby for equal rights and anti-segregation policies and rally on behalf of black men's voting rights.⁴⁰ Its widespread lobbying initiatives led to the successful pressure on Congress to pass the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866-1867, thus facilitating preliminary civil rights, but not universal suffrage, for southern and northern Blacks.

Alexandria, VA's first celebration of British West Indian Emancipation takes place in the Colored Hospital renamed L'Ouverture in honor of the Haitian liberator. Organized by Harriet Jacobs, who stated in her opening speech, "we are passing through times that will secure for us a higher and nobler celebration."⁴¹

- 1865 The Freedmen's Bureau, headquartered in Washington, was established to help the newly freed transition into their new status. Much of the work centered on attempting to protect the civil rights of freed people of color.

Late 1865 or January 1866 Leesburg Blacks establish a "Colored Man's Aid Society" to assist their infirm and indigent.

³⁹ "Transcript of the Emancipation Proclamation," National Archives, <https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured-documents/emancipation-proclamation/transcript.html>

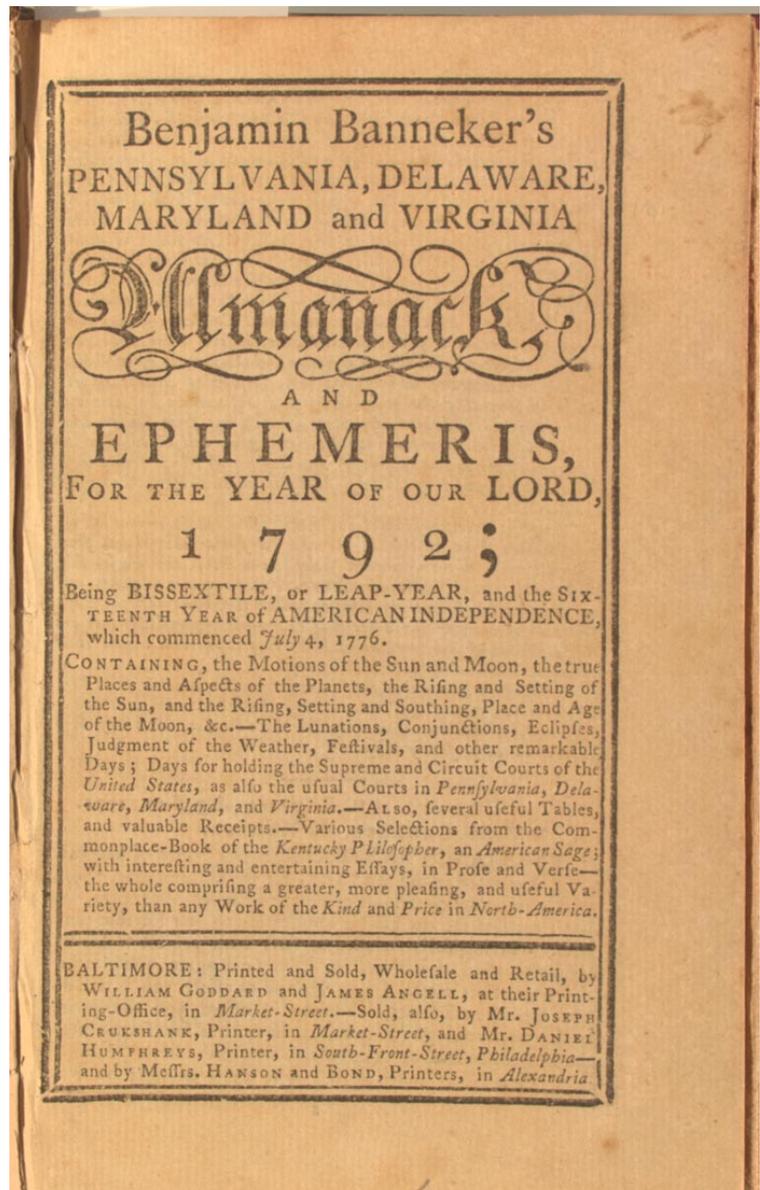
⁴⁰ Equal Rights League and Suffrage <https://exhibits.library.villanova.edu/institute-colored-youth/community-moments/equal-rights-league-and-suffrage/>

⁴¹ Janet Yellin, *Harriet Jacobs: A Life*, New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2004, 181-2.

EXAMPLES OF INDIVIDUALS, 1776–1865

Benjamin Banneker was a free African American astronomer and inventor from Maryland whose family rose above slavery and indentured servitude. George Washington hired Major Pierre L'Enfant to survey the new city that was to be his namesake. Under L'Enfant's leadership, Banneker served as scientific assistant in surveying the city. "When he surveyed the city of Washington with Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, Banneker became one of the first black civil servants of the new nation."⁴² After L'Enfant either resigned or was fired, Major Andrew Ellicott and Benjamin Banneker were able to complete the work. Banneker assisted Andrew Ellicott as an assistant surveyor of Washington, D.C., mapping the lands and creating the boundaries for the new federal capital. In 1792, Banneker sent the manuscript for his almanac to Thomas Jefferson, urging the abolition of slavery.

J. W. C. Pennington, minister and abolitionist, was enslaved on a plantation near Hagerstown, Washington County, Maryland. He escaped at the age of 21 and later became involved in the anti-slavery cause. While working for the New



Benjamin Banneker's *Almanac*, demonstrating his mastery of astronomy. Senator James McHenry used Banneker's *Almanac* as evidence upholding arguments against slavery. Banneker produced at least twenty-eight editions. Library of Congress.

⁴² Benjamin Banneker and the Boundary Stones of the District of Columbia, National Park Service, <https://www.nps.gov/places/sw-9-intermediate-boundary-stone-of-the-district-of-columbia.htm#:~:text=Banneker's%20scientific%20research%20led%20him,printed%20in%20the%20United%20States.&text=Despite%20the%20climate%20of%20a,he%20defied%20extraordinary%20social%20barriers.>

York Vigilance Committee in New York, Pennington met Frederick Douglass after his escape from Maryland. Pennington performed Frederick Douglass's marriage ceremony to Anna Murray Douglass, who had helped him escape from Baltimore.

Harriet Jacobs was the author of one of the most influential slave narratives, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: Written by Herself* (1861) explaining how, to avoid sexual exploitation, she hid in an attic for 7 years before escaping slavery. During the Civil War she aided freedom seekers who were housed in "contraband" camps set up by the Union Army. She helped establish a tuition-free school for African American children. The Jacobs Free School opened in Alexandria in January 1864.

Frederick Douglass fled slavery in 1838 and gained fame as an antislavery orator and writer. During the Civil War, he galvanized black support for the military effort, and afterwards was the nation's chief spokesperson for civil rights well into the 1880s.

Sojourner Truth was a formerly enslaved woman who became a national symbol for strong Black women and an advocate of women's and Blacks' rights. She came to Washington in 1864 where she was appointed "counselor to the freed people of Arlington Heights [Freedmen's Village], Virginia," and in September 1865 an Assistant to the Surgeon in charge of the newly established Freedmen's Hospital in Washington. She fought also for the right to ride public transportation in 1866 long before Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a crowded Alabama bus in 1954. In 1866 and 1867, Truth and Josephine Griffing led relocation efforts of several hundred freed people to the north and Midwest.⁴³

Leonard Grimes was born and raised in Loudoun County, Virginia. Working in Washington, DC as a hack driver, Grimes became a conductor on the Underground Railroad. He was caught in the County in 1839 attempting to transport several enslaved people to freedom. After serving two years in a Richmond prison, he moved to Massachusetts where he became a renowned abolitionist and minister.

Jacob Wheaton was born free near Middletown in Frederick County, MD, in 1835. He served as a nurse during the Civil War. He moved to Hagerstown, Washington County, MD, and is widely remembered as being the first African American to vote in the state of Maryland in 1868. Wheaton Park in Hagerstown is named after him.

Elizabeth Keckley was born into slavery and purchased her freedom in 1855 from the sale of her seamstress work. Keckley was the personal dressmaker and close confidant to Mary Todd Lincoln during Abraham Lincoln's presidency. During the Civil War,

⁴³ Margaret Washington, *Sojourner Truth's America*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Inabel Burns Lindsay, "Some Contributions of Negroes to Welfare Services, 1865-1900," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Winter, 1956), 15-24, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2293121>, Accessed: 26/12/2012.

Keckley founded the Ladies' Freedmen & Soldier's Relief Association in 1862 to provide food, clothing, etc., to newly freed slaves and Black soldiers.

EXAMPLES OF HISTORIC PLACES, 1776–1865

National Park Service, National Capital Area: sites of enslavement and journeys to freedom

All parks in the National Capital Area are in jurisdictions in which slavery was legal until the 1860s. Several parks, especially battlefield parks, still retain historic farms at which people were enslaved, and from which many escaped on their quest for freedom. People were also enslaved in urban areas, and parks in Washington, DC, for example, encompass historic homes, structures, and land- and riverscapes that were associated with slavery. A few of these sites are listed below.

Oxon Cove Park and Oxon Hill Farm

1967 Bald Eagle Road, Oxon Hill, MD

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

Oxon Cove Park and Oxon Hill Farm preserves an agricultural landscape and educates visitors about the history of farm life in the region. Most of the farms in the region were worked by enslaved labor. One of the historic farms on the property was the Berry Farm, a large farm of 1308 acres. In 1840, Thomas Berry placed an advertisement in a local newspaper offering a reward of \$200 for the return of one of the enslaved hands, Jacob Shaw, who had escaped in September of that year. Berry described Shaw as a “good coarse shoemaker.” Shaw had a free brother living in nearby Washington, DC, and Berry thought Jacob would try and use his brother’s “free pass.” A neighboring farmer also reported one of his enslaved men as having left on the same day as Jacob Shaw, and it is likely they left together.⁴⁴

Fort Washington

13551 Fort Washington Road, Fort Washington, MD

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

⁴⁴ “Berry Farm,” National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcbd9>; “Jacob Shaw,” <https://www.nps.gov/oxhi/learn/historyculture/jacob-shaw.htm>; National Register nomination, “Oxon Cove Park,” <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=ad9d4bd9-7cd0-4fbf-a75e-2a1495daf954>.

Near the end of the War of 1812, British military authorities encouraged enslaved African Americans to leave their enslavers and join the British, in return for freedom. They could either join the British Navy to fight against their former owners, or eventually be resettled in British colonies in Canada and the West Indies. Approximately 550-700 African Americans chose to fight, and they became part of the British Corps of Colonial Marines. Many others chose not to fight but to still gain their freedom by going aboard British ships. In the British invasion of Washington in 1814, the American Fort Washington was threatened, and the American commander of the fort chose to destroy the fort rather than have it fall into British hands. Near the ruins of Fort Washington, in August 1814, several enslaved people gathered at the mouth of Swann Creek and boarded the British ship, the HMS Anna Maria, to begin their new life as free people. Two of these were Nace and Henry Colbert, who had left their enslaver in Maryland. They eventually resettled in Nova Scotia.⁴⁵

Arlington House, Robert E. Lee Memorial

Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, VA
National Park

National Register of Historic Places

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

George Washington Parke Custis, the grandson of Martha Washington and step-grandson of George Washington, began construction of Arlington House in 1802. The Arlington estate was a large plantation of 1,100 acres, and Custis held many people enslaved to work the farm. The property still has on site two quarters that were for the enslaved. The NPS interprets African American life at Arlington House extensively, from Custis fathering at least one (but probably more) of the enslaved, to several of the enslaved escaping to freedom through the years, and to the tenure of Robert E. Lee, Custis's son-in-law, at the farm. There are several compelling stories of the enslaved, such as those of Selina Gray, the Syphax family, James Parks, and others, that are told to visitors. During the Civil War, after the US government possessed Arlington House, a village for freedmen was established on the property, and African American soldiers with the Union Army were stationed on site. A "colored school" was also shown near Arlington House on an 1864 map of the grounds of the estate. Towards the end of the

⁴⁵ "African Americans and the War of 1812," <https://www.nps.gov/fowa/learn/historyculture/african-americans-and-the-war-of-1812.htm>; "Mouth of Swann Creek Escape Site," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcbd9>; National Register nomination, "Fort Washington," https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-14.pdf.

Civil War, the grounds of Arlington House were turned into a national cemetery for United States Army soldiers killed in the war, the current Arlington Cemetery.⁴⁶

President's Park and White House

1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC
National Park
National Historic Landmark

As the residence and work quarters for the President of the United States, the history of civil rights in America is inextricably linked with decisions made, and action taken, here. In addition to policies formulated here in the period before 1865, there were many African Americans associated with the White House, from African American workers who helped build the house, to Paul Jennings, an enslaved man to James and Dolley Madison who wrote a memoir of life in the White House, to Elizabeth Keckley, seamstress and friend of Mary Todd Lincoln who created the Contraband Relief Association in 1862, and William Slade, Lincoln's usher and a civil rights activist in Washington, DC. Frederick Douglass met with President Lincoln in the White House and attended a reception for Lincoln following the president's second inauguration in 1864.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ See the "History & Culture" section in the "Learn About the Park" tab on the Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial's website for extensive information about African Americans and Arlington House: <https://www.nps.gov/arho/index.htm>, such as "Slavery at Arlington," <https://www.nps.gov/arho/learn/historyculture/slavery.htm>; "Freedman's Village," <https://www.nps.gov/arho/learn/historyculture/emancipation.htm>; "United States Colored Troops and Arlington House," <https://www.nps.gov/arho/learn/historyculture/united-states-colored-troops-and-arlington-house.htm>; and "The Syphax Family," <https://www.nps.gov/arho/learn/historyculture/syphax.htm>. See also "Arlington House, Robert E. Lee Memorial," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcbd9>; National Register Reference Number 66000040 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/000-0001_Arlington_House_1980_Final_Nomination.pdf, and Additional Documentation, Reference Number 14000067 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/000-0001_Arlington_House_2013_Final_NRHP_Additional-Doc_REDACTED.pdf); and Virginia Landmarks Register, "000-0001 Arlington House Historic District (The Robert E. Lee Memorial)," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/000-0001/>.

⁴⁷ <https://www.nps.gov/whho/index.htm>; DC Inventory of Historic Sites, "The White House," p.176 (<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>); Danny Lewis, "The White House Was, in Fact, Built by Slaves," *Smithsonianmag.com* (July 26, 2016), <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/white-house-was-fact-built-slaves-180959916/>; "Paul Jennings," <https://www.nps.gov/people/paul-jennings.htm>; Lina Mann, "From Slavery to the White House: The Extraordinary Life of Elizabeth Keckley," *The White House Historical Association*, <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/from-slavery-to-the-white-house-the-extraordinary-life-of-elizabeth-keckley>; Natalie Sweet, "A Representative 'of our people': The Agency of William Slade, Leader

Theodore Roosevelt Island

George Washington Memorial Parkway northbound lanes between Roosevelt Bridge and Key Bridge, Arlington, VA

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

Theodore Roosevelt Island is now a memorial to Roosevelt, but before and during the Civil War, the island was significant in African American history. The island was first called Analostan Island, and then Mason's Island by the time of the Civil War. In the years before the war, enslaved labor worked on the island. After the war started, Washington, DC was inundated with African American refugees fleeing enslavement and the war. "Contraband" camps were created in the DC area to house and feed these refugees. One such camp was established on Mason's Island. This camp remained on the island until the summer of 1865. In 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation also authorized the enlistment of African American soldiers into the US Army. Mason's Island became a training ground for soldiers in the United States Colored Infantry (USCT), partly because it was near the city yet somewhat isolated. The 1st USCT used Mason's Island as a base, called Camp Greene, between May and September of 1863.⁴⁸

Great Falls Park / Patowmack Canal Historic District

9200 Old Dominion Dr., McLean, VA

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

The Patowmack Canal, to run from Georgetown to the headwaters of the Potomac River, was envisioned by George Washington and others as the great transportation and commercial gateway to the West. Construction began in 1785 and the canal was finally operational in 1802. Much of the construction of the canal was done by enslaved labor. At first, indentured workers and others made up the workforce, but this was eventually considered too costly, so the Pawtowmack Company turned to enslaved labor. In 1792, for example, the company board met to discuss renting up to 200 enslaved workers from

in the African American Community and Usher to Abraham Lincoln," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, Vol. 34, Issue 2 (Summer 2013), pp.21-41 (<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.2629860.0034.204>).

⁴⁸ "Camp Greene and Contraband Camp," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program,

<https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcbd9>;

"The 1st US Colored Troops at Roosevelt Island," Civil War Washington, D.C.

(<http://civilwarwashingtondc1861-1865.blogspot.com/2012/02/1st-us-colored-troops-at-roosevelt.html>);

National Register nomination, "Theodore Roosevelt Island National Memorial,"

<https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=4577e53c-48ae-4042-a444-05e063dc2027>.

local farmers. These farmers were only too happy to rent their enslaved workers, particularly in the agricultural off season. By 1826, however, the Patowmack Canal was no longer profitable, and the company went bankrupt. The new Chesapeake and Ohio Canal acquired the Patowmack Canal's charter and having learned valuable lessons from the building and operation of the Patowmack Canal, created a successful canal on the Maryland side of the river.⁴⁹

The story of George Pointer is one of the extraordinary stories of the enslaved who worked on the Patowmack Canal. He was first rented by his enslaver to the canal operators for manual labor. Pointer purchased his freedom in 1793 with earnings from his work on the canal. He continued to work on the canal, earning promotions, and being paid for special services. He became part of the engineering crew, and in 1816, Pointer became the superintendent engineer in charge of construction improvements. He, in fact, was the last superintendent before the company declared bankruptcy. The canal company gave Pointer land adjacent to the canal property, and he sold crops he grew on the land, and fish, in the nearby Georgetown Market. After the demise of the Patowmack Canal, Pointer worked for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.⁵⁰

Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park

Headquarters: 142 W. Potomac St., Williamsport, MD

Ferry Hill: 16500 Shepherdstown Pike (MD 34), Sharpsburg, MD

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was started in 1828 and operated until 1924, ferrying cargo and people to and from Georgetown and its terminus in Cumberland, MD. African Americans, free and enslaved, helped construct the canal, several worked for the canal company in various capacities, and a few even captained their own canal boats. Before the Civil War and emancipation, the canal also served as a useful avenue of escape for enslaved people seeking their freedom. Numerous newspaper advertisements offering rewards for escaped freedom seekers mentioned the C&O Canal as a possible

⁴⁹ "Who Built the Potomac Canal?" <https://www.nps.gov/grfa/learn/historyculture/who-built-the-potomac-canal.htm>; National Register Reference Number 79003038 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/029-0211_Potomac_Canal_HD_1979_Final_Nomination_NRHP.pdf); Additional Documentation (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/029-0211_Potomac_Canal_HD_1982_Nomination_NHL_public.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, "029-0211 Potomac Canal Historic District (Patowmack Canal at Great Falls)," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/029-0211/#extra>.

⁵⁰ "Captain George Pointer," <https://www.nps.gov/grfa/learn/historyculture/captain-george-pointer.htm>; Barbara Boyle Torrey and Clara Myrick Green, *Between Freedom and Equality: The History of an African American Family in Washington, DC* (Georgetown University Press), 2021.

path. One enslaved man from North Carolina described in the narrative of his escape how he followed the canal until he was able to cross over into Pennsylvania, and a farmer living next to the canal in Washington County, MD, recorded in his diary the capture of five people using the canal to escape.⁵¹

The farmer who wrote in his diary about the capture owned Ferry Hill, a plantation on the Maryland side of the Potomac River, overlooking the C&O Canal and directly across the river from Shepherdstown, VA (now WV). Ferry Hill is now a property of the C&O Canal National Historical Park, and served as the park headquarters from 1979 to 2001. John Blackford built Ferry Hill in 1812, and eventually amassed a farm of over 700 acres. He also owned a ferry that crossed from near Ferry Hill to Shepherdstown on the other shore. Several enslaved people worked at Ferry Hill, including operating the ferry. Blackford, and then later his son, kept detailed diaries that provide historical information on the lives of the enslaved in this section of Maryland in the first few decades of the 19th century.⁵²

Manassas National Battlefield Park

6511 Sudley Road, Manassas, VA

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

Manassas National Battlefield Park was the site of two major Civil War battles, the first and second Battles of Manassas. Before the war, many of the farms on the battlefield were worked by enslaved labor. One of the properties on the battlefield belonged to James Robinson, a free African American farmer. During the war, the house was used as a shelter and hospital for wounded soldiers. Robinson lived until 1875, and the home was occupied by Robinson's descendants until 1936.⁵³

⁵¹ Timothy R. Snyder, "The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal and the Underground Railroad," *Along the Towpath* (Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Association) March 2010, <http://www.whilbr.org/assets/uploads/TimSnyder.pdf>; "Chesapeake and Ohio Canal," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcdb9>; National Register nomination, "Chesapeake and Ohio Canal," <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=64aa9f45-2cfb-4ed5-9a9c-23ea13752b1b>

⁵² "Ferry Hill," <https://www.nps.gov/choh/learn/historyculture/ferryhill.htm>; "Ferry Hill Plantation," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcdb9>; Max Grivno, *Historic Resource Study: Ferry Hill Plantation* (National Park Service), 2007 (<http://npshistory.com/publications/choh/hrs-ferry-hill-plantation.pdf>); Robert C. Chidester, "Critical Landscape Analysis as a Tool for Public Interpretation: Reassessing Slavery at a Western Maryland Plantation," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* (Vol. 6, No. 1) Winter 2009 (<https://www.nps.gov/CRMJournal/Winter2009/article3.html>).

⁵³ "Robinson House Site," <https://www.nps.gov/places/000/robinson-house-site.htm>; Erika Martin, Mia Parsons and Paul Shackel, "Commemorating a Rural African-American Family at a National Battlefield

Prince William Forest Park

18170 Park Entrance Road, Triangle, VA

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

Prince William Forest Park includes archaeological resources from two former African American communities, Batestown and Hickory Ridge. Batestown was founded in the mid-19th century by Henry Cole, a free African American who had purchased several acres of land. Batestown grew to over 500 African Americans by 1860. Hickory Ridge was founded after the Civil War by Zeal Williams, an African American who purchased 100 acres in 1869. Hickory Ridge became a mixed community of both white and black residents, that had 171 houses at its peak. Both of these communities were taken over by the federal government in the 1930s when it acquired the land for a Recreational Demonstration Area. This land was eventually converted into Prince William Forest Park. Part of Batestown still remains just outside the boundary of the park. Prince William Forest Park includes the site of the Hickory Ridge School and the Cabin Branch School.⁵⁴

Harpers Ferry National Historical Park

171 Shoreline Drive, Harpers Ferry, WV

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

In the period 1776-1865, Harpers Ferry was the site of the radical abolitionist John Brown's 1859 raid on the federal armory and arsenal located in the town. Brown's goal was to spark a revolt by the enslaved, using weapons seized at the arsenal. The plan failed, several of Brown's raiders were killed, and Brown and the surviving members of his band were cornered in the armory's fire engine house, and subsequently captured by United States Marines commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee. Brown and his followers were tried and executed in nearby Charles Town, VA (now WV). The assault on Harpers Ferry by Brown and his men is credited by many historians as helping to hasten the Civil War.⁵⁵

Park," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (June 1997), pp.157-177; Jennifer Oeschger, *Robinson Farm: Cultural Landscape Inventory, Manassas National Battlefield*, National Park Service (2019).

⁵⁴ "African American History (1830-1936)," <https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/african-american.htm>; Arvilla Payne-Jackson and Sue Ann Taylor, *Prince William Forest Park: The African American Experience* Prince William Forest Park, National Park Service (2000).

⁵⁵ See on the website for Harpers Ferry National Historical Park: "John Brown's Raid," <https://www.nps.gov/hafe/learn/historyculture/stories.htm>; "John Brown," <https://www.nps.gov/hafe/learn/historyculture/john-brown.htm>; "John Brown's Fort,"

Monocacy National Battlefield

5201 Urbana Pike, Frederick, MD

National Park

National Historic Landmark

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

Monocacy National Battlefield commemorates the Monocacy Battle of July 1864 that has been called “The Battle That Saved Washington,” as an outnumbered United States Army force delayed a Confederate force long enough to enable reinforcements to reach Washington, DC to counter any attack. Several of the farms on the battlefield had an enslaved labor force.

Monocacy was also the site of L’Hermitage (now known as the Best Farm), the home and farm of the Vincendiere family, who had moved to Maryland in the 1790s to escape the overthrow of the French regime ruling Santo Domingue (now Haiti) by those who had been enslaved. The Vincendieres brought many of their enslaved people with them, and by 1800, the family enslaved over 90 people, one of the largest enslaved populations in the region. Archeology at the Best Farm has revealed foundations of what are believed to be quarters for the enslaved, and extensive archeological data has provided insight into the daily lives of enslaved African Americans in the early nineteenth century. Research indicates the Vincendieres were particularly harsh in their treatment of the enslaved, and newspaper advertisements reveal several of the enslaved escaped from the farm.⁵⁶

In late 1863, a recruiting station for United States Colored Troops was established on what became a year later the Monocacy battlefield. William Samuel Adams, an enslaved man who worked on a farm not far from Monocacy, was one of the African Americans who joined the Army at Monocacy.⁵⁷

<https://www.nps.gov/hafe/learn/historyculture/john-brown-fort.htm>, and other sections; See also National Register nomination, “Harpers Ferry National Historical Park,”

<https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=64aa9f45-2cfb-4ed5-9a9c-23ea13752b1b>.

⁵⁶ See on the website of Monocacy National Battlefield: “People Enslaved,”

<https://www.nps.gov/mono/learn/historyculture/people-enslaved.htm>; “L’Hermitage: A French-Caribbean Plantation,” <https://www.nps.gov/mono/learn/historyculture/hermitage.htm>; “Slavery at L’Hermitage,” https://www.nps.gov/mono/learn/historyculture/ei_lhermitage.htm; “Best Farm Slave Village,” https://www.nps.gov/mono/learn/historyculture/bfsv_home.htm, and other sections. See also

“Best Farm/L’Hermitage,” National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcbd9>, and National Register nomination, “Monocacy Battlefield,” https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-206.pdf.

⁵⁷ “The United States Colored Troops at Monocacy,”

<https://www.nps.gov/media/video/view.htm?id=CACDF34C-9FC4-7A59-7AB0766CC6F50774>.

Antietam National Battlefield

5831 Dunker Church Rd., Sharpsburg, MD

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

One of the most momentous battles of the Civil War was fought in Sharpsburg, MD, on the banks of Antietam Creek, in September 1862. The victory by the United States Army gave President Abraham Lincoln the opportunity to issue the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, declaring if the states in rebellion did not lay down their arms, the full Emancipation Proclamation would take effect on January 1, 1863, freeing all enslaved people in the states in rebellion. One irony of this was that the many enslaved people on farms on and near the battlefield were not freed by this proclamation. Since Maryland was not a “state in rebellion,” the enslaved in Maryland had to wait until a new state constitution was passed in Maryland in Nov. 1864 that abolished slavery in the state. One of the enslaved on the John Otto farm on the battlefield, Hillary Watson, later told the story of how he encountered a Confederate soldier. The Otto family and their enslaved had left their farm before the battle to seek safety elsewhere, but Watson went back to the farm to check on things. Upon reaching the door of the Otto home, Watson discovered a young Confederate soldier commencing to steal valuable items from the house. Seeing that the soldier was without a weapon, Watson threatened the soldier and drove him from the house.⁵⁸

Later in the war, in April of 1864, a controversy arose over an attempt to recruit a local enslaved man into the United States Colored Troops (USCT). A company from a USCT regiment was recruiting in the area, and according to Henry Piper, they took one of the enslaved, Jeremiah Summers, from his farm. When Henry tried to get Summers back, saying that Summers was underage, he was roughed up by the USCT soldiers, according to Piper. Piper had to travel to Frederick, MD, to see the commanding officer for the region, to get Summers back. What is unknown, of course, is how Summers felt about the situation, and whether he wished to join the USCT or not. After the war, Summers continued to work for the Piper family.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ See <https://www.nps.gov/anti/index.htm>; “Freedom at Antietam,” <https://www.nps.gov/anti/learn/historyculture/freedom-at-antietam.htm>; “Slavery and Emancipation in Sharpsburg, MD,” <https://www.nps.gov/anti/learn/historyculture/slavery-and-emancipation-in-sharpsburg.htm>; and National Register nomination, “Antietam National Battlefield,” https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-10.pdf.

⁵⁹ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, “Piper Farm,” <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=WA-II-335>; “The Piper Farm,” <https://www.nps.gov/anti/learn/historyculture/the-piper-farm.htm>.

Sites of Interest Outside of National Park Service Jurisdiction

Washington, DC (City)

Ebenezer United Methodist Church

4th and D Streets SE, Washington, DC
DC Inventory of Historic Sites

The oldest black congregation in Capitol Hill, and one of the oldest black congregations in Washington, D.C., was founded in 1827. First African American minister was Noah Jones in 1864. The current building was built in 1897. In 1864, Ebenezer was the site of the first public school for African American children in D.C., with Emma V. Brown as one of the teachers. The church displays a model of the earlier church building, “Little Ebenezer,” on the 4th Street side of the property.⁶⁰

Virginia

Alexandria City

District of Columbia South Cornerstone

Jones Point Park, Jones Point Drive, Alexandria, VA
National Register of Historic Places

The boundary of Washington, DC, was surveyed in 1791 by a team that included the self-educated African American mathematician and astronomer Benjamin Banneker. This southernmost stone no longer marks the boundary of the District of Columbia, as Virginia retroceded in 1847, but the stone does mark the Virginia-Maryland border. It is in a recess of the retaining wall along the Jones Point lighthouse, and visible at low tide.⁶¹

⁶⁰ DC Inventory of Historic Sites, “Ebenezer United Methodist Church,” p.48 (<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>); *African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC* (2003), p.32 (<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>).

⁶¹ National Register Reference Number 80000352 (<https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-0116-Jones-Point-Lighthouse-DC-South-Cornerstone-1980-NRHP-nomination.pdf>); Virginia Landmarks Register, “100-0116 Jones Point Lighthouse and District of Columbia South Cornerstone,” <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/100-0116/>.

Franklin and Armfield Office (now the Freedom House Museum)

1315 Duke St., Alexandria, VA

National Historic Landmark

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

Between 1828 and 1836, this Alexandria building was the site of the offices of the largest slave trading operation in the pre-Civil War South. Owners Isaac Franklin and John Armfield disbanded the company after 1836 but the building remained a market for the selling of enslaved workers until 1861. The building was purchased by the City of Alexandria in 2020 and is now a museum.⁶²

Bruin's Slave Jail and Edmonson Sisters Sculpture

1707 Duke St. (Jail) and 1701 Duke St. (Sculpture), Alexandria, VA

National Register of Historic Places

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

This two-story brick building is where slave trader Joseph Bruin imprisoned, sold, and traded slaves from the early 19th century until the beginning of the Civil War. Bruin's property was confiscated by the US government in 1863 (and used as the Fairfax County Courthouse until 1865 under the Restored Government of Virginia). In 2010, a sculpture depicting sisters Mary and Emily Edmonson was placed next to the site, where they had been jailed after the failed attempt of several enslaved people to escape from Washington, DC, on the ship Pearl in 1848.⁶³

Alfred Street Baptist Church

313 South Alfred St., Alexandria, VA

National Register of Historic Places

⁶² National Register Reference Number 78003146 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-0105_FranklinArmfieldOffice_1976_Nomination.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, "100-0105 Franklin and Armfield Office," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/100-0105/>; "Freedom House Museum," <https://www.visitalexandriava.com/listings/freedom-house-museum/6053/al>; "Birch Slave Pen," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcbd9>.

⁶³ National Register Reference Number 00000890 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/100-0047_Bruins_Slave_Jail_2000_Final_Nomination.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, "100-0047 Bruin's Slave Jail," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/100-0047/>; "Edmonson Sisters Memorial," <https://www.slaverymonuments.org/items/show/1123>; "Bruin's Slave Jail," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcbd9>.

The congregation of Alfred Street Baptist was founded in 1803, and was the first church built in 1818 in the Bottoms neighborhood of Alexandria. The church began a sabbath school in 1820 and appointed its first Black minister in 1863. The church building was built in 1855; alterations were made in the 1880s. A new sanctuary was built in 1994 next to the older building, which retains its historic exterior.⁶⁴

Alexandria Academy

604 Wolfe St., Alexandria, VA

Originally known as the Washington Free School, the school was founded in 1785 to educate orphans and poor children. George Washington provided part of the funds for the school in his will. After the War of 1812, the school was vacated and an association of free African Americans started a school for African American children on the third floor of the building. The school operated until 1823. The school was taught by Rev. James H. Hanson, a white minister of a Black Methodist Episcopal congregation in Alexandria. At one point, this school taught almost 300 students. Early in the Civil War, this building housed African American refugees fleeing from the surrounding countryside. In November 1862, Leland Warring, himself a refugee, opened a school for African Americans, and taught over fifty students until the school was moved. The building also served as a Freedmen's Hospital during the Civil War. It was converted back into a school for white children in 1884 and operated until 1967.⁶⁵

Beulah Baptist Church, and Beulah Academy for Colored Youths

320 South Washington Street, Alexandria, VA
National Register of Historic Places

⁶⁴ National Register Reference Number 03001423 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-0049_Alfred_St_Baptist_Church_2004_Final_Nomination.pdf). See also Virginia Landmarks Register, "100-0049 Alfred Street Baptist Church," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/100-0049/>.

⁶⁵ Department of Education Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the "Condition and Improvement of Public Schools in the District of Columbia" submitted to the Senate June 1868 and to the House, with additions. (Government Printing Office, June 13, 1870), 283-284, 287; William Serverian, "Alexandria Academy," <https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/alexandria-academy/>; National Register, "African American Heritage Resources of Alexandria MPD," https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/1005015_AfricanAmericanHistoricResourcesOfAlexandria_2003_NR_nomination_MPD.pdf, section E, pp.9-10.

Beulah Baptist was established in 1863 by Rev. Clem Robinson, in what was then called the “Bottoms” neighborhood of Alexandria. According to a writer in 1870, the church was “composed entirely of persons manumitted by the emancipation proclamation.”⁶⁶ Even before he commenced the church, Rev. Robinson started a school for the children of African American refugees coming into Alexandria after the start of the Civil War. This school, called the "First Select Colored School," operated out of a private home before moving to Beulah Baptist when it was built in 1863. The school was also known as the “Beulah Academy for Colored Youths,” and operated until at least 1870.⁶⁷ The house across from the church, 321-323 South Washington Street, was used as housing for the teachers of Freedmen's Bureau schools in Alexandria.

Moses Hepburn Rowhouses

206-212 North Pitt Street, Alexandria, VA
National Register of Historic Places

Moses Hepburn was one of the wealthiest black residents of Alexandria, who was a land developer and civic leader. He was born enslaved in 1809 and freed in 1816 and became a successful entrepreneur. Hepburn built these rowhouses in 1850. The land he owned on Pitt Street represented only one of his many holdings in Alexandria, but it is the only one where he is known to have lived, from 1850 to 1853. Hepburn died in 1861.⁶⁸

Dominick Barecroft House

315 Cameron Street, Alexandria, VA

Dominick Barecroft was an African American who, after gaining his freedom in 1800, operated a grocery store and tavern. In 1804, he purchased the freedom of

⁶⁶ Department of Education Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the "Condition and Improvement of Public Schools in the District of Columbia" submitted to the Senate June 1868 and to the House, with additions. (Government Printing Office, June 13, 1870), 286; Alexandria Black History Museum, “African American Historic Sites Self-Guided Tour,” <https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/brochures/AfricanAmericanSitesBrochure.pdf>

⁶⁷ National Register, “African American Heritage Resources of Alexandria MPD,” https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/1005015_AfricanAmericanHistoricResourcesOfAlexandria_2003_NR_nomination_MPD.pdf, section E, p.16

⁶⁸ National Historic Landmark Nomination Reference Number 03001426 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/100-5015-0004_Moses_Hepburn_Rowhouses_2004_Final_Nomination.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, “100-5015-0004 Moses Hepburn Row Houses,” <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/100-5015-0004/>.

his wife, and later bought a row house at 315 Cameron Street. He ran his tavern until 1824. The grocery store and tavern have been torn down, but his row house is still extant.⁶⁹

L'Ouverture General Hospital

217-219 S. Payne Street, Alexandria, VA

Opened in 1864 as a segregated hospital for Black soldiers after the Contraband Hospital on S. Washington St. was deemed too small to handle the growing number of wounded African American soldiers in the Union Army. The hospital also served contrabands. The hospital offices still stand, but most of the other structures have been torn down.⁷⁰

Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery

1001 South Washington Street, Alexandria, VA

National Register of Historic Places

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

The cemetery was created in 1864 specifically for freedmen. Between the war and the poor health of incoming contrabands, the death toll in Alexandria was high. Around 1,800 people were buried at the cemetery between 1864 and 1869, when it closed. It appeared on maps until 1939, and in 1955, a gas station was built on the site. In 1997, the site was rediscovered, and subsequent archeological research found 500 of the graves. The gas station was removed, and in 2014, the site became a memorial park.⁷¹

Alexandria National Cemetery

1450 Wilkes Street, Alexandria, VA

National Register of Historic Places

⁶⁹ *Courageous Journey: A Guide to Alexandria's African American History* (2019), p.5.

⁷⁰ Tim Dennee, "A House Divided Still Stands: The Contraband Hospital and Alexandria Freedmen's Aid Workers," *Friends of Freedmen's Cemetery*, 2017, pp.17-18; *Courageous Journey: A Guide to Alexandria's African American History* (2019), p.7.

⁷¹ National Register Reference Number 12000516 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-1021-1085_Contrabands_and_Freedmen_Cemetery_2012_NRHP_FINAL.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, "100-0121-1085 Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/100-0121-1085/>; "Contrabands & Freedmen Cemetery Memorial," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/100-0105/>; "Alexandria Freedmen's Cemetery," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcbd9>.

Alexandria National Cemetery is one of the original national cemeteries to be established during the Civil War. More than 229 African American Civil War soldiers, who mostly belonged to the United States Colored Troops, are buried at this site. Originally, Black soldiers were interred at the Freedmen's Cemetery, but Black soldiers recovering at the hospital petitioned to move them to the National Cemetery. The Black soldiers were placed in a separate section from the white soldiers.⁷²

Contraband Hospital / Teachers' Residence

321-323 South Washington Street, Alexandria, VA

When US Army troops took possession of Alexandria early in the Civil War, they commandeered many buildings left behind by Southern sympathizers who had abandoned the city and moved south. One such building was the double house at 321-323 S. Washington St., constructed right before the war by Alexandria merchant Robert Miller. The two homes were used for various military functions until early 1863 when it was converted into a hospital for African American refugees, becoming known as the “Contraband Hospital” (among other names). Part of the building also became a residence for women who were assistants in the care of refugees, both in the hospital and elsewhere, as well as teachers who were working in various schools in Alexandria for African American children. Harriet Jacobs, who started a school in Alexandria, and who had earlier written an autobiography of her life in slavery in 1861, lived in the house from 1863 to 1865. After the war, the Miller family regained possession of the property in late 1865.⁷³

Fairfax County

Mount Vernon

3200 Mount Vernon Memorial Hwy, Mt Vernon, VA

National Historic Landmark

⁷² National Register Reference Number 95000106 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-0138_Alexandria_National_Cemetery_1995_NRHP_nomination.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, “100-0138 Alexandria National Cemetery,” <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/100-0138/>

⁷³ Tim Dennee, “A House Divided Still Stands: The Contraband Hospital and Alexandria Freedmen’s Aid Workers,” Friends of Freedmen’s Cemetery, 2017. (<http://www.freedmenscemetery.org/resources/documents/contrabandhospital.pdf>).

Mount Vernon was the home of George Washington, who inherited the home in 1754. The large plantation was also the home of hundreds of people who were enslaved over the course of its existence; over 300 enslaved lived there at the time of George Washington's death in 1799. The site includes recreated quarters for the enslaved and a memorial on the burial grounds of the unmarked graves of many of the enslaved.⁷⁴

Frying Pan Meetinghouse and Cemetery

2615 Centreville Road, Herndon, VA
National Register of Historic Places

Frying Pan Meetinghouse was a church built by Baptists in western Fairfax County c.1791. The church was racially integrated from its inception – both free and enslaved African Americans attended services and were buried in the church cemetery. According to church minutes, for example, in 1840 the church reported 33 white members and 29 African American members. Space was segregated, however, as African Americans sat in the upstairs galleries and were buried in a separate section of the cemetery. After the Civil War, African Americans continued to attend services at Frying Pan Meetinghouse, but the numbers dwindled and by 1882, local African Americans were meeting in their own church, Mount Pleasant Baptist Church. Frying Pan Meetinghouse was donated to Fairfax County by the last surviving member of the congregation in the 1980s and is now operated as a historic site.⁷⁵

Loudoun County

Arcola Quarters for the Enslaved

24837 Evergreen Mills Road, Arcola, VA
National Register of Historic Places

⁷⁴ NHL Nomination Update (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/029-0054_MountVernon_1977_Nomination_NHL.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, “029-0054 Mount Vernon,” <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/029-0054/>; “Mount Vernon's African American History,” <https://www.mountvernon.org/plan-your-visit/things-to-do/interest-by-interest/african-american-history/>.

⁷⁵ National Register Reference Number 91000016 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/029-0015_Frying_Pan_Meetinghouse_1991_Final_Nomination.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, “029-0015 Frying Pan Meetinghouse” <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/029-0015/>; Debbie Robison, “Frying Pan Baptist Meeting House,” Northern Virginia History Notes (http://www.novahistory.org/Frying_Pan_Meetinghouse.htm); “Frying Pan Farm Park Meeting House,” <https://www.fairfaxcounty.gov/parks/frying-pan-park/meeting-house>.

The enslaved quarters are located on the former Lewis Plantation, established in the mid-18th century by Vincent Lewis. This is a double-pen stone structure, built c.1800. It is one of the few remaining enslaved quarters in Loudoun County, and an unusual example of the use of stone for dwellings for the enslaved.⁷⁶ One of Vincent Lewis's sons, Charles, owned the farm on which this structure is located when he died in 1843. An estate inventory listed 31 enslaved people, with first and last names for 22 of the individuals. Last names included Simms, Henderson, Turner, Newman, Hogan, Owings, and Sprawling. Some (or all) of these may have lived in this building. The quarters were donated to Loudoun County, and various descendants of the Lewis Plantation enslaved, as well as others, created a Friends of the Slave Quarters in 2001.⁷⁷

Maryland

Frederick County

Catoctin Furnace and African American Cemetery

Thurmont

National Register of Historic Places

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

Catoctin Furnace was an industrial complex that produced iron between 1776 and 1903. Africans and African Americans, most probably enslaved, worked at the furnace until the 1830s and 1840s, when European immigrants began to supplant them. During highway construction work in the 1970s, a cemetery near the existing furnace complex was partially disturbed. Because a highway was going to be built over that part of the cemetery, the bones of the interred were removed to the Smithsonian Institution (which had been a partner on the archeology project.) Modern genetic testing has confirmed the bones to be those of Africans or African Americans. It has revealed much historical data on the relationships amongst those buried in the cemetery, although nothing is known as to their exact identities. The Catoctin Furnace Historical Society, Harvard University, and the Smithsonian collaborated on using new forensic anthropology methods to re-create the faces of two of the skeletons.⁷⁸ The site is

⁷⁶ National Register Reference Number 08001113 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/053-0984_Arcola_Slave_Quarters_2008_NRfinal.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, "053-0984 Arcola Slave Quarters," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/053-0984/>.

⁷⁷ Eugene Scheel, "Slave Quarters – A Reminder of Bygone Era," *The History of Loudoun County, Virginia* website, <https://www.loudounhistory.org/history/loudoun-slave-quarters/>; "Friends of the Slave Quarters," <https://www.loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/124059/Slave-quarters-pamphlet-2016?bidId=>.

⁷⁸ Michael E. Ruane, "Faces of the Dead Emerge from Lost African American Graveyard," *Washington Post* (July 9, 2021); National Register nomination, "Catoctin Furnace Historic District," <https://mht.maryland.gov/nr/NRDetail.aspx?FROM=NRDBList.aspx&NRID=71&COUNTY=&SEARC>

also listed on the National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program because there are several newspaper ads seeking the return of African American laborers who escaped to freedom.⁷⁹

Quinn Chapel AME Church

106 E. Third Street, Frederick, MD
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

The congregation, which dates to the late 1700s, built a church at this location in 1819. Although the church was renamed in 1835 for William Paul Quinn, one of the founders of the AME Church, it was also called Bethel. In July 1864, the church served as a hospital for the wounded from the Battle of Monocacy. An “African Civilization School” was held in the basement of the church in 1865, when the church was led by Rev. Benjamin Tucker Tanner, who later became a Bishop in the AME Church. A Freedmen's Bureau school was also taught in the basement after 1865. The church was rebuilt in 1878 and remodeled in 1923.⁸⁰

Montgomery County

Riley-Bolton House (Josiah Henson Park)

11420 Old Georgetown Road, Rockville, MD
National Register of Historic Places
National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

Riley-Bolton House was where Josiah Henson, believed to be the inspiration for Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, lived enslaved for 30 years, from 1795 to 1825. Henson escaped from slavery and traveled to Upper Canada, where he founded a settlement for others who had fled enslavement. His memoir, *The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada*, published in 1849, was widely read, and along with Stowe's interpretation of his experiences, was influential in advancing abolitionism. Only the frame of the Riley's home, dated to 1800 to 1815, survives from the period in which Henson lived on the plantation. Henson's narrative revealed he was in the house on

[HTYPE=propertySearch&PROPNAME=catoctin%20furnace&STREETNAME=&CITYNAME=&KEYWORD=.](#)

⁷⁹ “Catoctin Iron Furnace and Manor House Ruins,” National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program,

<https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcbd9>.

⁸⁰ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, “Quinn African Methodist Episcopal Church,” <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=FHD-822>; “Letter from Frederick, Md.,” *Christian Recorder*, April 1, 1865.

several occasions. The house is now owned by the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission.⁸¹

Prince George's County

Poplar Hill on His Lordship's Kindness

7606 Woodyard Rd., Clinton, MD
National Historic Landmark

Poplar Hill, the main house on this former plantation, was completed in 1786 for Robert Darnall. Several outbuildings on the plantation were also preserved, including a brick one-story building, three bays wide, with chimneys on either end. This structure was probably built in the second quarter of the 19th century and served as an infirmary for the plantation's enslaved. At the time of Darnall's death in 1853, there were 126 enslaved people listed on his personal inventory, and by 1860, more than 160 enslaved people were recorded living at Poplar Hill.⁸²

Elizabeth Keckley Burial Site

National Harmony Memorial Park Cemetery, 7101 Sheriff Rd., Landover, MD
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties
National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

Elizabeth Keckley is best known as Mary Todd Lincoln's seamstress and friend during the presidency of Abraham Lincoln, and for her memoir, *Behind the Scenes, or, Thirty years a Slave, and Four Years in the White House*. But Keckley also organized relief efforts for the thousands of refugee African Americans who streamed into Washington, DC, during the Civil War years. She created the

⁸¹ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Uncle Tom's Cabin; Riley/Bolten House; Josiah Henson Special Park," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=M%3a+30-6>; "Riley Bolton House (Josiah Henson Park)," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcbd9>; "Josiah Henson Museum & Park," <https://www.montgomeryparks.org/parks-and-trails/josiah-henson-park/>.

⁸² African-American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland (Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission, 2012), pp.234-235 (<https://issuu.com/mncppc/docs/aapgc>); "The Slave Infirmary," <https://www.poplarhillonhik.com/aahp/infirmary/infirmary.html>; National Register nomination, "His Lordship's Kindness," [https://mht.maryland.gov/nr/NRDetail.aspx?FROM=NRDBList.aspx&NRID=40&COUNTY=&SEARCHTYPE=propertySearch&PROPNAME=lordship%27s&STREETNAME=&CITYNAME=&KEYWORD=; Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "His Lordship's Kindness," https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=PG%3a81A-1](https://mht.maryland.gov/nr/NRDetail.aspx?FROM=NRDBList.aspx&NRID=40&COUNTY=&SEARCHTYPE=propertySearch&PROPNAME=lordship%27s&STREETNAME=&CITYNAME=&KEYWORD=; Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties,).

Contraband Relief Association in 1862 to help care for the impoverished migrants and encouraged Lincoln's government to take a more active role in the relief effort. Keckley died in 1907 and was buried in the Columbian Harmony Cemetery on Rhode Island Ave. in the District of Columbia. The Columbian Harmony Society was created in 1825 in Washington, DC, by a group of free African Americans, to establish a cemetery for African Americans. The first cemetery, for which land was purchased in 1829, was located at 5th and Boundary St. (now Florida Ave.). The cemetery was moved in 1859 to Rhode Island Ave. In addition to Keckley and other notable African Americans, the cemetery also held the remains of at least 400 soldiers who had fought for the Union Army in the Civil War in United States Colored Infantry units. In the late 1950s, the cemetery association was facing financial difficulties, and it agreed to sell the cemetery land to a developer, who purchased land in Landover, MD, to relocate the burials once again. In 1960, the cemetery was therefore moved to Sheriff Rd. in Prince George's County, MD. This required the removal of 37,000 sets of remains from the Rhode Island cemetery to the new location. But moving the headstones was not part of the deal with the developer. In 2020, many headstones from the Rhode Island Ave. cemetery property were found buried along the Potomac River in Virginia buttressing the shoreline. They had been purchased as scrap by the property's previous owner when the cemetery had been moved to Maryland. State officials in VA and MD, and leaders in DC have worked together to return the headstones to the National Harmony Cemetery, and to create a memorial. In 2010, a new marker commemorating the life of Elizabeth Keckley was erected by her grave at National Harmony.⁸³

⁸³ Gregory S. Schneider, "A Virginia State Senator Found Headstones on His Property. It Brought to Light a Historic Injustice in D.C.," *Washington Post* (Oct. 26, 2020), https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:RPMPMa-dV6gJ:https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/headstones-black-cemetery-potomac-river/2020/10/25/3586f0d4-0d7a-11eb-8074-0e943a91bf08_story.html+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us; Gregory S. Schneider, "Black Cemetery Headstones Were Used as Scrap. Now Area Leaders are 'Righting a Wrong'," *Washington Post* (August 23, 2021), https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:SiGHZxfJyG8J:https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/black-cemetery-headstones-ceremony-virginia/2021/08/23/32a8be36-010a-11ec-85f2-b871803f65e4_story.html+&cd=2&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us; African-American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland (Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission, 2012), p.208 (<https://issuu.com/mncppc/docs/aapgc>); Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "National Harmony Memorial Park Cemetery," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=PG%3a72-45>; "Elizabeth Keckly Burial Site," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcdb9>.

Washington County

Rockland

9030 Sharpsburg Pike (MD 65), Fair Play, MD
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties
National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

This farm complex is important for its connection with Jim Pembroke. Pembroke was enslaved at Rockland, and in 1827 he self-emancipated. He made his way north to NY and then CT and changed his name to James William Charles Pennington. He audited classes at Yale and became a minister, abolitionist, and writer. He performed the marriage ceremony for Frederick Douglass and Anna Murray when Douglas first escaped from Maryland. Pennington became one of the most distinguished and respected nineteenth-century African American leaders. He became a minister in Presbyterian churches in New York and Hartford, was elected a delegate to several international abolition conventions, wrote one of the first histories of Africans in America in 1841, lectured widely, led the struggle to desegregate New York City's public transit system, fought for the rights of Blacks to vote, and remained active in the Underground Railroad. In 1849, the University of Heidelberg awarded Pennington a Doctor of Divinity in honor of his achievements. Also in 1849, Pennington recounted his experiences enslaved in Washington County in his autobiography, *The Fugitive Blacksmith*.⁸⁴

Kennedy Farm

Chestnut Grove Road, Samples Manor, MD
National Historic Landmark
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

The Kennedy Farm is the site where John Brown and his followers prepared for their raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859. Brown, under an assumed name, rented the home in the summer of 1859 and spent three months planning his raid, amassing weapons and people to help him with his mission.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Dean Herrin, "From Slave to Abolitionist: James W. C. Pennington of Washington County, Maryland," in Michael A. Powell and Bruce A. Thompson, eds., *Mid-Maryland: A Crossroads of History* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2005), pp.29-38; Dean Herrin, "Rockland," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program,

⁸⁵National Register nomination, "Kennedy Farm,"

PART 2. RECONSTRUCTION AND REPRESSION, 1865–1900

“The Ku Klux Klan and the tissue ballot were social and political inventions of intimidation to discourage the Negroes’ participation in politics. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, the Federal army and the Carpet-baggers were designed to protect the Negroes’ suffrage, in order that the Negro might entrench, reinforce and fortify the Republican party’s control over Congress. The lessons of this period had been hard, bitter and disappointing to the Negro.”⁸⁶

The struggle for Civil Rights took distinct forms during different eras. The Reconstruction Era continued the movement for equal rights and fair treatment in the United States that began with the quest to abolish slavery in pre-Civil War America. Although the Reconstruction Era is widely known for its culmination in a wave of violence exacted by whites on the nation’s newly freed citizens, Reconstruction was also a time of significant accomplishment for African Americans. There is an unbroken connection between pre-Civil War and Reconstruction Era struggles and the modern civil rights movement.

The story of Reconstruction has often been reduced to rights given and ends with rights taken away from African Americans and the ushering in of the repressive decades labeled as “Jim Crow.” In the words of W.E.B. DuBois, “The slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery.” Interspersed in the story are accounts of skullduggery especially by whites in power in the name of rebuilding the United States.

Passage of the three great postwar constitutional amendments, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, abolished slavery, guaranteed newly freed African Americans equal protection of the law and gave all male American citizens the right to vote regardless of their “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” These amendments, however, did not fulfill on their guarantees. From the 1870s to the start of World War I, the everyday external experiences of African Americans were filled with racial violence and overt hatred. Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875 designed to protect the rights of all Americans regardless of race and endow them with the rights to “the full and equal enjoyment” of public places, failed and the concepts collapsed in the face of terrorism and legislative and judicial backlash.

Internally, Blacks coalesced in their social and civic networks to protect their rights, ensure their education and stabilize their lives. However, local white citizens, state

⁸⁶ A. Philip Randolph, “The Negro in Politics,” July 1919, Sondra Kathryn Wilson, ed., *The Messenger Reader*, (New York The Modern Library, 2000), 339.

municipalities and the federal government combined to compromise the guarantees of the Civil Rights Acts. Tactics aimed at disenfranchisement compromised voting rights and civil rights began to vanish through court action. Lynching and racial violence, combined with peonage and sharecropping, arose as deadly practices thwarting the quest for full citizenship. Violent reprisals were firmly instituted throughout the Era, reaching what Rayford W. Logan termed a nadir with the end of Constitutional Reconstruction. After 1877, the federal government turned a blind eye to the injustices and the perpetuation of civil rights violations of the African American populace.

This was also the period of “nation-building” by African Americans that included indomitable efforts at forgiveness, healing and re-visioning what being a free citizen of America might mean. Blacks sought to educate themselves in unprecedented numbers, and hundreds received degrees from institutions of higher learning. Erecting churches and lodges, establishing schools and businesses, registering to vote and visiting white establishments as customers, running for public office, and forming communities were all acts that were given wings during Reconstruction, and by Reconstruction’s end, had landed and taken root. Even filing for Civil War pensions by both veterans and wives and parents of deceased veterans was an act of courage and demonstration of attaining one’s civil rights. Much of these efforts seem commonplace today, but it must be acknowledged that tremendous strength of people was required to resist the return to enslavement, white racism, neglect, capitalism, and hatred, and even Black resignation.

Reconstruction, though, is not just a Black story – one of institution building and opposition to threats of violence and loss of self-determination. It tells the tale of a country rife with virulent differences and its attempts to reconnect. Thus resources related to white philanthropy, military rule, and even white resistance and civil unrest must also be uncovered and recognized for their role in this historic era. The discourse must also include themes of enfranchisement and the expansion of democracy, land and labor reform, the expansion of federal power, and the remaking of the South. The defeat of the Confederacy meant the diminishment of an agrarian-based economy and the inevitable spread of an industrial-dominated economy. This left farm workers, Black and white, in limbo and not sure where they fit in the new order. For decades there had been tension and debate over the efficacy and value of free labor, mostly white immigrants and enslaved Black labor. Now that the war was over and slavery was abolished, who was going to do the work and at what cost? This greatly concerned white farmworkers who for their protection began to form advocacy groups, mostly segregated.

EXAMPLES OF EVENTS, 1865–1900

1866 On February 7, Frederick Douglass led a delegation of 13 representatives of the Colored Convention to the White House to meet with President Andrew Johnson. Their intent was to discuss the necessity for African Americans to be recognized as American citizens. The intent of the New England Convention in sending “a discreet, intelligent and refined delegation of colored men” to Washington was so they would have “great influence in creating due respect for the entire colored people.” Douglass “thought the war had ended too soon for the safety of the nation or of the colored man, and that much of the spirit of rebellion” lingered. The New England convention of colored men, therefore, “Resolved, That . . . there should be sent to Washington, to remain there during the session of Congress, a colored delegation, to endeavor to influence the legislation of Congress, so that in its action it may not give ‘color to the idea that black men have not rights that white men are bound to respect.’” The convention resolved constant pressure that until and unless “equality before the law for all Americans without regard to color be the guiding sentiment of the land, there will be kept up an agitation, a conflict as intense, as wide-spread, and as all-absorbing as that which marked the history of the anti-slavery warfare. . . .”⁸⁷ President Andrew Johnson was opposed to the idea of citizenship for blacks, and the meeting ended in controversy.

1866 Charles Sumner encouraged legislators to enact a civil rights bill for African Americans over President Abraham Lincoln's veto, but the Supreme Court promptly found this act to be unconstitutional.

On April 9, the Civil Rights Act of 1866 granted to Blacks the privileges and rights of American citizenship. The Act made systems of involuntary labor such as peonage or indenture that were being introduced to replace slavery illegal and extended the rights of emancipated slaves by stating that any person born in the United States regardless of race is a US citizen and as such is entitled to equal treatment before the law. Blacks were granted the right to hold property, testify in court, and were subject to the laws, punishments and penalties of the United States. The main features of the law were incorporated in the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. A veto by President Andrew Johnson was overridden by Congress.

The Ku Klux Klan, an organization formed to intimidate blacks and other ethnic and religious minorities, first met in Maxwell House, Memphis. The Klan was the

⁸⁷ Convention of the Colored People of New England (1865: Boston, MA), “Convention of the Colored People of New England, Boston, December 1, 1865,” ColoredConventions.org, accessed August 28, 2017, <http://coloredconventions.org/items/show/590>.

first of many secret terrorist organizations organized in the South for the purpose of reestablishing white authority and denying rights of Black citizens.

Senate Bill 60, extending the life of the Freedmen's Bureau and expanding its services, was vetoed by President Johnson.

40 oystermen from Southern Maryland sued to recover losses for the destruction of their boats in 1865 by federal forces hunting for John Wilkes Booth.⁸⁸

The Provost Court set up in Alexandria to hear civilian and property rights cases brought by African Americans ruled that the plantation owner for whom the Black community of Hall's Hill was named exercised extreme cruelty towards four boys whom he used as slaves.⁸⁹

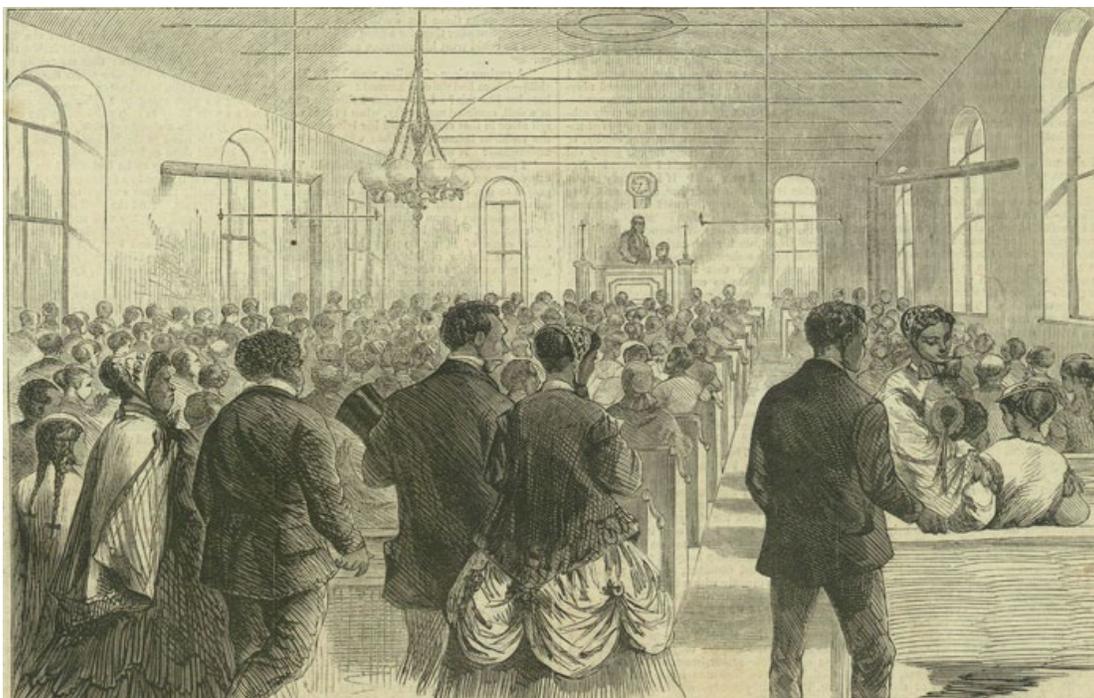
1867 On January 8, overriding President Johnson's veto, Congress granted the Black citizens of the District of Columbia the right to vote.

It wasn't until Jan. 23, 1867, that the Maryland General Assembly outlawed "the sale of negroes into slavery as punishment for crime," reported *The New York Times*. "There will hereafter be no distinction in the State in the mode of punishing white and black criminals," according to the article.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ McConnell, ob cit, 422

⁸⁹ President Johnson ordered the case and proposed punishments dropped. Liebertz, 13-4.

⁹⁰ "No More Negroes to be Sold in Maryland--The Mayor and City Council of Baltimore," *New York Times*, Jan. 4, 1867.



February 6, 1869 illustration from Harper's Weekly: The National Colored Convention in Session at Washington, D.C.--Sketched by Theo. R. Davis (Wikimedia Commons)

1870 The Fifteenth Amendment was ratified, a defining moment in granting voting suffrage for Black men. The Equal Rights League had been victorious in its long quest to achieve suffrage, “the crowning right of citizenship.”⁹¹

The *New Era* newspaper was founded in Washington, DC. The newspaper was edited by J. Stella Martin. Frederick Douglass was its corresponding editor.

1872 The first school in the Jefferson District of Arlington County opened for African Americans in the Convalescent Camp located in what is now the Army Navy Country Club. In 1872, a permanent schoolhouse was erected and was used until 1889, when it was replaced, on property in Johnson’s Hill.

1872 First Baptist Church was established in Manassas, Prince William County, VA and is the oldest African American church in the county.

⁹¹ Equal Rights League and Suffrage

<https://exhibits.library.villanova.edu/institute-colored-youth/community-moments/equal-rights-league-and-suffrage/>

Colored Men's Border State Convention (1868: Baltimore, MD), “Address of the Colored Men's Border State Convention to the People of the United States, Baltimore, August 5-6, 1868,” *ColoredConventions.org*, accessed August 29, 2017, <http://coloredconventions.org/items/show/568>.

- 1873 V. Cook Nickens, a Leesburg, Loudoun County barber, became the first elected black official, serving for a year as a constable of Leesburg Magisterial District.
- 1879 In *Strauder v. West Virginia* the US Supreme Court ruled that West Virginia had singled out Blacks and had “expressly denied by a statute all right to participate in the administration of the law, as jurors, because of their color, though they are citizens.” The West Virginia law which forbade Blacks from serving on juries was the first decision of the US Supreme Court to use the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution to invalidate a state law. Taylor Strauder, a Black man convicted by an all-white jury of murdering a white woman, appealed to the Supreme Court alleging that the exclusion of people of color from juries violated his equal protection under the law. In its October 1879 decision, the US Supreme Court had found the West Virginia law forbidding Blacks from serving on juries to be unconstitutional.⁹²
- 1880s As US Marshal, Frederick Douglass warned African Americans that they needed to form vigilance committees in light of rising “Black on Black crime” and any brutal acts white people may commit.
- 1881 The West Virginia governor approves a bill allowing all eligible voting citizens, including Blacks, to be jurors.
- 1884 After several unsuccessful attempts to join the American Medical Association (AMA), a group of Black and white physicians formed the National Medical Society of the District of Columbia. Following three attempts over the next four years to gain recognition by the AMA, a group of white physicians who belonged to Washington’s AMA affiliate organization announced its disapproval of the organization's racial policy and joined with Black physicians in organizing a biracial group in 1884 called the Medico-Chirurgical Society of the District of Columbia.⁹³
- 1888 John Syphax requested that residents who were being removed from Freedmen’s Village in Arlington, which the government was trying to close, be compensated \$350 each. The displacement and demolition finally took place in 1900, whereupon the government compensated the villagers a total of \$75,000 based upon an 1868 valuation.
- 1889 The first National Black Catholic Congress was held in Washington at St. Augustine Church, considered the “Mother Church” of Washington Diocese

⁹²Strauder v. West Virginia, 100 US 303 - Supreme Court 1880. See <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/100/303>

⁹³ Louis Sullivan, “The Education of Black Health Professionals,” *Phylon*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (2nd Qtr., 1977), Clark Atlanta University, 181-193, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/274681>, accessed: 26/12/2012.

Black Catholics. The activities and session topics included a meeting with President Grover Cleveland, the need for labor organizations and trade unions to permit African Americans to join, education, and housing.

- 1890 Jim Jackson opened his store in Oak Grove, Loudoun County, VA; when it closed in 1930s, it had been the longest running black business in eastern Loudoun.⁹⁴

The Loudoun County Emancipation Association was founded in Hamilton by a group of men to commemorate the issuance of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862 but also to promote the “betterment of the race - educationally, morally, and materially.” At least one USCT veteran served as a director of the Loudoun County Emancipation Association.⁹⁵

The Second Morrill Act stated that funds would be allocated to states only if they provided the same educational opportunities for Black students as were provided to white students. Private normal schools such as Storer in Jefferson County found themselves competing with newly established agricultural and mechanical colleges for state funds.⁹⁶

- 1890s The New Negro Movement began in the 1890s, heralding a cultural revolution focused on racial pride and uplift and demanding the abolition of racial discrimination. This Movement would reach its apex of expression as a cultural movement during the Harlem Renaissance.

Newspaper editor T. Thomas Fortune and Bishop Alexander Walters, born in Washington, DC, and members of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, were key members of the National Afro-American League (NAAL). In 1890 NAAL became the first national black organization specifically created to challenge racial segregation and discrimination. The organization sought equal opportunities in voting, civil rights, education, and public accommodations. The end of lynching across America was ever present on the minds of civil rights organizers and was one of the key tenets of their platform.

- 1892 The Colored Women’s League organized in Washington, DC. Founders included the organization’s first president, Helen Appo Cook, and Josephine Wilson

⁹⁴Eugene Scheel, *Important Events in the History of African Americans in Loudoun County*,” 8, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/ghosts-of-the-unions-black-soldiers-rise-from-loudoun-countys-past/2013/03/02/2273e41e-7f7c-11e2-8074-b26a871b165a_story.html?utm_term=.d25374e2b563

⁹⁵ The Black History Committee of the Friends of the Thomas Balch Library, ed., *The Essence of a People: Portraits of African Americans Who Made a Difference in Loudoun County, Virginia*, (Leesburg, 2001) 4; Hamilton Fire Department (VA) “Snippets of Hamilton’s Past,” 2002, 27.

⁹⁶ National Research Council, *Colleges of Agriculture at the Land Grant Universities: A Profile*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 1995, <https://www.nap.edu/read/4980/chapter/2>.

Bruce, Anna J. Cooper, Anna Evans Murray, Mary Church Terrell, and Fannie Barrier Williams. The quest for a quality education was foremost. This became The National League of Colored Women.

- 1893 The 1892 election resulting in the defeat of Harrison, a Republican, by Cleveland, a Democrat, made more visible breaches in the solid Black Republican front. Several prominent leaders switched allegiance, leading to an editorial in the *Washington Bee* which read in part, “If certain color men have as idea that there is as much for them in the Democratic Party as there is in the Republican Party, why can’t they have the same privilege of selecting their choice of exercising such right as white men? Colored men have the same right to apply for positions under this administration as white men, especially when they have supported the party in power.”⁹⁷

The Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth was founded by Jennie Dean. Now a five-acre archaeological park in Prince William County, VA.

- 1896 The United States Supreme Court handed down a decision that for the next 70 years would shape the United States into defined and unequal racialized spaces. The ruling in the case of Homer Plessey in *Plessy v Ferguson* declaring the “separate but equal” doctrine distorted the civil rights of Black America. Its lasting effects can be seen today in the housing, wealth and education disparities for African Americans that continue to plague the country. The decision marked the onset of “Jim Crow” laws and legal racial segregation in America. Segregation, the denial of equal access to public accommodations, was neither a uniform nor a consistent practice throughout the United States, but it was the norm for the National Capital Area.

The National Association of Colored Women was founded in Washington with the motto “Lifting as We Climb” establishing its mission of self-help. Its first national conference was held in 1896 at Storer College in Harpers Ferry with Mary Church Terrell as president.

- 1898 The National Afro-American Council (NAAC), considered the first truly nationwide civil rights organization, convened in Washington in December. Though it had been formed some months earlier, NAAC met to reorganize with local branch chapters and to continue the agitation in the press to fight discrimination. Three of its eight main issues centered around the denial of political participation, peonage, and the increased number of lynchings.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ *Washington Bee*, April 29, 1893, n.p.

⁹⁸ Elizabeth Dowling Taylor, *The Original Black Elite: Daniel Murray and the Story of a Forgotten Era*, (New York: HarperCollins, 2017), 174-84.

EXAMPLES OF INDIVIDUALS, 1865–1900

Sarah and William Lovett left Loudoun County after the Civil War and moved to Harpers Ferry, WV, attracted by the possibility of work and the promise of education for their children at the newly established Storer College. When the school outgrew its original building, Lockwood House, the family rented and operated it as a boarding house. In 1888, their son Thomas and his wife Lavonia were able to build the first Hilltop House Hotel (whites only) to take advantage of the booming tourist trade. In spite of several fires and having to rebuild each time, the family operated its famed hotel and restaurant until 1923.⁹⁹

Blanche K. Bruce, from Mississippi, was the first African American to serve a full term in the US Senate. He was elected in 1876 and served until 1881. Following his term as a Senator, Bruce also served as the registrar of the US Treasury, the recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia, and was on the boards for the DC public school system and for Howard University.

Mary Ann Shadd Cary, of Washington, DC, was an abolitionist and the first African American female newspaper editor. Cary graduated from Howard University Law School in 1883, the second African American woman to do so. She was active in the women's suffrage movement and joined Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the National Woman Suffrage Association.

Jennie Dean, a formerly enslaved woman, was responsible for the founding of Northern Virginia's first secondary school for African Americans. In 1894 the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth opened as a privately endowed campus complete with dormitories for boarding students. In 1938 it became a public school for four counties including Fairfax and was renamed the Regional High School.¹⁰⁰ Later a park in the Green Valley, Nauck, was renamed after the pioneering educator.

George Lewis Seaton was the first African American legislator from Alexandria, VA, to be elected to Virginia's General Assembly. Born free, he was a wealthy real estate developer who was active in the Alexandria community.

Calvin Brent is was considered Washington, DC's first African American architect. His father had been enslaved, and after purchasing his freedom, he worked as a government

⁹⁹ Daniel Mercer, "The Lovetts of Harpers Ferry, West Virginia," *Negro History Bulletin*, 32, February 1969.

¹⁰⁰ Staff of Bull Run Regional Library, "Celebrating 275 Years of Black Heritage in Prince William County 1731-2006," Prince William County Library System, updated January 2013.

file:///C:/Users/PM%20Fletcher/Desktop/Reconstruction/Prince%20William%20County/Celebrating_275years_of_Black-Heritage.pdf, accessed 1/10/2017.

employee and was the founding pastor at John Wesley AME Zion Church. Brent began his architecture practice in the 1870s and built over 100 projects in the DC area. His home on Swann Street is the only residence of his that remains; he lived there in the 1890s.

Emma Brown, originally from Georgetown, was Washington's first African American public-school teacher. She was educated at the Miner School and Oberlin and began teaching in 1864 at Ebenezer United Methodist Church. This school was moved that year to the first publicly funded African American school building in Washington. She later became principal of the John F. Cook School and the Charles Sumner School.

EXAMPLES OF PLACES, 1865–1900

National Park Service, National Capital Area

Frederick Douglass National Historic Site (Cedar Hill)

1411 W Street SE, Washington, DC

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

Frederick Douglass was into born slavery on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1818. He self-emancipated in 1838, and settled in New Bedford, MA, with his wife Anna. He quickly gained fame in anti-slavery circles for his oratory, and for his compelling life story. He published his first autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, in 1845, and went on to become one of America's most influential and important authors, activists, and leaders. Douglass visited Washington, DC, several times, including to meet with President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War. After his home in Rochester, NY, burned, he moved to Washington in 1872, and first lived at 320 A St, NE. He moved to the suburb of Uniontown (now Anacostia) in 1877, and called his new home Cedar Hill. In addition to his writing and his speaking engagements, Douglass also was appointed to several prestigious positions, including assistant secretary of the Santo Domingo Commission, legislative council member of the D.C. Territorial Government, board member of Howard University, president of the Freedman's Bank, US Marshal for D.C., Recorder of Deeds for D.C., and Minister Resident and Consul General to Haiti. He died at Cedar Hill in 1895. After his death, Douglass's second wife, Helen Pitts Douglass, established the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association, which preserved the home until 1962, when it was deeded to the National Park Service.¹⁰¹

Prince William Forest Park / Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine Historic District

18170 Park Entrance Road, Triangle, VA

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

¹⁰¹ See the website for Frederick Douglass National Historic Site: <https://www.nps.gov/frdo/index.htm>; "Frederick Douglass National Historic Site," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcbd9>; and *African American Heritage Trail*, Washington, DC (2003), p.34 (<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>).

The Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine historic district includes a former pyrite mine, which supported the town of Dumfries between 1889 and 1920. The archaeological site includes dorms for African Americans who worked in the mine. The mine was also supported by two local African American communities, Hickory Ridge and Batestown. Cabin Branch School opened around the time the Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine was opened, in 1889, to support the families of its workers. It was located on Mine Road two miles northwest of Dumfries. A new building was constructed in 1916 south of the first school, which operated until 1950, serving the community of Batestown.¹⁰²

Harpers Ferry National Historical Park

Lockwood House: 359 Fillmore Street, Harpers Ferry, WV

Murphy Farm: 123 Murphy Rd, Harpers Ferry, WV

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

Even before the Civil War ended, teachers and relief organization representatives came to Harpers Ferry to set up schools and to care for African Americans, many of whom had previously been enslaved. The Freewill Baptists of New England appointed Rev. Nathan Brackett to supervise a number of schools in the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Valley region. They acquired Lockwood House, the former US Armory paymaster's quarters in Harpers Ferry, as the site for a school. Working with the Freedmen's Bureau, they also started Storer College, one of the early colleges for African Americans in the United States, in Lockwood House in 1867. Eventually Storer College occupied several of the former government buildings on Camp Hill in Harpers Ferry.

The former US Armory fire engine house, in which John Brown and his men were captured in their raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859, had a peripatetic existence after the war. Although tourists came to Harpers Ferry to see the building, referred to by many as "John Brown's Fort," most locals were not fond of the reminder of the raid, and were not sad when investors purchased the building and moved it to Chicago in 1891 as an attraction near the World's Fair to be held in 1893. After the fair, the building was dismantled and stored on a vacant lot, until Kate Field, a Washington, DC, journalist, arranged for the engine house to be taken back to Harpers Ferry and re-erected on the farm of Alexander Murphy. Visitors again travelled to Harpers Ferry to see the

¹⁰² "Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine (1889-1920)," <https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/cabin-branch-mine.htm>; National Register Reference Number 02001517 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/076-0289_Cabin_Branch_Pyrite_Mine_Historic_District_2002_Final_Nomination.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, "076-0289 Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine Historic District," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/076-0289/>; "African American History (1830-1936)," <https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/african-american.htm>; Arvilla Payne-Jackson and Sue Ann Taylor, *Prince William Forest Park: The African American Experience*, Prince William Forest Park, National Park Service (2000).

structure, and in 1896, the National League of Colored Women met in Washington, DC, and took a field trip to pay homage to John Brown at his “Fort” on the Murphy Farm.¹⁰³

National Capital Parks – East / Emancipation Memorial

Lincoln Park, East Capitol and 12th Streets NE, Washington, DC

National Park

National Register (part of Capitol Hill Historic District)

This memorial to Abraham Lincoln was erected in 1876, paid for primarily with funds contributed by formerly enslaved people who had been freed through Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. According to the inscription on the memorial, the first \$5 came from Charlotte Scott, a freed woman from Virginia, who, upon hearing of Lincoln’s assassination, asked that her money be used for a memorial to the slain President. The memorial’s imagery has been controversial. It shows Lincoln, Emancipation Proclamation in hand, standing over an African American man who is rising, with chains broken, to symbolize freedom for the enslaved. The memorial was dedicated in a ceremony in 1876, attended by President Ulysses Grant and many other dignitaries, with a featured oration by Frederick Douglass. This was Washington, DC’s principal memorial to Lincoln until 1922 and the building of the Lincoln Memorial in West Potomac Park.¹⁰⁴

Rock Creek Park - Mt. Pleasant Plains Cemetery (Colored Union Benevolent Association Cemetery)

Adams Mill Road NW, Washington, DC

National Park (part of the property)

National Register of Historic Places

¹⁰³ “Harpers Ferry - Lockwood House,” https://www.nps.gov/places/harpers-ferry-lockwood-house.htm?utm_source=place&utm_medium=website&utm_campaign=experience_more&utm_content=small; “Storer College,” https://www.nps.gov/places/storer-college.htm?utm_source=place&utm_medium=website&utm_campaign=experience_more&utm_content=small; “John Brown's Fort,” <https://www.nps.gov/places/john-brown-s-fort.htm> “John Brown’s Fort,” <https://www.nps.gov/hafe/learn/historyculture/john-brown-fort.htm>; National Register nomination, “Harpers Ferry National Historical Park,” <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=64aa9f45-2cfb-4ed5-9a9c-23ea13752b1b>.

¹⁰⁴ “Emancipation Memorial,” <https://www.nps.gov/places/000/emancipation-memorial.htm>; “Lincoln Park,” https://www.nps.gov/places/crlincolnpark.htm?utm_source=place&utm_medium=website&utm_campaign=experience_more&utm_content=small; DC Inventory of Historic Sites, “Emancipation Monument,” p.49

(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>); National Register nomination, “Capitol Hill Historic District,” <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=07177505-459d-4b8f-b4ad-833544af07ed>.

The Mount Pleasant Plains Cemetery was an African American burial ground operated by the Colored Union Benevolent Association. It was one of the most active African American cemeteries, but it closed in 1890 due to expanding suburban development in the area. A portion of the former cemetery's land became part of the adjacent Smithsonian Zoo property, and another small parcel became part of Rock Creek Park. Most of the land is now a city-operated public park. Although families were told by those wanting to develop the land that all graves had been relocated, this was not the case, and in 2005, an assessment revealed that remains were still underground (and occasionally, during heavy rains, for example, finding their way above ground.) Further research revealed the names of those buried at the site – there were at least 8,428 burials in the historic cemetery. Discussions are ongoing between the current owners of the land (primarily the city), the community, and descendants of those who were buried in the cemetery, about the future of the property and the appropriate ways to commemorate the historic burials.¹⁰⁵ The cemetery is listed in the National Park Service's Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program because many of the burials were of people who had attempted escape from enslavement (some successful, some not), such as Richard and Ephraim Edmonson, who in 1848 unsuccessfully sought freedom on the schooner Pearl, "Washington's largest Underground Railroad operation."¹⁰⁶

Properties Not Under National Park Service Jurisdiction

Washington, DC (City)

Blanche K. Bruce and Josephine Beall Willson Bruce House

909 M Street, NW, Washington DC

National Historic Landmark

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

This was the residence of Blanche Kelso Bruce and Josephine Beall Willson Bruce. Blanche Bruce, a Mississippi politician, was the first African American to serve a full term in the US Senate. He was elected in 1875 and served until 1881. Bruce was born enslaved in Virginia and escaped during the Civil War. Following his term as a Senator, Bruce also served as the Registrar of the US Treasury, the Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, and was on the boards for the DC public school system and for Howard University. Josephine Beall Willson

¹⁰⁵ "African American Cemetery," <https://www.nps.gov/places/000/african-american-cemetery.htm>; National Register nomination, "Rock Creek Park Historic District," <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=a17d78df-915e-4753-92cd-6f8a89a9e93c>.

¹⁰⁶ "Mt. Pleasant Plains Cemetery at Walter Pierce Park," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcdb9>.

Bruce was one of the founders of the National Association of Colored Women, and of Washington, DC's Book Lovers Club, an African American women's literary group that helped organize the city's first YWCA in 1905.¹⁰⁷

Blagden Alley/Naylor Court Historic District

Ninth, Tenth, N and O streets, NW
National Register of Historic Places

Affordable housing shortages in Washington, DC, in both the 19th and 20th centuries, and the tremendous increase in the city's African American population after the Civil War, forced many working-class African American to live in the dense alleyways of the city. While there were only an estimated 49 inhabited alleys in 1858, the number had increased by 1873 to 500. Blagden Alley and Naylor Court were two of these inhabited alleys. In 1880, the 64 families who lived in Blagden Alley were all African American. Although many of the people living in the alleys managed to create a supportive community, concerns about urban overcrowding and sanitation in the 20th century led city officials to dismantle these communities. Blagden Alley and Naylor Court were preserved due to community activism.¹⁰⁸

Mary Ann Shadd Cary House

1421 W St. NW, Washington, DC
National Historic Landmark
National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

This was the residence of Mary Ann Shadd Cary from 1881-1885; she was an abolitionist, the first African American female newspaper editor, and one of the

¹⁰⁷ African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (2003), pp.18-19
(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>); National Register, "Blanche K. Bruce House,"
(<https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/75002046>); DC Inventory of Historic Sites, "Blanche K. Bruce House," p.22

(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>); "Blanche K. Bruce House," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program,
<https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcbd9>.

¹⁰⁸ African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (2003), p.19
(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>); National Register, "Blagden Alley-Naylor Court Historic District,"
(<https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/90001734>); DC Inventory of Historic Sites, "Blagden Alley / Naylor Court Historic District," pp.17-18
(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>).

first African American woman to earn a law degree (from Howard University Law School in 1883). Cary was raised in Delaware by free African American parents who assisted freedom seekers through the Underground Railroad. Before the Civil War, Cary moved to Canada and as editor of one of the most influential anti-slavery newspapers, *The Provincial Freeman*, she advocated for Canada as a home for America's Black population. She enrolled in Howard University's Law School in 1869 but was not able to continue her studies until she returned to law school and graduated in 1883. (Charlotte Ray, who had been a classmate of Cary's at Howard University Law School, graduated in 1872 and was the first African American woman to earn a law degree.¹⁰⁹) Cary was also active in the women's suffrage movement and joined Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the National Woman Suffrage Association. In 1871, Cary attempted to register to vote in Washington, DC, but was not allowed to do so. In 1874, she joined 63 other women in again attempting to register, but they were refused.¹¹⁰

Charles Sumner School

17th and M streets, NW, Washington

Designed by noted architect Adolf Cluss and built in 1872, the Charles Sumner School became the flagship school for African American education efforts in Washington, DC. It was built on the site of an earlier school run by the Freedmen's Bureau. Sumner also housed the Preparatory School for Colored Youth (later M Street High School and Dunbar High School) from 1872 until 1877.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *Life Upon These Shores - Looking at African American History, 1513-2008* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), p.173.

¹¹⁰ National Register, "Mary Ann Shadd Cary House,"

(<https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/76002128>); DC Inventory of Historic Sites, "Mary Ann Shadd Cary House," p.29

(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>); "The Places of Mary Ann Shadd Cary,"

<https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/the-places-of-mary-ann-shadd-cary.htm>; "Mary Ann Shadd Cary,"

<https://www.nps.gov/people/mary-ann-shadd-cary.htm>; "Mary Ann Shadd Cary House," National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program,

<https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcdb9>.

¹¹¹ DC Inventory of Historic Sites, "Charles Sumner School," p.152

(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>); African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (2003), p.47

(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>); "Sumner School," <http://www.adolf-cluss.org/index.php?sub=3.5.59&lang=en&content=h&topSub=washington>.

Emma Brown Residence

3044 P Street NW Washington DC

Emma Brown was Washington's first African American public school teacher. She was educated at the Miner School and Oberlin College and began teaching in 1864 at Washington, DC's first publicly funded school for African American students, originally housed at Ebenezer United Methodist Church. She later became principal of the John F. Cook School and the Charles Sumner School.¹¹²

Charlotte Forten Grimke House

1608 R Street NW Washington, DC
National Historic Landmark

Charlotte Forten Grimke, educator and abolitionist, was the first African American teacher hired to teach African American children on the South Carolina Sea Islands, which was part of a project later known as the Port Royal Experiment. She later worked in Washington, DC, where she married Francis James Grimke, who was the pastor at Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church. Grimke lived at this residence from 1881-1886.¹¹³

Mary Church Terrell House

326 T Street NW Washington, DC
National Historic Landmark

Mary Church Terrell was an educator, author, and civil rights activist. She was a leader in the African American women's club movement, active in women's suffrage, and served on the District of Columbia Board of Education in 1896, making her the first African American woman to serve on any American school board. She was a founding member of the NAACP, and in her late 80s, she led protests against segregation in Washington's public accommodations.¹¹⁴

¹¹² "Emma V. Brown Residence, 3044 P St," <https://www.georgetowndc.com/guide/georgetown-african-american-heritage-trail/>; African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (2003), p.50 (<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>).

¹¹³ National Register, "Charlotte Forten Grimke House," (<https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/76002129>); DC Inventory of Historic Sites, "Charlotte Forten Grimke House," p.71 (<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>).

¹¹⁴ National Register, "Mary Church Terrell House," (<https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/75002055>); DC Inventory of Historic Sites, "Mary Church

Howard University

Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC
National Register District
National Historic Landmark

Howard University was chartered by Congress in 1867 as an institution for higher education open to all races and genders. The first buildings for the campus were constructed on 150 acres on Georgia Avenue, NW. The only surviving building from the first period of construction is the Gen. Oliver O. Howard Residence, which is used as office space for the campus. General Howard was the commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau from 1865-1874. He had a role in the founding of Howard University, for which the school is named, and he served as the school's third president from 1869-1874. His home was purchased by the university in 1909 and is used for offices today. The National Historic Landmark District includes the Rankin Memorial Chapel, the Founders Library, and the Frederick Douglass Hall. The Gen. O.O. Howard Residence is not included in this district, but it is individually designated as a National Historic Landmark.¹¹⁵

Mount Pleasant Plains Cemetery – see Rock Creek Park, above, in National Park Service, National Capital Area Places

Frederick Douglass Residence

320 A Street NE Washington, DC

Terrell House,” p.154

(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>); African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (2003), p.14 (<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>).

¹¹⁵ National Register, “Andrew Rankin Memorial Chape, Frederick Douglass Memorial Hall, Founders Library,” (<https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/01000070>); DC Inventory of Historic Sites, “Howard University,” p.77

(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>); “Howard University, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center,” National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6ae641046056452c8e20d72f9c3bcbd9>; National Register, “General Oliver Otis Howard House,”

(<https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/74002163>); DC Inventory of Historic Sites, “Howard University, Howard Hall,” p.77

(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>); African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (2003), p.45 (<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>).

Frederick Douglass moved to this home when he first arrived in Washington, in 1872. He purchased the adjacent row house shortly after. He lived at this site until 1877, when he purchased Cedar Hill in Uniontown (now Anacostia).¹¹⁶

US Capitol (including Old Supreme Court Chambers)

First and East Capitol Streets, Washington, DC
National Historic Landmark

Much of the early construction of the US Capitol was performed by both enslaved and free African Americans. Many important policies and laws concerning civil rights were determined here, such as the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, the Civil Rights Act of 1866, and many others. The first African Americans elected to Congress served here. Important court cases, such as *Dred Scott v. Sanford* and *Plessy v. Ferguson* were also heard in the old Supreme Court Chambers in the Capitol.¹¹⁷

Virginia

Alexandria City

Odd Fellows Hall

411 South Columbus Street, Alexandria, VA
National Register of Historic Places

Odd Fellows was one of the Black fraternal organizations popular in the 19th century. Odd Fellows were founded in England in the 18th century, and the first Black chapter began in 1843. Alexandria's Black chapter began in 1846, and in 1870 they hired George Lewis Seaton to renovate a hall for them. It was used for meetings and various events until 1974. Part of the funding for the hall was provided by the Freedmen's Bureau. In the 1980s the structure was converted into condos.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (2003), p.31
(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>).

¹¹⁷ Jesse Holland, *Black Men Built the Capitol - Discovering African-American History In and Around Washington, D.C.* (Rowman and Littlefield) 2007; African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (2003), p.30
(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>).

¹¹⁸ National Register, "African American Heritage Resources of Alexandria MPD,"
https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/1005015_AfricanAmericanHistoricResourcesOfAlexandria_2003_NR_nominat

George Lewis Seaton House

404 South Royal Street, Alexandria, VA
National Register of Historic Places

George Lewis Seaton was the first African American legislator from Alexandria to be elected to Virginia's General Assembly. Born free, he was a wealthy real estate developer who was active in the Alexandria community. Seaton purchased this property in 1866 and lived there from the 1870s until his death in 1881. His widow continued to live at the property until 1927.¹¹⁹

Black Baptist Cemetery

500 Holland Lane, Alexandria, VA

The Baptist Cemetery Association of Alexandria purchased an acre of land on Holland Lane in 1885 to be used as a cemetery. The cemetery may have been associated with Shiloh Baptist Church. The cemetery was eventually abandoned and was used as a landfill in the 1960s. Archeologists working for the City of Alexandria located five headstones in the 1990s, and additional historical research has identified 24 other people who were buried in the cemetery. The Black Baptist Cemetery is now part of the Alexandria African American Heritage Park.¹²⁰

Fairfax County

Laurel Grove School

6840 Beulah St., Alexandria, VA

In 1881, William Jasper, a formerly enslaved man, and his wife Georgiana, deeded one-half acre of land to open a school for African American children in the Franconia area. The school operated from 1886-1932. It has been preserved by

[ion MPD](https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-5015-0005_Odd_Fellows_Hall_2004_Final_Nomination.pdf). pdf, section E, pp.17-18; National Register Reference Number 03001427 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-5015-0005_Odd_Fellows_Hall_2004_Final_Nomination.pdf), Virginia Landmarks Register, "100-5015-0005 Odd Fellows Hall," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/100-5015-0005/>.

¹¹⁹ National Register Reference Number 03001425 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/100-5015-0007_George_Lewis_Seaton_House_2004_Final_Nomination.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, "100-5015-0007 George Lewis Seaton House," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/100-5015-0007/>.

¹²⁰ Amy Bertsch, "A Closer Look at the Black Baptist Cemetery," *Alexandria Times* (October 15, 2020), <https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/attic/2020/Attic20201015Cemetery.pdf>.

descendants of those who attended the school, and by others when it closed. Laurel Grove School may be the only preserved early African American schoolhouse in Northern Virginia.¹²¹

Loudoun County

Oak Dale School

Lincoln, Loudoun Co., VA

A schoolhouse built in 1815, known as the Oak Dale School, is located in the Goose Creek Meetinghouse complex. After the Civil War, it was the first school to offer classes to African American children in the region, and one of the first integrated schools in Virginia.¹²²

Second Street School (and Church)

15611 Second Street, Waterford, VA

African Americans in Waterford acquired property on Second Street in 1866 to construct a building that could be used as both a church and a school. With assistance from local Quakers and from the Freedmen's Bureau, the school was quite successful and in the early 1870s, became part of the county's new public school system. The school operated until 1957; students were bussed to Leesburg after the Second Street School closed. This building also served as a church, and African Methodist services were held here until 1891, when the John Wesley Church was built elsewhere in Waterford. A Baptist church may also have used the building at one point. The Waterford Foundation acquired the building in 1977 and operates a living history program focusing on recreating a typical school day in 1880.¹²³

¹²¹ "History of Laurel Grove School," <http://www.laurelgroveschool.org/about/history.html>; "Black History in #Fxva: The Story of Laurel Grove School," <https://www.fxva.com/blog/post/laurelgrove/>.

¹²² National Register Reference Number 74002135 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/053-0305_Goose_Creek_Meeting_House_Complex_1974_Final_Nomination.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, "053-0305 Goose Creek Meetinghouse Complex," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/053-0305/>.

¹²³ "Waterford's Second Street School," *The History of Waterford Virginia* website, <https://www.waterfordhistory.org/history/second-street-school/>; Deborah A. Lee, *Honoring Their Paths: African American Contributions Along the Journey Through Hallowed Ground* (Waterford, VA: The Journey Through Hallowed Ground Partnership, 2009), pp.134-135.

Grace Methodist Episcopal Church

Brooks Lane, Lincoln, VA

Services were first held at the African American schoolhouse in Lincoln starting in 1872; the stone church was built in 1885. The Quaker community in Lincoln sponsored vocational classes in cooking, shoe repair, and sewing in the basement of the church. The congregation moved to Purcellville in 1942, and only special events were held in the Lincoln Church, and these stopped altogether when the new Grace Annex Church opened in Purcellville in 1951.¹²⁴ The original structure is now owned by a preservation organization called Friends of Grace.¹²⁵

John Wesley Methodist Church

Bond Street and Main Street, Waterford, VA, 1891

The land for the church was purchased by African Americans in 1888, and the church was constructed in 1891. Before this, services had been held in the building on Second Street that also housed a school for African American children. As African Americans (and whites) drifted away from Waterford in the mid-20th century, church membership dwindled, and the last services were held in the 1960s. Former members of the congregation and their children formed a partnership with the Waterford Foundation to save the building in 1999, and a preservation easement was placed on the church by the Waterford Foundation in 2000.¹²⁶

Robinson's Barber Shop

4 Loudoun Street SW, Leesburg, VA

In 1888 African American Thomas Robinson moved his barber shop business from Baltimore to Leesburg and set up near the Loudoun County Courthouse. His son, Verdie, took over the business and in 1962, moved the business to its current location. The Robinsons maintained the segregation of the day, catering

¹²⁴ Kathryn Gettings Smith, Edna Johnson, and Megan Glynn, History Matters, LLC, "Loudoun County African American Historic Architectural Resources Survey," (2004), pp.42-43.

¹²⁵ "Grace Heritage Site," <https://www.lincolnpreservation.org/grace-church-cqk7>.

¹²⁶ "Faith and Family - Waterford's African-American Experience," *The History of Waterford Virginia* website, <https://www.waterfordhistory.org/history/waterford-afr-amer-faith/>; Deborah A. Lee, *Honoring Their Paths: African American Contributions Along the Journey Through Hallowed Ground* (Waterford, VA: The Journey Through Hallowed Ground Partnership, 2009), pp.134-135.

only to white customers, but after his death, two of his employees purchased the shop and immediately integrated it.¹²⁷

James Lewis House

15525 Butcher's Row, Waterford, VA

James Lewis was enslaved in Waterford when he escaped during the Civil War and eventually joined the 55th Massachusetts Infantry. After the war, Lewis returned to Waterford and in 1877, purchased this house. He became a stonemason, and two examples of his work are the stone wall around his home and the stonework for the nearby John Wesley Methodist Church, of which Lewis was a member.¹²⁸

Prince William County

Barnes House

5049 Waterway Drive, Dumfries, VA (original location was 14823 Dumfries Road, Dumfries, VA)

Moses and Nancy Copen lived in this house before the Civil War, and their enslaved workforce included Jane Barnes and her three children. One of those children, Eppa, returned to the area in 1875 and married Amanda Lambert. In 1899, Eppa and Amanda purchased the Copen Farm where Eppa had been enslaved as a child. The Barnes eventually amassed over 300 acres of farmland and raised 12 children. The house dates to 1797 and was originally located at 14823 Dumfries Road, Dumfries, VA. When a road-widening project threatened the structure, it was moved and reconstructed next to the Montclair Community Library.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ "Black-Owned Businesses in Leesburg: A Brief History," Loudoun Museum Blog (June 12, 2020), <https://www.loudounmuseum.org/post/black-owned-businesses-in-leesburg-a-brief-history>; "Robinson's Barber Shop," <https://www.leesburgva.gov/Home/Components/News/News/8159/5957?platform=hootsuite&np age=20&arch=1>.

¹²⁸ "Loudoun's Historic Civil Rights Landscape," <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/560b12b7e4b0b03fb6fb1623/t/590cc80537c5813774b95cfb/1494009896391/Loudoun+Civil+Rights+Tour--What+Should+We+Show+Our+Children--XEROXABLE.pdf>; Bronwen Souders and John Souders, "Segregation, Struggle, and Success - Waterford's African-American Experience," <https://www.waterfordhistory.org/history/waterford-afr-amer-segr/>; Waterford Foundation, *Walk With Us* (Third Edition, 2015), p.8.

¹²⁹ "Barnes House," <https://www.pwcva.gov/departments/historic-preservation/barnes-house>; see also "Barnes House," <https://www.dendrochronology.com/BHDVx1.html>; and "Historic Barnes House Opens to the Public May 18," Prince William Times (May 15, 2019), https://www.princewilliamtimes.com/news/historic-barnes-house-opens-to-public-may-18/article_9591ac32-7724-11e9-948b-a31adc0d5039.html.

Brown School (Manassas Village Colored School)

9508 Liberty Street, Manassas, VA

Built in 1870 as the “Manassas Village Colored School,” it was later renamed the Brown School after Quaker benefactors. The school was originally located at the corner of Liberty and Prince William Streets, but was soon moved to its current location. This is now a private residence. A new school building (no longer standing) was constructed west of Grant Ave. in 1926 using Rosenwald funds and used until 1954.¹³⁰

Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth Site (now Jennie Dean Memorial Site)

9601 Wellington Road, Manassas, VA

National Register of Historic Places

The Manassas Industrial School was founded in 1893 by Jennie Dean, who was born enslaved in Prince William County c.1850. It was a privately funded residential institution that provided academic and vocational training, and was supported by several notable people, such as Frederick Douglass and Clara Barton. It operated from 1894 to 1938, when it was taken over by the public school system. It was a regional black high school until the 1960s, soon after which the buildings were demolished. It currently is an archeological park and memorial to Jennie Dean.¹³¹

¹³⁰ “A Self-Guided Field Trip Tour for Black History Month in Manassas City,” Manassas Museum and Manassas Public Library (<https://www.manassasva.gov/museum/Education/BHM%20self-guided%20field%20trip.pdf>).

¹³¹ National Register Reference Number 94000760

(https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/155-0010_Nomination_REDACTED.pdf), Virginia Landmarks Register, “155-0010 Manassas Industrial School For Colored Youth (Jennie Dean Memorial Site),” <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/155-0010/>; “A Self-Guided Field Trip Tour for Black History Month in Manassas City,” Manassas Museum and Manassas Public Library (<https://www.manassasva.gov/museum/Education/BHM%20self-guided%20field%20trip.pdf>).

Maryland

Frederick County

Former First Missionary Baptist Church

141 W. All Saints Street, Frederick
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

This church was built on West All Saints Street in Frederick in 1773 for a white Baptist congregation. At some point African Americans (enslaved according to the history of the church on the church's website) also attended services. By 1861, two separate church services were held, one for whites and one for the enslaved. Most likely free African Americans also attended. In 1869, the white members built another church. A white minister, Rev. Joseph H. Jones, continued to lead the church on W. All Saints St. until 1875, when the first Black minister, Rev. J. Warren Roan, took the pulpit. The First Colored Baptist Church was officially organized on June 13, 1875 and in 1883 the former white members of the Baptist Church "deeded" the church to First Colored Baptist. In the 20th century, the name "Colored" was dropped from the name of the church and later, "Missionary" was added. The church was renovated and enlarged in the 1950s (the original walls were supposedly retained), and again in the 1970s and in 1990. First Missionary Baptist moved to a new church in 2001.¹³²

Ceres Bethel AME Church

6014 Gapland Road, Burkittsville, MD
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties
National Register of Historic Places

According to its National Register nomination, "Ceres Bethel AME Church, a frame building on stone foundation constructed in 1870, was the mountainside spiritual refuge for African Americans in the Burkittsville area of Frederick County, Maryland for more than 100 years. The property was conveyed to church trustees in 1858 and was probably improved with a small log church building initially. Following the construction of the new church in 1870, the old building was apparently converted to use as a school building by 1873. The school building, identified on the 1873 Atlas map, is no longer extant. The still-active cemetery has burials identified as early as 1871. In 1984, the doors closed

¹³²¹³² "Our History," First Missionary Baptist Church website, <https://fmbaptistchurch.org/our-history/>; "African American Heritage Sites in the City of Frederick and Frederick County, Maryland" (2001), http://www.frederickhsc.org/pdf/hsc_aahsbro.pdf; Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "First Missionary Baptist Church," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=FHD-382>.

on the church. It has since sat all but abandoned, subject to vandalism from fans of the movie "The Blair Witch Project.""¹³³

Hope Hill Colored School

Fingerboard Road and Hopeland Road SW Corner, Urbana, MD
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

Hope Hill School is a two-room schoolhouse built c.1890. This school probably replaced another school for African Americans that was nearby and shown on an 1873 map.¹³⁴

Mountville Colored School / Sunnyside Methodist Episcopal Church

4521 Mountville Road, Frederick, Maryland
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

These two buildings stand adjacent to one another on Mountville Road. A group of African American families purchased land for a church and a school here in 1887. The school was constructed in 1888. They had to raise more funds for the church, and it was not completed until 1899. The church members may have also used the school as a church until the latter could be constructed.¹³⁵

Washington County

Tolson's Chapel

111 E. High Street, Sharpsburg, MD
National Historic Landmark

Tolson's Chapel was built in 1866 and served as the newly freed African Americans' place of worship in Sharpsburg. The members of the church also supported a school for Black children, assisted by the Freedmen's Bureau. After the Freedmen's Bureau was shut down in 1870, the chapel continued its use as both a church and a school until 1899, when the Washington County School

¹³³ National Register, "Ceres Bethel AME Church," <https://mht.maryland.gov/nr/NRDetail.aspx?FROM=NRDBList.aspx&NRID=1708&COUNTY=&SEARCHTYPE=propertySearch&PROPNAME=ceres&STREETNAME=&CITYNAME=&KEYWORD=>; Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Ceres Bethel A.M.E. Church." <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Frederick/F-2-55.pdf>

¹³⁴ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Hope Hill Colored School," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=F-7-37>.

¹³⁵ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Mountville Colored School," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=F-2-44>; and "Sunnyside Methodist Episcopal Church," <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Frederick/F-2-43.pdf>.

Board built a new school for African American children. Tolson's Chapel continued as a Methodist Episcopal church until the 1990s, when the last remaining member passed away.¹³⁶

Asbury United Methodist Church

155 North Jonathan Street, Hagerstown, MD

The Asbury congregation was founded in 1818 and is the oldest African American congregation in Hagerstown. The current structure was built in 1879, replacing an earlier building that had been damaged in a fire in 1864.¹³⁷

West Virginia

Jefferson County

Old School in Shepherdstown

104 Brown's Lane, Shepherdstown, WV

The oldest known school for Black children in Shepherdstown was built in 1866 and used until 1883. The structure was constructed with bricks from the armory in Harpers Ferry.¹³⁸

Second Black School of Charles Town

Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd, Charles Town, WV

Purchased by the Charles Town District Board of Education in 1867, the school was built between 1867 and 1874. The school operated until 1894, when a new school for African Americans was built on Eagle Avenue.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ National Register nomination, "Tolson's Chapel,"

<https://mht.maryland.gov/nr/NRDetail.aspx?FROM=NRDBList.aspx&NRID=1544&COUNTY=&SEARCHTYPE=propertySearch&PROPNAME=tolson%27s&STREETNAME=&CITYNAME=&KEYWORD=>; Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Tolson's Chapel and School,"

<https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=WA-II-702>.

¹³⁷ "African American Heritage Guide," <http://www.visithagerstown.com/files/African-American-Brochure-rev.pdf>; Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Asbury United Methodist Church," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=WA-HAG-231>.

¹³⁸ "Jefferson County, West Virginia, African American Heritage Trail," http://www.jcblackhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/JCBHT_2013_WebVersion.pdf.

¹³⁹ "Jefferson County, West Virginia, African American Heritage Trail," http://www.jcblackhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/JCBHT_2013_WebVersion.pdf.

Fisherman's Hall

S. West and Academy Streets, Charles Town, WV

Fisherman's Hall was built in 1885 by the Charles Town Industrial Association, an African American organization. The building was used for community events and development. It has served as a lodge for various fraternal organizations, such as the Grand Order of the Galilean Fisherman, as a church, as a community center, and as a tavern. It is currently owned by the African American Community Association of Jefferson County.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ West Virginia Division of Tourism, *West Virginia's African-American Heritage Trail*, nd.; "Jefferson County, West Virginia, African American Heritage Trail," http://www.jcblackhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/JCBHT_2013_WebVersion.pdf.

PART 3. FROM EQUAL RIGHTS TO CIVIL RIGHTS, 1900-1941

“They ask for no favors because they are Negroes, but only for justice because they are men.”¹⁴¹

By 1900, Washington, DC had the largest percentage of African Americans of any city in the nation. Some were drawn by opportunities for federal jobs and others came for the myriad educational institutions such as the M Street High School and Howard University. Although few “Jim Crow” laws were officially enacted, segregation and racism were rampant. “Segregation did not occur uniformly throughout the United States, and the form and content of this practice changed over time.”¹⁴² At the beginning of the twentieth century, “what is now called second-class citizenship for [African Americans] was accepted by Presidents, the Supreme Court, Congress, organized labor and by the vast majority of Americans.”¹⁴³ African Americans refused to acquiesce to the oppression and continued their push for equal rights, now under the rubric of civil rights. Black intellectuals including Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter organized the Niagara Movement, which was an outgrowth of the anti-slavery and early civil rights movements, now demanding the abolition of racial discrimination. On February 12, 1909 -- the centennial of the birth of Lincoln - a national appeal led to the establishment of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

That same year, Carter G. Woodson, one of the giants of the twentieth century, moved to Washington, DC, where he would have a deep and lasting impact on the nation. Woodson researched his dissertation at the Library of Congress and went on to earn his doctorate at Harvard. Woodson, in his “bold campaign of public education,” followed in the footsteps of countless other African Americans for whom education had been paramount.¹⁴⁴ Woodson tirelessly shared his expertise, believing during this Progressive Era that “education was a catalyst for social action and an agent of social change.”¹⁴⁵ He taught the eighth grade at Thaddeus Stevens School, transferred to Armstrong Manual Training School, a vocational and technical high school, and in 1911, moved on to M Street High School, an elite black academic institution.

¹⁴¹ Inscription in a bowl presented by a committee of Black leaders to outgoing Senator Foraker in 1909, quoted in Taylor, 308. Foraker had introduced a bill to reinstate the soldiers fired over the Brownsville incident.

¹⁴² Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations, National Park Service https://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/themes/civilrights_desegpublicaccom.pdf

¹⁴³ Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson*, (London: Collier-MacMillan, Ltd.: 1954, 1965), 9.

¹⁴⁴ Charlynn Spencer Pyne, *The Burgeoning 'Cause,' 1920-1930: An Essay on Carter G. Woodson*. Library of Congress Information Bulletin, February 7, 1994, <https://www.loc.gov/loc/lcib/94/9403/woodson.html>

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

The National Urban League, organized to help African Americans secure equal employment, with Blacks and whites in the newly formed NAACP and other organizations, led the onslaught against discrimination and segregation in the United States. The Washington, DC branch of the NAACP formed in 1913 and became the largest chapter. Gathering thousands of Blacks outside Washington, DC's Metropolitan AME Church to protest widening segregation was among the organization's first acts. Continuing the century's long fight, the NAACP also pursued voting rights and worked to dismantle various forms of segregation using the courts to restore and ensure the legal rights of Black Americans. That same Jubilee Year—the 50th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation—the federal government again retreated from its commitment to America's founding principles. On April 11, the Wilson administration made a mockery of the civil rights laws by instituting government-wide federal segregation of workplaces, restrooms and lunchrooms.

Existing laws in the District mandated segregation in public schools and recreation facilities, though not in street cars and public libraries. “The physical separation of the races in public accommodations was a resented and demeaning practice for those denied equal access.”¹⁴⁶ Segregation in theaters, restaurants, and hotels was a constant hazard of everyday life and an insulting experience for Blacks to endure. It resulted in direct confrontations between racial minorities claiming the right to pay for goods and services in the marketplace, and white business owners who claimed the right to serve whom they chose.

Strengthening forces were simultaneously at work. As had been the case after the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War as well as the two World Wars, the African American soldier returned home from World War I with a renewed sense of self and his rights which were used to lead the way toward equal treatment under the law. As the Library of Congress notes, “World War I galvanized the black community in their effort to make America truly democratic by ensuring full citizenship for all its people. Black soldiers, who continued to serve in segregated units, were involved in protest against racial injustice on the home front and abroad.”¹⁴⁷ Numerous NAACP files labeled “Soldier Troubles” document the efforts made to prevent mistreatment of African Americans in the military.

The “New Negro” emerged on the political, intellectual, cultural and social landscape during this era. The seeds of the Harlem Renaissance cultural and literary movement, originally called the New Negro Movement, were planted in one respect through

¹⁴⁶ Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations, National Park Service https://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/themes/civilrights_desegpublicaccom.pdf

¹⁴⁷ “World War I and Post War Society,” African American Odyssey, Library of Congress. <https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/aohtml/exhibit/aopart7.html>

incidents of interracial tension and rioting that tore across Washington, DC, and several other major cities in the United States throughout a 5-month period, primarily during the summer of 1919. The period has come to be known as Red Summer. In the District, a mob of white WWI veterans armed with clubs, lead pipes, and pieces of lumber, headed toward Southwest DC to a predominantly Black neighborhood near 9th and D Streets, SW and brutally beat all African Americans they encountered. Fierce beatings continued in the streets of Washington, at the Center Market on Seventh Street NW, and in front of the White House. Blacks became the target of police action rather than the object of their protection, forcing the community to gather together to resist future mob attacks. Four days of brutal street fighting resulted in 39 deaths and over 150 injuries, including the fatal shootings of two DC policemen. President Woodrow Wilson eventually ordered nearly two thousand soldiers from nearby military bases into Washington to suppress the unrest.¹⁴⁸ The wider events of 1919 helped contribute to the growth of civil rights activism as a nationwide phenomenon, that eventually helped lead to the landmark legislation of the 1960s.

Black servicemen who hoped that their defense of the United States overseas would yield new respect in their own country were incensed by the attitude of the white mobs. Instead, heightened Ku Klux Klan activities in the District of Columbia resulted that year in widespread lynchings, including those of seven Black war veterans who were hung in their uniforms.¹⁴⁹ Black response to white mobs during the Red Summer riots in Washington DC set a renewed tone for organized action and a racial pride rarely seen in the past.¹⁵⁰

But the American racial pendulum continued to swing. In 1925, “in one of the greatest demonstrations this city has ever known,” 25,000 to 30,000 members of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) marched down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, DC.¹⁵¹ The organized event brought members in full regalia to the city. By the 1930s and 40s the Federal Housing Administration which supported all levels of government introduced the practice of “red-lining,” the use of color-coded maps to disqualify many African Americans from acquiring housing loans, a practice which would continue for decades. In 1933, President Franklin Roosevelt began to end segregation in the federal government.

¹⁴⁸ Peter Perl, “Race Riot of 1919 Gave Glimpse of Future Struggles.” *Washington Post*, March 1, 1999. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/local/2000/raceriot0301.htm>

¹⁴⁹ Mark S. Warner, *Eating in the Side Room*, (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2015) 25

¹⁵⁰ http://www.literarytraveler.com/articles/langston_hughes_washington_dc/ ; <https://www.afro.com/28-maryland-lynchings-documented-new-report/>.

¹⁵¹ “White-Robed Clan Cheered on March in Nation’s Capital.” *Washington Post*, August 9, 1925

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

During this period, Washington experienced further growth in its African American population due to a second great migration spurred by the economic changes brought on by World War I and the industrialization of the North. While most African Americans moved further north than Washington, the District saw its fair share of migrants. The reaction of whites was to hold tighter to segregation and Jim Crow, but the reaction of many local African Americans was to embrace cultural pride and to push harder for the enforcement of their civil rights. Black arts and academia flourished, as did the protest movements. Though Washington was the scene of national protests, numerous demonstrations against local discrimination took place. The largest branch of the NAACP, a sizable chapter of the United Negro Improvement Association, the headquarters of the National Council of Negro Women, as well as the National Pan-Hellenic Council and the Sleeping Car Porters (among other groups) were located in Washington for the specific purpose of fighting for civil rights.

Concurrently, the saying “Before there was Harlem, there was U Street,” grew out of the cultural explosion brought on by the new mix of people, educational institutions, and the absolute need to turn away from seeking approval of white people and to create a world celebrating and embracing Blackness. Howard University, the epicenter of most of the artistic and scholarly activity in Washington, DC, birthed the Barnett Aden Gallery, the first Black and privately owned art gallery in the United States. Numerous salons took place presided over by such cultural and academic luminaries as Alain Locke, Georgia Douglas Johnson, and Sterling Brown. Entertainment flourished and attracted white patrons as well. A class of professionals such as doctors, lawyers, and architects was able to establish practices that were self-supporting, while actively engaging in civil and political rights.

MARYLAND

The political activism of African Americans, particularly in Baltimore, continued apace and influenced others in the counties of the National Capital Area. One of the main targets was the elimination of the loathsome “Black Laws” instituted by the state during the Reconstruction period. Another was the passage of anti-lynching laws to free African Americans from positions of political non-existence and social and economic subordination through terrorism. Between 1854 and 1933, at least 40 known lynchings of Blacks in Maryland took place, including several in National Capital Area counties.¹⁵² Additionally, the Maryland legislature in the first decade of the 20th century attempted to curb the standing of the Black Republican vote. Termed the “white supremacy platform,” amendments to the state constitution proposed, for example, that a

¹⁵² Zenitha Prince, “Bowie State Univ. Study Examines Lynchings in Md,” *Afro News*, December 12, 2016, <https://www.afro.com/bowie-state-univ-study-examines-lynchings-md/>

registering voter prove literacy by reading part of the Constitution and explaining it satisfactorily to the registration officials.¹⁵³

The *Afro-American* newspaper founded in the 1890s acquired another local newspaper, the *Ledger*, in 1900 and “began a crusade for the attainment of equality and advancement of Black people” exposing lynchings, and agitating for better schools, more Black teachers, and the development of Black businesses.¹⁵⁴ The latter was especially pushed as in the words of Booker T. Washington, the now putative leader of the Black world, “At the bottom of education, at the bottom of politics, even at the bottom of religion itself, there must be for our race, economic independence.”¹⁵⁵ The National Negro Business League had been formed in Boston in 1900 by Washington, providing an imprimatur for Black leadership in the Maryland counties of the National Capital Region: accumulation of wealth would lead to acceptance by white society. Unfortunately, the rural communities of Maryland had little to build upon, and the cordoning off of Black communities like Lyttonsville in Montgomery County made it difficult for the development of viable businesses wholly supported by the residents. Racial covenants and redlining limited Black access to already established as well as to new subdivisions. In Chevy Chase, for example, covenants started appearing in the 1920s and 1930s.

Progress in the attainment of civil rights was realized in 1913 when a Frederick County judge ruled that Maryland’s “grandfather clause” was unconstitutional. Maryland’s constitution had exempted white voters from poll tests and taxes as long as they could prove their grandfathers were registered to vote before 1869 and owned at least \$500 worth of property. The favorable ruling allowed at least 30 African Americans to register and vote without the testing.¹⁵⁶

The same constitution did not allow public funds for schools for African Americans or equal pay for Black teachers. After a successful lawsuit by Thurgood Marshall, pay became more equalized in the Maryland counties simply as a result of Marshall’s threats to sue.

VIRGINIA

The NCA counties of Virginia were similarly influenced by the activities of the elected state bodies located in Richmond, anxious to regain the power they once had over the Commonwealth and in particular over African Americans.

¹⁵³ A Guide to the Old Line State. American Guide Series, Oxford University Press, NY 1940, 46-47.

¹⁵⁴ McConnell. 427

¹⁵⁵ <http://unhyphenatedamerica.org/2014/09/16/quotes-conservative-minds-booker-t-washington/>

¹⁵⁶ “Court Holds Grandfather’s Clause in City’s Election Law is Void,” *The Daily News* (Frederick, MD), May 16, 1913.

Following the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, Virginia lawmakers sought to “conform” with the “separate but equal” mandate and rewrote the state constitution. In 1902, its constitution introduced poll taxes and literacy tests. Though Virginia’s public schools were always segregated, the new state constitution made separation mandatory. In 1904, the General Assembly gave streetcar companies the power to segregate passengers by race. Two years later, in spite of protests and boycotts organized by African Americans in almost every major city in the state, the assembly enacted legislation that required racial segregation on streetcars.

WEST VIRGINIA

In many ways, this border state had the veneer of fostering civil rights for African Americans. Jefferson County was home to its first institution of higher learning, Storer College, established at the end of the Civil War. When the Morrill Act was enacted, Black public colleges were established in other parts of the state to provide residents access to higher education. After the lynching of two Black men in 1921, the West Virginia legislature enacted anti-lynching legislation.

EXAMPLES OF EVENTS, 1900-1941

- 1900 According to the 1900 Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC, had the largest Black population in the United States.
- 1901 George H. White, the lone Black US congressman, gave up his seat on March 3. It would be 28 years before another African American would serve in Congress.
- 1902 Fannie Barrier Williams, who taught in Washington, DC, at one point in her career, situated black women at the center of the philosophy of self-respect that defined the New Negro. She saw the black women's clubs of her day as representing "the New Negro with new powers of self-help." Two years later, in a *Voice of the Negro* essay titled "A Study of the Features of the New Negro Woman," John H. Adams, Jr. agreed with Williams when he affirmed the central role of African American woman in the New Negro movement.¹⁵⁷

Between 1902 and 1948, Silver Spring, MD enacted more than 50 racially restrictive covenants prohibiting the owning or renting of "the whole or any part of any dwelling or structure thereon, to any person of African descent."

- 1906 The second gathering of the Niagara Movement, but its first public meeting on American soil, took place in August in Harpers Ferry at Storer College. The organization militantly advocated full civil and political rights for African Americans. Over fifty delegates plus new women members drew strength from a pilgrimage to nearby John Brown's Fort before they went on to craft a plan of action. Unfortunately, the College's board of directors withdrew support from the white president and replaced him with a more conservative leader, effectively ending Storer's role in fostering a place for Black gatherings.
- 1909 Loudoun County Emancipation Association incorporated to celebrate the 22nd of September as Emancipation Day, to create a bond among Black people, and to work for the "betterment of the race, educationally, morally, and materially." The following year the Association purchased ten acres outside of Purcellville which it called Emancipation Grounds.¹⁵⁸

Carter G. Woodson began his long and substantial impact on Washington, DC.

¹⁵⁷ Henry Louis Gates, Jr. "The New Negro and the Black Image: From Booker T. Washington to Alain Locke." National Humanities Center, TeacherServe. "Freedom's Song"
<http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/freedom/1917beyond/essays/newnegro.htm>

¹⁵⁸ The Black History Committee of the Friends of the Thomas Balch Library, ed., *The Essence of a People: Portraits of African Americans Who Made a Difference in Loudoun County, Virginia*, Leesburg, 2001, 4.

He moved to the city to work on his dissertation at the Library of Congress and teach in the District of Columbia public schools.

- 1910 The oldest HBCU in Maryland and one of the ten oldest in the nation, Baltimore Normal School (1865), moved from Baltimore to Prince George's County. In 1914, it was renamed Maryland Normal and Industrial School at Bowie, and ultimately Bowie State University.

Washington, DC had the largest concentration of African American residents of any city in the United States.

- 1912 President Woodrow Wilson fired hundreds of black workers in the federal government following his election as President in 1912.
- 1913 President Woodrow Wilson approved orders to segregate black employees in governmental offices, shops, restrooms, and lunchrooms, beginning with the Post Office and Treasury Department. By the end of Wilson's first term, most of the federal bureaus were segregated. The NAACP protested Wilson's actions, calling the segregation policy "a lamentable betrayal of democratic principles by a democratic administration."¹⁵⁹

Neval Thomas was one of the twelve original founders of the Washington, DC, Branch of the NAACP. He served as an early president and led the chapter to become the largest in the country. The national organization grew out of the Niagara Movement and reactions to the appalling escalating violence and the deteriorating status of African Americans.

- 1915 The second Jefferson School was opened in the community of Arlington View. The first school was established in 1884 and grew quickly. In 1912 a group of activists pushed the school board to erect a 1st through 9th grade school for African Americans.¹⁶⁰
- 1919 July 19-23 saw the Red Summer of 1919 in Washington, DC. Post-World War I riots and violence occurred in several US cities, including Washington, DC, perpetuated by marauding white mobs who indiscriminately attacked African Americans.
- 1920 As a nine-year old, musician James Reese Europe came to Washington, DC with his family. As an adult he was instrumental in securing appropriate, contractual

¹⁵⁹ Marshall Hyatt, "Neval H. Thomas and Federal Segregation," *Negro History Bulletin* Vol. 42, No. 4 (October-November-December, 1979), pp. 96-97, 100-102; Arthur S. Link, *Wilson, Volume II: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), p. 250.

¹⁶⁰ Liebertz, 49

employment for African American musicians. Musical great Eubie Blake called James Reese Europe “our benefactor and inspiration. Even more, he was the Martin Luther King of music.”¹⁶¹

- 1921 Montgomery County private developer and politician Colonel Edward Brooke Lee attached racially restrictive covenants to all his suburban properties. The covenants prohibited African Americans from buying or renting homes in the subdivisions unless they were domestic servants. Lee had set up the first land-use and zoning system for Montgomery County, Maryland.
- 1922 On June 14, 1922, five thousand African Americans marched past both the Capitol and the White House in silent protest against lynching, holding placards denouncing the violent practice and urging a federal anti-lynching bill.
- 1925 Howard University professor Dr. Alain Locke gave literary voice to the New Negro Movement, proclaiming a new generation “vibrant with a new psychology; the new spirit is awake in the masses,” set free from “tyranny of social intimidation” and seeking “full initiation into American democracy.”¹⁶²
- 1928 Minnie Buckingham Harper (1886-1978) became the first African American woman to serve in a state legislature in the US. A native of Winfield, West Virginia, Harper was appointed by Governor Howard Gore to fill her husband’s unexpired House of Delegates term after his death. She was supported by a unanimous recommendation from the McDowell County Republican Executive Committee. Her role as a state delegate became symbolic of both the growing influence of women in American politics and African Americans in southern West Virginia politics during the 1920s.
- 1935 The County-Wide League, a union of all Negro Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs), was organized in Loudoun County to improve the quality of education.
- 1936 Cabin Camp 1, a summer camp, later renamed Camp Lichtman, opened for African American youth in Prince William Forest Park. White youth had a separate facility.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ “James Reese Europe, 1881-1919,” Library of Congress Biographies, <https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200038842/>

¹⁶² Alain Locke, “Enter the New Negro,” *Survey Graphic: Harlem the Mecca of the New Negro*, March, 1925. National Humanities Center Resource Toolbox, *The Making of African American Identity: Vol. III, 1917-1968*

<http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai3/migrations/text8/lockenewnegro.pdf>

¹⁶³ “Chopawamsic Summer Camps,” <https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/summer-camps.htm>.

Murray v. Pearson was filed in 1935. A court ordered integration of the University of Maryland Law School.

- 1937 In one of his earliest civil rights cases, future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall represented William Gibbs, principal of the Rockville Colored High School in Montgomery County, who was suing for equal pay for Black teachers. Ironically, it was the precedent set by *Plessy v. Ferguson* that led to Gibb's court victory and the equalization of pay for Black teachers in the county. The case also sent ripples of litigation throughout Maryland's African American academic communities.¹⁶⁴
- 1938 Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Incorporated, created the National Non-Partisan Lobby on Civil and Democratic Rights ("NPC"), later renamed the National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs. It was the first full-time congressional lobby for minority group civil rights. Throughout the organization's life, the NPC worked with a range of other organizations that sought similar ends. The NPC was dissolved in 1948.
- 1939 Samuel Tucker, an attorney in Alexandria and an early leader in the Civil Rights Movement, led four other men in an organized sit-in to protest the city's segregated library. He worked throughout his life to break segregation's grip, filing at least 150 civil rights cases before state and federal courts.
- Black attorney Huver Brown sued successfully to gain use of the DC Bar Association's legal library housed in the federal courthouse. In 1950, though, Black lawyers took issues a step further and filed lawsuits challenging the housing of the whites-only Association in a public courthouse.¹⁶⁵
- 1940 After several attempts to get Loudoun County School Board to build a high school for Black students, the African American community bought eight acres near Leesburg for \$4,000 and deeded the land to the Loudoun County School Board for \$1. On it, Douglass High School for Black pupils was built.

¹⁶⁴ Rawn James, Jr., *Root and Branch: Charles Hamilton Houston, Thurgood Marshall, and the Struggle to End Segregation*, Bloomsbury Press, New York, 2010, 101-02.

¹⁶⁵ Jim Johnston, "DC Legal History," <https://networks.h-net.org/node/28441/discussions/1288184/dc-legal-history>

EXAMPLE OF INDIVIDUALS, 1900-1941

Dr. Albert Johnson was one of the first licensed African American physicians in Alexandria and was the only physician to serve Alexandria's black community. He graduated medical school from Howard University and settled in Alexandria in 1894, and lived at this residence, which also served as his office, from 1896 until 1940.

Don Speed Smith Goodloe was the first principle of the Maryland Normal and Industrial School, Maryland's first post-secondary school for black students, which is now Bowie State University. He held this position from 1911 until 1921.

Samuel W. Tucker was born in 1913. In 1939, he and four others participated in a sit-in at the Alexandria Library protesting segregation and the lack of a library for African Americans. He graduated from Howard University and practiced law in Alexandria.

Dr. Roland Bruner was born 1902 in Maryland and attended Storer College. He continued his education at Howard University, where he received his medical degree. He worked at the Freedmen's Hospital in Arlington from 1932-1933. In 1934, Dr. Bruner and his wife moved to the Nauck neighborhood of Arlington, where he opened a private practice in his home. He was one of only two physicians serving the African American community in Arlington. He helped to establish Planned Parenthood in Arlington. He practiced medicine until his death in 1978.

Ulysses Grant Bourne was Frederick's first Black doctor on the staff of Frederick Memorial Hospital. He was also a co-founder of the Frederick branch of the NAACP.

J.R. Clifford, though not from Jefferson County, was prominent in the Civil Rights activity in Harpers Ferry. As editor of the longest running weekly newspaper of the time, he weighed in on civil rights abuses. He was openly critical of some of the discriminatory practices of Storer College. Clifford organized the second annual Niagara Movement meeting, and the first in the United States, pushing Storer, his alma mater, to host the gathering in 1906. As West Virginia's first known Black attorney, in 1898, he argued and won a groundbreaking civil rights case. West Virginia cut the school year for African American students to five months while that for white students remained at eight months. Carrie Williams worked the entire eight months on Clifford's advice and then sued for back pay. Clifford argued that Black schools should receive the same funding and have the same rights as white schools. The case went to the West Virginia Supreme Court and resulted in the first anti-discrimination ruling in the history of the United States as the court found in favor of Williams.

Daniel Alexander Payne Murray (1851-1925) was an assistant librarian at the Library of Congress for over 50 years (1871-1922), while collecting over 1500 works by African Americans and agitating for civil rights. Considered a founder of the "Black History" movement, Murray worked for decades assembling an encyclopedia of African

American history. As the first Black member of DC's Board of Trade, he spoke against Jim Crow laws and wrote several articles and essays railing against discrimination. A portion of his collection of works by Black authors was willed to the Library of Congress.

Carter G. Woodson (1875-1950) had an influence that spans generations. Considered the "Father of Black History," Woodson taught at the Armstrong and Dunbar/M Street high schools in the District from 1909 to 1919. He also served as Dean of Arts and Sciences, professor of history, and head of the graduate program in history at Howard University from 1919-1920. In 1922, he founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, now the Association for the Study of African American Life and History, which is a century old. This was to be his life's work. Woodson established Negro History Week, which went on to become Black History Month, and started the trend of designating different months for historical themes.

Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862-1931), an outspoken journalist, newspaper publisher, and anti-lynching activist, helped found the National Association of Colored Women (NACW, 1896) and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP, 1909).¹⁶⁶ An outstanding orator who traveled broadly preaching against lynching and other forms of domestic terrorism, she was labeled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as dangerous.

Mary McLeod Bethune served as the national president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACWC) from 1924 to 1928, leading the Association to become a significant voice in national affairs, where it remains today. In 1916, NACWC paid the mortgage on the **Frederick Douglass Home** and in 1924 built Douglass Home Caretaker Cottage in Anacostia. In 1928, the Association purchased a building at 1114 0 St., NW, Washington, DC, for its national headquarters. In 1954, it purchased the current National Headquarters building at 1601 R Street, NW (which was renovated in 2000). In 1970, NACWC purchased a National Headquarters building at 5808 16th St., NW. Formed in a new era in African American womanhood, the Association has been a vehicle for action through organized effort. Present-day membership includes women and youth in 32 states.

The National Council of Negro Women was founded in New York City in 1935 by educator and government consultant Mary McLeod Bethune. In the early years a small volunteer staff operated out of Bethune's living room in Washington. The former headquarters, where Bethune also lived at one time, has been designated as a National Historic Site. The **Mary McLeod Bethune Council House National Historic Site**

¹⁶⁶ NACW incorporated in 1904 and became known as the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACWC).

preserves the house located at 1318 Vermont Avenue NW. Bethune made her home in the townhouse from 1943 to 1955.

Marion Anderson, denied the right to perform at Constitution Hall in Washington, DC, sang before the nation from the steps of the **Lincoln Memorial** on Easter Sunday, April 9, 1939. This began a decades-long history of the steps of the Lincoln Memorial as a site of civil rights activism and national healing.

Neval Thomas (1874-1930), a civil rights activist and high school teacher and administrator, served as president of the Washington, D.C. branch of the NAACP from 1925 to 1930. Thomas was noted for the leadership role he took in helping to quell the tensions of the civil unrest in Washington in 1919, for his dogged pursuit of equality in the public school system, and for increased hiring of African American police and firefighters.

Henry L. (1855-1905) and **Emma B. Holmes** (-1924) were active in the Arlington Community and in particular Republican politics. He was elected Commissioner of Revenue in 1875 but was disqualified. He met the requirements the following year and served in the position for the next 27 years.

Dr. Charles Drew (1904-1950), famed physician and developer of the revolutionary method for separating and storing blood, was critical of the military's practice of keeping troops and blood segregated. Although principally remembered for his scientific achievements, he took a stand for equality and fair treatment through his work. "It is fundamentally wrong for any great nation to willfully discriminate against such a large group of its people. . . One can say quite truthfully that on the battlefields nobody is very interested in where the plasma comes from when they are hurt. . . It is unfortunate that such a worthwhile and scientific bit of work should have been hampered by such stupidity."¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ Arlington Public Library, "Dr. Charles Drew: Taking a Stand," <https://library.arlingtonva.us/2021/04/08/dr-charles-drew-taking-a-stand/>

EXAMPLES OF PLACES, 1900-1941

National Park Service, National Capital Area

Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site

1538 9th St. NW, Washington, DC

National Park

National Historic Landmark

Carter G. Woodson was an educator, historian, writer, and publisher who spent a lifetime discovering and promoting the contributions of African American life to the history and culture of the United States. Woodson was appalled at the lack of knowledge about African American history, and his many initiatives did much to help increase the public recognition of that history. His parents had been enslaved, and his early education was rudimentary, but he eventually attended college and then became the second African American to earn a Ph.D. (in History) from Harvard (the other was W.E.B. DuBois). He moved to this house in 1922. He had previously started the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915, the *Journal of Negro History* in 1916, and the Associated Publishers in 1921, and he moved the operation of these to his new home. Woodson also taught at M Street and Armstrong High Schools in Washington, DC, and at Howard University, where he served as Dean of the School of Liberal Arts, and Head of the Graduate Faculty. To draw more public attention to African American history, Woodson started Negro History Week (now Black History Month) in 1926, and the Negro History Bulletin in 1937. Woodson died in this house in 1950.¹⁶⁸

Frederick Douglass National Historic Site (Cedar Hill)

1411 W Street SE, Washington, DC

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

¹⁶⁸See the Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site website:

<https://www.nps.gov/cawo/index.htm>. See also African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (2003), p.20

(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>); “20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC,” #21, “Carter G. Woodson, Father of Black History,” <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>; DC Inventory of Historic Sites, “Carter G. Woodson House,” p.179

(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>); and National Register nomination, “Carter G. Woodson House,” <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=1854dd89-1075-4fbc-a6f2-dfed8e7080de>.

This was the home of Frederick Douglass from 1877 until his death in 1895. After his death, Douglass's second wife Helen Pitts Douglass established the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association to preserve the home. The Association raised funds for the preservation of the home and provided tours of the property but struggled financially. In 1916, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) agreed to help pay off the remaining mortgage on the house, which they did by 1918. More money was spent by the NACW to help restore the house, and a ceremony was held in 1922 to celebrate the first restoration phase. Other organizations and individuals through the years assisted in the preservation effort, but by the 1950s, financial difficulties eventually led to the home becoming part of the National Park Service in 1962. The persistent efforts of Helen Pitts Douglass, the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association, the National Association of Colored Women, and others, saved Cedar Hill so that this monument to Frederick Douglass could survive.¹⁶⁹

Prince William Forest Park

18170 Park Entrance Road, Triangle, VA
National Park
National Register of Historic Places

The Chopawamsic Recreation Demonstration Area (RDA), a program of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, was created in 1933 in the area of the Prince William County African American communities of Batestown and Hickory Ridge. "Progressive" economists believed that rural farmers would be better off moving from "marginal" agricultural land, and that this marginal land could be better used to provide recreational opportunities for nearby urban populations. This meant the removal of many of the residents of the two communities. Some were happy to sell their land, but others resisted, and condemnation proceedings were started to force them off their land. This proceeded relatively slowly in the late 1930s, but after the start of World War II, the military wanted to use the camps that had been built in the RDA for training espionage agents (although this use of the property was a secret to the general public). Removal of residents who had resisted leaving their land was hastened, and ultimately, a total of 127 properties were either purchased or condemned. After the war, the military vacated the area, and in 1948, the Chopawamsic Recreation Demonstration Area was renamed Prince William Forest Park. Batestown still survives as a community.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ "Preserving the Home of an American Icon,"

<https://www.nps.gov/frdo/learn/historyculture/preserving-the-home-of-an-american-icon.htm>;
"The Saviors of Cedar Hill," <https://www.nps.gov/frdo/learn/historyculture/the-saviors-of-cedar-hill.htm>; National Register nomination, "Frederick Douglass Memorial Home," <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=239ac44c-eedd-478a-8eda-7bf516e0c622>

¹⁷⁰ "Hickory Ridge, Joplin & Batestown," <https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/hickory-ridge-joplin-and-batestown.htm>

"Resettlement," <https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/resettlement.htm>; National Register Reference Number 12000179 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/076-

During the era of the Chopawamsic Recreation Demonstration Area, cabin camps were built to accommodate groups of urban youth. The National Park Service exercised control over the RDAs, and this led to a problem over segregation. Although the NPS's official policy was not to allow segregation of its facilities, at times local preferences overrode that policy. In the Chopawamsic RDA, two of the five cabin camps were used by African American groups and three were used by white groups.¹⁷¹

Harpers Ferry National Historical Park

Storer College (now NPS Harpers Ferry Center): 67 Mather Place, Harpers Ferry, WV
National Park
National Register of Historic Places

In 1906, Storer College hosted what W.E.B. Du Bois called "...one of the greatest meetings that American Negroes ever held." This was the second meeting (and the first public meeting) of the Niagara Movement. The early years of the 20th century have been considered a nadir for African American civil rights. The infamous *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling of 1896 made segregation and second-class status for African Americans official government and society policy, and Jim Crow laws circumscribed life for African Americans at every turn. In the face of some African Americans adopting a conciliatory accommodationist approach to this assault on civil rights, Du Bois envisioned a more aggressive response. In 1905, he issued a "Call" to a select few to meet to discuss two objectives: "organized determination and aggressive action on the part of men who believed in Negro freedom and growth," and opposition to "present methods of strangling honest criticism." This meeting was scheduled to be held in Buffalo, but when the group was denied accommodations, they met across the border in Canada. The next year, the group decided to meet in Harpers Ferry, at Storer College. Harpers Ferry was a symbolic meeting place because of the legacy of John Brown's antislavery raid on the town in 1859, and because Storer College was one of the first colleges to be created for African Americans in the country. More than fifty men and women met for four days at Storer and participated in meetings, heard speeches, and attended ceremonies that advocated a more robust effort to regain civil rights for African Americans. In 1911, many of the members of the Niagara Movement helped to start the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

One of the most inspiring events of the meeting was a pilgrimage to "John Brown's Fort," the US Armory engine house where Brown and his men were captured in 1859. The Fort had been moved to a nearby farm, and at 6:00 a.m., the participants in the

0299_PrinceWilliamForestParkHD_October_2011_nomination.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, "076-0299 Prince William Forest Park Historic District," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/076-0299/>.

¹⁷¹ "Cabin Camp Segregation (1937)," <https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/segregation.htm>.

gathering started a silent march to the Fort. As they arrived at the farm, they removed their shoes and socks before walking on the “hallowed ground” around the Fort. They marched single file around the building, and sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "John Brown's Body." ¹⁷²

Belmont-Paul Women's Equality National Monument

144 Constitution Ave NE, Washington, DC

National Monument

National Historic Landmark

Belmont-Paul commemorates the long struggle to win women’s right to vote. Alice Paul, Alva Belmont, and the women of the National Woman’s Party were at the forefront in the successful effort to pass the 19th Amendment in 1919 and to have it ratified in 1920, and to thereafter continue to fight for full equal rights for women. The primary suffrage organizations, however, were led by white women and were reluctant to allow African American women an equal standing in the organizations. Still, whether in alliance with these organizations, or through their own organizations, African American women helped to win the franchise for women.¹⁷³

Mary McLeod Bethune Council House National Historic Site

1318 Vermont Avenue, NW, Washington DC

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

This was the home of Mary McLeod Bethune from 1943 to 1955, and headquarters of the National Council of Negro Women. Bethune was an educator and civil rights advocate, particularly for the rights of African American women. She founded a school for African American girls in 1905 in her native Florida that eventually became Bethune-Cookman University. In 1924 she was elected president of the National Association of Colored Women, and in 1935, she founded and served as the first president of the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). Bethune became active in government service in the Roosevelt administrations, becoming head of the Office of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration (the first African American woman to head a Federal government office), and Special Advisor for Minority Affairs to Roosevelt. She moved into the house at 1318 Vermont Ave NW in 1943 and brought the offices of the

¹⁷² “The Niagara Movement,” <https://www.nps.gov/hafe/learn/historyculture/the-niagara-movement.htm>; “John Brown’s Fort,” <https://www.nps.gov/hafe/learn/historyculture/john-brown-fort.htm>.

¹⁷³ See the website for Belmont-Paul Women's Equality National Monument:

<https://www.nps.gov/bepa/index.htm>

Megan Bailey, “Between Two Worlds: Black Women and the Fight for Voting Rights,”

<https://www.nps.gov/articles/black-women-and-the-fight-for-voting-rights.htm>.

National Council of Negro Women with her. Bethune died in 1955, but the NCNW continued to use the home as its headquarters until a 1966 fire forced the organization to move elsewhere. The NPS acquired the home in 1994. The invaluable papers of the NCNW had been stored in the carriage house at 1318 Vermont Ave., but to protect and preserve the papers, they were moved to archival storage at the National Capital Area's Museum Resource Center in Landover, MD.¹⁷⁴

Lincoln Memorial

2 Lincoln Memorial Circle, NW, Washington, DC
National Park
National Register of Historic Places

The Lincoln Memorial is the national memorial to Abraham Lincoln. It was completed in 1922. It has witnessed significant events in civil rights history in this country, although as pointed out in the entry for the memorial on Washington, DC's "20th Century Civil Rights Tour," the dedication ceremony in 1922 was itself a demonstration of racism. The African American members of the audience were seated in a segregated section far from the podium, and the one Black speaker on the program, Dr. Robert Russa Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, was pressured into keeping his speech uncontroversial.¹⁷⁵

The situation was different in 1939, when a ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial was in defiance of segregation. Howard University invited the celebrated singer Marian Anderson to perform in Washington and tried to secure the Daughters of the American Revolution's Constitution Hall for the concert. The DAR refused because of its segregationist policy of never allowing African American performers. School officials also refused to let Anderson sing at the smaller auditorium of DC's Central High School. At that point, a Marian Anderson Citizens Committee formed, with Charles Hamilton Houston as chair. With the assistance of Eleanor Roosevelt and Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, the Lincoln Memorial was made available for the concert, and on April

¹⁷⁴ See the website of the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House National Historic Site: <https://www.nps.gov/mamc/index.htm>; "20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC," #37, "Mary McLeod Bethune," <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>; *African American Heritage Trail*, Washington, DC (2003), p.16 (<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>); DC Inventory of Historic Sites, "Mary McLeod Bethune Council House (National Council of Negro Women's Headquarters)," p.17 (<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>).

¹⁷⁵ "20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC," #92, "The Lincoln Memorial," <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>.

9, 1939, Anderson sang in front of 75,000 people.¹⁷⁶

Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park

142 W. Potomac St., Williamsport, MD

National Park

National Register of Historic Places

National Park Service Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program

In 1933, at the height of the Great Depression, President Franklin Roosevelt created the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to employ young men in building, repairing, and maintaining elements of America's infrastructure. CCC camps were not intended to be segregated, but the prevailing prejudice of the day often overturned that policy. Two all-African American CCC camps worked on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in the Carderock area in 1939 clearing the towpath, removing rocks and debris from the canal, resurfacing the towpath, repairing breaches in the canal caused by floods, and restoring numerous lift locks to working order.¹⁷⁷

Properties Not Under National Park Service Jurisdiction

Washington, DC (City)

The True Reformer Building

1200 U Street, NW, Washington, DC

The True Reformer Building was built in 1903 as the local headquarters of the Grand United Order of True Reformers, a Richmond, Virginia, benevolent society offering African American members insurance that was often unavailable to them through white-owned insurance companies. The building was designed by African American architect John A. Lankford. "The True Reformer Building is

¹⁷⁶ "20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC," #92, "The Lincoln Memorial," <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>; Raymond Arsenault, *The Sound of Freedom - Marian Anderson, the Lincoln Memorial, and the Concert That Awakened America* (Bloomsbury), 2010; National Register nomination, "Lincoln Memorial," <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=53754a23-b5dd-4d42-920d-d3080f09afd6>.

¹⁷⁷ "The Civilian Conservation Corps,"

<https://www.nps.gov/choh/learn/historyculture/civilianconservationcorpsccc.htm>; Ashley McNeil and Hannah Traverse, "Moving Forward Initiative: The African American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps," <https://corpsnetwork.org/blogs/moving-forward-initiative-the-african-american-experience-in-the-civilian-conservation-corps/>.

an architectural testament to black economic development. . .conceived, financed, designed, built, and patronized by African Americans.”¹⁷⁸

NAACP, DC Branch

1019 U Street NW, Washington, DC

The DC branch office of the NAACP was established in 1912 and was the largest and most influential of the 50 NAACP branches. The DC office was led by African American leadership from the beginning, such as Archibald A. Grimke, unlike the national organization. The DC NAACP has been involved in major civil rights issues since its inception, especially in protesting racial discrimination and violence against Blacks. The DC office had its headquarters in this building in the late 1920s and 1930s.¹⁷⁹

Phyllis Wheatley YWCA

901 Rhode Island Ave NW, Washington, DC

The Colored Young Women’s Christian Association was organized in 1905 by the Book Lovers Club and was the nation’s first and only independent black YWCA. The organization moved into this building in 1920, and was renamed to honor Phillis Wheatley, the first published African American poet.¹⁸⁰

Nannie Helen Burroughs / National Training School for Women and Girls

601 50th Street NE, Washington, DC

National Register of Historic Places

From “20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC,”
(<https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>):

¹⁷⁸ African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (2003), p.8
(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>); National Register, “True Reformer Building,” (<https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/88003063>); DC Inventory of Historic Sites, “True Reformer Building,” p.159
(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%200%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>).

¹⁷⁹ “20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC,” #72, “NAACP, DC Branch,”
<https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>.

¹⁸⁰ National Register, “Phyllis Wheatley YWCA,” (<https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/83003532>); DC Inventory of Historic Sites, “Phyllis Wheatley YWCA,” p.175
(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%200%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>); African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (2003), p.20
(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>); <https://dc.curbed.com/maps/african-american-history>.

“Uncompromising feminist Nannie Helen Burroughs (1879-1961) devoted her life to improving the career prospects for women and girls. She often went up against men who could not imagine women in leadership positions and, throughout her career, campaigned for the rights and dignity of women, especially working women. A stirring orator, she criticized white racists and spoke out against President Woodrow Wilson for not doing enough to stop lynching. She pushed white suffragists to recognize African American women as a political force. Inspired by Booker T. Washington and his belief that racial self-help and personal self-reliance were the means to success, Burroughs worked with the Baptist Woman’s Convention to found the National Training School for Women and Girls in 1909. The Convention deliberately did not seek assistance from white donors for the school’s establishment, and the school never relied on white philanthropy for its survival. The school taught manual skills such as sewing, cooking, and printing, but also offered religious instruction and academic training equivalent to the upper grades of high school and community college. Its academic subjects included “Negro history” which used books from Burroughs’s close colleague, the historian Carter G. Woodson. Woodson, who stopped accepting white financial support for his own work in the early 1930s, became one of the school’s biggest advocates. In 1914 Burroughs encouraged the NAACP and others to investigate the firing of a young employee of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Rosebud Murraye. Murraye had refused to sit at a separate dining table in the agency’s lunchroom after a new policy established by the Woodrow Wilson administration required the segregation of work and dining places in the federal government. In 1920, Burroughs organized a union for domestic workers, the National Association of Wage Earners (NAWE). Besides pushing for better wages and working conditions, NAWE served as an employment agency for domestic workers and operated its own factory, hiring women to sew work dresses, caps and aprons, which were sold through the mail. Burroughs was president and Mary McLeod Bethune vice-president of the union, which also operated a Domestic Service Practice House for training women in one of the few avenues of employment available to them. In addition to helping command higher wages, professionalizing domestic service increased respect for women who worked in positions where they were often subject to degrading treatment and sexual assault. Now occupied by the Progressive National Baptist Convention and the private Monroe School, the former National Training School for Women and Girls was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1991.”¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ “20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC,” #23, “Nannie Helen Burroughs,” <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>. See also: <https://boundarystones.weta.org/2020/08/07/black-history-sites-dc-deserve-more-attention>; DC Inventory of Historic Sites, “National Training School for Women and Girls, Trades Hall,” p.106 (<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>).

Virginia

Alexandria City

Dr. Albert Johnson House

814 Duke St., Alexandria, VA
National Register of Historic Places

Dr. Albert Johnson was one of the first licensed African American physicians in Alexandria and was the only physician to serve Alexandria's Black community. He graduated medical school from Howard University and settled in Alexandria in 1894, and lived at this residence, which also served as his office, from 1896 until 1940. It is located in the Bottoms neighborhood, the oldest African American community in Alexandria.¹⁸²

Alexandria Library, Barrett Branch

717 Queen St., Alexandria, VA

One of the country's earliest civil rights sit-ins occurred in this library in 1939, when five young African American men entered the segregated library and requested a library card. When they were refused, they sat at library tables and read until Alexandria police arrived, at which point they left the building. The men were organized by 26-year-old African American lawyer Samuel W. Tucker. Tucker had arranged press coverage to record the event, and ensuing public opinion forced the city to create the Robert Robinson Library as a separate library for African Americans.¹⁸³

Robert Robinson Library (now the Alexandria Black History Museum)

902 Wythe St., Alexandria, VA

This library was built in 1940 after 5 African Americans held a sit-in at the Alexandria Library on Queen Street protesting segregation. This was the first library in Alexandria to be built specifically for African Americans and remained in use until desegregation in the 1960s. The Alexandria Black History Museum now occupies the building.

¹⁸² National Register Reference Number 03001422 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/100-5015-0003_Dr.Albert_Johnson_House_2004_Final_Nomination.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, "100-5015-0003 Dr. Albert Johnson House," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/100-5015-0003/>.

¹⁸³ "Site of the 1939 Alexandria Sit-In," <https://www.visitalexandriava.com/things-to-do/historic-attractions-and-museums/african-american/alexandria-black-history-driving-tour/>.

Arlington County

Charles Drew House

National Historic Landmark

According to the Virginia Landmarks Register, “Charles Richard Drew, M.D. (1904-1950) was one of the pioneers of American medicine. This African American physician’s research and discoveries concerning blood plasma on the brink of World War II led to saving the lives of thousands of American soldiers. Born in Washington, D.C., Drew received the degree of Doctor of Medicine and Master of Surgery from McGill University in Montreal. He later taught at Howard University and attended graduate school at Columbia University. Upon graduating from Columbia in 1940, Dr. Drew became America’s first black to receive a Doctor of Science degree in surgery. At Columbia, Drew and his aides made the breakthrough discovery that with proper preparation blood plasma could be safely stored almost indefinitely, making plasma immediately available to victims on the battlefield. This Arlington dwelling was Dr. Drew’s home between 1920 and 1930.”¹⁸⁴

Dr. Roland Bruner House

2018 S Glebe Rd., Arlington, VA

Dr. Roland Bruner was born 1902 in Maryland and attended Storer College. He continued his education at Howard University, where he received his medical degree. He worked at the Freedmen's Hospital in Arlington from 1932-1933. In 1934, Dr. Bruner and his wife moved to the Nauck neighborhood of Arlington, where he opened a private practice in his home. He was one of only two physicians serving the African American community in Arlington. He helped to establish Planned Parenthood in Arlington. He practiced medicine until his death in 1978.¹⁸⁵

Hoffman-Boston Elementary School (Jefferson School)

1415 S Queen Street, Arlington, VA

Built as the Jefferson School in 1915, it was the first junior high school for African Americans in Arlington County. The school was expanded in 1931 using

¹⁸⁴ Virginia Landmarks Register, “000-0016 Charles Richard Drew House,” <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/000-0016/>. See also: National Register Reference Number 76002095 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/000-0016_Charles_Richard_Drew_House_1976_Final_Nomination_NHL-1.pdf).

¹⁸⁵ “Dr. Roland Bruner,” <https://library.arlingtonva.us/2020/10/12/dr-roland-bruner-taking-a-stand/>.

Rosenwald funding. It was renamed the Hoffman-Boston Junior College in 1932 to honor Edward Hoffman and Ella Boston, principals of the Jefferson and Kemper schools. It served as a senior high school, alternative school, and became Hoffman-Boston Elementary in 2000. The school was expanded in 2003.¹⁸⁶

Sumner G. Holmes House

2804 1st Road S, Arlington, VA

Sumner G. Holmes was born in 1881 in Arlington County. He taught at the Kemper School and received a M.D. from Howard University. He served the African American community of Arlington until his death in 1930. His wife turned their home into Fireside Inn, which provided lodging for African American travelers.¹⁸⁷

Fairfax County

Joseph Tinner and E.B. Henderson/ Colored Citizens Protective League

Tinner Hill Historic Park, 106 Tinner Hill Road, Falls Church, VA

Tinner Hill Historic District includes a street of properties originally purchased by Charles and Mary Tinner in the late 1800s. In the 1910s, their son, Joseph Tinner, and E.B. Henderson, fought against a proposed local ordinance in Falls Church that promoted housing segregation. They organized a group known as the Colored Citizens Protective League in 1915, which eventually became the first rural branch of the NAACP.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ “About Our School,” <https://hoffmanboston.apsva.us/about-our-school/>.

¹⁸⁷ “Dr. Sumner G. Holmes House,” <https://projects.arlingtonva.us/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2016/09/A-Guide-to-the-African-American-Heritage-of-Arlington-County-Virginia.pdf>.

¹⁸⁸ “Civil Rights History & Tinner Hill,” <https://www.tinnerhill.org/educational-resources/2018/2/15/civil-rights-history-tinner-hill>; “Tinner Hill Historic Park - A Pivotal Site for African American History,” <https://www.novaparks.com/parks/tinner-hill-historic-park>; “Tinner Hill Historic Park & Monument,” <https://www.fxva.com/things-to-do/african-american-heritage/>. See also Virginia Landmarks Register, “110-0221 Dr. Edwin Bancroft and Mary Ellen Henderson House,” <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/110-0221/>.

Loudoun County

Arcola Elementary School

24244 Gum Spring Rd., Arcola, VA
National Register of Historic Places

Built in 1939, the school was the fifth PWA school, and the first in Loudoun County for white students with classrooms designated for each grade. The last wing of the school was added in 1956. The school remained segregated until the 1966-67 school year, which was reported to have a smooth integration process.

Douglass High School

407 E Market St., Leesburg, VA
National Register of Historic Places

Douglass High School began in 1941, after the Loudoun County Training School, which was the only secondary school for African American students, was deemed unsafe. Charles Hamilton Houston, the African American civil rights attorney who was Dean of Howard University's Law School, and who had represented George Crawford in a ground-breaking trial in Leesburg in 1933, helped persuade county officials to fund the school. Although the building itself was funded with public money, members of the black community had raised the money to purchase land for the new school, and they purchased furnishings, laboratory equipment, and band equipment. Douglass was the first and only high school for African American students in Loudoun County, operating from 1940 to 1968, when schools in the county were desegregated. The building later housed an alternative school for students with special needs.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ National Register Reference Number 92001274 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/253-0070_Douglass_High_School_1992_Final_Nomination.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, "253-0070 Douglass High School," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/253-0070/>; Mitch Diamond, "The African American Community's Fight For Better Schools in Loudoun County: Part I," in Robert A. Pollard, Editor, "The History of the County Courthouse and its Role in the Path to Freedom, Justice and Racial Equality in Loudoun County" (Report of the Loudoun County Heritage Commission, 2019), pp.72-74.

Loudoun County Emancipation Headquarters (site)

S 20th St., Telegraph Springs Rd. (Rt. 611), Purcellville, VA
National Register of Historic Places

Organized in Hamilton in 1890 to commemorate the issuance of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862. In 1910, the association purchased 10 acres in Purcellville for Emancipation Day activities. Events were held here until 1967, and the property was sold in 1971. There is a historical marker on the site.¹⁹⁰

Loudoun County Courthouse

Leesburg, VA

The third Loudoun County Courthouse was completed in 1895. In 1933, Charles Hamilton Houston became the first African American lawyer to argue a case in a southern courtroom. George Crawford was arrested in 1932 for the murder of two women in Middleburg. Houston was Dean of the Howard University Law School and head of the NAACP legal defense team. The NAACP was looking for a case to highlight the racial inequities in the US court system, and they chose this case. Although Crawford was convicted, the case was a significant step forward for the NAACP. Houston was able to highlight that African Americans were barred from serving on juries by social custom, and the defense team was made up entirely of African Americans, also a first in a southern courtroom.¹⁹¹ Ironically, throughout the trial, Houston and his team had to travel back and forth from Washington each day because hotels in Leesburg were segregated and African Americans were too afraid of retribution from whites to allow Houston and his team to stay with them.¹⁹² Houston later was one of the principal architects of the legal strategy that led to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954 ending segregation in American schools. The Crawford case has

¹⁹⁰ Elaine Thompson, "A History of the Loudoun County Emancipation Association, Inc.," <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/559ec31fe4b0550458945194/t/563e43d4e4b08618bf71db9e/1446921172894/LC+Emancipation+Assn.pdf>; "Loudoun County Emancipation Association Grounds Marker," <https://www.virginia.org/listing/loudoun-county-emancipation-association-grounds-marker/4172/>.

¹⁹¹ Deborah A. Lee, *Honoring Their Paths: African American Contributions Along the Journey Through Hallowed Ground* (Waterford, VA: The Journey Through Hallowed Ground Partnership, 2009), p.122; James Rawn, Jr., *Root and Branch - Charles Hamilton Houston, Thurgood Marshall, and the Struggle to End Segregation* (Bloomsbury Publishing), 2010; Mitch Diamond, "Charles Hamilton Houston and the Crawford Case – A Moment of Great Significance at the Loudoun County Courthouse (1933)," in Robert A. Pollard, Editor, "The History of the County Courthouse and its Role in the Path to Freedom, Justice and Racial Equality in Loudoun County" (Report of the Loudoun County Heritage Commission, 2019), pp.66-68.

¹⁹² Rawn, p.10.

been viewed by historians as “a critical and significant foundation in the struggle for civil rights in the United States.”¹⁹³

Maryland

Frederick County

Frederick County Courthouse (now Frederick City Hall)

101 N Court St, Frederick, MD

This building served as the Frederick County Courthouse from 1864 to 1982. One of the important civil rights decisions decided in this building concerned City of Frederick qualification laws for voting in 1913. In 1904, the city passed a voting qualification law that denied suffrage to anyone who could not show that his grandfather was eligible to vote before Jan. 1, 1869. This was the infamous “grandfather clause” used by many southern jurisdictions to deny African Americans the right to vote, since before the passage of the 15th amendment in 1870, few African Americans were allowed to vote. E. Mitchell Johnson, publisher of Frederick’s African American newspaper, *The Frederick Hornet*, applied to vote in the municipal election in 1913 and was denied. He obtained lawyers who took the case to court, and on May 16, 1913, in the Frederick County Courthouse, the Frederick County Circuit Court declared the qualification law unconstitutional. Johnson and other African American men who had unsuccessfully applied to vote in the municipal elections were now allowed to vote.¹⁹⁴

Dr. Ulysses G. Bourne Home

30 West All Saints Street, Frederick, MD

Dr. Bourne was Frederick’s first African American doctor. He graduated from Leonard Medical College (Shaw University) in Raleigh, NC in 1902, and moved to Frederick in 1903. Because he was African American, he was not allowed to practice medicine at Frederick City Hospital, so he set up his office in his home on West All Saints St., and practiced medicine there from 1903 to 1953. He was the founder of the Maryland Negro Medical Society and a co-founder of the Frederick branch of the NAACP in 1931. Bourne helped set up a separate

¹⁹³ Diamond, p.68.

¹⁹⁴ Kate Masters, “Unearthing an Activist: Maceo Hillman Spent 30 years Researching His Great-Grandfather; He Was Amazed at What He Uncovered,” *Frederick News-Post* (Feb. 24, 2018); “Court Holds Grandfather’s Clause in City’s Election Law is Void,” *The Daily News* (Frederick, MD), May 16, 1913.

hospital for African Americans in 1919, the only hospital for Blacks in Frederick. He died in 1956.¹⁹⁵

Pythian Castle (also known as Nazarite Hall)

111-113 W. All Saints Street, Frederick, MD
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

This building was constructed c. late nineteenth century. It is labelled on the 1887 Sanborn insurance map of Frederick as “Nazarite Hall,” and on the 1911 map as “Colored Nazarite Hall.” This was the headquarters of the local chapter of the African American Nazarite Daughters of Ruth #4. In 1921, the building housed Alpha Lodge #36 of the Knights of Pythias. They met here for almost thirty years. All types of entertainment took place in the building, such as banquets, dances, movies, and live music. A sewing factory was also once located in the building, and in 1937, it became home to the first black kindergarten, eventually named for community leader Esther Grinage.¹⁹⁶

Comstock School

824 Mt. Ephraim Road, Dickerson, MD
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

Comstock was a unique school for African American children in Frederick County because it was a private school built in 1912 by Gordon Strong, the white developer of Stronghold, a conservation enclave on Sugarloaf Mountain in southeastern Frederick County. African American students had attended school before this in nearby Bell’s Chapel since the 1870s. According to a former student of the school, a long-time African American employee of Stronghold asked Strong to build a school for African American children. Strong had built a school for white students in the area in 1910. Strong may have worked out an arrangement with Frederick County that he would build and own the school, and the county would provide books, supplies, and teacher salaries (although Strong assisted with the salaries as well). The school closed in the early 1940s as war-related jobs lured people in the local community to nearby cities.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Ashley Andyshak, “A Closer Look at Dr. Ulysses Grant Bourne,” *Frederick News-Post* (Dec. 19, 2007, updated March 11, 2016), https://www.fredericknewspost.com/archive/article_0f5f8aed-b521-5a5e-9028-6cc0de41c5d3.html; “African American Heritage Sites in the City of Frederick and Frederick County, Maryland” (2001), http://www.frederickhsc.org/pdf/hsc_aahsbro.pdf.

¹⁹⁶ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, “Former Pythian Lodge,” <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=FHD-366>.

¹⁹⁷ Ralph Blumenthal, “An Integration Recommendation in 1912?” *Baltimore Sun* (Jan. 23, 2016), <https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:laQgT6UhAg0J:https://www.baltimoresun.co>

Emancipation Association Building

158-160 West All Saints St., Frederick, MD

The Emancipation Association of Frederick acquired this property in 1933 as its headquarters and constructed the current building in 1934. Emancipation celebrations were observed in Frederick starting in 1865, and in 1887, the Frederick County Emancipation Celebration Association was organized. The Association met in various places through the years, including Nazarite Hall in 1905. The building at 158-160 W. All Saints served as the Association's headquarters from 1933 until 1950.¹⁹⁸

Mullinix Park/Diggs Pool

South Bentz Street (near Carroll Creek Park), Frederick, MD

Frederick City's primary green space, Baker Park, was created in 1927, with the substantial financial support of residents Joseph and Virginia Baker. As were most public facilities in Frederick at that time, however, the park was segregated and African Americans were not allowed to use the park. One of the city Aldermen, Lorenzo Mullinix, advocated for a park for African Americans. The Bakers donated a small parcel of land near Baker Park for "the establishment of a colored playground to be called Mullinix Park," named for the Alderman. A pool in Mullinix Park was also constructed, and called Diggs Pool, named for an African American employee of the Baker family, William R. Diggs.¹⁹⁹

[m/opinion/op-ed/bs-ed-school-integration-20160123-story.html+&cd=2&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us](https://www.fredericknews.com/opinion/op-ed/bs-ed-school-integration-20160123-story.html+&cd=2&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us) (see this source also for a fascinating account of a 1912 investigation, requested by Gordon Strong, by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, that found the African American school to be better in quality and instruction than eight other local schools for white children); Maryland Inventory of Historic Places, "Comstock School," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=F-7-25>.

¹⁹⁸ Lisa Murphy, "Preservation Matters: Emancipation Building on West All Saints Street Calls to Attention Plight Endured by Black Community During Slavery," *Frederick News-Post* (Dec. 2, 2019), https://www.fredericknews.com/news/culture/history/preservation-matters-emancipation-building-on-west-all-saints-street-calls-to-attention-plight-endured-by/article_552a753c-b3ae-509a-b7e4-656bb438b85e.html.

¹⁹⁹ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Baker Park," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=FHD-1304>.

Lincoln High School (now Lincoln Elementary)

200 Madison St., Frederick, MD

Lincoln High School opened in 1920 as the first high school for African American students in Frederick County. The first temporary structure was on W. All Saints St. (building now demolished), but the school moved into a new building on W. Madison St. in 1923. The school remained the only high school for African American students until 1962, when Black high school students were transferred to white schools. Lincoln High was converted into an integrated elementary school and was renamed South Frederick Elementary School. In 2006, Lincoln High alumni were successful in having the name of the school changed back to “Lincoln.”²⁰⁰

Mountain City Elks Lodge

173 W. All Saints Street, Frederick, MD

From 1919 to 1928 this building served as a 15-bed hospital for African Americans, who were denied care at the Frederick City Hospital.²⁰¹ After Frederick City Hospital opened a wing for African Americans in 1928, the Mountain City Elks Lodge #382 moved into this building. As with other fraternal organizations, the white Elks organization in Frederick denied membership to African Americans, so Blacks created their own fraternal organizations.

Negro Motorist Green Book Lodging

22 W. All Saints St., Frederick, MD

119 East 5th Street, Frederick, MD

316 West South Street, Frederick, MD

Because African American travelers often encountered segregated facilities while traveling, Victor Green, a New York City mail carrier, created the *Negro Motorist Green Book* in 1936 that listed lodgings, restaurants, stores, and other places that accommodated African Americans. At least three homes in Frederick County offered lodging to African Americans in various editions of the *Green Book*.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Historical Society of Frederick County, *Frederick County Revisited* (Arcadia Publishing: Charleston, SC, 2007), p.21.

²⁰¹ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, “Mountain City Elks Club Lodge,” <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=FHD-400>

²⁰² Anthony Plaag, “The Green Book in Maryland: The Makel, Grinage, and Roberts Tourist Homes in Western Maryland,” Preservation Maryland website (04/08/2020), <https://www.preservationmaryland.org/the-green-book-in-maryland-the-makel-grinage-and-roberts-tourist-homes-in-western-maryland/>.

All three are still extant:

Esther Grinage - 22 West All Saints Street

Emma Makel - 119 East 5th Street

Ada Roberts - 316 West South Street

Montgomery County

Love and Charity Hall

22625 Whites Ferry Road, Dickerson, MD

Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

The hall was once a meeting place for members of the Love and Charity Society, a sick and burial society that developed in Black communities in the late 1800s. It was also a center for community activities and is one of the last few to survive. It is part of the Warren Historic Site, which contains an African American church and school.²⁰³

Odd Fellow Lodge

1310 Olney-Sandy Spring Rd., Sandy Spring, MD

Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

This Odd Fellows Lodge and social space was the only social space in Sandy Spring open to Blacks during segregation.²⁰⁴

Sarah Posey House

9631 Wrightman Rd., Gaithersburg, MD

Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

This house was built on a tract of land called Dorsey's Meadows for farm workers. In 1916, Sarah J. Posey, an African American woman, bought the house and over an acre of land. It is also one of the last remaining late 19th early 20th century homes of Prathertown, a community in the Goshen/Gaithersburg area that was established in 1883 as an African American community.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Love and Charity Hall," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=M%3a+16-12-11>.

²⁰⁴ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Odd Fellows Hall," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=M%3a+28-66>.

²⁰⁵ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Sarah Posey House," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=M%3a+20-42>.

Prince George's County

Abraham Hall (Rebecca Lodge #6)

7612 Old Muirkirk Rd., Beltsville

Abraham Hall was built in 1889 by the African American society Benevolent Sons and Daughters of Abraham in the African American community of Rossville. The hall was used as a meeting place, worship house, school, and social hall. It is significant for its associations with the post-Reconstruction era in Prince George's county and the development of African American suburban settlement. The building is owned by the Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission.²⁰⁶

Don S.S. Goodloe House

13809 Laurel Bowie Rd., Bowie, MD
National Register of Historic Places

Don Speed Smith Goodloe was the first principle of the Maryland Normal and Industrial School, Maryland's first post-secondary school for black students, which is now Bowie State University. He held this position from 1911 until 1921. He lived at this house with his family, where he also housed students. It was designed by John A. Moore, a Black architect from DC.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ National Register nomination, "Abraham Hall,"

<https://mht.maryland.gov/nr/NRDetail.aspx?FROM=NRDBList.aspx&NRID=1475&COUNTY=&SEARCHTYPE=propertySearch&PROPNAME=abraham%20hall&STREETNAME=&CITYNAME=&KEYWORD=>; Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Abraham Hall,"

<https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=PG%3a62-7>.

African-American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland (Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission, 2012), pp.54-55 (<https://issuu.com/mncppc/docs/aapgc>).

²⁰⁷ National Register nomination, "Don S.S. Goodloe House,"

<https://mht.maryland.gov/nr/NRDetail.aspx?FROM=NRDBList.aspx&NRID=1019&COUNTY=&SEARCHTYPE=propertySearch&PROPNAME=goodloe&STREETNAME=&CITYNAME=&KEYWORD=>; Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Don S.S. Goodloe House,"

<https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=PG%3a71A-30>.

African-American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland (Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission, 2012), p.123 (<https://issuu.com/mncppc/docs/aapgc>).

Ridgeley School

8507 Central Ave., Capitol Heights, MD
National Register of Historic Places

Ridgeley School is a Rosenwald School built in 1927, to replace the "colored hall" where elementary school classes had been held. It is one of four two room schools constructed in Prince George's county in 1927 and was used until the 1950s. The structure was restored in 2011 and is used as a museum.²⁰⁸

Fairmount Heights Elementary School (Mt. Zion church)

737 61st Ave., Fairmount Heights, MD
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

According to the Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "The Fairmount Heights Elementary School, constructed in 1912, is a focal point in Fairmount Heights, an African American community which had its start in 1900. In 1911, Board of School Commissioners, upon request from the community, agreed to build a school; April 1911 the Board ordered that the school be erected in accordance with the plans and specifications of architect W. Sidney Pittman, who lived in the Fairmount Heights community. The Board purchased four unimproved lots at the corner of Chapel Avenue and Addison Road, and the school was constructed and ready to open by June 1912. By 1915, The *Washington Bee* reported that enrollment had increased to 160 pupils; there were five teachers, four classrooms, three hallways, and a carpenter shop. The Fairmount Heights school was the first to offer industrial training for blacks in Prince George's County. This building served as the public school for Fairmount Heights until 1934, when a new eight-room brick school was built at the corner of Addison and Sheriff Roads. The old school was purchased by the Mount Zion Apostolic Faith Church, which continues to hold services there."²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ National Register nomination, "Ridgeley School," <https://mht.maryland.gov/nr/NRDetail.aspx?FROM=NRDBList.aspx&NRID=1640&COUNTY=&SEARCHTYPE=propertySearch&PROPNAME=ridgeley&STREETNAME=&CITYNAME=&KEYWORD=>; Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Ridgeley School," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=PG%3a75A-28>. African-American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland (Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission, 2012), pp.124-125, 127-128 (<https://issuu.com/mncppc/docs/aapgc>).

²⁰⁹ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Fairmount Heights Elementary School," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=PG%3a72-9-9>; see also: African-American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland (Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission, 2012), p.135 (<https://issuu.com/mncppc/docs/aapgc>); National Register nomination, "Fairmount Heights Historic District," <https://mht.maryland.gov/nr/NRDetail.aspx?FROM=NRDBList.aspx&NRID=1599&COUNTY=&SEARCHTYPE=>

West Virginia

Jefferson County

The Great Tablet

Fillmore St., Harpers Ferry, WV

The Great Tablet is a tribute to John Brown. It was originally planned to be erected at Storer College in 1932 but was denied by school trustees for fear of racial violence. At the 97th Annual NAACP Convention, in 2006, the tablet was placed on Storer's campus.²¹⁰

CHTYPE=propertySearch&PROPNAME=fairmount&STREETNAME=&CITYNAME=&KEYWORD=;

²¹⁰ "Jefferson County, West Virginia, African American Heritage Trail,"
http://www.jcblackhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/JCBHT_2013_WebVersion.pdf.

PART 4. BIRTH OF THE MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, 1941-1954

Washington has always been viewed as a symbol of democracy. A renewed momentum toward desegregation swept across the city after World War II. Armed with and supported by the GI Bill, Black veterans confronted and pushed through racial segregation policies in the region. In the post-WWII era, the District of Columbia played an increasingly important role in the national fight against discrimination. Here is where the groundwork for the modern civil rights struggle was tilled in earnest with organized interventions, direct-action tactics, sit-ins and legal recourse. This is the era that began to loosen the chokehold that segregation had on the schools, theaters and restaurants of the city.

Throughout American history, Black ministers and religious leaders have played an important leadership role in the quest for civil rights. In the post-World War II era, religious organizations supported the emergence of the modern Civil Rights Movement as Black religious leaders emerged as prominent spokespeople for the cause. Other religious figures became vocal critics of the goal of racial integration, as in the case of the Nation of Islam and the later religious advocates of Black Power. Black church structures continued to serve the dual purpose that accompanied their original formation as sites of both religious and political refuge.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

With the advent of the 1950s, Washington DC was still operating as “a very confused city, torn between a Southern provincialism and a more cosmopolitan mindset fitting of a national capital.”²¹¹ Governed by a committee of Congress, the elected officials led by Senator John McMillan kept a tight rein on the District and its citizens, vetoing most attempts at self-governing and measures designed to boost the economy. Most impactful, though, was the refusal to grant home rule, more as a ploy to disenfranchise potential Black voters and to keep the now mostly Democrat electorate from having influence on the national stage. The goal was to keep the District as a neo-colony, ignoring the residents’ rights as citizens.

Civil rights activists in Washington were convinced that laws barring segregation passed in the 1870s still applied in the city, even though they had not been followed since the turn of the century. To test these so-called “lost laws,” Mary Church Terrell in 1950

²¹¹ Andrew Novak, “The Desegregation of George Washington University and the District of Columbia in Transition, 1946-1954,” *Washington History* (2012), 26, <https://smhs.gwu.edu/diversity/sites/diversity/files/Desegregation%20GWU.pdf>

went with a group and attempted to dine at Thompson's Restaurant, a segregated cafeteria at 14th Street and New York NW, about two blocks from the White House. They were turned away and not allowed to eat, though a white member of their party was. Increasingly Terrell took on direct-action tactics to achieve racial equality. She applied for membership in the American Association of University Women and was quickly rejected by the segregated organization. After several unsuccessful attempts at Thompson's and picketing other places she was joined by luminaries such as Mary McLeod Bethune and Rev. W.H. Jernigan. The group filed suit, which escalated to the level of the US Supreme Court. During the three-year period of litigation against Thompson's Restaurant, Terrell led sit-ins and picketing to publicize the case of *District of Columbia v. John Thompson*. Some of the local lawsuits were combined with other suits outside of Washington to become national litigation.

MARYLAND

The years after World War II saw substantially segregated communities in Maryland. As the suburbs around Washington, D.C. expanded, the growing towns and neighborhoods were largely separated by race. Black activism took place primarily in these African American communities, both long established and newly emerging.

EXAMPLES OF EVENTS, 1941-1954

1942, 1944 Ruth Powell, a student at Howard University, protested segregated downtown restaurants in Washington by occupying seats at diners that refused to serve Black customers. Other students joined Powell, and in 1944, she and two other Howard students were arrested. Law student Pauli Murray of the Howard branch of the NAACP undertook the legal fight, challenging the arrest of the students in court.²¹²

1943 The “Double V” effort—Victory Abroad, Victory at Home—increased civil rights activity. In 1943 Howard University law student Pauli Murray led coeds in a sit-in at the Little Palace cafeteria, a white-trade-only business near 14th and U streets, NW, an area that was largely African American.

1943-44 The Howard University chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People staged sit-ins at restaurants on U Street and in Penn Quarter.

1944 The first March on Washington Monument occurred.²¹³

The first two African American housing cooperatives in the United States were formed in Arlington to purchase and protect war housing, George Washington Carver and Paul Laurence Dunbar.²¹⁴

1946 The National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital organized, seeking to bring nationwide attention to the shame of discrimination in the District.

The Supreme Court delivered the *Irene Morgan* decision. Irene Morgan was a Black woman who had an interstate ticket on a bus. The Supreme Court ruled that she had been incorrectly arrested and punished, because if a person was moving between the states on a bus or train that had originated in the North, it was a burden on interstate commerce to stop the bus or train once it entered the South and waste time and energy separating people.

²¹² “Thompson’s Restaurant: Sit-Ins at Thompson's Restaurant, 1942-1953,” <https://www.theclio.com/web/entry?id=3295>, accessed 12/20/2016.

²¹³ Louise Elizabeth Grant, “The Saint Louis Unit Of The March On Washington Movement: A Study In Sociology Of Conflict,” 1944 M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, Fisk University..

²¹⁴ Liebertz, 55

- 1947 Three students of the Hoffman-Boston School in Arlington, formerly the Jefferson School, sued the city using the tactic employed by Charles Houston and Thurgood Marshall, arguing that the Black school was unequal to the facilities offered at the white school, Washington-Lee High School. Despite a favorable ruling by the circuit court, county schools remained essentially segregated until 1964.²¹⁵

The American Council on Human Rights was organized by the Alpha Kappa Alpha's (AKA) local chapter. With the help of Delta Sigma Theta, Zeta Phi Beta, and Sigma Gamma Rho sororities as well as Alpha Phi Alpha, Phi Beta Sigma, and Kappa Alpha Psi fraternities, the organizations lobbied for the rights of American citizens. Between 1948 and 1963 the ACHR used their collective resources to make recommendations to the United States government pertaining to civil rights legislation. Representatives from each of the Black sororities and fraternities helped to strengthen the fight.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized and launched a "Journey of Reconciliation" from Washington, DC. This was a forerunner to the Freedom Rides that were to follow in the 1950s and 60s. An interracial group rode interstate buses to test the enforcement of the Supreme Court's decision in *Morgan v the Commonwealth of Virginia*, which outlawed segregation and racial discrimination in interstate travel as unconstitutional.

- 1948 Montgomery County, Maryland's developers, such as Colonel Edward Brooke Lee, continued to enforce racial discrimination in their housing developments until the Supreme Court case *Shelley v. Kraemer* held that courts could not enforce racial covenants on real estate. *Hurd v. Hodge* and *Urciolo v. Hodge* were companion cases from the District of Columbia. The Court found that the Civil Rights Act of 1866 forbade restrictive covenants.²¹⁶
- 1948 The National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital's "Segregation in Washington" report was released. The report "drew national interest, helped spur government intervention and community organization against discrimination in many areas of D.C. society, and set the terms of debate under which the battle against school segregation in the District would achieve success."²¹⁷

²¹⁵ 182 F. 2d 531 - *Carter v. School Board of Arlington County Virginia*; *Carter v. School Board of Arlington County*, 87 F. Supp. 745 (E.D. Va. 1949); Liebertz, 51

²¹⁶ 334 US 1 (1948)

²¹⁷ Wendell Pritchard, "A National Issue: Segregation in the District of Columbia and the Civil Rights Movement at Mid-Century." *The Georgetown Law Review*, Vol. 93:1321.

http://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2227&context=faculty_scholarship

Harry Truman issued Executive Order 9981: Desegregation of the Armed Forces.

- 1949 The Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of D.C. Anti-Discrimination Laws was organized to reinstate the “lost laws” enacted during Reconstruction (1872, 73) that prohibited public accommodations discrimination based upon race.

The Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Washington ordered the desegregation of all Catholic parishes and schools.

Mary Church Terrell led a multiracial effort to end segregation in public accommodations through pickets, boycotts, and legal action. She either led or was involved in many of the pivotal moments in civil rights history in Washington, DC.

- 1950 Carr P. Cook, Jr., became the first Black to run for public office in Loudoun County, Virginia. He lost a seat for the Middleburg Town Council by two votes.
- 1951 The Hecht Company stood at the southeast corner of Seventh and F Streets, NW, in DC. The city's oldest department store chain, and one of the most popular stores among African Americans during the era of segregation, refused to allow its many Black customers to eat in its cafeteria. In July 1951, the Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of the D.C. Anti-Discrimination Laws (CCEAD), with Terrell at the helm, organized a protest against the store’s policies. The eighty-seven-year-old activist served as chair of the organization from 1949 to 1953 and joined its protesters. Protests against Kresge's, Hecht's, and Murphy's department stores all forced the stores to back down and desegregate their lunch counters. By January 1952, Hecht’s had changed its policies. The following year, on June 8, 1953, the CCEAD won the landmark Supreme Court decision — *District of Columbia v. John Thompson*. This ruling paved the way for *Brown v Board of Education* and nationwide school integration a year later.
- 1953 After local courts upheld the 1872 and 1873 Civil Rights Acts as valid in the District, the Supreme Court affirmed these holdings in the *District of Columbia v. John R. Thompson Co.*, ruling that segregation in Washington was unlawful based on the 1872 and 1873 laws passed during Reconstruction but long forgotten or ignored.
- 1953 In February, President Dwight D. Eisenhower vowed, in his first State of the Union address, to end segregation in the capital.

The first two rural subdivisions in western Loudoun County, Aspen Hill and

Leith Village, include covenants stating: “no part of the said property shall be sold, located, or occupied by any individual of African descent.”

1954 The *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling was issued by the US Supreme Court.

EXAMPLES OF INDIVIDUALS, 1941-1954

Rev. Chester Ball, in 1946, became the first Black Catholic priest in Prince George's County after decades of unanswered parishioners' requests for an African American priest. Ball served at the St. Joseph Church in Glen Arden. Six years later, he was the first African American priest in the Archdiocese of Washington.

Marie Richardson Harris, an organizer for the United Public Workers of America and office holder in other labor organizations, was the first federal employee tried for violating the "Loyalty Oaths." Working for the Library of Congress, she was accused of falsely denying membership in the Communist Party. Brought to trial in 1950, she was convicted on appeal in 1954, and sentenced to jail time from 28 months to four years. Her defense team comprised several of Washington's most accomplished African American civil rights attorneys, including George E.C. Hayes, George and Barrington Parker, and Judge James A. Cobb.²¹⁸

Thurgood Marshall was known by 1950 as "Mr. Civil Rights." He and several legal activists had taken on many cases between 1939 and the 1950s. The strategy devised was to force segregating states to make good on the "equal" part of the "separate but equal."

Charles Hamilton Houston was born in Washington, DC. His boyhood home was located at 1444 Swann St., NW. He attended M Street High School, now Dunbar High School. After graduating from Harvard Law School, he returned to Washington to join the faculty at Howard University Law School. It was at Howard that Houston and his colleagues developed the legal strategies for challenging American institutional racism through the federal courts. In 1935 Houston joined the NAACP as special legal counsel. His participation in court cases involving racial discrimination in labor unions, workers' compensation, housing, higher education, jury selection, and access to public services helped lay the groundwork for *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, in which the US Supreme Court unanimously decreed racially segregated education unconstitutional.

Marguerite Daisy Carr, a 14-year old, attempted to enroll in 1947 in Elliott Junior High School, the junior high school nearest her Washington home, predating the *Brown* decision. When the Court of Appeals upheld the "separate but equal" law, Carr's attorneys appealed to the US Supreme Court.²¹⁹

²¹⁸ "Trial Date Set for Mrs. Harris: First Loyalty Oath Case Up Jan.17", *Afro-American*, Dec. 15,1951, p14; "Marie Richardson ordered to jail," *Afro-American*, July 17,1954, p. 6.

²¹⁹ April 13, 1947. "NAACP Seeks Fund to Fight Segregation," *Evening Star*, October 12, 1947, 20.

Earl Lloyd, a native of Alexandria, became the first African American to play in the National Basketball Association on October 31, 1950. Lloyd grew up in the Petersburg (“The Berg”) section of Alexandria and graduated from Parker-Gray High School.²²⁰

²²⁰ “African American Heritage Trail - North Waterfront Route,”
<https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/info/default.aspx?id=116132#fn2>

EXAMPLES OF PLACES, 1941-1954

National Park Service, National Capital Area

National Mall and Memorial Parks / East Potomac Golf Course

972 Ohio Dr. SW, Washington, DC
National Park
National Register of Historic Places

National Capital Parks-East / Langston Golf Course

2600 Benning Rd. NE, Washington, DC
National Park
National Register of Historic Places

Because of the District of Columbia's unique system of federal oversight, many of Washington, DC's recreational facilities were built and operated by the federal government. Between 1909 to 1948, for example, eight public courses were owned by the federal government. Although there was no law barring African Americans from playing on these courses, local "custom" dictated a Jim Crow policy of segregation. On some of the courses, African Americans were "allowed" to play for a very limited time, such as only a half day a week. After much protest, a course for African Americans was built near the Lincoln Memorial, but this course was far inferior to the other courses in the city. In 1939, another course opened for African Americans – Langston Golf Course in Anacostia Park. But Black golfers were not content to be denied anywhere, and in 1941, several golfers took direct action. On June 29 of that year, three Black golfers went to the East Potomac Golf Course and attempted to play. They were told they could not play because it was a whites-only course. They returned later that day, with others, and when they were again denied entrance, they simply walked onto the course and began playing. Although whites gathered to harass them, they finished their round of golf. On hearing about the incident, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes ordered the following day that all golf courses should be open to African American players. African American golfers were still occasionally harassed when they tried to play on courses that had once been "reserved" for whites, and many local African Americans continued to consider Langston to be their course of choice, a barrier had been knocked down on that June day in 1941.²²¹

²²¹ "Links to the Past," <https://www.nps.gov/articles/links-to-the-past.htm>; Patricia Kuhn Babin, *Links to the Past: A Historic Resource Study of National Park Service Golf Courses in the District of Columbia* (National Park Service) 2017.

Anacostia Park / Anacostia Recreation Center

1800 Anacostia Dr, Washington, DC

Swimming pools in Washington, DC, in 1949 were mostly segregated. City recreation officials barred any integration of recreational facilities, and those owned by the federal government, while not strictly segregated, tended to follow tacit Jim Crow policies. When the NPS attempted to officially integrate the Anacostia Pool in June 1949, African American children were harassed and chased away by whites. After several days of similar conflicts, a more violent scuffle occurred on June 29, and police made several arrests. Anacostia Pool was closed for the rest of the summer, but when it re-opened in 1950, it was a non-segregated pool.²²²

Properties Not Under National Park Service Jurisdiction

Washington, DC (*City*)

Dorothy Ferebee Home

1809 2nd Street NW, Washington, DC

Dorothy Ferebee, who lived at 1809 2nd St. NW, was a civil rights activist, public health expert, and advocate for equal opportunities for African American women. After earning a medical degree from Tufts University, she moved to Washington in 1925 to start an internship at Howard University's Freedmen's Hospital, and eventually became the clinical instructor in obstetrics and director of the university's health service. In 1929, she started the Southeast Settlement House to provide recreation and daycare for African American children around Capitol Hill, and in the mid-1930s she spent summers in Mississippi working with a mobile clinic and education program for sharecropper families. Ferebee became national president of the prestigious Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority in 1939, and she was active in the DC branch of the NAACP. She helped to desegregate the US Navy's women's branch during World War II, and she became president of the National Council of Negro Women after Mary McLeod Bethune died. She helped with voter registration in Alabama in the 1960s and chaired the DC Commission on the Status of Women in her later years.²²³

²²² "20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC," #102, "Anacostia Pool, Swimming for All," <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>; "Anacostia Recreation Center," <https://www.nps.gov/places/000/anacostia-recreation-center.htm>

²²³ "20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC," #3, "Dorothy Ferebee, Access for All," <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>; "Dorothy Celeste Boulding Ferebee Pioneering Civil Rights and Healthcare," <https://www.aauw.org/resources/faces-of-aauw/dorothy-boulding-ferebee/>.

Browne Junior High

850 26th Street NE, Washington, DC

Many of Washington, DC's schools for African American students were old, dilapidated, and overcrowded in the middle of the 20th century. Browne Junior High School, on the other hand, was relatively new, having been built in 1932, but by 1947, more than twice the number of children were attending the school than it could reasonably hold. Students were having to attend classes in half-day shifts, and they and their parents were angry with the situation. Meanwhile, nearby schools for white children were only partially full. After requests to the Washington, DC School Board to allow some of Browne's students to attend an under-capacity white school was denied, a lawsuit was filed. The School Board responded by opening up two former schools that had been closed to accommodate the overcrowding at Browne, but these facilities were less than ideal, so a group of parents orchestrated a brief boycott of Browne in December 1947. In 1950, a court ruling upheld the segregation policies of the School Board in *Carr v. Corning*. This defeat convinced civil rights lawyers, activists, and parents that "separate but equal" was a farce, and that future legal strategies should focus on dismantling segregated educational facilities altogether.²²⁴

James and Mary Hurd Residence / *Hurd v. Hodge* Supreme Court Ruling

116 Bryant Street NW, Washington, DC

In the first half of the 20th century, many housing developments in Washington, DC intended for white homeowners included racial covenants that barred selling a house to African Americans. Rather than accept this situation, African Americans and their lawyers challenged these covenants in the courts. In the early 1940s, James and Mary Hurd purchased 116 Bryant St. in the Bloomingdale section of Washington, although a racial covenant was in place. White neighbors sued, and Charles Hamilton Houston, the preeminent civil rights lawyer from Howard University, took up the case. Despite demonstrating that the covenants were not fulfilling their purpose, DC courts ruled against the Hurds. The US Supreme Court, However, was considering this same issue in two other cases, and agreed that the Hurd case could be added to the other two. In *Hurd v. Hodge*, the Supreme Court ruled in 1948 that court enforcement of racial covenants was unconstitutional, a major victory in the campaign to dismantle segregation.²²⁵

²²⁴ "20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC," #27, "Browne Junior High, the Fight for School Desegregation," <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>; "Washington, D.C.: A Challenge to Jim Crow in the Nation's Capital," <https://americanhistory.si.edu/brown/history/4-five/washington-dc-2.html>.

²²⁵ "20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC," #60, "Hurd v. Hodge, Landmark Supreme Court Case," <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>.

Virginia

Alexandria City

Torpedo Factory (now the Torpedo Factory Art Center)

105 N. Union Street, Alexandria, VA

The Torpedo Factory began production of torpedoes for the US Navy in 1918. Executive Order 8802 desegregated the defense industries in the United States in 1941 at the beginning of World War II, and soon after, African Americans were employed in the Torpedo Factory as machinists and in other occupations. After the war, the building was converted into a records center, and is now a cultural arts center.²²⁶

Arlington County

Green Valley Pharmacy

2415 Shirlington Rd., Arlington, VA

Leonard Muse graduated from the Howard University School of Pharmacy in 1948. In 1952, upon learning that there were no pharmacies in Arlington County that allowed African Americans to enter their stores, he and a friend rented a building in the Nauck community and opened the first pharmacy in Arlington County to open its doors to African Americans. Muse and his partner purchased the building in 1955, and in 2011, Arlington County erected a historic marker at the site.²²⁷

Hall's Hill Segregation Walls

4715 17th Road North, Arlington VA

In the 1930s, walls were built to separate the white-owned homes of Woodlawn Village from the African American community of Hall's Hill. During the late 1950s, children from Hall's Hill removed a small section of the wall to create a passage to a nearby creek. In 1966, Arlington County purchased two homes on the "white" side of the community and tore them and a large section of the wall down, allowing full access to and from Hall's Hill. Several sections of the wall still

²²⁶ "African American Heritage Trail - North Waterfront Route," <https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/info/default.aspx?id=116132#fn2>

²²⁷ "Green Valley Pharmacy," <https://projects.arlingtonva.us/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2016/09/A-Guide-to-the-African-American-Heritage-of-Arlington-County-Virginia.pdf>.

stand, on private property. A historical marker about the walls stands at 4715 17th Road North, Arlington VA.²²⁸

Fairfax County

Burgundy Farm Country Day School

3700 Burgundy Road, Alexandria, VA

The Burgundy Farm Country Day School was founded in 1946 with a vision to recruit an ethnically, racially, and economically diverse student body. In 1950, two African American brothers enrolled in the school, making it the first school in Virginia to integrate. To make the students feel more welcome, the school also hired an African American teacher.²²⁹

Loudoun County

Banneker Elementary School

St. Louis, Loudoun Co., VA

Banneker Elementary School was built in 1948 to relieve the overcrowding of several smaller elementary schools in Loudoun County. When the school was integrated in 1968, the county school board wanted to change the name of the school, but the local African American community convinced the board to retain the Banneker name. Banneker is the only remaining school originally for black children still in operation (integrated).²³⁰

Carver School (George Washington Carver School)

700 S. 15th Str., Purcellville, VA

The Carver School was built in 1948 as a modern replacement for the old African American school in Purcellville called the Willing Workers Hall. The school closed in 1968 due to integration and is now a senior center.²³¹

²²⁸ “Segregation Walls,” <https://projects.arlingtonva.us/plans-studies/historic-preservation/master-plan/update/get-involved/#newest>; Scott McCaffrey, “Historical Marker Makes Note of Arlington ‘Segregation Wall’ and its Impact,” https://www.insidenova.com/headlines/historical-marker-makes-note-of-arlington-segregation-wall-and-its-impact/article_1ce691fe-fcfa-11e6-a962-4ba50d686ad3.html; “Hall’s Hill Wall,” <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=157671>.

²²⁹ “History,” <https://burgundyfarm.org/about/history/>; Brooke A. Masters, “A Lesson in Tolerance” *Washington Post*, June 15, 2000 (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2000/06/15/a-lesson-in-tolerance/b5b06a1a-b992-4e5b-860b-be2444c76398/>).

²³⁰ “Early History of Banneker School,” <https://www.lcps.org/domain/5757>.

²³¹ Sandhya Somashekhar, “For Carver School, ‘A Rebirth,’” *Washington Post* (March 18, 2007)

Prince William County

Quantico Marine Base Historic District

Quantico, Prince William Co., VA
National Register of Historic Places

The Quantico Marine Base Historic District includes the African American Marine Barracks complex, part of what was called the Chopawamsic Annex. This area was built in the 1940s as a segregated site for African American Marines, and according to the National Register nomination for the Quantico Marine Base Historic District: “These buildings are part of Chopawamsic Annex, originally constructed during World War II as a planned, self-supporting, segregated site for African-American Marines. Construction site plans for the area are titled "Negro Barracks" attesting to their separate, yet unequal nature of construction. These buildings are architecturally substandard and constructed of inferior materials as compared to other comparable structures at Quantico.”²³²

Maryland

Montgomery County

Rock Terrace Elementary School

390 Martin’s Lane, Rockville, MD
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

Rock Terrace Elementary School opened in 1951 as a new consolidated school for several African American elementary schools that were in dilapidated conditions. As the desegregation of schools commenced in Montgomery County in the late 1950s, Rock Terrace was converted in 1961 to an integrated school for students with special needs. Rock Terrace was the last of the segregated schools in the county to be built, and is the only one still surviving, although in a much-enlarged configuration.²³³

²³² National Register Reference Number 01000260 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/287-0010_Quantico_Marine_Base_HD_2001_Final_NRHP_Nomination.pdf), Section 7, p.44; Virginia Landmarks Register, “287-0010 Quantico Marine Corps Base Historic District,” <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/287-0010/>.

²³³ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, “Rock Terrace Elementary School,” <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=M%3a+26-16-13>.

Hebron House and Print Shop

11 Wood Lane, Rockville, MD

Jesse and Celestine Hebron operated a printing business from this house starting in 1945, and it was one of the most successful Black-owned business ventures in Montgomery County. Jesse Hebron first started a printing shop in a different location in 1932. He and Celestine married in 1938, and after Jesse returned from serving in the Army in World War II, they moved to this house. They set up the printing operation in the basement. After the Hebrons died in 1997, the Jerusalem Church next door, of which they were members, purchased the house.²³⁴

Prince George's County

Evans Grill

9206 D'Arcy Rd/. Forestville, MD
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

Evans Grill started out as a small roadside grill and bar that transformed into an important stop for African American entertainers on the so-called Chitlin Circuit. Charles Evans opened his tavern in 1946, bringing in local bands for entertainment. There were few entertainment venues that allowed African Americans, and as the popularity of the place grew, Evans added a large addition as a music hall that could hold 1,500 people. Evans Grill was particularly popular with larger bands for mid-week concerts, as they could perform in Washington, DC and other cities on the weekends, and still have a stop-over place at Evans Grill to earn a few extra dollars. Evans Grill attracted some of the largest names in the business, including Duke Ellington, BB King, Ray Charles, James Brown, Sam Cooke, the Drifters, and more. The musical hall has been removed, but the grill and bar remain.²³⁵

²³⁴ "Take a Walking Tour of Rockville's African American Heritage," Site 9 - Hebron House and Print Shop," <https://www.rockvillemd.gov/DocumentCenter/View/978/Historic-Rockville-African-American-Walking-Tour-Brochure?bidId=>.

²³⁵ Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Evans Grill," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=PG%3a78-39-1>; *African-American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland* (Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission, 2012), pp.162-165 (<https://issuu.com/mnccppc/docs/aapgc>).

Van Horn – Mitchell House

4706 Mann Street, Capitol Heights, MD
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

Benjamin and Clara Mitchell purchased this home in 1940. The Mitchells were local leaders of the Islamic faith, and for the next 30 years, their home was the Prince George’s County center for civil rights planning and discussion which at times included national Islamic leaders such as Malcom X and Muhammed Ali.²³⁶

²³⁶ African-American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George’s County, Maryland (Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission, 2012), p.243 (<https://issuu.com/mncppc/docs/aapgc>); Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, “Archibald Van Horn House, Mitchell House, Cherry Hill,” <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=PG%3a72-10>.

PART 5. THE MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, 1954-1964

“We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed.” Martin Luther King, Jr.²³⁷

Washington, DC remained a starting point and a major transit point throughout the fight for civil rights. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 established the US Civil Rights Commission for the purpose of initiating lawsuits in regard to racial discrimination in voter registration. However, other branches of the federal government undermined the Civil Rights Commission’s work.

The battle against Jim Crow at restaurants, theaters and amusement parks in Montgomery and Arlington began to subside, with sit-ins continuing in Prince George’s County through 1962. The District was another matter. Not until 1966 did activists tackle desegregation of housing in the Washington suburbs, which proved an even tougher fight.

The continuing civil rights movement forced federal intervention that attempted to destroy the legal foundations of racism and transform race relations in the nation, particularly the South. The resulting 1964 Civil Rights Act “was a landmark in legislative attempts to improve the quality of life for African Americans and other minority groups.”²³⁸ Title II of the act “outlawed discrimination . . . in hotels, motels, restaurants, theaters, and all other public accommodations engaged in interstate commerce . . .”²³⁹

Despite the seeming victories in the recognition of the rights of people of color through the enactment of several laws and the activities around voting rights highlighted by “Freedom Summer” of 1964, racial discrimination was rampant and terrorism against African Americans did not abate. Backlash following what seemed like a march toward justice, albeit erratic and inconsistent, was the expected.

This period was also marked by activism in the streets, often captured on the growing technology of television. Marches, pickets, and boycotts that had been ruled in the previous decade as lawful (constitutionally protected activity) abounded, including several in the National Capital Area.

²³⁷ Excerpt from “Letter from Birmingham Jail – April 16, 1963,” in “Exploring the Rhetoric of Martin Luther King Jr.,” <https://www.pitt.edu/pittwire/features-articles/exploring-rhetoric-martin-luther-king-jr>

²³⁸ Rodney P. Carlisle, ed., *Encyclopedia of Politics: The Left and the Right Vol. 1: The Left*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005, Caption, p.90.

²³⁹ U S Civil Rights Policy Handbook, Volume 1, Strategic Information and Basic Laws Washington, D. C. USA: International Business Publications, USA, 2012, p.20.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

In the early 1960s, members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), an integrated group promoting nonviolent methods to achieve racial equality, rode trains and public buses from Greyhound and Trailways stations in Washington DC as a group to protest segregation of transportation networks. Segregation aboard buses traveling between states had been illegal since 1946, and a 1960 Supreme Court decision had extended earlier rulings by banning segregation in waiting rooms and restaurants serving interstate bus passengers.²⁴⁰ CORE sponsored Freedom Rides from Washington, DC to Alabama and Mississippi. In September 1961, the Interstate Commerce Commission issued regulations prohibiting segregation in bus and train stations nationwide. “Unlike education and housing desegregation that emerged as a result of landmark court decisions, the end of segregation in public accommodations more often occurred in the wake of direct action such as picketing, boycotts, and media attention to the problem.”²⁴¹

MARYLAND

Considered in the modern era as being a politically progressive state, particularly where matters of civil and individual rights are concerned, Maryland came to that position slowly and with a substantial amount of resistance. For example, in 1955, only three of its 23 counties had desegregated their schools. “Montgomery County was the first county in Maryland to integrate, setting the example for the rest of the state. Black schools in the county either were closed or torn down, but they were not integrated. A new segregated high school built for Blacks in Rockville “to maintain the separate-but-equal fiction” became the county’s school administration building. All other counties in Maryland were slower to respond to the mandate, choosing more conservative methods that delayed compliance with the ruling into the late 1960s. Prince George’s County, for example, was not significantly integrated until 1974.”²⁴²

In Phase 1 of Montgomery County’s integration efforts, 330 Black students were moved from the four closed elementary schools to thirteen different schools that were formerly for whites only. Furthermore, 160 Black students were moved to nine different previously all-white junior and senior high schools. Though the Supreme Court ruling did not specifically indicate that teachers should be integrated in addition to students,

²⁴⁰ http://photos.state.gov/galleries/usinfo-photo/39/civil_rights_07/7.html

²⁴¹ Susan Cianci Salvatore, ed, “Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations,” A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study, National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, 2004, revised 2009, p.3.

²⁴² “BEFORE US LIES THE TIMBER...LET US BUILD” Reflections, 1961, Montgomery History onward <https://montgomeryhistory.org/online-exhibit-desegregation/reflections/>

six African American teachers were moved to formerly all-white schools, including Nina Honemond Clarke.

Playgrounds had been segregated until 1955. “By 1958, Montgomery County Public Schools were forced to bus African American students to integrated DC pools, while white students continued to take advantage of places like Glen Echo Amusement Park's Crystal Pool.”²⁴³ A group of concerned residents, concentrated in the local community of Bannockburn, began to lobby for county-wide accommodation laws and protested the use of public funds for programs at the segregated, privately owned Glen Echo Amusement Park.

Black Power was on its way to Washington, DC. In the spring of 1960, a group of students - many from Howard University - organized themselves as the “Non-violent Action Group” (NAG) and began protesting Northern Virginia lunch counters, restaurants, and department stores. During the summer of 1960, they came to Glen Echo Amusement Park. The Bannockburn residents would prove a willing ally during that summer of change.

On the evening of June 30, Laurence Henry, a 26-year-old Howard University student, led approximately two dozen NAG members, both black and white, and two high school students on a protest of Glen Echo Amusement Park. After the high school students were turned away at the park's entrance, Henry and others rushed to the carousel where they were confronted by state-deputized security guard Frank Collins.²⁴⁴ Glen Echo ended the fall season of 1960 season still segregated. During the off-season, however, under the cloud of lawsuits, political pressure and the threat of renewed picketing, the owners gave in and opened in 1961 as a desegregated facility. The demonstrations branched out to other suburban Maryland targets that summer, including the Hi-Boy restaurant at North Washington and Frederick Street in Rockville. Hi-Boy gave in after two weeks of picketing, sit-ins and arrests.



Security guard Frank Collins confronts NAG protester Marvis Saunders (National Park Service, Glen Echo Park)

²⁴³ A Summer of Change, Glen Echo Park, Maryland, National Park Service, <https://www.nps.gov/glec/learn/historyculture/summer-of-change.htm>

²⁴⁴ “Summer of Change,” Glen Echo Park, Maryland, National Park Service, <https://www.nps.gov/glec/learn/historyculture/summer-of-change.htm>

The Hiser Theater at 7414 Wisconsin Avenue in Bethesda was also at the center of nearly 100 consecutive hours of picketing during one of the protests to mark the years that had passed since the Emancipation Proclamation. In September, John Hiser, the longtime owner, sold the theater and the new owners desegregated the venue. Picketers also targeted the Fair Lanes Bowling Alley in Hyattsville.

Prince George's County's Chapter of Congress of Racial Equality, a civil rights and fair housing advocacy group, initiated protests targeting the racially restrictive Belair at Bowie subdivision. In July 1961, nine months after the planned community of Belair began selling property, the company was accused of racial bias. Since African and Asian diplomats were drawn to Belair, officials worried about an international incident caused by the racial covenants that did not allow people of color access to loans or to the neighborhood. The American Veterans Committee, the organization that many African Americans had turned to for housing loans, partnered with local civil rights groups. The two groups took the fight directly to President John F. Kennedy. After a series of political maneuvering through loopholes by Levitt, the developer, CORE partnered with prospective buyers at Belair as well as with existing residents, getting them to join their protest. They put pressure on Levitt's company, which did not budge. Places such as Belair at Bowie and Col. Lee's developments in Silver Spring continued to defend racially restrictive covenants and remained white-only communities throughout the 1960s. These restrictive racial policies applied to other Levitt properties in the Washington area, including Greenbriar in Fairfax County.

Just ahead of Congress passing the 1968 Civil Rights Bill, "Levitt announced that the company was dropping its non-integration sales policy "as a tribute to the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr" who had been assassinated in April. "According to census data from 2000, Prince George's County is now the wealthiest majority-black county in the United States — and Bowie the largest city within that county. Most of the people currently living in Levitt's houses, in communities he designed or inspired, are the people he didn't think worthy enough in the 1960s."²⁴⁵

VIRGINIA

Considered one of the states with "soft" segregationists, there were nonetheless holdouts ten years after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed. The Governor of Virginia had declared, "I shall use every legal means at my command to continue segregated schools in Virginia."²⁴⁶ Indeed, by 1964, 45 percent of Black students in the border states, Virginia included, were still attending segregated schools. Objection to the

²⁴⁵ "Belair at Bowie": Segregated Suburbia, Boundary Stones, WETA's Local History Website, <https://boundarystones.weta.org/2020/06/12/belair-bowie-segregated-suburbia>

²⁴⁶ Patterson, 78-79; <https://www.virginiahistory.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/civil-rights-movement-virginia/beginnings-black>.

obvious inequalities in the school system came to a head in 1951, when 16-year-old Barbara Johns led a strike of Robert Russa Moton High School in Prince Edward County to protest the conditions. When students agreed to seek an integrated school rather than a facility comparable to white schools, the NAACP took their case. It was folded into the *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County*, one of the five cases in the *Brown v. Board of Education* suit.

In reaction to the decision in the *Brown* case, Senator Harry Byrd proposed legislation intended to continue to thwart integration of the schools of the Commonwealth. His stance, which became known as “Massive Resistance,” was a repressive piece of legislation drafted to address the perceived denial of states’ rights presented by the *Brown* decision. Included in the legislation was a provision that cut off state funds and closed any public school that attempted to integrate.²⁴⁷ Thus when the Arlington County School Board, for example, announced its plan of phased desegregation, the General Assembly of the Commonwealth reacted punitively, depriving it of its special elective status.

The first public school in Virginia to desegregate was Stratford Junior High in Arlington in 1959 following the court ruling that the African American students had been unfairly denied admission.²⁴⁸ This small victory strengthened civil rights activists who next organized sit-ins, the first being at Peoples Drug Stores counter at Lee Highway and Old Dominion Drive in Arlington, Virginia in 1960. The next targets were the lunch counters at Lansburgh Department Store and Woolworth in Shirlington. Hostile crowds, in some instances led by George Lincoln Rockwell of the American Nazi Party, tried to incite the peaceful demonstrators to violence. However, by the end of June 1960, the major chain stores in Arlington, Alexandria and Fairfax had integrated their lunch counters.²⁴⁹

WEST VIRGINIA

Like most of the South, the climate in West Virginia was repressive. The school systems of Jefferson County, among others, was the last to desegregate. An example of the resistance to Blacks achieving their civil rights was when Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia led a 14 hour and 13-minute filibuster in a desperate attempt to stop the Civil Rights Act.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ James H. Hershman, Jr., “Massive Resistance”, Encyclopedia of Virginia

Contributed by James H. Hershman Jr. https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Massive_Resistance#its1

²⁴⁸ Liebertz, 56

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 57

²⁵⁰ Byrd, who would go on to win seven subsequent Senate terms, expressed regret over his opposition to the Civil Rights Act.

EXAMPLES OF EVENTS, 1954-1964

- 1954 The Fair Housing Act passed. The physical separation of the races in public accommodations remained a resented and demeaning practice for those denied equal access. Segregation in theaters, restaurants, hotels, and buses was a constant irritant in everyday life and an insulting inconvenience.

Charles Hamilton Houston served as the first lawyer for the Washington, DC school desegregation case that became *Bolling v. Sharpe*, which was a component of *Brown v. Board of Education*. The 1954 case was part of the legal strategy to desegregate American schools and became a component of the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision, which declared that separate education was unconstitutional.

The victory of the Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v Board of Education* reverberated across centuries of struggle. The constant push for quality education originated in the Sabbath Schools and universities of the Black church in response to anti-literacy laws and systematic segregation. Legal teams singled out public schools as the sites likely to yield effective results in their concerted efforts to desegregate the American education system.

- 1957 President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the Civil Rights Act of 1957 into law.

Montgomery County adopted school integration plan for grades K-9.

- 1959 Maryland ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, almost a century after its adoption.

- 1960 On June 26, a group of activists met in Washington, DC, and formally organized the Nonviolent Action Group (NAG). It was decided that during the summer that the Glen Echo Amusement Park in Montgomery County, MD would be the next project for integration.

On August 15, over three hundred demonstrators assembled in Washington, DC, in the Capitol Rotunda, the White House, Congressional Houses, and the Democratic National Headquarters. Students participated from all over the South, including forty students who walked from Baltimore, Maryland.

- 1961 In May, the first Freedom Ride was launched from Washington, DC by CORE to test the Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregation in bus and train terminals. Interracial groups of students entered segregated waiting rooms in bus terminals across the south. The bus was firebombed ten days later.

John Leighton Triggs and Norman Thomas from Howard University addressed 25,000 demonstrators at the Washington Monument and spoke about peace and the civil rights struggle.

On December 5, in the *Boynton v. Virginia* decision, the US Supreme Court overturned a conviction of Howard University law student Bruce Boynton for trespassing in a “whites only” restaurant in a bus terminal in Richmond, VA. Like many of the Freedom Rides, this one originated in Washington. Boynton had purchased his Trailways bus ticket and departed from the bus terminal at New York Avenue, bound for his home in Montgomery, AL. The ruling held racial segregation in bus terminals illegal, stating that such segregation violated the Interstate Commerce Act. The resulting ruling outlawed racial segregation in public transportation and contributed directly to the Freedom Riders movement.



Members of the “Washington Freedom Riders Committee,” en route to Washington, D.C., hang signs from bus windows to protest segregation, New York, 1961. Copyprint. (New York World-Telegram and Sun Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress)

- 1961 The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organized. The organization would later be influential in pushing for home rule for the District of Columbia.
- 1962 Montgomery, MD county council enacted a law banning racial and religious discrimination in public accommodations. In order to ensure the measure’s passage, however, it included a compromise provision, a “tavern exemption,”

which was to remain in effect for five years for establishments that sold alcohol as a “prominent part” of their business.²⁵¹

1963 The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom brought more than 250,000 people to the Lincoln Memorial.

Dumfries, in Prince William County, was the first municipality in Virginia to elect an African American to public office since the era of Reconstruction after the Civil War. Wilmer Porter, proprietor of a local auto repair business, was elected to the Dumfries Town Council.

²⁵¹ Eugene L. Meyer, A shameful past: Montgomery County is one of the most progressive and diverse counties in the country—but it also has a long history of racism, *Bethesda Magazine*, March 29, 2021, March-April 2021, <https://bethesdamagazine.com/bethesda-magazine/march-april-2021/a-shameful-past/>.

EXAMPLES OF INDIVIDUALS, 1954-1964

Judge James H. Taylor, of Fairmount Heights, Prince George's Co., MD, was the first black circuit court judge in Prince George's County.

Nina Clarke, pioneer educator and community leader first taught in the segregated Montgomery County, MD school system before making the seven-year, difficult transition to an integrated school system along with six other women.

Samuel Tucker, one of the "African American Change Agents of Alexandria," was the leading attorney for the NAACP in the Commonwealth of Virginia. He worked tirelessly to end segregation in Virginia's public school systems.

Rayford Logan worked closely with W.E.B. Du Bois in the Pan African Congress, which was a precursor to the Civil Rights Movement. He joined the faculty at Howard University in 1938 where he remained until 1965. His most influential work was *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes To Woodrow Wilson*.

Dion Diamond was a Howard University student who organized and led sit-ins in Arlington that "broke Jim Crow's back in the Washington, DC suburbs in 1960."²⁵²

²⁵² Crazy Dion Diamond: A 1960 Rights Warrior in the Suburbs, <https://washingtonareaspark.com/tag/civil-rights-2/>

EXAMPLES OF PLACES, 1954-1964

National Park Service, National Capital Area

Glen Echo Park

7300 MacArthur Blvd, Glen Echo, MD
National Park
National Register of Historic Places

Glen Echo was built in 1891 as an arts and amusement center for white citizens of the Washington, DC area. It was converted into an amusement park in the early 20th century. In the spring of 1960, a group of college students, most from Howard University, created the “Non-violent Action Group” (NAG) and, modeling their actions on the sit-ins at the Greensboro, NC lunch counters that had occurred earlier that year, began to conduct sit-ins at restaurants and other businesses in northern Virginia. On June 30, several members of NAG came to Glen Echo Park. They were told they could not enter, but they persisted and staged a sit-in which resulted in the arrest of 5 of them. NAG then picketed the park for the rest of the summer, joined by several residents of the nearby neighborhood of Bannockburn who had previously complained about the segregationist policy of the park. After political pressure was applied by US Attorney General Robert Kennedy, the park announced in 1961 that it was dropping its whites-only policy and the park would be open to all. The park closed in 1968 and has been managed by the National Park Service since 1971.²⁵³

Lincoln Memorial

2 Lincoln Memorial Circle, NW, Washington, DC
National Park
National Register of Historic Places

On August 28, 1963, over 250,000 people attended the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom to pressure Congress to pass a civil rights bill. The event culminated at the Lincoln Memorial, where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his famous “I Have a Dream” speech.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ “Summer of Change,” <https://www.nps.gov/glec/learn/historyculture/summer-of-change.htm>; National Register, “Glen Echo Park Historic District,” https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-806.pdf.

²⁵⁴ “March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom,” <https://www.nps.gov/articles/march-on-washington.htm>; “20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC,” #92, “The Lincoln Memorial,” <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>; “Lincoln Memorial,” <https://civilrightstrail.com/attraction/lincoln-memorial/>; National Register nomination, “Lincoln Memorial,” <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=53754a23-b5dd-4d42-920d-d3080f09afd6>.

Properties Not Under National Park Service Jurisdiction

Washington, DC (City)

Sousa Junior High / Bolling v. Sharpe

3650 Ely Place SE, Washington, DC
National Historic Landmark

In 1950, several new schools for white children in Washington, DC, opened, including John Philip Sousa Junior High School. Parents of African American students were dismayed at these new schools when there were no junior high schools for African American students on the east side of the Anacostia River, and African American schools in general were overcrowded and dilapidated compared to the white schools. When schools opened in the fall of 1950, an African American parent attempted to enroll a group of students in the new Sousa Junior High. They were denied entry, resulting in a lawsuit being filed against the DC School Board President. The case, *Bolling v. Sharpe*, was decided by DC courts in the School Board's favor, but the case then became part of the US Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954. The Court ruled that in all the cases that were part of the *Brown* decision, the segregation of schools was unconstitutional. All the cases except *Bolling* were based on a violation of the 14th Amendment which required "states" to provide equal treatment. Since DC was not a state, *Bolling* was based on a violation of the 5th Amendment's guarantee that the federal government treat all citizens equally.²⁵⁵

US Supreme Court

1 First Street NE, Washington, DC
National Historic Landmark

In 1935, the US Supreme Court moved from the Capitol building into new quarters across the street. Significant civil rights cases have been argued and decided here through the years, such as the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case. African American Supreme Court Justices have also worked from these

²⁵⁵ "20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC," #35, "Sousa Junior High and Bolling v. Sharpe," <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>; National Register, "John Philip Sousa Junior High School" (<https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/01001045>); DC Inventory of Historic Sites, "John Philip Sousa Junior High School," p.147 (<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>); "John Philip Sousa Middle School," <https://civilrightstrail.com/attraction/sousa-middle-school/>.

chambers, with Thurgood Marshall being the first African American appointed to the Court, followed by Clarence Thomas.²⁵⁶

Virginia

Alexandria City

“The Fort”

Area around Fort Ward, 4301 W. Braddock Rd., Alexandria, VA

After the Civil War, an African American community grew and flourished around what had been Fort Ward during the war. Homes, churches, and a school were all built, and the community survived for almost a hundred years. In the 1950s and early 1960s, however, in Alexandria’s desire to interpret Ford Ward and expand its historical presence in anticipation of the centennial of the Civil War, “the City moved the residents out of the area to establish the Fort Ward Park and Museum.”²⁵⁷ Residents “were displaced, buildings demolished and burial sites lost.”²⁵⁸ The city of Alexandria conducted historical and archeological investigations in the 2010s to learn more about the historical African American community in “The Fort,” and to commemorate the former residents.

Arlington County

Stratford Junior High School

4100 Vacation Lane, Arlington, VA
National Register of Historic Places

After the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision in 1954 declared school segregation unconstitutional, Virginia adopted a policy of staunch opposition to the ruling. Frustrated with the state’s resistance to school integration, three African American students tried to enroll in the whites-only Stratford Junior High in 1957. They were denied but the NAACP took on the

²⁵⁶ DC Inventory of Historic Sites, “Supreme Court,” p.152

(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%20%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf>); African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (2003), p.30 (<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>); “20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC,” #71, “Supreme Court, Arbiter of Civil Rights,” <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>.

²⁵⁷ “The Fort: A Post-Civil War African American Community,”

<https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/archaeology/default.aspx?id=54262>.

²⁵⁸ “‘The Fort’ African American Community Site,” <https://www.visitalexandriava.com/things-to-do/historic-attractions-and-museums/african-american/alexandria-black-history-driving-tour/>.

case, and through litigation, Stratford was integrated in 1959, becoming the first school in the state of Virginia to be desegregated. “The successful integration represented the end of the Commonwealth’s policy of “massive resistance” and dealt a fatal blow to foes of school integration across the South.”²⁵⁹

1960 Sit-Ins in Arlington County

People’s Drug Store (now CVS), 4709 Lee Highway, Arlington, VA

Lee-Harrison Drug Fair (now Mattress Firm), 5401 Lee Highway, Arlington, VA

Cherrydale Drug Fair (now Hair Vogue), 3815 Lee Highway, Arlington, VA

Buckingham Drug Fair (now CVS), 265 N. Glebe Road, Arlington, VA

In the spring of 1960, inspired by the lunch counter sit-ins happening in Greensboro, NC, Howard University divinity school student Laurence Henry created the Non-violent Action Group (NAG) made up of other Howard University students as well as students – some white – from other universities. They began a campaign in the summer of 1960 to test segregation policies in restaurants, stores, and other businesses in the greater Washington, DC area. They had already picketed both the US Capitol and the White House. About two dozen members of NAG participated in the Arlington sit-ins. The demonstrations started on June 9, 1960, at the lunch counters at the People’s Drug Store at Lee Highway and Old Dominion Dr., and at Cherrydale Drug Fair at 3815 Lee Highway. Both lunch counters immediately closed, but the students continued to sit at the counters for hours. They used the same tactic at other Arlington establishments in the next few days. Most of the sit-ins occurred without incident, except at the Drug Fair in Cherrydale, where American Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell led a group in counter-protest, which led to harassment of the students by a white mob. One of the students had lit cigarettes placed in his pants. NAG suspended the sit-ins on June 10 to allow businesses to consider the situation, but after no progress was achieved, the sit-ins started again on June 18. The first business to decide to acquiesce was F.W. Woolworth’s in Shirlington, which announced on June 22 that it was desegregating its lunch counter. Later that same day, several other businesses also announced desegregation plans. These decisions had a domino effect, and within days,

²⁵⁹ “Stratford School,” <https://projects.arlingtonva.us/projects/stratford-school/>. See also: “Back to Stratford: Honoring Arlington’s History Makers,” <https://projects.arlingtonva.us/plans-studies/historic-preservation/back-to-stratford-honoring-arlington-history-makers/>; National Register Reference Number 04000110 (https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/000-9412_Stratford_Junior_High_School_2003_Final_Nomination.pdf); Virginia Landmarks Register, “000-9412 Stratford Junior High School,” <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/000-9412/>.

almost all chain department stores and drug stores in Arlington, Alexandria, and Fairfax had integrated their lunch counters.²⁶⁰

Fairfax County

Luther P. Jackson School

Falls Church, Fairfax Co., VA

Luther P. Jackson High school opened in 1954 and was Fairfax County's first secondary school for African American students. Before this, older Black students in the area attended the Manassas Industrial School, or a high school in DC. It closed in 1965 when the county integrated its schools and reopened as an integrated intermediate school. It is now the Luther Jackson Middle School. Luther Porter Jackson was a civil rights activist and professor of history at Virginia State College.²⁶¹

Loudoun County

Purcellville Library

18th and Main Street, Purcellville, VA

In 1956, the Purcellville Library, the only public library in Loudoun County at the time, refused to let African American Samuel C. Murray and his wife Josie Murray use the segregated library. The Murrays, decorators and upholsterers from Purcellville, persuaded prominent Washington, DC lawyer Oliver Ellis Stone to take on their challenge to this inequity. Stone informed the Purcellville Library Board and other county officials that because the library was funded with public money, Virginia law required it to be open to all residents. In March 1957 the Purcellville Library Board voted to open the library to all, and the county Board of Supervisors followed suit in April.²⁶² The desegregation of the

²⁶⁰ Mark Jones, "Sit-ins Come to Arlington," <https://boundarystones.weta.org/2014/06/22/sit-ins-come-arlington>. See also: "Arlington Lunch Counter Sit-Ins," <https://projects.arlingtonva.us/plans-studies/historic-preservation/60th-anniversary-of-the-arlington-county-lunch-counter-sit-ins/> Dick Uliano, "Arlington Commemorates its Civil Rights History," <https://wtop.com/arlington/2021/05/arlington-commemorates-its-civil-rights-history/>.

²⁶¹ "Luther Jackson High School," <https://jacksonms.fcps.edu/about/history/high>.

²⁶² Eugene Scheel, "Couple Wrote the First Chapter of County's Civil Rights Movement," *Washington Post* (April 8, 2001), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2001/04/08/couple-wrote-the-first-chapter-of-countys-civil-rights-movement/25ff52a1-d23b-4ba6-aa97-2ca50b9e70e2/>.

Purcellville Library “is remembered as the first victory for Loudoun’s civil rights movement.”²⁶³

Loudoun Valley High School & Loudoun County High School

340 N Maple Ave, Purcellville, VA
415 Dry Mill Rd SW, Leesburg, VA

In 1962, these two high schools were the first schools in Loudoun County to begin integration. Loudoun County officials strongly resisted school desegregation, even after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision ruled segregated schools were unconstitutional. Eventually the school board allowed African American students to apply to enroll in a white school in 1962. Only three were picked to attend the new school Loudoun Valley High, and one was chosen for Loudoun County High. These were the only two white high schools in the county, along with Douglass High School for African American students. A few more African American students were allowed to enter the white schools in the next few years, but the US Justice Department sued Loudoun County in 1965 for delaying the integration of schools. In 1968, full integration was finally started in Loudoun County.²⁶⁴

²⁶³ “Purcellville Library Celebrates 60 Years of Desegregation,” Loudoun Now (April 7, 2017), <https://loudounnow.com/2017/04/07/purcellville-library-celebrates-60-year-of-desegregation/>.

²⁶⁴ Eugen Scheel, untitled article, *Washington Post* (May 21, 2000), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2000/05/21/eugene-scheel/f72cadff-f4cd-4246-816b-3176c0f13a50/>.

PART 6. THE SECOND REVOLUTION, 1964-1976

“So today, when the black man feels that he is within his rights – when he becomes the victim of brutality by those who are depriving him of his rights – to do whatever is necessary to protect himself.” -Malcolm X²⁶⁵

The Civil Rights Movement, accompanied by memorable images and events leading to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, ranks as one of the most publicized and internationally recognized episodes in United States history. After more than a century of continuous struggle by African Americans for equal rights, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the most comprehensive civil rights legislation in United States history. It clearly stated as its purpose the guarantee of the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. The Act was intended “to enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.” The Act (1) guaranteed all Americans the right to vote; (2) prohibited discrimination in public accommodations based on race, color, religion, or national origin; (3) outlawed job discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; and (4) gave the federal government broad authority in enforcement. The Act was to include all citizens without regard to “race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.” The provisions of the act focused on the right to vote, access to public accommodations, public education, and equal employment opportunity (in the private sector as well as in federal government employment).

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 marked another high-water mark for the Civil Rights Movement. By outlawing decades of practices of white supremacist strategies that had been used to disenfranchise Black citizens, the law made provisions for facilitating the registration of new voters. After a century of great legal advancements and withering setbacks, when considered together, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were a double-pronged weapon intended to end most legal forms of white supremacy, voter suppression and other methods of racial discrimination. For laws to be effective, however, they must be obeyed, and that has proven over the decades to be a much more difficult challenge to civil rights.

²⁶⁵ Address to a meeting in New York, 1964, Frazier, 459.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington and nearby Maryland and Virginia counties played host to decades of national civil rights agitation, literally and figuratively. In turn, many of the tactics – marches, pickets, boycotts – were employed by local groups to press for civil rights at home. The activity of the 1930s to the 1950s laid the groundwork for the success of this period – the victories that came about in spite of losses such as the displacement of thousands of Black families for the “urban renewal” of Southwest Washington and the construction of a freeway, for example.

The city was with electoral autonomy and was governed by segregationists in Congress. This majority-black city enjoyed neither an elected city government nor representation in Congress, therefore rule for the District was at the forefront of concerns for Washingtonians. Black activist groups from SNCC to SCLC to PRIDE were headquartered the vicinity of 14th and U Streets in northwest Washington.

MARYLAND

Segregation, housing discrimination and unfair labor practices continued to plague the Maryland counties of the National Capital Area. Housing discrimination in the 1970s in Prince George’s County went hand in hand with the increase in African Americans migrating into the county. Real estate agents were notorious for blockbusting tactics. They would first sell a home on an all-white block to a Black family. After that, the agent would push other white families to sell before they manipulated property values. By 1978, the county had capped property taxes and imposed barriers to future increases. This diminished the county’s ability and willingness to build quality schools and other public facilities for the county’s new, burgeoning African American population. Other developers and landlords in the area were also actively denying housing to people of color with little pressure from officials to end the practice. Activist organizations and individual citizens had to advocate for change and insist upon their civil rights.

VIRGINIA

An indication of Virginia’s civil rights climate was its enforcement of a 1924 Act to Preserve Racial Integrity which prohibited interracial marriages and made such unions felonies. A mixed couple who wed in 1958 in the District but returned to Virginia were arrested and sentenced to a year in jail unless they agreed to leave the state for 25 years. Their lawsuit *Loving v Virginia*, filed in 1963, was ultimately taken to the US Supreme Court, which ruled in 1967 that the ban on interracial marriages violated the 14th Amendment's equal protection clause. Further, the freedom to marry was an individual

right and not a state's right. The ruling was a major victory for civil rights movement and dealt a blow to the hardline states' rights holdouts, like the Commonwealth.²⁶⁶

WEST VIRGINIA

By the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, most of West Virginia had desegregated its public places.

²⁶⁶ When the Lovings married in 1958, over half the states similarly prohibited mixed marriages. The Supreme Court ruling also struck down the similar prohibition in 16 states. 388 US 1 (1967), <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/388/1/#tab-opinion-1946730>; <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/388/1>; Nov. 4, 1874, interracial marriages became legal in the District.

EXAMPLES OF EVENTS, 1964-1976

1964 President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It is considered the broadest legislation since Reconstruction and grants federal government the powers to enforce desegregation.

Julius Hobson, Washington civil rights activist, after leading protests calling for the integration of Washington Hospital Center, formed a new organization, Associated Community Teams (ACT).

DC residents voted for the first time in a US presidential election. Lyndon Johnson was elected.

On July 11, Lemuel A. Penn, DC native, was murdered by Ku Klux Klan members while he was en route to Washington from having spent two weeks at Army Reserve Training in Fort Benning, Georgia. A lieutenant colonel in the Reserves, Penn worked as the director for industrial and adult education in the office of the assistant superintendent of DC Public Schools. The killing took place just a few days after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Though President Johnson condemned the terrorism in national media, an all-white jury acquitted the two murderers. They were tried again in 1966 in the first lawsuit brought under the 1964 Act and were convicted and sentenced to ten years in prison for violating Penn's civil rights.

1965 In February, Malcolm X was assassinated. A frequent visitor to the Washington area, he had begun to espouse a need for a Black Nationalist philosophy and party.

According to the ACLU, "The Voting Rights Act of 1965 has proven to be one of the most effective civil rights statutes in eliminating racial discrimination in voting."²⁶⁷

1966 The continued violence against the non-violent civil rights groups such as SNCC and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) led to a more aggressive approach first articulated by SNCC's new elected leader, Stokely Carmichael, with the phrase "Black Power."

1967 Thurgood Marshall was appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

²⁶⁷ ACLU FACTSHEET ON THE VOTING RIGHTS AMENDMENT ACT OF 2015 (HOUSE)
<https://www.aclu.org/other/aclu-factsheet-voting-rights-amendment-act-2015-house>

The United States Supreme Court ruled in the *Loving v Virginia* case that forbidding interracial marriage is unconstitutional. The sixteen states that continued to ban interracial marriage were forced to revise their laws.

Montgomery County passed an open housing law that outlawed discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing, except owner-occupied housing of two rented units or less.

1967-71 Montgomery County used busing as a tool to achieve racial balance.

1968 Four days of civil unrest and rioting followed the assassination civil rights activist Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4.

In June, Ralph Abernathy led the Poor People's March in Washington, DC. Although it was a national protest movement, local residents hosted and coordinated the event and helped with food, shelter and documentation.

Over 100 Black Power activists, including Marion Barry and Stokely Carmichael crammed into the New School for Afro-American Thought at 2208 14th Street for the D.C. Black United Front's first meeting.

The National Office for Black Catholics was established in Washington to serve as an umbrella organization to address the concerns of various other Black Catholic groups that included the inclusiveness and relevancy of liturgy to African Americans. The following year two Black Catholic churches in Washington, St. Benedict The Moor and Holy Comforter-St. Cyprian, introduced gospel choirs in their services.

President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1968, prohibiting discrimination in housing.

1969 The Black Panther Party based in Oakland, California, began recruiting to establish a chapter in Washington, DC in September 1969 at 1932 17th Street, NW.

Students of Van Ness Elementary School staged a march around the school to protest the lack of promised windows in the building, leaving them exposed to the elements.

H. R. Freeman, Jr. of Fairfax County and his white landlord filed suit after Freeman was denied use of his community swimming pool and after they protested, the community membership of both was revoked. The Supreme Court

ruled in 1969 that pool access was a property right and could not be determined by race.²⁶⁸

1971 Civil and political rights advocates formed the D.C. Statehood Party.

The Loudoun County Emancipation Association sold its property, ending an era of Emancipation Celebrations in the county. “They were unable to compete with the hopes inspired by the Civil Rights Movement.”²⁶⁹

1973 President Nixon signed the Home Rule Act (the District of Columbia Self-Government and Reorganization Act of 1973), which provides for an elected mayor and thirteen-member council but not for a voting member of Congress or total control of its court, budget, or local legislation.

Maryland ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, after rejection on April 4, 1870.

1974 DC citizens approved the home rule charter and the creation of Advisory Neighborhood Commissions (ANCs) representing each of the eight DC wards. In November, the first local election in a hundred years for mayor was held, with Walter Washington as the winner.

Prince George’s County submitted Desegregation Implementation plans to the United States government.

1976 The DC City Council passed legislation requiring that 25% of all city contracts be awarded to minority firms.

²⁶⁸ *Sullivan v. Little Hunting Park, Inc.* 396 US 229 (1969) supreme.justia.com. Freeman had moved by the time the case was heard by the US Supreme Court. One of the outcomes was the decline of public pools and the increase in private pools; Emma Brown, “Paul E. Sullivan, 87, brought landmark civil rights suit,” *The Washington Post*, April 30, 2011.

²⁶⁹ “Let Our Rejoicing Rise” Emancipation Day in Loudoun County. The Loudoun County Emancipation Association, 1890-1970, an exhibit catalogue of the Loudoun Museum.

EXAMPLES OF INDIVIDUALS, 1964-1976

Julius Hobson (1922-1977), an ardent activist, sat on the first DC city council, having been appointed by President Johnson. He ran unsuccessfully for the non-voting delegate but won in 1974 by election for at-large member of the City Council. One of his signature legislative acts was the Non-Criminal Police Surveillance Acts, which limited police surveillance of politically active organizations and individuals. He made a bid for US Vice President in 1972 as running mate of Dr. Benjamin Spock of the People's Party, whose platform included anti-war, civil rights and environmental issues.

Walter E. Fauntroy (1933), a Baptist minister, was a DC organizer for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and aide to Martin Luther King, Jr., who helped to coordinate the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. He was later elected DC's first non-voting delegate to Congress under the Home Rule Act, serving from 1971 to 1991. During this time, he founded the Model Inner City Community Organization (MICCO) to bring improvements to the underinvested urban neighborhoods of Washington.

Stokely Carmichael, later known as Kwame Ture, became an activist during his first year at Howard University in 1960, participated in a freedom ride to Cambridge, Maryland, and stared down the Maryland National Guard in 1963. He joined the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and popularized the term "Black Power." He came back to DC in 1967 and launched the D.C. Black United Front. In August 1967, he left SNCC to help lead the Black Panther Party.

Marion Barry arrived in Washington in 1964 to organize a chapter of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). In February 1966, shortly after Congress killed a home rule bill backed by President Johnson, Barry formed the Free D.C. Movement to push for home rule. Businesses that refused to post a Free D.C. sign were subjected to pickets.

Willie J. Hardy, SNCC antipoverty activist, helped set up 45 stations at barbershops, churches, laundromats, and other spots to help people get rides as they coordinated a one-day bus boycott.

Walter Washington was appointed by President Johnson in 1967 to serve as mayor of the new congressionally established government of Washington. The structure also called for a city council, of which the majority was comprised of African Americans, also appointed by Johnson.

Reginald H. Booker was an activist involved in the early Civil Rights and desegregation struggles in the District. As a teenager, he took part in protests of Jim Crow segregation at a Woolworth's lunch counter at 14th Street and Park Road NW. At sixteen he participated in Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s national marches. He was part of the anti-Vietnam War

movement, black workers' rights and anti-police brutality efforts. He worked through Congress of Racial Equality and District Action for Racial Equality.

EXAMPLES OF PLACES, 1964-1976

National Park Service, National Capital Area

National Capital Parks-East / Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial

Lincoln Park, East Capitol and 12th Streets NE, Washington, DC

National Park

National Register (part of Capitol Hill Historic District)

The Emancipation Monument was erected in 1876 in Lincoln Park as a memorial to Abraham Lincoln. Almost a century later, in 1974, a memorial statue of Mary McLeod Bethune was placed in Lincoln Park, honoring her work as an educator, civil rights activist, and founder of the National Council of Negro Women. It was the first statue honoring an African American in a Washington, DC park.²⁷⁰ After the Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial was erected, the Emancipation Monument was turned so that Lincoln would face the Bethune statue.²⁷¹

NPS Sites in Washington, DC and NCA / Summer in the Parks

Summer in the Parks was a popular National Park Service program that used arts and recreation to better connect people with parks. The program operated from 1968 to 1976, although the origins of the program began in 1966. NPS Director George Hartzog opened an Office of Urban Affairs in 1966, and the following year, Congress appropriated funds to expand activities in Washington in 1968. But after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in April 1968, and the ensuing violence and urban unrest, the program was viewed as one way the NPS could help heal a grieving and angry community. The activities of Summer in the Parks varied, and included field trips for children to parks (both those in DC as well as others in Maryland and Virginia), community programs that included games, arts, and crafts for kids, and “spectaculars,” large outdoor concerts and shows. “The program reinvented how the NPS engaged with Washington, DC, communities: it involved community organizations in planning, hired locally, and designed activities to meet community needs, from improving children’s literacy to creating hit concert series.”²⁷²

²⁷⁰ “Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial,” <https://www.nps.gov/places/000/mary-mcleod-bethune-memorial.htm>.

²⁷¹ “Mary McLeod Bethune,” <https://dcmemorialist.com/mary-mcleod-bethune/>.

²⁷² “Summer in the Parks (1968-1976),” https://www.nps.gov/articles/summer-in-the-parks-1968-1976.htm?utm_source=article&utm_medium=website&utm_campaign=experience_more&utm_content=large; Garland-Jackson F and Lattanzi Shutika D., *Summer in the Parks (1968-1976); A Special Ethnohistory Study* (National Park Service) 2020..

Meridian Hill Park (Malcolm X Park)

16th St NW & W St NW, Washington, DC
National Park
National Historic Landmark

Meridian Hill Park is best known to many as a beautiful garden inspired by grand formal Italian gardens. It was designed by George Burnap and Horace Peaslee, and construction started in 1914. The park was acquired by the National Park Service in 1933. But Meridian Hill Park is also a civil rights history site, where since the 1960s activists have protested for social justice and Black rights. By the 1960s, the neighborhoods surrounding Meridian Hill Park were mostly African American. Black activist groups, such as the Black United Front (BUF) and the Black Panther Party, established their headquarters near the park, and used the park for rallies and demonstrations. In 1969, the park “was symbolically liberated by the BUF Black United Front], who unofficially renamed it Malcolm X Park.”²⁷³ Attempts to get Congress to officially rename the park have failed, but the park is now often referred to as both Meridian Hill Park and Malcolm X Park.

Properties Not Under National Park Service Jurisdiction

Washington, DC (City)

Thurgood Marshall Residence

64 G Street SW, Washington, DC

Thurgood Marshall and his family moved to this residence in 1965, when he was appointed the US Solicitor General. Two years later Marshall became the first African American to serve on the US Supreme Court. A graduate of Howard University Law School, Marshall was involved in many of the landmark 20th century legal decisions involving civil rights. He worked with his mentor, Charles Hamilton Houston, and others, in the *Pearson v. Murray* case in 1936, in which the University of Maryland Law School’s whites-only admission policy was declared unconstitutional, and in 1950, he argued before the US Supreme Court that “separate but equal” facilities for African American law students were inherently unconstitutional. This case created a precedent that was used in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* landmark decision on school segregation. As a

²⁷³ Elise Elder, *Meridian Hill Park, African American Experiences Since the Civil War: A Special Resource Study* (National Park Service) 2019 (<https://irma.nps.gov/DataStore/DownloadFile/662529>).

Supreme Court Justice, he advocated for race-based affirmative action in *University of California v. Bakke*. He retired from the Supreme Court in 1991.²⁷⁴

Willie Hardy Residence

5046 Benning Road SE, Washington, DC

Willie Hardy was a civil rights activist and Washington, DC Councilmember. In 1960, she and her family protested at Glen Echo Park over its segregationist policy of admitting whites only. In 1966, Hardy coordinated the local Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's (SNCC) successful one-day bus boycott. She served on the DC Council for two terms (from 1975-1981), and she also ran the Metropolitan Community Aid Council in Deanwood, which provided assistance to people evicted from their homes or awaiting public assistance.²⁷⁵

Walter Washington Residence

408 T Street NW, Washington, DC

Walter Washington became the first mayor of a major American city in 1967, when President Johnson appointed him mayor of Washington, DC. Before this, a three-man commissioner form of government had ruled DC since 1874. Washington served as the appointed mayor until 1974, and when the city became self-governing again in 1973, he became the city's first elected mayor and served until 1979.²⁷⁶

Virginia

Alexandria City

Cohen, Hirschkop and Hall Law Office

110 N. Royal Street, Alexandria, VA

²⁷⁴ "20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC," #67, "Thurgood Marshall, From Howard U to Highest Court," <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>.

²⁷⁵ "20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC," #86, "Willie Hardy, "Uninvited Woman Guest", " <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>; Eugene Robinson, "Acerbic Willie Hardy," *Washington Post*, July 7, 1980, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1980/07/07/acerbic-willie-hardy/93e9f2fa-a771-48a2-be9e-78918819e3fc/>.

²⁷⁶ "20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC," #83, "Walter Washington, Mayor-Commissioner," <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>.

In 1967, the US Supreme Court unanimously ruled that Virginia's ban on interracial marriage was unconstitutional in the case *Loving v. Virginia*. The plaintiffs in the case, Mildred and Richard Loving, were represented by Bernard Cohen and Philip Hirschkop, who maintained this office at the time of the Supreme Court ruling. The day following the decision, the Lovings held a news conference in this office in Suite 300. The ruling in effect legalized interracial marriage everywhere in the United States.²⁷⁷

Loudoun County

Tastee Freeze (now Anthony's)

640 Main St., Purcellville, VA

In 1966, an interracial trio decided to test the segregationist practices of a Purcellville restaurant. Most restaurants in Leesburg and Middleburg in Loudoun County had integrated in 1961, but at least two in Purcellville resisted integration for sit-down dining. (African Americans could order food from a take-out window only in many restaurants.) In August of 1966, Mark Crowley, a white college student, Patricia Shoaf, a white artist from Waterford, and William Washington, an African American Army veteran, Kentucky State University graduate and fifth-grade teacher at George Washington Carver Elementary School in Purcellville, ate occasionally at Tastee Freeze. Washington always had to order his food from the take-out window. On one outing, Shoaf and Crowley invited Washington to sit with them inside the restaurant. Although their waitress was surprised, and the trio received nasty looks from other diners, they were successful in integrating at least one restaurant.²⁷⁸

Tally Ho Theater

19 W. Market Street, Leesburg, VA

In 1965, African Americans sat in the whites' section for the first time in this movie theater in Leesburg.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ "Wayfinding: Cohen, Hirschkop & Hall,"

<https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/info/default.aspx?id=101300>.

²⁷⁸ Eugene Scheel, "Breaking the Race Barrier at a Purcellville Diner," *Washington Post* (February 4, 2007), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2007/02/04/breaking-the-race-barrier-at-a-purcellville-diner/873e1386-3427-4574-a8a2-2cf9d8eca966/>; Mitch Diamond, "Gaining Equal Access to Other Public Facilities," in Robert A. Pollard, Editor, "The History of the County Courthouse and its Role in the Path to Freedom, Justice and Racial Equality in Loudoun County" (Report of the Loudoun County Heritage Commission, 2019), pp.81-82.

²⁷⁹ Eugene Scheel, "Timeline of Important Events in African American History in Loudoun County, Virginia," <http://www.loudounhistory.org/history/african-american-chronology>.

Leesburg Volunteer Fire Company

216 Loudoun St., SW, Leesburg, VA

When the Leesburg Volunteer Fire Company's new station opened in 1957, it included a public swimming pool. The pool was for whites only. Starting in 1963, African American children tried to enter the pool, but they were kept out. In 1965, African Americans sued in court to open the pool, and they won their case in May 1966. The firemen decided to close the pool instead of integrating it, and eventually filled the pool with rock and cement and sold the land for development. Leesburg did not have another public swimming pool until 1990.²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ Mitch Diamond, "Gaining Equal Access to Other Public Facilities," in Robert A. Pollard, Editor, "The History of the County Courthouse and its Role in the Path to Freedom, Justice and Racial Equality in Loudoun County" (Report of the Loudoun County Heritage Commission, 2019), p.81.

PART 7. CIVIL RIGHTS THEN AND NOW, 1976 to 2015

The quest for Civil Rights in America by African Americans and other disenfranchised groups represents centuries-long legal and political processes in a quest for justice and equal rights. The country moved between two opposite poles as it grappled with Civil Rights, at times passing strong legislation such as the first Civil Rights Amendments that attempted to guarantee rights and ensure equal protection, at other times, retreating into judicial support of inequality and the rolling back of the Voting Rights Act. Across the political and historical cycle of the nation, changing national discourse and attitudes have lifted long-standing legal barriers for minorities only to reinstitute centuries old discriminatory practices and introduce new or refurbished obstacles.

In 2013, the Supreme Court crippled one of the most effective protections for the right to vote: the Voting Rights Act. The historic law passed in 1965 to curb race-based voter discrimination and guarantee all Americans the equal right to vote. In July 2013, a deeply divided US Supreme Court gutted the Voting Rights Act in *Shelby County v. Holder*. Arguing in part that it is arbitrary and no longer necessary to focus exclusively on the former Confederacy, the Court's majority eliminated the pre-clearance requirement for nine Southern states, including Virginia. This means that the Justice Department can no longer check for racial bias in new laws in these states. But the response of those states, along with other forms of voter suppression enacted throughout the country, makes it clear that we still need robust, proactive tools to protect voting rights for all citizens, particularly African Americans, students, immigrants, and other marginalized groups. The Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts removed most forms of legal discrimination against African Americans but did not bring an immediate end to the legacies of slavery and Jim Crow.

Many of the patterns formed in the nineteenth century remain prevalent today. Even though scholars have unanimously denounced the Supreme Court's 1857 decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* and rank it first in any list of the worst Supreme Court decisions, the idea expressed in the decision that "the negro has no rights that the white man is bound to respect" has haunted America and cast a shroud that dimmed the shining light of the nation's democratic ideals. The "Black Lives Matter" Movement is an outgrowth and a response to that 19th century ruling.

The long struggle for equal access to education, quality housing and public services, and public spaces, and in the battle to secure civil rights, all began with the first arrival of people of African ancestry in the Americas. It continues to this day with the ending of the second Reconstruction and the return of Jim Crow. The former aid to Thurgood Marshall opined in 1994, "for most black children, [*Brown v. Board's*] constitutional guarantee of equal educational opportunity has been an abstraction, having no effect

whatever on the educational offerings black children are given or the deteriorating schools they attend."²⁸¹

The interfaith, multi-racial efforts of the modern civil rights movement had their roots in abolitionism and Underground Railroad activities. Paralleling the American Revolution, The Underground Railroad and the abolitionism and anti-slavery movements that it engendered were the first multi-racial, interfaith civil rights efforts in the country where African Americans took the lead in the cause of their own liberation and worked side by side with their white brethren.

The American debate over who counts as a citizen and what powers citizens possess resonate today in the form of proposed immigration legislation and the provision of the vote for former prisoners. Rather than pronounce the civil rights movement “as on the whole a failure” as some suggest, a longer view is warranted. As the countless laws, acts, amendments, revisions and rulings attest, legal recourse without moral suasion, to use an abolitionist term, cannot be the sole solution to the racial problems that we have failed consistently to resolve.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington, DC has been the site of civil actions for centuries. It is the place where marches happen and citizens bring their protests to the attention of the federal government. Supreme Court rulings are handed down on the federal level while local citizens push from the bottom to have their rights respected. One area of contention that has persisted since the inception of the District is Home Rule and voting rights. These issues continued to occupy Washingtonians during this era. Forty years after the Home Rule Act of 1973, the District was still fighting for full voting representation in Congress and for budget autonomy without congressional oversight. Since full statehood has eluded the District, Eleanor Holmes Norton is the District’s non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives.

MARYLAND

In spite of the earlier rulings, it began to appear as if the courts were blocking most strategies for increasing racial balance in Maryland schools. As someone asked, “what quest for racial diversity, if any, might pass constitutional muster?” Montgomery County school board officials had adopted a policy in 1998 to try to keep racial balance and prohibited transfer out if it was going to cause an imbalance. The 4th Circuit ruled in the suit filed by a parent seeking to transfer his child, that the Constitution prohibited

²⁸¹ Quoted in Patterson, 210.

“racial balancing” to be used in determining school assignments.²⁸²

In 1998, a federal judge put an end to mandatory busing in Prince George's County. This concluded a 26-year-old government effort to desegregate the schools. As of 2019, Montgomery County's public schools continue to grow, and are again reverting to an earlier era and are becoming more segregated by race and class.²⁸³

Despite the racial challenges, Prince George's County remains the largest and the most affluent African American-majority county in the United States, with five of its communities identified in a 2015 top ten list.

VIRGINIA

The cradle of the South made civil rights strides during the past decades. “It's taken dogged reformers, federal laws, and martyrs to bend the democracy toward justice. But across much of our nation's history, white supremacy was [also] considered mainstream and patriotic.”²⁸⁴ The nation is now beginning to honestly face the historical and racial complexities that have shaped our national identity and question our tendency to uplift the architects of villainy alongside the nation's heroes. Aggrandizing statues to Robert E. Lee remain at Park Service sites including Arlington House in Virginia and at Civil War battle sites, providing space for exploration and reflection.

WEST VIRGINIA

The clause “white and colored persons shall not be taught in the same school” would remain in West Virginia's Constitution until 1994, and even then, 42 percent of West Virginia voters and 16 counties voted to keep include it.

²⁸² Patterson, 213-14.

²⁸³ Dan Reed, “Montgomery County is finally talking about its segregated schools. But can we fix them? Greater Greater Washing, <https://ggwash.org/view/71803/montgomery-county-is-finally-talking-about-its-segregated-schools.-but-can-we-fix-them>

²⁸⁴ Jim Remsen's History Nuggets <http://embattledfreedom.org/2017/08/jim-remsens-history-nuggets-7/>

EXAMPLES OF EVENTS, 1976-2015

- 1977 William Benson Bryant became the first Black appointed to be Chief Justice of the US District Court for the District of Columbia.
- 1978 The first annual graduation day was held at Lorton Reformatory for inmates receiving college degrees through a program sponsored by DC Department of Corrections and University of the District of Columbia.
- The DC Voting Rights Amendment passed Congress but needed ratification from 36 states to be enacted.
- 1981 At the Solidarity March in Washington, DC, 300,000 civil rights and labor organizations protested Ronald Reagan's domestic policies.
- 1982 Congress extended the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for another 25 years.
- 1983 President Ronald Reagan signed a bill proclaiming Martin Luther King, Jr. Day a national holiday.
- 1986 Martin Luther King, Jr. Day was officially observed as a national holiday for the first time.
- 1987 The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987, sometimes known as the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988 or the Grove City Bill, specified that recipients of federal funds must comply with civil rights laws in all areas, not just in the particular program or activity that received federal funding.
- 1988 The Sandy Spring Slave Museum opened in Montgomery County, MD.
- 1990 The Civil Rights Act of 1990, also known as the Kennedy-Hawkins Civil Rights Act, sought to protect job discrimination against minorities and women after six Supreme Court decisions the previous year made the burden of proof of discriminatory hiring practices rest on the employee, not the employer. Vetoed by George H. W. Bush, this was the only civil rights act to be successfully vetoed.
- 1990-94 Douglas Wilder became the 66th governor of Virginia. He was the first elected African American governor in United States history.
- 1991 The Civil Rights Act of 1991 provided the right to trial by jury on discrimination claims and introduced the possibility of emotional distress damages, while limiting the amount that a jury could award. It was a watered-down version of the Civil Rights Act of 1990.

- 1995 The Million Man March occurred in Washington, DC.
- 1997 The National Park Service's Network to Freedom Underground Railroad program was established through legislation proposed by Rep. Louis Stokes, who posited to Congress that the Underground Railroad was a story of freedom, determination, and slavery.
- 2003 The Supreme Court upheld the University of Michigan Law School's policy, and ruled that race could be one of several considerations when selecting college students.
- 2004 At Mary Church Terrell Place in Washington, DC, the Seventh and F streets site of the Hecht Company that refused cafeteria service to Blacks in the early 1950s was renovated and renamed Terrell Place, in recognition of Terrell's role in the desegregation of the store and Washington's public accommodations.
- 2008 The state of Maryland was subject to a lawsuit filed by a coalition of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU). In it, they claimed that the state simultaneously duplicated and underfunded programs at HBCUs.
- Wealth among African-American Prince Georgians plummeted after the Great Recession, in part as a result of disproportionately receiving "sub-prime" mortgages and home equity loans.
- 2013 The Supreme Court crippled one of the most effective protections for the right to vote, the Voting Rights Act, a historic law passed in 1965 to curb race-based voter discrimination and guarantee all Americans the equal right to vote. In July, a deeply divided US Supreme Court gutted the Voting Rights Act in *Shelby County v. Holder*.
- 2016 Virginia's governor issued an order restoring civil and voting rights of certain classes of ex-offenders, particularly non-violent offenders who have served their time. Although the Virginia Supreme Court ruled against the governor's order, the movement continues.

EXAMPLES OF INDIVIDUALS, 1976-2015

Clarence Thomas was nominated to the Supreme Court.

Thurgood Marshall, Supreme Court Justice, icon of the civil rights struggle, and lead attorney for *Brown v Board of Education*, died on January 24, 1993.

Marion Berry served as mayor of Washington DC from 1979-1991 and again from 1995-1999. He served on the Council of the District Columbia from 1975-1979 as an at-large member, and from 1993-1995 and again from 2005-2014 representing Ward 8.

Mary Frances Berry, Ph.D and J.D., authored several books relating to civil rights and the law. At one time the highest-ranking Black woman on the University of Maryland College Park campus, she later served on the US Commission on Civil Rights and eventually became the chair. She pursued civil rights for African Americans and called for the end of apartheid. She led a successful lawsuit against President Ronald Reagan when he tried to remove her from the Civil Rights commission because she opposed conservative measures.

Eleanor Holmes Norton is an attorney and native Washingtonian whose long-term civil rights activism included being a member of SNCC and the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party, a manager with ACLU and the New York Human Rights Commission. President Carter appointed her head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Since 1991, she has served as Delegate to the United States House of Representatives representing the District of Columbia.

Douglas Wilder served as the 66th governor of Virginia from 1990 to 1994.

Sharon Pratt (Dixon) (Kelly) served as the third mayor of the District of Columbia from 1991-1995.

Anthony Williams served as mayor of the District of Columbia from 1999-2007.

Adrian Fenty served as mayor of the District of Columbia from 2007-2011.

Vincent Gray served as mayor of the District of Columbia from 2011-2015.

Ralph Waldo “Petey” Greene, Jr., a former convicted felon, DC civil rights activist, and organizer, is credited with halting further demonstrations resulting from the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. through his Emmy-award-winning radio talk show where race and politics were regularly discussed.

Anita Neal Powell, a local historian and civil rights activists and former head of the Montgomery County NAACP, played a major role in coordinating projects with the

Montgomery County government. As a voting rights advocate, Powell served as a Montgomery County precinct chair and worked to conduct voter registration for local, state, and national elections.

Arthur A. Fletcher, considered the “Father of Affirmative Action,” served as Assistant Secretary of Labor for Employment Standards in the Nixon Administration. He was responsible for the implementation of the Philadelphia Plan, which attempted to ensure that government work was distributed among Blacks and other minorities. He later served as the chair of the US Commission on Civil Rights under George H. Bush and ran as mayor of Washington, DC on a platform opposing conservative treatment of civil rights and economic development.

Lord D. Nickens’ civil rights activities in Frederick prompted the FBI to keep a file on him. For more than 20 years, he headed the Frederick chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), receiving their lifetime achievement award in 2009. Nickens was also at the forefront of the effort to integrate Frederick High School and other public spaces such as parks and restaurants. He pushed for fair housing laws in the 1960s and 1970s and helped the NAACP sue the Frederick County government in federal court for issuing permits for public rallies to the Ku Klux Klan.

Wayne K. Curry, real estate attorney, millionaire, and graduate of Prince George’s County school system, was elected Prince George’s County’s county executive. He served two terms from 1994-2002 and was the first African American to hold the office.

Albert Wynn, attorney and ten year veteran of the Maryland state legislature, won a seat representing Maryland’s Fourth Congressional District in the United States House of Representatives, which includes portions of Prince George’s County. He served from 1993-2008.

Donna Edwards, attorney and longtime community activist, defeated Albert Wynn to represent Maryland’s Fourth Congressional District in the United States House of Representatives. She served from 2008-2017.

Anthony Brown, attorney, served as the eighth Lieutenant Governor for Maryland, 2007-2015. He ran unsuccessfully for governor in 2014.

EXAMPLE OF PLACES, 1976-2015

National Park Service, National Capital Area

African American Civil War Memorial

1925 Vermont Ave NW, Washington DC

The African American Civil War Memorial honors the over 200,000 African American soldiers and sailors who fought for the US Army and Navy during the Civil War. The Memorial sculpture was dedicated in July of 1998, and portrays uniformed soldiers and a sailor, and a family is shown on the back of the sculpture. The Memorial is encircled on three sides by a Wall of Honor that lists the names of 209,145 African Americans who fought in the Civil War.²⁸⁵

Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial

1964 Independence Ave SW, Washington DC

The Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial honors one of America's greatest civil rights leaders, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The Memorial was dedicated on August 28, 2011, the 48th anniversary of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. This was the first memorial to honor an African American individual on the National Mall.²⁸⁶

Properties Not Under National Park Service Jurisdiction

Washington, DC (City)

National Council of Negro Women Headquarters

633 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC

The National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) was founded in 1935 by Mary McLeod Bethune, and was headquartered in Bethune's home at 1318 Vermont Avenue, NW, until 1966, when a fire forced the organization to find new quarters. The NCNW has been a leader in the struggle for African American civil rights, especially for African American women. In 1995, NCNW moved into this grand building on Pennsylvania Ave., between the Capitol and the White House, signifying the organization's significance in the fight for social justice and

²⁸⁵ "African American Civil War Memorial," <https://www.nps.gov/afam/index.htm>; "Memorial & Museum History," <https://www.afroamcivilwar.org/about-us/memorial-museum-history.html>.

²⁸⁶ "Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial," <https://civilrightstrail.com/attraction/martin-luther-king-jr-memorial/>.

equality.²⁸⁷ See the **Mary McLeod Bethune Council House National Historic Site** entry in the 1900-1941 Places section, National Park Service.

Virginia

Alexandria City

African American Heritage Park

500 Holland Lane, Alexandria, VA

Opened in 1995, the African American Heritage Park contains sculptures created by DC artist Jerome Meadows. The sculptures commemorate African American history in the Alexandria neighborhood. The focal point is entitled "Truths That Rise from the Roots- Remembered," a cluster of bronze trees that represents the contributions of African Americans in Alexandria. Included are commemorations to the black neighborhoods in Alexandria and the burials of the Black Baptist Cemetery, which occupy an acre of the park.²⁸⁸

Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery Memorial

1001 South Washington Street, Alexandria, VA
National Register of Historic Places

The cemetery was created in 1864 specifically for freedmen. Between the war and the poor health of incoming contrabands, the death toll in Alexandria was high. Around 1,800 people were buried at the cemetery between 1864 and 1869, when it closed. It appeared on maps until 1939, and in 1955, a gas station was built on the site. In 1997, the site was rediscovered, and subsequent archeological research found 500 of the graves. The gas station was removed, and in 2014, the site became a memorial park.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (2003), p.23

(<https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/AAHT%20Text%20Final%20for%20web.pdf>); "20th Century African American Civil Rights Tour, Washington, DC," #78, "National Council of Negro Women," <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12>.

²⁸⁸ "African American Heritage Park,"

<https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/blackhistory/default.aspx?id=37348>.

²⁸⁹ National Register Reference Number 12000516 ([https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-1021-](https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-1021-1085_Contrabands_and_Freedmen_Cemetery_2012_NRHP_FINAL.pdf)

[1085_Contrabands_and_Freedmen_Cemetery_2012_NRHP_FINAL.pdf](https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-1021-1085_Contrabands_and_Freedmen_Cemetery_2012_NRHP_FINAL.pdf)); Virginia Landmarks Register, "100-0121-1085 Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery," <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/100-0121-1085/>; "Contrabands & Freedmen Cemetery Memorial,"

<https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/100-0105/>.

Fairfax County

Tinner Hill Monument / Zig-Zag Monument

Tinner Hill Historic Park, 106 Tinner Hill Road, Falls Church, VA

The Tinner Hill Monument, erected in 1999, honors the men and women of the historic African American community of Tinner Hill, and the members of the Colored Citizens Protective League, who fought racial segregation in Falls Church and formed the first rural chapter of the NAACP. The Zig-Zag Monument is a sculpture in the park that follows the line of segregation that Falls Church had proposed in 1915 to segregate housing by race. See “**Joseph Tinner and E.B. Henderson/ Colored Citizens Protective League**” entry in the 1900-1941 Places section, Fairfax County.²⁹⁰

Prince William County

Jennie Dean Memorial

9601 Wellington Road, Manassas, VA

In 2020, the city of Manassas funded a memorial statue to honor Jennie Dean, a woman born enslaved c.1850 who later created the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth (see entry in Part 2, Examples of Places). The statue stands in front of the Jennie Dean Elementary School, also named in honor of Dean.²⁹¹

Maryland

Frederick County

Laboring Sons Memorial

121 E. 5th Street, Frederick, MD
Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties

²⁹⁰ “Tinner Hill Monument,” <https://blog.virginia.org/2020/02/virginia-civil-rights-sites/>; “Civil Rights History & Tinner Hill,” <https://www.tinnerhill.org/educational-resources/2018/2/15/civil-rights-history-tinner-hill/>; “Tinner Hill Historic Park - A Pivotal Site for African American History,” <https://www.novaparks.com/parks/tinner-hill-historic-park/>; “Tinner Hill Historic Park & Monument,” <https://www.fxva.com/things-to-do/african-american-heritage/>; “Historic Markers/Zig Zag Monument,” <https://www.novaparks.com/parks/tinner-hill-historic-park/things-to-do/historic-markerszig-zag-monument>.

²⁹¹ Jill Palermo, “Lifting People Up’: Manassas Officials Unveil Long-Awaited Jennie Dean Statue,” *Prince William Times* (Oct 24, 2020), https://www.princewilliamtimes.com/news/lifting-people-up-manassas-officials-unveil-long-awaited-jennie-dean-statue/article_587756fc-162f-11eb-b724-4b8f073d801a.html.

This land was originally established as a cemetery for African Americans in 1851 by the Beneficial Society of the Laboring Sons of Frederick. By the 20th century the cemetery was no longer in use, and the City of Frederick acquired it and eventually built a playground for white children on the site. In 1999, the history of the old cemetery was publicized, and people objected to what had happened to the cemetery. This led to the removal of the playground and to the designation of the property as the Laboring Sons Memorial Grounds in 2001. A plaque lists the names of 117 individuals known to have been buried there, although in 1949, there was an estimate of at least 1,500 people buried at Laboring Sons.²⁹²

West Virginia

Jefferson County

Martin Robison Delany Marker

100 E Washington Street, Charles Town, WV

Martin Delany was born free in Charles Town in 1812. His father was enslaved, but his mother was free. Delany lived in Pittsburgh as a young man, became a doctor, and began publishing a newspaper. He met Frederick Douglass and together they started the *North Star* newspaper. Delany became more politically active and began attending national conventions of African Americans. He was an early proponent of black nationalism and supported African American emigration to Africa. He wrote articles and books about the condition of Blacks in America. During the Civil War, he helped recruit African American men to join the military, and he was commissioned a major in 1865, the highest rank of any African American during the war. This historical marker was erected in 1999.²⁹³

²⁹² Fern Shen, "In Frederick, Past Injustices Vex the Present," *Washington Post* (Feb. 7, 2000), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/WPcap/2000-02/07/064r-020700-idx.html>; "African American Heritage Sites in the City of Frederick and Frederick County, Maryland" (2001), http://www.frederickhsc.org/pdf/hsc_aahsbro.pdf; Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, "Laboring Sons Cemetery," <https://mht.maryland.gov/mihp/MIHPCard.aspx?MIHPNo=FHD-1301>.

²⁹³ "Jefferson County, West Virginia, African American Heritage Trail," http://www.jcblackhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/JCBHT_2013_WebVersion.pdf; Delany, Martin R. (1812–1885), <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/delany-martin-r-1812-1885/>.

STUDY FINDINGS

Based on this study's overview and analysis of the quest for civil rights and existing and potential sites, the following findings are presented.

1. **Rights without citizenship:** In the absence of clearly defined rights for individuals before the American Revolution or rights for African Americans after the Revolution, common language is required in order to recognize and redefine sites associated with this historic period. Because African Americans enter the American constitutional reality legally defined as 3/5 of a human being, and then receive no protection by the rights of citizenship, the defined legal persona of African Americans was less than fully human and undeserving of equal treatment. This is the undistinguished narrative around civil rights that undergirds the attitudes that shaped the country around race.
2. **A narrow exploration of Civil Rights:** A narrow definition of Civil Rights restricted to the law and the 1950s and 60s movement misses the deeper meaning of the struggle. The discussion of civil rights should expand to delve into the impetus toward freedom and equal treatment that African Americans have continuously demanded across the decades.
3. **Civil Rights as a legal structure:** Laws are set up to protect the continuity of the system in which the lawmaker believes and operates. Using legal definitions of "civil rights" provides a structure that restricts interpretation of the fuller engagement with equal rights necessary for African American self-definition in the absence of humanity, citizenship and its protections. Therefore, as illustrated by the Fugitive Slave Law, *Dred Scott* or *Plessy v Ferguson*, justice systems can generate unjust laws. A survey of the dozens of civil rights legislations confirms what white American citizens have repeatedly demonstrated: people will resist obeying laws unless they believe in them.
4. **Civil Rights has suffered from an over-reliance on the law:** The term "equal justice under the law," which is the basis of all civil rights legislation, is an evasion of the question of equality and implies that the only equality Blacks can expect to receive is judicial because the tenets of an imagined white supremacy preclude true social or human equality.
5. **Freedom strategies and equal treatment:** African American strategies of resistance and systems of protest began with the landing of the first slave ships and continue into the present. At each era and every decade, African Americans individuals, institutions, and organizations, often in cooperation with other groups, had to demand that their rights be granted, honored, and protected. The strategies for freedom and equality used in the modern Civil Rights Movement were built atop pre-existing social, cultural and civic

systems utilizing long standing infrastructures as well-tested ideas about effective protest strategies.

6. **Historical misinterpretation obscures motivating factors.** The history of the civil rights movement has been told from the outside, observational point of view that missed the internal cohesive long-term unceasing strategies with freedom and justice as its goals. The troubling influence or interpretation of Black civil rights actions and activists by chroniclers and historians frequently misunderstand the struggle. Because white privilege reserves the best for itself, wanting the best for oneself is interpreted as seeking whiteness rather than seeking access, quality treatment, and the rights of full citizenship.
7. **Black activism is underreported and omitted from the official narrative.** Retrieving local stories of civil rights activism against the ingrained policies and local laws and actions across the centuries is a daunting task. Much of that history is yet to be written. Beyond the grand gestures of the famous is a powerful story of local activism, steadfastness and courageousness waiting to be revealed.
8. **Solutions are misaligned with the problem.** Protests, sit-ins, marches and rallies change policies but not necessarily behaviors and attitudes. Legal rulings without societal change are only partially effective. A review of the compendium of civil rights legislation contained in the appendix to this document has led the authors to conclude that the country continues to seek legal redress for social, moral and racial problems that have plagued the nation since its inception. Continued attempts to solve these societal ills with legal and judicial solutions often rely on the cause of the problem to solve the problem since often infringement of civil rights was generated through the American legal and judicial systems.
9. **Civil Rights is a hopeful movement always calling the nation to be its ideal democratic self for all Americans.**

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APPENDIX

LEGISLATION PERTAINING TO CIVIL RIGHTS

The Corwin Amendment, the first 13th Amendment, 1861: “No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions” of slavery. This amendment was passed by Congress but not ratified.

The First Confiscation Act of August 1861 allowed the confiscation of Confederate property and was used to free those slaves who made their way to Union lines

The Second Confiscation Act, July 1862 freed enslaved people in Union-occupied areas whose owners failed to demonstrate “continuous loyalty” to the Union. Anyone who had escaped slavery and was subsequently captured were not to be returned to their slaveholder, but were forfeited to the Union Army

End of Slavery in Washington, DC, April 16, 1862

Militia Act, July 1862 provided for the emancipation of rebel-held slaves along with their mothers, wives, and children, which allowed African Americans to participate in the war as war laborers and soldiers

Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863

End of Slavery in Maryland, November 1, 1864

End of slavery in West Virginia, February 3, 1865

Thirteenth Amendment Ratified December 1865 formally abolished slavery in the United States, passed the Senate on April 8, 1864, and the House on January 31, 1865. first of the three Reconstruction Amendments adopted following the American Civil War.

Civil Rights Act of 1866, April 9, stated that any person born in the United States regardless of race is a US citizen. This extended the rights of emancipated slaves and overrode a veto by President Andrew Johnson.

Reconstruction Act of 1867

Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution ratified, July 28, 1868

Fifteenth Amendment February 3, 1870

Civil Rights Act of 1870, known as the First Ku Klux Klan Act prohibiting discrimination in voter registration on the basis of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; the legislation established penalties for interfering with a person's right to vote.

Civil Rights Act of 1871, also known as the Second Ku Klux Klan Act, placed all elections in both the North and South under federal control, prohibiting ethnic violence against African Americans.

Third Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 enforced the 14th Amendment by guaranteeing all citizens of the United States the rights afforded by the Constitution and provided legal protection under the law.

Civil Rights Act of 1875, prohibiting discrimination in "public accommodations" was found unconstitutional in 1883 as Congress could not regulate conduct of individuals. Barred discrimination in public accommodations and on public conveyances on land and water. Prohibited exclusion of African Americans from jury duty.

Civil Rights Cases of 1883, in which the US 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. (Reinforced white Southern efforts to consign blacks to an inferior legal and social status.)

Dyer Anti-Lynching bill, 1922 made it out of a Congressional subcommittee (the first such success with anti-lynching legislation), and the bill passed the House of Representatives in 1922 but died in a Senate filibuster.

Equal Rights Amendment 1923 was proposed to secure full equality for women under the law, but never ratified.

The National Housing Act of 1934

The Housing Act of 1937

The GI Bill of 1944 furthered segregation practices by keeping African Americans out of European American neighborhoods, showing another side to African American housing discrimination.

The Defense Department announced the elimination of all segregated regiments in the armed forces, 1954

Brown v Board of Education, 1954

Fair Housing Act 1954

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 established the Civil Rights Commission. Created the six-member Commission on Civil Rights and established the Civil Rights Division in the US Department of Justice.

Civil Rights Act of 1960 establishing federal inspection of local voter registration polls. Expanded the enforcement powers of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and introduced criminal penalties for obstructing the implementation of federal court orders. Extended the Civil Rights Commission for two years

Residents of Washington, D.C. are granted the right to vote in US Presidential Elections by the Twenty-third Amendment to the United States Constitution, 1961.

Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibiting discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, and national origin by federal and state governments as well as some public places. The Act was rooted in the struggle of Americans of African descent to obtain basic rights of citizenship in the nation. As with so much other civil rights legislation, it prohibited discrimination in public accommodations, facilities, and schools. Outlawed discrimination in federally funded projects and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

- **Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964** protects people from discrimination based on race, color, or national origin in programs or activities that receive federal financial assistance.
- **Title VII of the Civil Rights Act** prohibits discrimination in *employment* based on race, color, sex, religion or national origin. Passed in 1964, Title VII is the cornerstone of federal anti-discrimination law.
- **The Pregnancy Discrimination Act (PDA)** prohibits discrimination on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth and related medical conditions.
- The **US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)** is responsible for enforcing federal laws that make it illegal to discriminate against a job applicant or an employee based on a legally protected status. A faculty or staff member who believes that he/she/they have been discriminated against on the basis of race, color, religion, sex (including pregnancy), national origin, age, disability, or genetic information could file a charge against their employer with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The EEOC would investigate the charge. If it found a violation of the law, it would try to reach a settlement with the employer. If a settlement could not be reached, the EEOC or the US Department of Justice may file a lawsuit against the employer.

- Similarly, the **US Department of Education Office for Civil Rights (OCR)** enforces several federal civil rights laws that prohibit discrimination in programs or activities that receive federal financial assistance from the Department of Education. A complaint of discrimination can be filed with OCR by anyone who believes that an education institution that receives federal financial assistance has discriminated against someone on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, religion, disability, or age.

Voting Rights Act of 1965 suspended the use of literacy tests and voter disqualification devices for five years. Authorized the use of federal examiners to supervise voter registration in states that used tests or in which less than half the voting-eligible residents registered or voted.

The Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA 1967) bars discrimination on the basis of age against anyone 40 years old or older.

Civil Rights Act of 1968, also known as the *Fair Housing Act*, prohibiting discrimination in sale, rental, and financing of housing based on race, creed, and national origin. Prohibited discrimination in the sale or rental of approximately 80 percent of the housing in the US.

Supreme Court ordered immediate end to school segregation, 1969.

Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970

Extended the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for five years.

Fair Housing Policy of 1971 Nixon declared that government could not force suburban desegregation or economic/racial integration. His federal housing policy undermined the Fair Housing Act

The Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974 provided protection against discrimination from creditors.

Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1975 extended the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for seven years. Established coverage for other minority groups including Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans.

The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act of 1975 was designed to supplement the Fair Housing Act in specific areas of housing discrimination. This act protected applicants from discrimination through lending institutions by requiring that any financial institution providing federally related mortgage loan disclose data annually.

The Community Reinvestment Act of 1977 required banks to apply the same anti-discriminatory guidelines to their lending criteria in all circumstances. These acts did

not completely stop discriminatory practices, however. The discrimination moved into more subtle techniques, including racial steering and misinformation given to African American prospective buyers.

Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1982 extended for 25 years the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Allowed jurisdictions that could provide evidence of maintaining a clean voting rights record for at least 10 years, to avoid preclearance coverage (the requirement of federal approval of any change to local or state voting laws)

Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987, sometimes known as the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988 or the Grove City Bill, specified that recipients of federal funds must comply with civil rights laws in all areas, not just in the particular program or activity that received federal funding. Established that antidiscrimination laws are applicable to an entire organization if any part of the organization receives federal funds.

Fair Housing Act Amendments of 1988 strengthened the powers of enforcement granted to the Housing and Urban Development Department in the 1968 Fair Housing Act.

Civil Rights Act of 1990, also known as the Kennedy-Hawkins Civil Rights Act, sought to protect job discrimination against minorities and women after six Supreme Court decisions the previous year made the burden of proof of discriminatory hiring practices rest on the employee, not the employer. Vetoed by George H. W. Bush. Only Civil Rights Act to be successfully vetoed.

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990 – is a civil rights law that prohibits discrimination on the basis of a person's disability.

Civil Rights Act of 1991 reversed nine US Supreme Court decisions (rendered between 1986 and 1991) that had raised the bar for workers who alleged job discrimination. The Act provided the right to trial by jury on discrimination claims and introduced the possibility of emotional distress damages, while limiting the amount that a jury could award. It was a watered-down version of the Civil Rights Act of 1990.

Voting Rights Act of 2006 extended the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for 25 years.

Voting Rights Amendment Act of 2014, proposed in House of Representatives

Voting Rights Amendment of 2015, proposed in House of Representatives to amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to revise the criteria for determining which States and political subdivisions are subject to

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